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This biennial report from the Kansas State Board of Agriculture includes information on general Kansas agriculture, potato production, dairying, railroads, live stock, sugar beets, and homemaking. It also covers Kansas at the World's Fair, road building, and the proceedings of the State Board of Agriculture. County statistics include population, acreages, productions, live stock, and assessed valuation of property. State statistics and crop and livestock statistics are also included.

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The railroad is the only person or corporation that does business entirely on borrowed capital and that owes in advance all it is worth. That is what building and equipping a road on its bonds means. Railroads are expected to make interest on bonds representing their entire cost and full value and a dividend on an equal or greater amount of expectations. This is the reason that nearly all roads when first built pass into the hands of receivers. This was the expectation and often the intention of their promoters from the very first.

The farmer does not object to a capitalization equal to the cost and equipment of the railroad, if honestly built and wisely located. He does not object to capitalization representing actual improvements. He does not object to the consolidation of branch lines with the main. He favors all this. He is willing to chip in with right of way, taxes, donations, and gifts of public land, to enable the road to tide over evil days at the outset. He is willing to help infant industries, honest ones; but he is not willing to be taxed by way of freight and passenger rates to pay interest on water, and often after it has grown to lusty manhood on the very gifts he has bestowed on the infant. How great this excessive capitalization is in Kansas, I need not tell you. You may be quite sure that it is much greater than the actual cost of construction and equipment. Your reports give the capitalization of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy in your state at $38,000 per mile, the Rock Island at $36,000. If there is water in these, and there surely is, for they can be built even at the high prices of to-day for a good deal less money, what must be said of the St. Joseph & Grand Island, capitalized at $53,000, and the Union Pacific at $106,000?

Of course, it will be said: "What matters it?" Nothing, if the railroad were a purely private enterprise and not a public highway. It matters nothing to its readers whether the capital stock of *Wallaces' Farmer* is $20,000 or $200,000; but if it were a monopoly, as the railway is, if farmers were absolutely obliged to subscribe for it, if, moreover, it could go into the courts and resist any reduction in subscription price that would not pay some interest on its capitalization, it would then be a matter of very serious concern to every farmer. Wipe out your excessive capitalization; tell the truth about what the actual cost of these roads has been, if that be now possible, and if not, put the capitalization at the cost of building them to-day, and the Kansas farmer will not complain of rates that will pay a good interest or dividend on this cost. He will be a willing purchaser of the stocks and bonds of every well-managed road, and in that case there would be no railway question in Kansas. Men never quarrel either with their bread and butter or their pocketbooks.

Of course, I am well aware that the claim of high freight rates on the basis of cost is all the merest humbug, and that in the making of rates no railroad manager ever gives it a moment's consideration. It does become, however, a very important matter when state legislatures enact tariffs, and the railroads resist them by going into the federal courts and showing, or attempting to show, that the rates enacted will not furnish dividends on the bonds and some rate of interest on the stock, and, therefore, are confiscation of private property for the public good.

The amount of water, however, in the roads in the process of construction—which water seldom is squeezed out, even by foreclosure—is not the most dangerous feature at present. Where this water does not prove sufficient, additional water is being poured in, and in amounts that stagger the imagination. The favorite method of pouring in water in the last two or three years has been that of the capitalization of earnings. I note two conspicuous examples in companies that have lines running through your state—the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy

and the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific. These roads have shared in the great and general prosperity of the country in the last four or five years. Their stock has been selling around $200, or double the par value of the shares. In the case of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, this stock has been taken up and bonds issued for double the amount, and drawing four per cent. interest. They became, therefore, a mortgage on the road, thus securing the owner of the stock, who has exchanged them for bonds, from taking any chances on the hard times which follow every period of great prosperity and wild speculation. Inasmuch as the mortgage of the road and the capitalization, so far as it can be made to earn interest, is a mortgage on the farms tributary thereto, you will readily see that, by this movement, an additional mortgage has been placed on every farm on the line; that is, the farmers along the line must pay enough freight and passenger rates to pay this eight per cent. interest on the original stock or on the mortgages that now represent it, or else the road must go into the hands of a receiver.

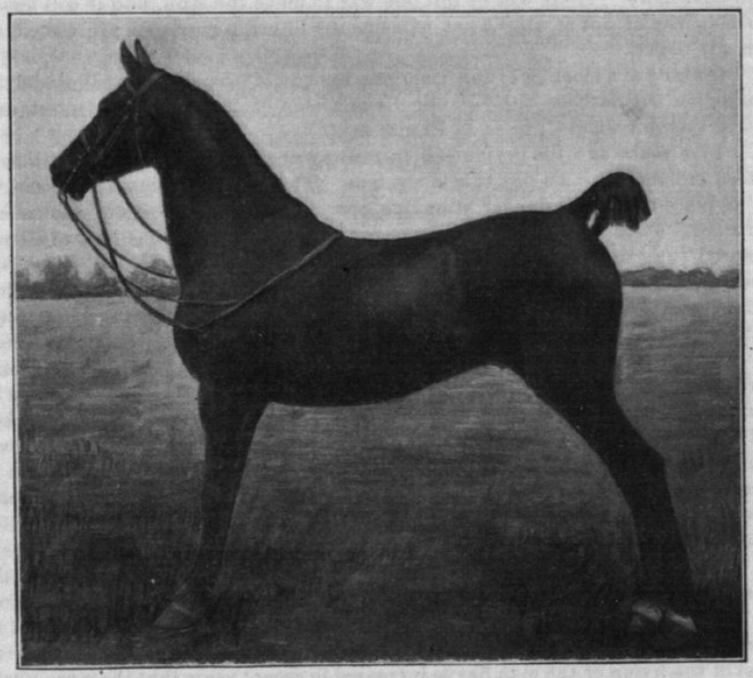
Worse than this, however, is the sleight-of-hand performance of the Rock Island, in which, by a very shrewd evasion of the Iowa law (Iowa being its legal home), a capitalization of $75,000,000 was swelled to $202,000,000, and the future management of the road placed in the hands of the owners of a little over $52,000,000 of stock. This is stock-watering with a vengeance, and the worse because all this stock, with the exception of the $52,000,000 and over, is really bonds.

You may not have found it on the records, nor will you, but it really amounts to an increased mortgage on every acre of land along the lines of this road in your state. Were these roads purely private enterprises, and not public highways—were they not, in the nature of things, monopolies—this would be no concern of any person outside the stockholders. It is the privilege of every man to call a five cent piece a dollar, if the contemplation of his supposed wealth affords him any satisfaction; but it is a matter of very weighty and serious import to the general public when the capitalization of the improvements on the great national highway on which the farmer must pay toll, and whatever toll the keepers of the highway require, is increased in these alarming proportions.

The next ground of complaint on the part of the farmer against the railroads is their excessive freight and passenger rates. It will be objected at once that we have the lowest freight rates in the world. I will not stop to inquire whether this is true or false. We have much cheaper freight rates than in densely populated England, and they are about one-half of the rates prevalent in Ireland. Our local first-class passenger rates are the same as their second. Their first-class rates are a little higher than our first class with sleeping-car rates added. Their third-class rates are a little higher than our round-trip rates. Our freight rates may be a great deal lower than theirs and still be excessive, for distance cuts but little figure in either freight or passenger rates; a little more labor, a little more oil, a little more coal; that is all the difference between the short haul and the long.

By an unwritten law among railrords, the road that collects freight and delivers it after a haul of ten, twenty or forty miles to the road that hauls it 300 or 400 miles gets forty per cent. of the rates. The trolley line that collects and hauls freight from ten to twenty miles, and delivers it to a road that hauls it 300 miles, can easily get sixty per cent. of the total rate. Long hauls, such as we have in America, should be very cheap, for this is a country of magnificent distances, and the freight rates should be the cheapest in the entire world, because of the length of the haul, the great volume of business, and the abundance of back-loading.

It is useless to say that the larger cost of our roads requires high freight rates. The English and continental roads of equal construction cost three times as much as ours. In point of fact, no rate-maker takes any thought either of the capitalization or of the cost of his road in making rates. These figure only when the legality of the state-made rates is at issue before the federal courts or in the lobbies of state legislatures when railroad legislation is impending, in which case the poor widow who has invested her earthly all in stocks and bonds is brought forward as of old, only with new crepe and a fresh supply of tears, to beg the tender-hearted legislators not to confiscate her property by reducing freight and passenger rates.



Saddle-horse THE GAMBLER.
Champion three-gaited (walk, trot, and canter) gelding or mare at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.

There is now, as there has ever been, but one rule of rate-making, namely, "What the traffic will bear." I see from one of the reports of your railway commission that a Kansas rate-maker, original, as we should expect him to be after breathing Kansas air for a little while, has invented a new way of putting it, namely, "whatever will move the stuff." And that is all there is in rate-making.

A railroad official tells me that there were, December 31, 3000 special rates in operation, all of which were to be canceled that day. I said: "Tell me about these special rates."

"Well," said he, "Smith & Jones have 500 cars of grain which I am offered in preference to other roads, provided I will take it for less than the posted rates. I give notice of a special rate that will move the stuff and cancel it when the shipment has been made.

These rates are offered only at competing points. Always and everywhere the motto of the road is, "the rate that will move the stuff."

And this rate question will be your greatest grievance in the future. Discrimination will to a great extent disappear in the near future, and from two causes: the consolidation of the railroads into systems and the merging of these into mergers or securities companies, when they will all be under one management, so that it will matter nothing what road does the business.

Again, the federal courts, which usually lock the stable after the horse is stolen, will issue injunctions against secret rebates, which again will simply hasten the mergers. When this is done, rates will be advanced because the traffic will bear more. There will be but one way to move the stuff, and it will have to go that way or not at all. That movement will begin very soon; in fact, it has already begun.

Speaking at a meeting of the American Economic Association, at Philadelphia, December 27, 1902, on the "Public Regulations of Railroads," Interstate-commerce Commissioner Charles A. Prouty said:

"Five years ago the crying evil in railway operations was discrimination between individuals. To-day this is not true. The discrimination disappears, but in its place comes the danger attending every monopoly—extortion in the charge imposed. As these combinations have proceeded, the public has been repeatedly assured that there was no danger of any advance in freight rates. Rates have been advanced and are still advancing. In the winter of 1899, the rate on grain from the Mississippi river to New York fell to 12 cents per 100 pounds; to-day it is 22½ cents. The cost of transporting grain and grain products from Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard by rail last summer was from 2 to 5 cents per 100 pounds (from 10 to 25 per cent.) greater than it was the summer preceding. Within the month all grain rates in every direction from the fields to the seaboard have been advanced another 2 cents per 100 pounds. Within the last three years the combination of anthracite coal roads has increased the cost of domestic sizes to the consumer from one to two dollars per ton. In sympathy, the common stock in the Reading road alone advanced in market value, from July, 1898, to July, 1902, $45,000,000, or about 300 per cent.

The excuse for the recent and contemplated advance in freight rates is that there has been a recent increase of ten per cent. in the wages of the working men of all classes on the railroads, or, in other words, "in the cost of living" of the corporation. These men are certainly entitled to this increase and more, for the cost of the living of the man has so increased in recent years that the wage-worker is no better off than he was in 1896, provided he had steady work then; but this is no reason why ten per cent. should be added to freight rates.

Why is it not a good reason? Because, by reason of better grades, better roadbeds, straighter curves, larger locomotives, and larger cars, the cost of moving a ton of freight has been decreased far more than the rate of wages has been increased. A few years ago, when you Kansas people were moving heaven and earth to get a low rate on corn to the Gulf, I was riding with a prominent official of the Northwestern railway, and said to him that the farmers of Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri and southern Iowa would not always pay freight on the long across-mountain route to the seaboard when nature had provided them with a short down-hill route to the Gulf.

"Let me tell you something," said he. "The Northwestern is building a double track from Chicago to Council Bluffs; it will be ballasted two and one half feet deep, so that frost cannot move the rails; it is being laid with ninety-four pound rails, and, when this is done, we can haul forty cars of forty tons each

with one locomotive and crew and make more money hauling grain from Council Bluffs to Chicago at ten cents per 100 than we can at the present rate."

All that has since been done, but, instead of the rate being lowered, it is likely to be advanced. Freight rates on grain and live stock are low now compared with thirty years ago, thanks to agitation and granger legislation in states and nation, but owing to improvements in transportation there is more profit in the low rate than there was in the high. The railroads never made as much money as they are making now.

The following figures, taken from the reports of the Interstate-commerce Commission, are interesting reading just now: The net income, after paying all expenses and fixed charges, together with large amounts which have gone into improvements, of the railroads for 1897 was, in round numbers, $81,000,000; in 1898, $140,000,000; in 1899, $164,000,000; in 1900, $227,000,000; in 1901, $241,500,000. The amount of earnings devoted to maintenance of way increased from $115,000,000 in 1895 to $220,000,000 in 1901, and the maintenance of equipment from $108 000,000 in 1895 to $184,000,000 in 1901. Notwithstanding all this, the companies were able in 1901 to declare dividends amounting in round numbers to $30,000,000 greater than in the preceding year. Certainly these figures, taken from a source of the highest authority, fail to show any reasons why additional tribute be levied on the farmers of Kansas.

The railroads have a queer way of arguing on the question of rates. When the traffic is relatively small, their argument is that the rates should be maintained or increased because of the increased cost of doing the business. When the traffic is large—larger, in fact, than they can handle properly—the argument is made that the rate should be increased because of the increase of traffic. It might be reasonable to argue that the tolls of the turnpike should be advanced on account of the small amount of travel, but for the turnpike company to ask for an increased toll because of the magnitude of travel would be laughed out of court. As previously stated, the railroad is simply a public highway, and the absurdity of increasing the toll on the public highway because of the large amount of business is too ridiculous for serious argument.

These threatened increased rates should meet with a mighty protest from the Kansas farmer. If paid without protest, it simply means an advance in the value of stocks already inflated beyond reason and a more general conversion of these stocks into bonds, thus increasing the fixed charges, which in all cases are an unwritten but none the less real mortgage on all the farm property tributary to the road. For if this rate increase is endured, if your silence gives consent, when the day of reckoning comes, as come it will, when a glut of goods puts out furnace fires in the East, and there is no paying market for your stock or your grain, a cry of oppression will go up from these prairies the like of which has never been heard before, and the time-serving politician may hunt his hole and there do some unwonted praying, with neither hope nor promise of a favorable answer.

It requires no prophet to predict that if rates are advanced under present conditions, resulting in an increase of values in railroad stocks, and these are converted into bonds, giving the same total income in bad times that the stocks do in good times, it is only a question of time when the farmers of the West will be in bondage to these great corporations. There is no means of bringing them into bondage so rapid and efficient as the increase of rates, leading to increased dividends, increased values, and the capitalization of these values into bonds, as has been done both by the Rock Island and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy.

One of the most serious grounds of complaint which the Western farmer has to make, not so much against railroads in themselves, nor against all railroads,

but against the men who manage some railroads, and these sometimes not in all states through which the road passes, showing that the ground of complaint is rather against the officers of the roads than the roads themselves, namely, their interference in the politics, or rather in the political management, of the state. The American citizen prizes above all things else his right of suffrage, or the right to do his part in the government of the state. He should pride himself not merely on the right but on the actual exercise of that right, and the effective exercise of it at the effective point. In other words, he should see that his will is carried out not merely at the precinct, but that the sentiment of the majority should be rendered effective at the capitol. The fact that some railroads, either with the consent of their general officers or without, take an exceedingly active and offensive part in the management of political conventions and in influencing legislation at the capitol during the sessions of the legislatures is entirely too well known to require argument or proof.

In discussing the railroad question, we must never lose sight of the fact that the railroad is the highway absolutely essential to the prosperity of the country, that it is a natural monopoly, and that the managers are the keepers of the highway, and as such the servants of the people. That wise old fellow, Solomon, once noted down on his ledger that "for three things the earth is disquieted, yea, four which it cannot bear," and one of these was "a servant when he ruleth." The railroads were chartered, encouraged and aided with donations and lands that they might be the servants of the people. What right have they, therefore, except as individuals and in their individual capacity, to meddle in any way with the legislation of the state or nation? The reason alleged is because they are afraid of granger legislation. Will the people quarrel with their public highways or with the management of them without reason? Do the farmers, who compose the majority of the population, ever organize to oppose anybody? Can they be brought into any sort of organization, even in their own defense, except under the extreme of suffering? Do the railroads which pay no attention to politics fare worse than the few that are in politics all the time?

To ask these questions is to answer them. The people naturally have no more motive to quarrel with the railroads than they have with their bread and butter, for they are as essential to the actual securing of the bread and butter as the lands are themselves. It is only under the stress of financial suffering that the people take a hand in correcting well-known abuses, and when this is done they go their ways, one to his farm and another to his merchandise.

This evil is one that is very deeply rooted. There is usually at every state capital what might be called the permanent lobby, which is especially active at conventions, in all the political parties, and during sessions of the legislature. It is not made up entirely of officials of the railroads, but of men some of whom may have political ambitions and others of whom are in it not for the office nor yet for their health, but for the purpose of blackmail in the shape of cold cash, as a reward for promoting or suppressing legislation. These men usually have close relations to railroads or their officials; sometimes, in fact, are secretly on their pay-roll, and are thus able to secure passes, by means of which they can pack political conventions and bring influence direct from home to encourage or to intimidate weak-minded, good-natured but undiscerning and unsuspicious representatives. They can thus defeat legislation aimed at the correction of railroad abuses and frequently secure the nomination of railroad commissioners who will act as buffers between the railroads and the people and defeat the very ends for which railroad commissions were established.

They can, furthermore, secure the nomination of judges who ride on free

passes unblushingly, which the railroads are quite anxious to give, and secure also the election of senators and representatives who have no hesitation in accepting not merely annual passes but telephone, express and telegraph franks. Under these circumstances, how can farmers and business men expect their will, which they intended to make known at the polls, to be enacted into laws? I think somewhere, either in Solomon's proverbs, or the constitution of the United States, or the declaration of independence, or some other hoary and respectable authority, I have read—or perhaps my grandmother told me half a century ago—that this is a government by the people, or that all power is vested in the people, or that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, or words to that effect.

I believe this is true in your townships, to a limited extent in your county government; but do you Kansas people really believe that your farmers, who comprise the large majority of the state, have very much to do in governing Kansas? I hope you have, but I don't believe it. You can if you will; but not until you attend your political conventions for the purpose of choosing the best men in your party; and you will never do this until you pay your railroad fare and hotel bills when you attend them; nor will you ever do it until you put your loyalty to right, justice and truth quite above your allegiance to your party. If the farmer goes to his farm and the merchant to his merchandise, and allows men who want the trip to go to the convention on passes and good-naturedly vote for the candidates of the men who gave them the passes, do not let me hear you complain. Jonah, even when he knew he was recreant to his duty "paid his fare and went." Until that time, you will have a government quite as free from corporation influence as you deserve. In fact, every state, city, and county, no matter how bad the government may be, has as good a government as it deserves. If you are not satisfied you have the remedy in your hands, although it may cost you some time and money. What is your citizenship worth if you are not willing to go to some expense and trouble in exercising it?

This pestilent interference of railroads in the politics of the state and nation is like what the Good Book tells us about the imaginations of man's heart—"evil, only evil, and that continually." It creates a bitter feeling between the railroads and the people, between whom there should be that close friendship which their mutual interests and mutual dependence require. It tends to make every grade cow killed by the cars a thoroughbred of the bluest blood, every bruise in a railway accident a broken bone, and every slight scare a case of nervous exhaustion. If the railroads would keep altogether out of politics and cut themselves loose from the gangs of lobbyists in the state capital, and send their broadest-minded men to present with perfect candor and honesty their interests before legislative committees, it would do away with a vast amount of the prejudice which now exists in the mind of the honest granger against railway corporations.

When I was a little boy, and under moral, mental and sometimes a threat of physical compulsion to recite the shorter catechism on Sabbath afternoons, I learned the distinction between sins of commission and sins of omission. I have had a good deal to say this afternoon about the sins of commission committed by the railroads. I have thought it well, therefore, to vary the program and rest you up a bit by concluding with one or two sins of omission.

Bearing in mind always that the highway is made for the country and not the country for the highway, it would seem to be a common-sense proposition that the keepers of the highway, who also are the carriers on it, should provide every facility for the free and expeditious movement of traffic. The entire country,

from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has been complaining of the deficiency in the means of transportation and of the famine of both cars and locomotives. Kansas farmers complain that they cannot get grain cars when they want them. Stockmen complain that they cannot ship their stock when it is ready to go; that when shipped the trains are delayed, often arriving at the market after the buyers have filled their orders, and have to be kept at great cost, both in money and shrinkage, until the following day. It seems to me that all this shows a pitiful lack of business capacity somewhere. Every other line of business tries to ascertain the amount of business in view, and prepares to meet it. The newspaper makes additions to its buildings, presses, and office force; it is the same with the manufacturer, the merchant, and with every other class of business men. Not only that, but they aim to have a reserve force which can be called upon in an emergency, so that the work can be done with the greatest profit, or at least without loss in unforeseen emergencies.

The amount of business to be done by a railroad should be capable of being ascertained with at least reasonable accuracy months beforehand. The station agents along the lines in Kansas ought to be able to report the acreage and crop prospects of the country tributary to their stations, the number of live stock on feed, the number of feeding cattle liable to be brought in, or fat cattle shipped out; should be able to estimate with reasonable accuracy the amount of in-haul, whether coal or merchandise. This would be simply good business. Delays would occur in securing equipments, especially in times like these, but they need be no longer and no greater than occur in every other line of business.

Through traffic cannot be so readily provided for, but it can be measurably anticipated. All this, it may be said, is easier said than done. Certainly it is; but it can be done as easily in railroading as in any other line. The business man who has no monopoly knows that if he does not get ready for business his competitor will, and he gets ready. If he has a monopoly, and knows the public must wait with what grace it can and with what loss it must, he will let the public wait. But even this does not pay. The people feel kindly toward a railroad, even if it has many shortcomings, if it gives them good and prompt service. They are cross and ugly when the service is poor. Who can blame them? Cannot the railroads see that if the delaying of stock in the shipment loses the shipper money the farmer will have just so much less money to spend? That every bushel of potatoes or apples lost for lack of transportation or frozen in transit impoverishes the farmer just that much? And, if the farmer is impoverished, the railroad, which is responsible, shares the loss. For farmers are free spenders in buildings, in living, in travel, and it is to the interest of every railroad manager to enrich the farmer to the utmost of his ability. Self-interest, if nothing else, should lead the railroads to provide themselves in some way with an equipment competent to handle the business.

Again, the keepers of the highway, as a rule, have failed to realize that their best interests and greatest prosperity lie in developing to the utmost of their ability the natural resources of the country through which their highway passes. It has been a matter of amazement to me for twenty-five years that railroad officials "scrap," cut rates, form combinations to keep from cutting rates, which they proceed in the next hour to break, and at last appeal to the government for help to keep them from cutting each others' throats, and all over traffic at competing points, which they must in any case divide, and at the same time neglect to get as much freight and as many passengers as possible from non-competing points in which they have a natural monopoly.

When hard times come, it seems to dawn upon some of them that they might

do something to encourage the farmers to grow more out-freight, and thus be able to build better houses and barns, to live better, and thus make more in-freight, go to their old homes oftener, or send their wives and daughters to visit their relatives. In the hard times of 1896, I was appealed to by more than one railroad to travel with a railroad official from station to station along their lines and hold institutes for the organization of creameries and the introduction of better methods of farming. I have not been asked to help in this work for four years, nor has any one else.

"When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he."

Kansas has a great wealth of undeveloped resources. Her yield of grain and grass can be almost doubled. Her capacity to produce live stock both in quality and quantity can be very greatly increased. Every railroad should have an industrial agent on each division who could be in touch with the public, who could give his personal services in establishing creameries and canning factories, who would know where grass was short and grain long, who could advise where to buy feeders on short grass for shipment to long grain, and know besides a thousand other things helpful to the farmer. Cannot these keepers of the highway see that their prosperity is bound up inseparably with the prosperity of the people along their lines; that if the farmers prosper they cannot help but prosper; that if they live from hand to mouth the railroad must live by the skin of its teeth? If the railroads will study how to promote the farmers' interests, the farmers will be their firm and lasting friends. You have taken each other for better or worse, and the better friends you are to each other the more prosperous you will be.

The railroads should understand that their true friend is not the man to whom they give a special rate and who is always looking for a still lower rate, but the many to whom they give just and equal rates; not the man to whom they have given a free pass as a courtesy in name but as a bribe in fact, but the many to whom they see far enough ahead to give a two-cent rate; or at least a 500 mile book for ten dollars, good until used by any member of the family. Do they suppose any farmer's wife can be kept from going to the nearest large city if there is a mileage book in the bureau drawer that she can use at two cents a mile? If the people of any country are to be educated, they must travel. Why are the cars one-fourth full at three cents per mile when they might have them two thirds full at two cents? The railroads need yet to learn that the secret of success in business lies in the large volume done at small profits rather than the small volume at large profits.

I know of no more weighty saying in all literature, sacred or profane, than that of the Master, "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant," which, translated into twentieth-century English, in its application to business of all kinds, is this: The editor, the merchant, the farmer or the railroad that would reach the highest prosperity must do the greatest service or make the service he renders of the greatest value to the man who receives it. The fortunes that last, the reputations that last, the glory that lasts, are won not by getting all you can out of men, but by helping them and enabling them to help themselves. This is the true measure of greatness, whether for man or corporation.

If the railroads of Kansas are to be permanently prosperous it can be only through the prosperity of the Kansas farmers. Even the steer will not thrive unless he is on good terms with his feeder. You must win the confidence of Kansas farmers if they are to do a pleasant and profitable business. That confidence can be secured only by fair and just dealing, and in no other way. The

farmers of Kansas are a fair-minded people and mean to be just, no matter what those who do not know them may say, but ugly customers if you either stroke the hair in the wrong way or do them any mean tricks.

If I am asked for remedies for the evils I have mentioned, I reply: There is no remedy except the recognition of the fact that the railroads of the country are the state and national highways, to be managed not solely for the benefit of the corporation, but for the purpose for which they were incorporated in the beginning, the promotion of the public welfare. It may require severe and drastic legislation to bring them to a recognition of this first principle. It will require a great deal of education to bring the farmer and the business man to a full understanding of their rights in this matter. They must be brought to realize, possibly in a painful way, that if the present conditions continue there will be grief in store, and that without measure. It is only when the tale of bricks is doubled that Moses comes.

If discriminations in favor of beef packers, elevator companies, lumber companies, coal companies and other large corporations continue; if railroads are gathered into systems, and systems into mergers; if rates are raised to increase dividends, and dividend-earning power is capitalized to increase bonded indebtedness, this result will surely follow: When panics and hard times come, as come they will, political revolution will be inevitable. Socialism, perhaps in its worst form, will make tremendous strides. The one consolation is, that no combination of capital, even if it embrace all the Morgans and Rockefellers, can for any great length of time pursue a policy that pauperizes the public. There are other safety-valves besides Mount Pelee.

So long as good crops and resulting good times continue, the farmers will submit to a good deal of imposition and outright wrong-doing, but when the tide turns, and organized capital fails to share public burden, there will surely come a day of reckoning. Whether in matters political, ecclesiastical, or financial, when great power falls into hands that use it for oppression, readjustment must follow or the onward progress of civilization would be checked. There is too much intelligence in the United States to permit injustice to become permanent, or the wealth of the country to remain long in the hands of the few.

In conclusion, the railroads are simply preparing the way and educating the people to the necessity of more complete government control, if not, in fact, government ownership, for which we are not ready now, but are getting ready very fast. I do not believe, theoretically, in government ownership. It can be justified only as a last resort. If the railroads succeed in eliminating competition and establish a nation-wide monopoly, then the only arm that can wield this monopoly safely is that of the nation, or, in other words, the government. In the present state of our civil service, this would bring disaster. In so far as the present methods lead to nation-wide monopoly, they both necessitate and at the same time prepare the way for ultimate government ownership.

DISCUSSION.

MR. GLEED: I had not understood that I was to be given opportunity to reply. The reading of the two papers will show you what the nature of this exercise was; that it was not a joint debate, but that it was two papers upon the subject. You will observe that my own paper was devoted to the proposition that it is neither wise nor just nor necessary for a government to attempt to limit the total earnings of a railroad company. The excellent paper you have listened to from Doctor Wallace is devoted mainly to the evils, as he sees them, and the remedies for discrimination; so that you will observe very readily, from comparing the two papers, that I had no notion of what Doctor Wallace was going to

say, and Doctor Wallace had not the slightest notion of what I was going to say. I am not going to attempt reply to any portions of his paper for two reasons: One is, I have not taken notes with that purpose in view; another, I know there are a great many of you who want to be heard on the subject yourselves. The only comment I am going to make relates to the political aspect of the subject.

Doctor Wallace seems to think that the railroads exercise undue influence in political matters. There are two very decided aspects to that proposition, and I want to just tell you a little incident to illustrate what I mean. You know that when John A. Anderson was under consideration for the presidency of the State Agricultural College, a distinguished citizen of Kansas, who had something of a prejudice against preachers, went up and looked him over to see if he would do for the job, and when he came back he said to a friend, "Well, Anderson is a preacher, but, really, he is n't preacher enough to hurt." I am a railroad attorney, but perhaps I am not really railroad attorney enough to hurt. But, at any rate, two years ago we had a legislature in session and I was representing one of the railroads in the state; and I thought we had a pretty intelligent legislature and that it was not necessary for me to devote my time to a consideration of questions of state; that the legislature could take care of itself, and so I did n't attend its sessions. A month or so after it had adjourned, a friend of mine came to me and said, "You know So-and-so? He was a member of the legislature." I said, "I have met him." "He has got in for you." "Why?" I asked. "Well, he said he had no use for that man Gleed who was too proud to come up and talk with the members of the legislature."

If there is any evil there, I just want to suggest that you, the farmers and the people, are entirely as much to blame as are the managers of the railroads. Is there a man here who makes it a constant rule to refuse, under any circumstances, to vote for a man he knows to be venal and corrupt and dishonest, if he happens to have the nomination of your party? I doubt whether there is one in this audience that can say he has constantly refused to vote for a man for the legislature that he knew to be unfit for the place. Much less is there a man in this audience that has constantly and energetically throughout his life worked and endeavored to send to the legislature only strong, reputable men out of his community, the best men his community afforded. The railroads don't like to give passes to members of the legislature. I know that. But what are they to do if the people send, say one out of five men to the legislature who are corrupt, who are blackmailers, and they demand the passes? They have the tremendous power, which Doctor Wallace says they ought to have, of destroying an industry, and what is the railroad going to do when they demand transportation? That is all I want to say.

J. W. Robison: It seems almost folly on my part to try to throw any new light on this subject, but it did appear to me that there were a few points that were not made quite clear. The cheapening of rates, as read to you, is perhaps correct as given in the books; but books sometimes mislead. You have been given the rates prevailing back in the late '60's and early '70's, which have been compared with the rates of to-day, and you are told they are from two to two and one-half times cheaper to-day than they were then. But our money has depreciated in about the same ratio. That being the case, we are paying the rate to-day that we paid when gold was worth two and a half times more. With all this increased traffic and mileage and ballasting and improved machinery, they are really receiving the same rate per mile per ton for transportation that they did at that time and at that higher rate. It seems that rates have n't come down at all. Why is this? They tell you truthfully and fairly that the improvement of the machinery

and of the road-bed and the ninety-pound rails have cheapened the rate of freight, but these roads have not yet given to the public the benefit of that cheapening. More than that, go on the principal roads to-day, and what do you see? You see engines 60 and 80 and perhaps 100 tons in weight, when the first engine that I saw on a railroad in the state of Illinois weighed the magnificent weight of four tons. In unloading from a boat it fell off the gangplank, sunk in the river, and eight or ten horses were required to pull it out.

It is no unusual thing, in my town of El Dorado, to see an engine with 100 cars behind it. It is going down-hill to the Gulf and coming back loaded, and, doing that both ways, as it is, why should that not cheapen the rate in proportion to the amount that one gang of men can serve or one set of rails can carry? We have been told that it is true that the cost was the same as to road-bed and ties, whether it did much or little, and not very much difference on the rail. Then we surely ought to have some benefit on that.

There is another point. Why should it cost nearly twice as much or very much more to haul that grain down-hill, 100 cars with one engine, than it does to haul it in connection with the Eastern roads? That is a question we have never been able to solve in our own minds. We thought it cost about the same to haul a train in one direction as another, excepting that the grade might cut some figure, and the grades are all apparently against the cheap hauling to the East instead of the Gulf. It is that species of discrimination that we find. It is not that they should not have fair rates. I believe they should, and I have found in my dealings with the shippers of Kansas that they are willing to pay fair and reasonable rates, and the courts have decided that they cannot get any more or other rate than a reasonable one. The reasonableness of that charge is what controls in the courts to day.

It has been said and told to you that we did not get together and did not get acquainted. The bondholder lives away down East and the farmer lives on the line of the road. That is true, and very nicely illustrated by the Bostonian and the Ohioan. But one point there the speaker neglected to mention: That the Bostonian had to get laws passed giving him powers that the Ohioan didn't have and could n't exercise. He had to have the right of eminent domain, to take and use and appropriate your land, whether you would or would not. He had the right to cross your highways and bridge your streams and do many things that you as individuals could not do. And there is where the rights of the people come in—to be able to control that semi-*quasi*-corporation. We should have something in return for the much we have given. There is the protection of the railroads. We know it costs a great deal more to the state to govern and control these railroads, with their adjuncts, than it does Mr. Buckeye's farm. It has been mentioned on this floor that we have even reached the stage where we have to protect the railroads against themselves. This is a new feature in the last few years that has come up in the great competition and mergers. Some of the largest suits pending in the courts have been of railroads protecting themselves and incidentally protecting the owners of the railroads represented by their bonds. That is just as righteous legislation as it is to protect the farmer. If the widow or the retired capitalist or farmer invests in bonds, they ought to be protected from the management of that road manipulating freights so that the bonds will not earn an unreasonable compensation.

The passes to the legislature seem to me a very light excuse on the part of the railroads. You have been told that if you elected legislators competent to represent the people, they would n't need to give them passes. I think a great many of the legislators are strangers to the railroad, but the railroads put them all in

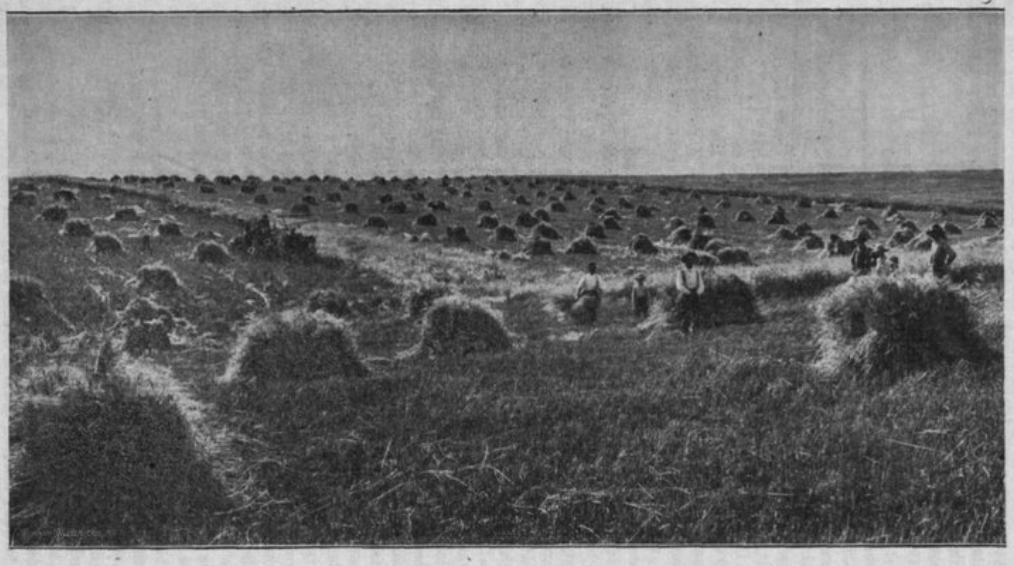
one class and send out the passes in a batch, to the competent and the incompetent alike. It seems a little strange that they classify them in one mass. I don't believe the railroads think they are all incompetent, and I don't believe they think a pass merely would influence some of those men.

The cost of the roads was mentioned by Mr. Wallace. The cost of the road construction now, to a certain point, is but little or no more than it was a few years ago; that is, when you make the same kind of a road. The cost for moving a square yard of earth is no more than it was thirty years ago, thanks to the new machinery used for that purpose. The cost of the engine is much more, but its power is much more. The corporations, it is said here, were created for private good only. We don't think that. We think that the corporations were created for the public good. The right of eminent domain was for the good of the people, as well as for the corporations making use of that right.

H. N. GAINES: You may not be aware of it, but there are in this state to-day about 100 cooperative shipping associations of farmers for the purpose of trying to ship their grain to the market to get better prices. It is known that a great discrimination exists against the farmers. These organizations wanted to build elevators, so they could have a place to combine their grain as a shipping association, and when a car was ready, load it and send it to market; but it is a fact beyond dispute that in many cases the railroads in the state refused the farmers the right to build an elevator on the right of way. I cite you to St. John, Stafford county, this state. I have been there and witnessed it. There the line elevators stand on the right of way, and the farmers' elevator stands off the right of way. It is this discrimination against the farmer that brings these attacks upon the railroad system. If the railroads will but let the farmers have the rights that they give to other citizens there will be no attack; there will be none of this avarice that you speak of.

At Solomon the farmers built an elevator. In a short time the grain dealers' association of this state was bidding three cents a bushel above the freight rate on the Kansas City prices. Do you believe those grain dealers at Solomon were taking that extra money out of their pockets? Rather are we not having simply a repetition of the Standard Oil example that Doctor Wallace pointed to in his able paper? I am not here to attack the railroads; I simply make these remarks in the interest of the farmer, and in the interest of the railroad, that the railroad officials may tear off their masks and give to the Kansas farmers the same rates and privileges they do to the grain dealers' association. This is all we ask or demand; and we are going to have it. The farmers have thirty-one elevators built, and a hundred organizations in the state, and these must have their effect. You should study and investigate this discrimination by the railroads against your interests, not only in the marketing of grain, but in the marketing of stock and other products, and when you have done that you will find the discrimination to be great enough to compel you, to a man, to go into a business organization of your own, to avoid paying a trust from five to ten cents a bushel for handling your grain.

At Meriden it was learned that the highest price the grain dealers paid for corn was thirty cents, while the price in Kansas City was forty-three cents. The railroad rate was less than four cents. You can see what the dealer took from the farmer; thirteen cents a bushel to market his corn. Was not that an unjust proportion compared with the amount of labor the farmer put in, day after day, to raise that corn? All that the farmers ask is that you do away with this discrimination and give them the same rights and the same privileges you give other people.



When the wheat is in the shock—"Out there in Kansas."

E. HARRINGTON: I have been in the grain business for sixteen years. I want to say to my farmer friends that unless they get better posted than my friend, Mr. Gaines, they will go out of business with more wisdom and less money. I shipped grain to the Kansas City market when it was worth forty-three cents. I bought it for thirty cents, and lost twenty dollars a car on the deal. I don't know how many times railroads may have refused to give permission to build elevators on the track, or right of way, but I do know the railroads want all the elevators along their tracks that they can get, because they want the grain concentrated. They want it in the elevators, so they can haul it when they have the rolling-stock at hand, and the more elevators, the more grain is concentrated when the cars come back.

This fall we have not been able to ship because of a shortage of cars. We tried hard to get them, but the cars had gone down to New Orleans, and the ship coming over from the old world to take their corn across the ocean got into a storm and did n't arrive, and corn and cars were held there fifteen days, until the tracks were blocked and the cars could n't be unloaded. There are times you are unjust to railroads. I worked for years for railroads to be built in my county. I voted for the first bonds ever voted in that county to build a railroad, thirty-three years ago. We got very little benefit. I have driven cattle thirty miles, to Atchison, and shipped them, for twenty dollars a car, when it would have cost me eighty dollars a car from Hiawatha. The country has developed, and the railroads are entitled to much credit for it; but they ought not to oppress us, nor should we oppress them. If the railroads would cut off passes entirely it would be a blessing. If railroad managers would say to the legislators, "We are not going to give passes to bribe you," it would be right and proper. Don't be too hard on the railroads, because they have largely built up the state of Kansas, and for years and years they made little or no dividends, and in the early days undoubtedly ran at an actual loss. Treat the railroads fairly, and I believe you will have less cause for complaint. Be just to the railroad companies, but be firm and fair.

THOS. M. POTTER: When I heard these two papers I felt that it would be a good thing if we could go to our homes and coolly and candidly digest the matter as it was so well presented by these two able gentlemen on either side. If the railroads wanted an advocate, I don't know where they could have gotten one that would have presented their cause more fairly and considerately and candidly than the one who came here. I don't think they selected our friend Gleed; I think our worthy secretary hunted him up, knowing the candid position he would take in the matter. I am sure the farmers of Kansas are proud of the work our friend Wallace has brought to us from time to time, and never more proud than they are to-night of the paper he has presented. But, what are you going to do about it? I don't know what we can add; there need be nothing added to either side of this subject—but what are you going to do about it? I read in my newspaper the last report from the interstate commission, showing that the net earnings are fifty million dollars more than they were last year. I read further, that the railroads of the country are contemplating a raise in rates. It is the same kind of report that came out about three years ago; and when we realize the gradual rise in the rates all over this land, we well know what the mutterings of the storm mean. Who is producing this trade, and who is paying this freight?

There is no question about who pays the freight. In addition to that, and as an excuse, they are becoming very philanthropic—and we are rejoiced to see it. I am talking about them as corporations. The railroad men, as men, are

some of the grandest I ever had the pleasure of doing business with; but the railroad men, as men employed by a corporation, have, as a duty for which they are paid, to represent that corporation and do just as we would do for anybody by whom we were employed—the best they can within bounds for that corporation. Don't you forget it! there was never a more able body of men than the railroad men. They are gentlemen and scholars and business men; but they are beginning to be very philanthropic; they have their ears as close to the ground as any individual ever has, and the murmurs of the people, the murmurs of the laboring classes about the high price of produce, the cost of living, the cost of fuel and food for the household, have come up to their ears, and we hear wired across the country "The Pennsylvania Central has raised the wages of its employees ten per cent." It is going to increase the cost of running that road ten million dollars. There is not a farmer in Kansas but what is glad the laboring man is to get a portion of that ten million dollars. We are all glad of it—but we have to pay it!

There is not a man within the sound of my voice who consumes coal who would not (if it would relieve the miner of the coal from his depressed condition) be glad to pay the extra rate per ton that it took to increase that wage, if that was all. But what do we hear? "In view of the increased expenses of running our railroads, the railroads will have to raise their rates about ten per cent.," which means they give a raise of ten millions to the laboring men and ask the farmers of the West (the payers of this freight) to pay three times that amount to encourage these corporations in their philanthropic purposes towards the laboring man. My friend Gleed will not stand up here and say that is fair. He is too fair-minded a man to say anything of that sort.

But what are you going to do about it? That is the question. What are you going to do about it? It has been stated that the railroads made this state. Yes, that Boston man did come out and did buy that 400-mile strip, and went through my farm, splitting it the long way. But did he come up to my house and talk to me about it? He sent a committee up there. They presented the philanthropic side of it. What do you suppose I asked him for going through my farm? I said, "Go through it." They went through a strip of bottom land and split my farm in two and gave me six dollars an acre! I didn't object to that at all. Some other land I had I gave them a right of way through—made them a present of it. Mr. Bostonian went on through to the end of the state with the strip of land. Did that make the great state of Kansas? I am looking into the faces of the representatives of those who made the state of Kansas! What would the Boston man have done if it had n't been for the Kansas spirit; if it had n't been for the pluck and energy that subdued these broad prairies and gave business to that Boston man's railroad?

Let us be fair about that Boston fellow. I am not discrediting the help he gave us. He made it possible for these intelligent men and women to come out here and rear their families. He should be a cooperator and partner with us in the business of building up a great state—and he was; but what kind of a partner? He hit the nail on the head when he said we are all human and are all kings, but we all have a little selfishness, and the Almighty made it so. He wanted it so we could take care of ourselves. Charity begins at home. Selfishness, rightly controlled, is one of the best characteristics we have. But what about this fellow with his 400-mile strip of land winding around among us? Were we as independent of him as I was of that Ohio neighbor he told about? Not a bit of it. The Ohio neighbor and I swapped yarns and swapped tools and exchanged work and all that sort of thing; we were comparatively independent

of each other, and still neighborly and dependent upon each other. Was the Boston man that way? When I went down to my Ohio neighbor and wanted to buy a little corn, I said, "You 've got some corn?" "Yes." "How much is it worth?" "Corn in market is worth fifty cents." "All right, neighbor, I will pay you that." Did the Boston man treat me that way? When I said, "I want to ride down to Kansas City on your train," what did he say? He said, "You can ride. It is a new country and a new railroad, and I will have to charge you ten cents a mile." Finally, when we got after his selfishness and tied him where he belonged, we got him down to three cents a mile, and that is what I have to pay. I can't make any trade with him. I can't make any bargain with him, as I did with my neighbor farmer. We have had to regulate him. His selfishness would have charged me ten cents a mile to this day if it had n't been that we regulated him.

When I want to ship my stock to market I have a competitive road; true, but I can't do as I do about anything else. I can't go to them and make a bargain about shipping my stock. I don't have anything to say about it. The Boston fellow is just as selfish about it as he was when he came here. But we regulated this Boston fellow once and got him down a little on certain things. The point I am driving at is this, What are you going to do about it? These are grand men and good men, and we could n't get along without the railroads. But right in the face of all this traffic, instead of lowering the rates, as all business principles would warrant them in doing, they are threatening us now with another raise. What are you going to do about it? That is what I want you to think about. Mr. Wallace has given a suggestion repugnant to some of us. I have all my life rebelled against public ownership. It is possible, though, that our Boston man may educate us and crowd us into a field that we have been loath to enter before. *What are you going to do about it?* I ask.

A. P. REARDON: I was a member of the grain-dealers' association for four or five years. In one year in Kansas City, through our organization, we benefited the farmers of Kansas and ourselves something over $12,000. The organization represented here by these gentlemen, the cattle dealers' association, benefited themselves also. They accomplish their ends by being organized. The railroads of our country are organized. It does n't matter whether a man is a democrat, republican, or what he is; when they go to work for their own interests, they work together. I believe it is time in Kansas for us to do the same thing. We ought to get together and organize and make our demands, and when we do that they will recognize our position and grant our requests.

RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION OF FINE STOCK —ITS EVILS.

By C. W. TAYLOR, Pearl, before Kansas Improved-stock Breeders' annual meeting, Topeka, January 12-14, 1903.

At the present time, this is one of the matters which should urge itself upon all shippers of stock, and particularly those handling the pure breeds.

The railroads accept our shipments and show us a schedule of time when they leave our station and when they should arrive at point of destination. This seems practically all the use they have for schedule, for after we have them loaded they handle them as they please. The trainmen cannot, with the present management, pay attention to schedule. They arrive at our stations late, and, of course, are entirely dependent upon the dispatcher. While he may do his best, in the present ways of railroading he cannot get them on the road on time,

for the reason that any engine coming from the shops listed to pull 550 tons, regardless of its condition, if sent out on the road sticks on a grade, breaks down, or has to double in to the next town. These engines are run just as long as they will hold together. A trainman recently told the writer he had not been able to have an engine repaired for eight days, and did not know whether he would be able to roll a wheel or not. A crew comes in off of a division twelve or fourteen hours late, and there is no question; but if its tonnage is short it must explain. A few years ago the making of time was the requisite; now it is all tonnage.

At the time for shipment we are shown another schedule, namely, freight rates. These do not vary nor are they behind time, but we must pay them fully or have no service. We pay our money for service we do not get, and under other circumstances the law would claim we had been defrauded. Getting our adjustment of a damage claim is a myth. If we get anything, the time and expense devoted to it will eat it up. This rate business is perhaps the greatest disadvantage the breeder has to contend with. In my experience, many parties wanting to purchase stock have objected so seriously to the high freight rates that I have lost the sales and they have bought inferior animals in their own vicinity. In cattle, for instance, the Western classification is something like this: A crated calf under one year old can be shipped at one and one-half times first-class rate, and anything over one year old takes the first-class rate; for a 200-pound calf shipped by freight you will be charged the same as for 500 pounds, or seventy-eight cents per hundred for each 100 miles, thus making a 200-pound calf cost $3.90 per 100 miles. Again, for a 700 pound calf, should he be over twelve months old, you are compelled to pay the rate for 2000 pounds, or, on a distance of 100 miles, it will cost $10.40. It costs $3.90 for a 500-pound calf (or anything under 500 pounds) for each 100 miles, and $10.40 for 700 pounds of anything over one year old, making the difference, 200 pounds, cost $6.50. Thus you pay $6.50 to ship 200 pounds 100 miles and $3.90 to ship 500 pounds the same distance. Before the company will accept your consignment at the above rate, you must sign a release in case of death or injury for an amount far below the animal's actual value. Horse rates are very much the same as cattle rates.

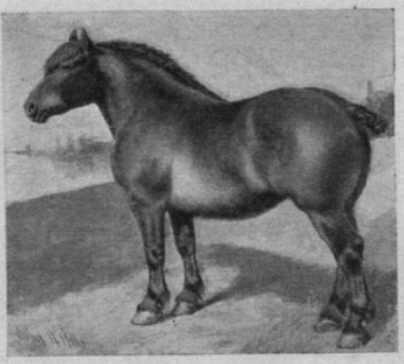
Let us look at the hog question. It is so dangerous to ship a hog by freight that, owing to disease which has been carried in this same car, a shipment of a single hog is hardly ever freighted. One dare not run the risk, so must ship by express. Should he be compelled to ship but a short distance, and have two express companies do the work, he must pay the drayage from one depot to the other and also pay a double rate of express. A man shipping a hog by express, say twenty-five miles with one company and ten miles with the other, is charged a double rate, or it costs him as much to ship thirty-five miles as it costs to ship 100 miles with one company. In expressing other fine stock the case is the same. Why not prorate?

Here is a man who is shipping one horse that he feels that he cannot get full value for at home, and the remainder of his fat hogs, which just fill a car. He has built a good partition to keep the horse separate from the hogs, but to his surprise finds that he must pay the highest rate for this common stock car, which is the horse rate, merely because he has loaded one horse. Thus he is charged for a full car of horses. The same applies to a mixed car of hogs and cattle. You pay for a full car for whichever requires the higher rate.

Stockmen are not often lawyers and do not know just what rights legislatures have with corporations. But could not grievances be adjusted by our legislatures? I am told by stockmen that the railroads are now making all the profits, owing to the way shipments are handled, and unless something can be done to remedy this evil it must and will work an even greater hardship to the breeder of pure-bred stock.

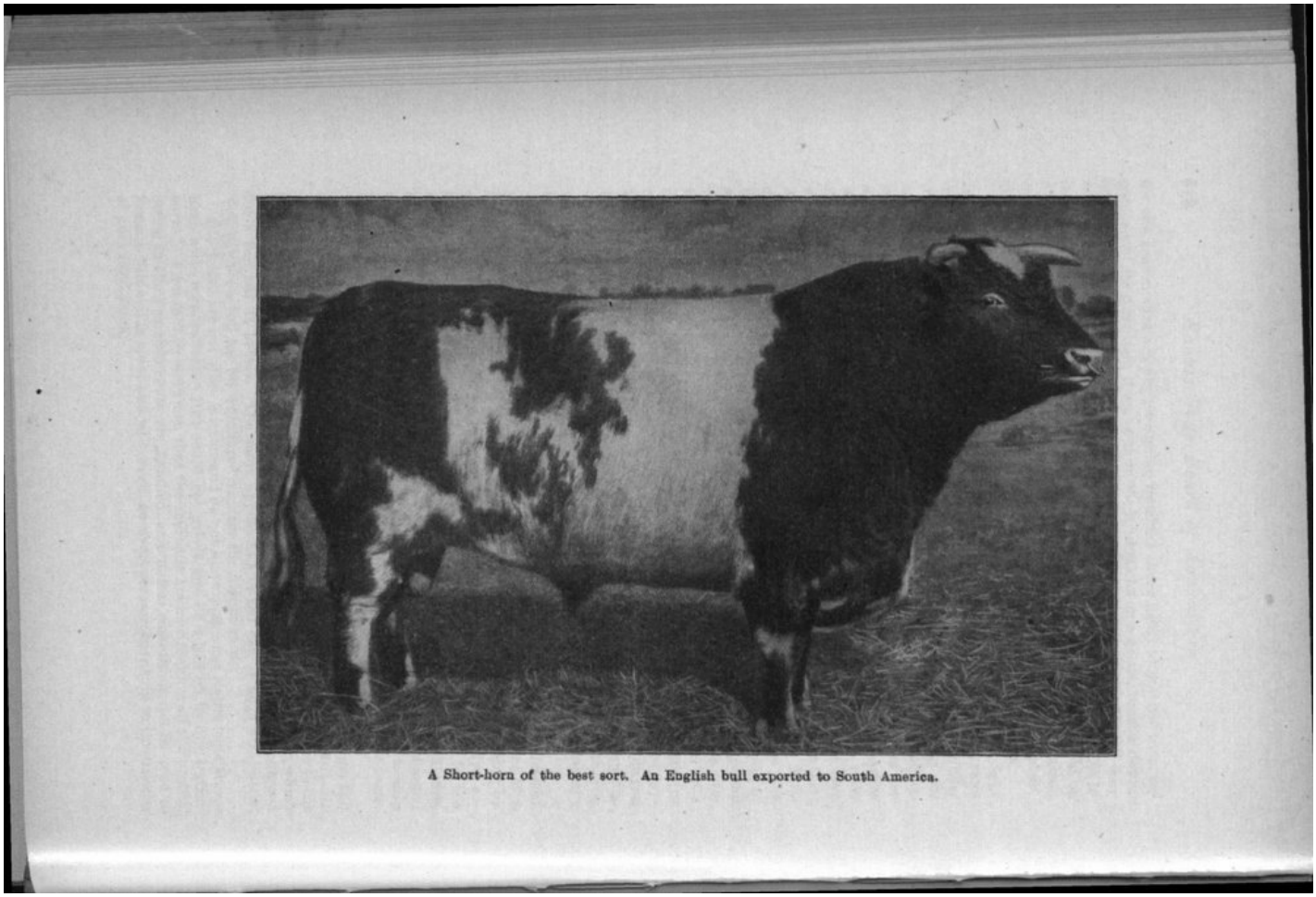
PART V.

VARIOUS LIVE STOCK.



Belgian Draft mare FANETTE 187, by CYCLONE 833, at two years.
Grand champion mare of her breed at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.

Transactions of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1903-1904



A Short-horn of the best sort. An English bull exported to South America.

VARIOUS LIVE STOCK.

THEIR BREEDING, REARING, IMPROVEMENT, AND CARE, WITH ECONOMY OF PRODUCTION AND INCREASED PROFIT IN VIEW.

LIVE-STOCK HUSBANDRY AND AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY.

By L. H. KERRICK, Bloomington, Ill., before the Board's thirty-second annual meeting.

I am very happy to be with you in this meeting. It is the first time I have had the opportunity of meeting the Kansas farmers, except here and there a few at our expositions, live-stock sales, etc. Those scattering ones I have met I thought were all right; they seemed to be my kind of men, and you look even better to me bunched up. I am reminded by your appearance of an incident in my experience which occurred at Chicago one time when my cattle were grand champions of the International. It was at the auction sale of the prize car-loads. There was a tremendous crush of people to get in sight of the auctioneers and the cattle. In the crowd was a lady whose dress and demeanor marked her as one accustomed to move in the upper circles of city life. She chanced to be standing by my brother, and was admiring the cattle generously—almost excessively. Presently she said to my brother: "I would like to see the man who raised the cattle." I was standing in plain view on the platform opposite, next to the auctioneer. My wife had cautioned me to have the mud scraped off my clothes, and to get my pantaloons out of my boot legs and drawn down over them nicely; and she herself had picked the chaff out of my ears, and combed the hay seed out of my hair and roached it up like, so that I was looking about my best. The lady gazed at me in astonishment for a moment, and broke forth, "Is that the man who raised the cattle? He looks quite intelligent!"

I think if the Chicago lady were here to-day she would say: "Are these the Kansas farmers? They look quite intelligent!" And I would be obliged to agree, except that I would not share her astonishment. The astonished lady is, or soon will be, a back number.

The attitude of the people toward farming and farm life and their estimate of them have greatly changed in the past few years. It is a change which betokens better things and better conditions of living for a far larger number of human beings. Formerly the general notion was that farming was a dull, simple, uninteresting kind of drudgery; simply a means of getting a living for people who could not get it any other way. And the farmer was by too many regarded an out-of-date, simple-minded, old-fashioned kind of person. Anybody could farm; you did not have to learn how; one just knew how without learning. There was not much to learn about it, anyway; there was no science, no art about it; you did not go to school to learn how to farm better; you went to school to learn how to do something else. Only those people farmed who could n't make something else go.

But this has all changed. Now, we regard agriculture as the great first busi-

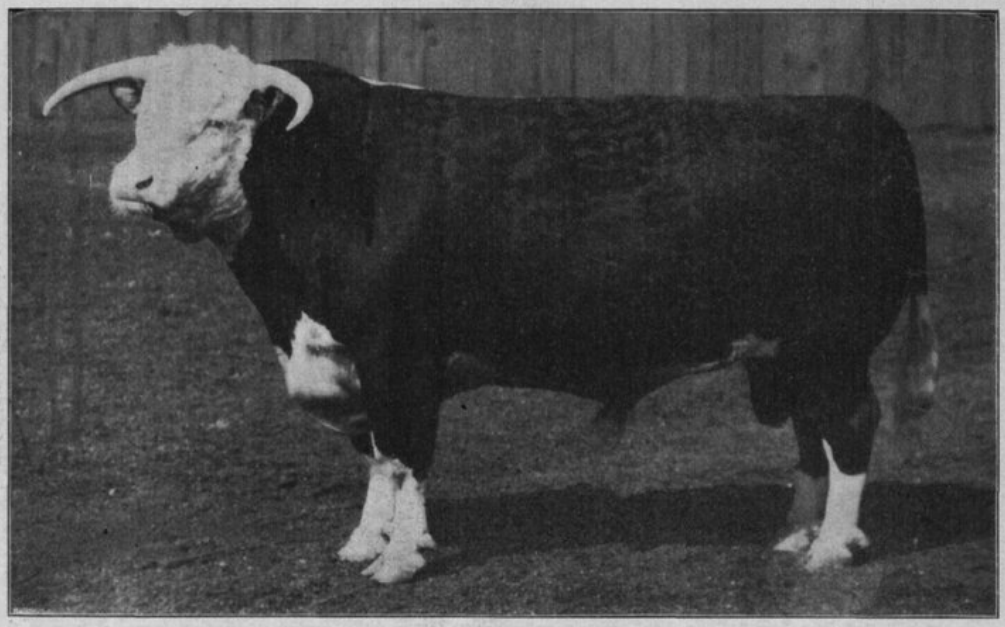
ness of the world. Now, we see that in its practice and in its processes the best of minds may find full, profitable and ennobling exercise for every faculty. Now, we know that farm life may be made the safest, happiest, most satisfactory of any. Now, we know that in no country and at no time can civilization take and hold a single step in advance of agriculture. Now, we know that the state and condition of agriculture at any time, in any country, is the just measure of the state of its civilization. Now, we see and know that agriculture goes before all, gives life to all, sustains all that is of worth and use in what we call civilization. Now, we know that every other trade, art, profession, craft or calling whatsoever is secondary to and dependent upon agriculture, because none could have being, place or use until agriculture gave it birth and sustenance. Agriculture is the mother and father of them all. We are astonished that we did not sooner see it in this light. Formerly we built colleges and universities to fit our youth for anything and everything except farming. Now, we have in the United States and territories more than fifty colleges and stations equipped and manned to acquire agricultural knowledge, develop agricultural science, and to teach this science and disseminate this knowledge. In the world there are nearly a thousand such institutions wherein every other science is made to subserve the master science, agricultural.

Are we not near to a time when, instead of being astonished at meeting intelligent farmers, it will be a matter of astonishment, and even of sadness, to meet any who are not intelligent? Already we begin to expect of the farmers we meet that they look and speak and act as men who know and understand and honor and magnify their great calling to farm.

Agricultural prosperity is a familiar phrase, a very common phrase, often and often used, and farthest from novel, startling, or sensational. Yet it is a phrase that could hardly be constructed to carry greater meaning. What does it not mean? Agricultural prosperity! What does it not mean except plenty, comfort, contentment, strength, security, peace, happiness to mankind? Some time I hope I may have leisure to write out all I have fancied that agricultural prosperity means, or would mean, to men, women, and children. If I never find the time on this side, then just as soon as I get to the heavenly land, and get settled, where the grass is ever green and water never failing, no blizzards, no floods, no drought, no debts to pay and none to collect, I 'll sit down some day and write out all that agricultural prosperity meant to me.

When real, enduring agricultural prosperity comes, there will come with it more good things for the race than I could name in all the time allotted me today—good things that I know of; and without doubt there would come many others that we have not even thought of. There will come with it a proper balance between farm and town population. Millions of half-fed, half-clothed, half-employed, half-educated, half-paid people, displaced, out of their natural place and home, massed in over-peopled cities, will be returned to the plentiful valleys, the green hillsides and the free air and sunlight of this beautiful world, their rightful and natural inheritance and home. When real agricultural prosperity comes, who can tell how much of the want, disease, degradation, disappointment and despair which now afflict mankind will go? How many economic and social questions, and questions between capital and labor, of which no solution now appears, will go? How much of the strife, unrest and crime which now disturb the peace of the country, and interfere with business and obstruct or defy the obligation of law, will go and be unheard of when general and permanent agricultural prosperity comes!

We are all painfully familiar with the deplorable condition existing and which



Hereford bull PRIME LAD 108911, by KANSAS LAD, JR., 75104, at four and one-half years.
Grand champion bull of his breed at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.

has existed for many months in the anthracite coal-region of Pennsylvania. We are all familiar with the dire effects of the disagreement there between capital and labor upon the business and the comfort of the whole country. We are familiar with the efforts of the president and others to patch up affairs and bring the parties to agreement, and allow the country to settle down again into its normal state and condition. If, through the agency of the president and the commissioners the present case is patched up temporarily, other disturbances of a similar nature will break out there, or in some other part. At the bottom of the whole matter, there are three miners in the anthracite district where there is only work for two. That is all there is of it. There can never be peace and good understanding there while such conditions exist. All the plans, projects, and isms, worthy and unworthy, which have been tried, and which may be tried, to cure the evils of a situation like that, will fail. Legislation, state or national, or both together, will neither help it nor cure it. Arbitration will never cure it. Nothing will cure it while there are three men with only living work for two.

Happily there is no such thing as overdoing good farming. That fact is to be the economical salvation of this world. I do not know why it is, nor how it is, but there never have been and never will be too many farmers nor too many good farm homes. Things were built that way and made that way by a wiser one than I. I only know it is true. It 's a good thing it is so. People are surer of the comforts and necessities of life and safer from its ills on the farm than in any other place. That is all I know about it. And there is no danger that there will be too many of them there. I am aware that I speak to representative farmers gathered from all parts of a great state. You are men and women of ability and substance and repute. Your words are heard with respect by your neighbors, and you have influence among them and over their conduct. Let me say for your comfort and encouragement that you could not be moved by higher nor more praiseworthy considerations than those which have brought you here, to confer about, to consider, to teach and to learn the ways and means of making the best and the most of farming and farm life. And when your sessions are concluded and you disperse, to return to your respective communities to carry to them what knowledge and help you have here gained, I would have you go inspired and nerved as men and women who go upon a noble, useful and practical mission of help to your fellow men.

If you are in any sense your neighbors' keepers, if it is wise and right that their wants and their welfare should be any concern of yours, then I do not know any way in which you can serve the largest number of men and women so well as you can by exerting yourselves in every proper place and season to magnify and beautify the business of farming and farm-home building. There is such a thing as getting enough, and even too much, of many very good things in this world. Of costly public buildings we may get enough, and even too many. We may get taxes high enough, and even too high. Of libraries and schools there is such a thing as getting enough, and even too many. We may get enough big towns, and even too many, and too big. There is such a thing as getting too many soldiers, forts, and battle-ships, and offices and officers. But there never were and never will be, in this or in any other country, too many comfortable farm homes wherein love and honor and plenty and contentment and peace may abide. Never have a fear, my friend, of overdoing your work of making farm life and labor more attractive, more satisfying, safer, more comfortable, more profitable.

Now, it may be some of you think I have forgotten the theme that I have been appointed to speak about, "Live-stock Husbandry and Agricultural Prosperity." Not for a moment. Secretary Coburn did not limit me to cattle and

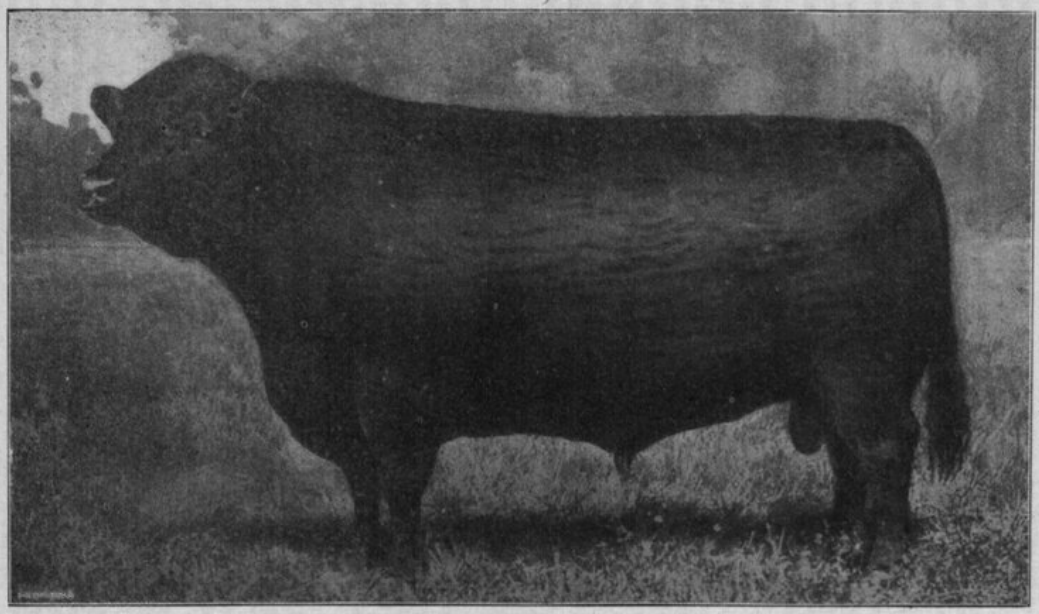
horses and swine and sheep when he put the words "live stock" into my theme. I am trying to raise these in the best way, but it is people—men and women and children—that are the most valuable live stock, and they are the kind of live stock I have in mind spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Wherever and whenever there is the largest measure of agricultural prosperity, then and there the largest number of human beings can be made the happiest, the most comfortable, the most secure. Wherever and whenever there are the largest number of good, comfortable farm homes, there the largest number of boys and girls will be well fed, well clothed, well educated and well trained by useful work for the battle of life. If we once catch a glimpse of all the great things which agricultural prosperity means, then we are ready to inquire more earnestly for those things which will contribute most effectually and most directly to agricultural prosperity.

Speaking of things material, I would say that agricultural prosperity is the *greatest good*—the thing worth striving hardest for by statesman, philanthropist, and patriot. I am here, I know, to speak of the relation of live-stock husbandry to agricultural prosperity, but there are a good many things outside the farm that may contribute to and aid agricultural prosperity; and there are a whole lot of things outside the farm that may hinder and almost destroy agricultural prosperity. If I should permit my mind to dwell on these, the temptation to take a whirl at them, even in this farmers' meeting, would almost certainly be too much for me.

Riding across your rich prairie country, noting your need of more and better houses to live in, and more and better barns to store your harvests and shelter your stock, and thinking, then, of our fast dwindling supply of saw timber and the high and higher going price of lumber, I ask, What is the sense or justice or statesmanship in any tariff on imported lumber which you need, and should be able to get anywhere you can get it cheapest and best? And what is the sense or justice or statesmanship in a sky-scraper tariff on the nails and other hardware you need in the construction of these houses and barns, and on the wire and staples for the fences you must have in order that your farm may be divided into such fields and lots as will enable you to till and use it to the best advantage? And then I thought of the vast live-stock interests of the country, and the recent close call we had for infection with foot-and-mouth disease, and that in all probability that disease was introduced with free hides bought up from the four corners of the earth—yes, free hides, because (maybe you know it) the New England leather manufacturer has all duties on the hides he buys rebated if he exports the manufactured leather.

And there he is—a free-trader to buy, but protected when he sells to you—buying hides from Kamtchatka to Cape Horn, while you may sell your hides where you can and buy your shoes where you must, and fight foot-and-mouth disease between times. Is this politics? No. There is no more politics in it than there is in shucking corn, feeding a steer, or building a fire in your cook-stove for your wife to get the family breakfast.

I will say nothing ugly about you or other farmers, but you may call me a dry-land lobster or an agricultural chump when I get afraid to speak of these things in any kind of a meeting short of a funeral or the regular Sunday services. If there are evils and injustices in our tariff laws, such as I have noticed, who must correct them? *The farmers.* The other fellows will never do it. Who has the right to correct these? *The farmers.* This is a farmers' country still, with all our boasted power and prestige as a manufacturing country. Besides supplying our own eighty million people, the farmers of the United States send



Galloway bull WORTHY 3D 21228 (7762), by GRACE ROYAL (7123), at four years.
Grand champion of his breed at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.

abroad nearly one billion dollars' worth of agricultural products annually; our manufacturers, all together, send less than half that amount. Agriculture is in fact and of right the imperial industry of these United States, and the sphere of agricultural influence rightfully extends to and should control in all legislation affecting agricultural interests. Tariff laws, or any laws, that unfavorably or unfairly affect agriculture should be revised or repealed. It is absurd that the greater interest—the general interest—should be dominated by the lesser and the special interest.

Within a few years we have seen prodigious development and growth in our commercial and manufacturing interests. Wealth is increasing rapidly. But it does not appear to me that agriculture is sharing equitably, nor that it can, under existing tariff laws, in this prosperity. I do not see an increase in the number of good barns and more comfortable farm houses at all corresponding to the tremendous growth and gain in manufacturing and other interests not agricultural. The farmers of the United States have been selling an enormous surplus for many years. Where has the money gone? It is my opinion that more than a fair share of it has gone and is going to pay arbitrary and, sometimes, exorbitant prices for highly protected articles of manufacture which the farmers have to buy. But your lands are rich and, under your intelligent cultivation, yield abundantly. You can bear heavy burdens, if necessary or expedient; and if that were all, your rational solicitude for the well-being of domestic manufacturing industries might furnish reason for longer maintaining high protective tariffs.

But our manufacturers are now invading foreign markets to an extent which threatens your market for your surplus farm products. Farmers can have no hard and-fast bargain with protection which enables the manufacturer to hold this market firmly in one hand while with the other he grasps for foreign markets regardless of farmers' rights in those markets. The American farmer wants and must have a friendly world to buy and use his surplus. Our high protective tariffs and the American commercial invasion of Europe, of which we hear so much, are not likely to incline European countries to favor American farm products. On the contrary, they provoke legislation hostile to them.

That the policy of protecting our manufacturers from outside competition in this home market has been in the past a wise one there is not a doubt. The benefits of protection have been obvious and they have been general, all classes participating. That the policy, greatly modified, may be continued with benefit, I fully believe; but that radical revision and material reduction of tariffs ought not to be postponed is plain. To postpone may be to arouse a revulsion of sentiment that will sweep the statute-books clean of protective-tariff laws. No well-meaning protectionist ever dreamed of nursing a manufacturing interest here until it should grow rich enough and strong enough to go out and take the earth. Europe is the natural, rightful market for the American farmer's surplus. Laws endangering or tending to endanger that market must go. With bars down and handicaps off, if the American manufacturer can outrun the American farmer for the markets of Europe, let him have them. By that he will prove his right to them. But he may not expect of the American farmer that he will continue to wall himself in and gird the manufacturer up with high protective tariffs to make him sure of winning in the race.

But there is nothing off the farm nor outside the farm that can bring agricultural prosperity to poor farming. Good farming is the first and indispensable requisite of agricultural prosperity. There are many things agricultural that are still in the experimental stage, but there are also some things which we know, that are settled. One of the things I count as settled and proved is that good

farming cannot be disassociated from live-stock breeding, raising, and feeding. I would sooner try to breed and raise and feed live stock without farming than to try to farm without breeding and raising and feeding live stock. That is, if I had to choose between the two, I would put all our farm down to pasture, keep live stock to graze it, and buy of my neighbors all other feed needed, rather than put all of our farm in corn and oats and other crops to be harvested and sold off the farm, keeping no live stock to consume it. What is good farming? Good farming of a piece of land of a given degree of natural fertility is that kind which will get from it in a series of years normal yields of the crops sown or planted without deteriorating or lessening the fertility, but increasing it. I doubt if one has the moral right to occupy and farm land in a way which year by year inevitably lessens its producing capacity.

There cannot exist anywhere permanent agricultural prosperity where the system of farming is of the kind that certainly, however gradually and slowly, lessens the fertility of the soil. It would hardly seem necessary to still keep warning intelligent farmers that crop and sell off, crop and sell off, is simply selling the farm in that way; slowly it may be, but surely. Commercial fertilizers will not save it. Millions have been spent for commercial fertilizers, in regions I am acquainted with, in vain attempts to maintain fertility where live-stock husbandry has been for the most part abandoned; but the deterioration and loss of fertility go steadily forward, and there is consequent lessening of agricultural prosperity, and the prices and rentals of lands grow comparatively less and less. The only known practical method of maintaining or increasing the fertility of the soil of the farm, while we are taking the crops out of it year after year, is to keep live stock to consume some due proportion of those crops.

But still there are many who will question the statement. Frequently I hear a man say something like this: "There is that Harker farm; I have known it for twenty-five years. It has been cropped constantly. No live stock except the horses used to work it and a couple of milch cows. Not more than eight or ten acres of pasture ever, and to my certain knowledge that farm yields as much as it did twenty-five years ago." Such instances there are for a fact; but the whole truth does not appear in this statement. Twenty-five years ago the fields were traversed in awkward directions with many wide, fertile sloughs, which yielded nothing owing to a lack of proper drainage. Most of the land under cultivation was often worked when not in proper condition. The methods of tilling that farm twenty-five years ago were not such as now. Weeds were left to divide the plant-food with the crops, but these are now carefully eradicated. The corn roots were ruthlessly cut and torn by excessively deep cultivation. Seed was not selected with intelligent care; any kind that would grow was sown and planted. All is different now. The farm is tiled; those wide, fertile sloughs are producing big crops. Instead of a menace and hindrance, they are now the main reliance. The oats sown is treated for smut; the corn is selected according to approved rules and standards, and tested before planting.

It may easily be that, as a whole, the farm produces more now than twenty-five years ago, but just the same, as a whole, that farm has been and is gradually and surely losing fertility, and the possible yield on the whole farm is gradually growing less and less. Now, let us see where we are. We have seen that good farming is the mainstay of agricultural prosperity. We have seen, also, that nothing less than that kind of farming which at least maintains natural fertility can be called good farming. And we have seen that the only practical method of maintaining fertility is by combining live-stock husbandry with our other farm processes. If we have seen aright, then the next and natural inquiry

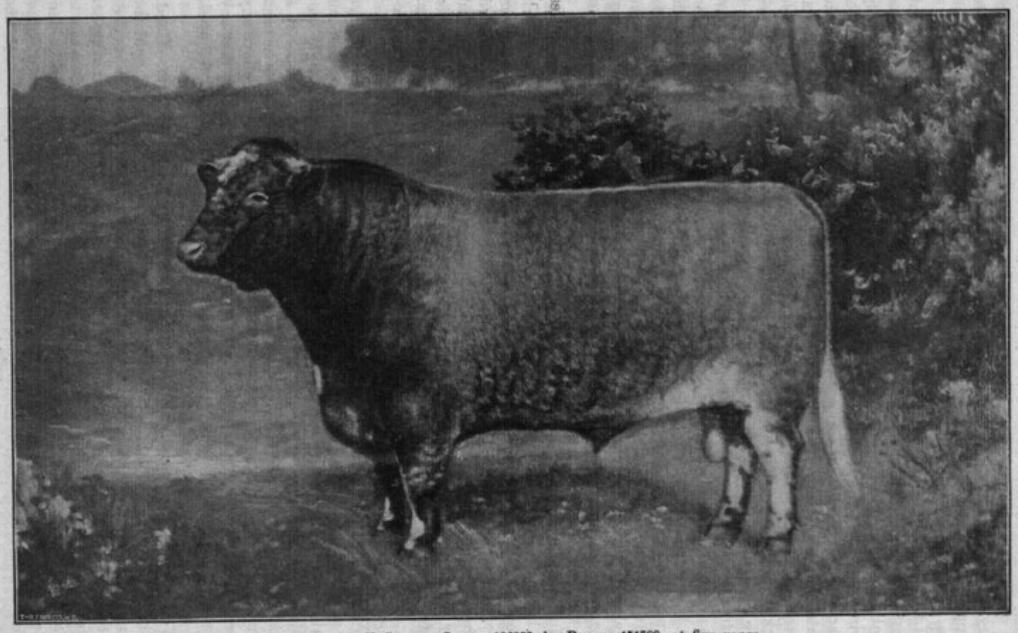
is for the best, most practical, most economical, most profitable methods of breeding, feeding and handling the classes and kinds of live stock suited to our conditions. Kansas farmers, and all of us, are right up against that inquiry. If we have the eyes to see the situation, and if we have in us the stuff to grapple with it, and master it, it will be well for the future prosperity of agriculture.

Live-stock husbandry is a higher branch of farm study. It calls for the completest exercise of faculties only partially engaged in the ordinary routine of planting, tilling, and gathering. It is a more difficult business than simply sowing and reaping, but as it is more difficult it is more interesting. I heard a preacher say a Sunday or two ago that it required greater wisdom and power to create the lowest form of animal life than it did to create the whole material universe. I am inclined to believe that many farmers do not raise more live stock because, in order to succeed with it and make profit out of it, it requires more thought and study and care than they are willing to give. It is easier, I am free to admit, just to plow some ground, and plant or sow and till, and harvest and haul to market, and loaf away the time not required in that work, than it is to study out approved methods of breeding and feeding live stock, and to do the work and have the care we must in order to make a success of it and make profit out of it. But how are we to get on and up with anything? How are we to gain knowledge of anything, or excellence in anything, or profit in anything, if we just give up and lie down before the work and effort that stand between us and that knowledge and excellence and profit?

Instead of avoiding live-stock breeding and rearing because of its difficulties, and because of the knowledge and skill and care required to make it successful, I would assign these as leading reasons for engaging in it. We do not farm merely to make a living. If that were all, while our lands are still unexhausted of their fertility we might possibly make a living with least exertion of mind and body by simply raising some corn, oats and hay to exchange for the necessities of life. But, my friends, we must get more out of our business than a mere living. We must get mental and moral exercise, discipline and strength of character out of it as well.

We have heard and read much in recent years about the great hegira of boys and girls and older ones from the farm to the town. That great movement of rural population toward the city was probably the most ominous single economic fact of the last quarter of a century. It gave agricultural prosperity a black eye that will be a long time clearing up. The movement may have been without good cause, but it had a cause, as all things have. I do not believe any excessive number of boys and girls left the farms and farm homes, or that any excessive number are now leaving them, where flocks and herds of well-bred, well-kept live stock were and are found.

You all know the characteristics of the exclusive grain-farming farm. Good, straight-up fences are not particularly needed; temporary cribs will hold the corn till dry enough to shell; a little stabling or shelter holds the horses needed; a little, old, inconvenient house can be made to do; the occupant, whether renter or owner, is not thinking of living his life there. It is not worth while to replant the orchard, nor put a better fence around the excuse for a garden. There are no green pastures; they are not needed, and could not be used. Just fields; fields of raw dirt, open seven or eight months of the year to wash and leach by rains and baking sun, gullied by torrents, unhindered by opposing grass roots. There is some plowing and harrowing in the spring, some planting and tilling; then corn-husking this year, the same next year, and the next, and the



Short-horn bull CHOICE GOODS 186802, by REMUS 151790, at five years.
Grand champion bull of his breed at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.