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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC ROAD INQUIRIES—BULLETIN NO. 26.

MARTIN DODGE, Director.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL GOOD ROADS CONVENTION

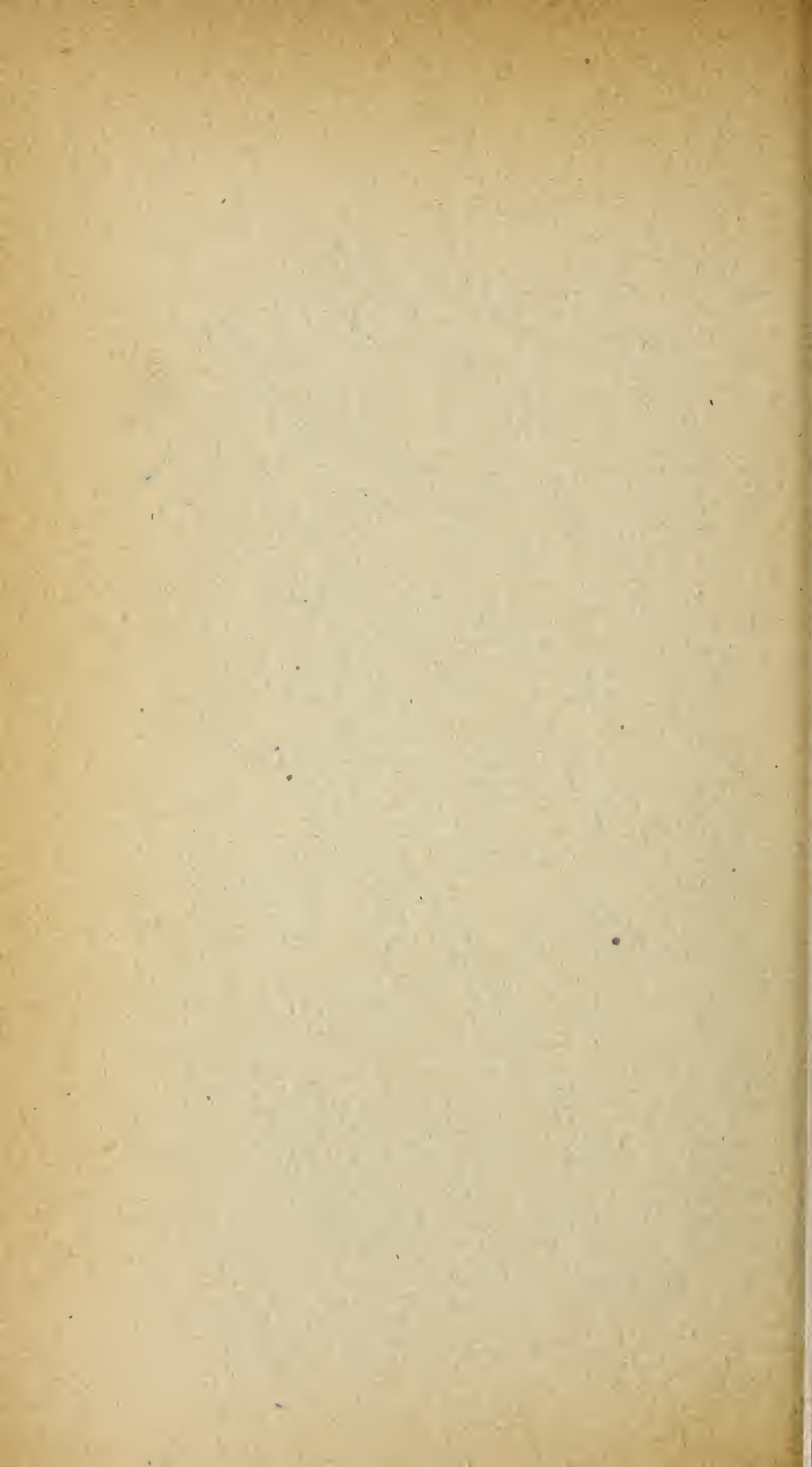
HELD AT

ST. LOUIS, MO., APRIL 27 TO 29, 1903.



WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

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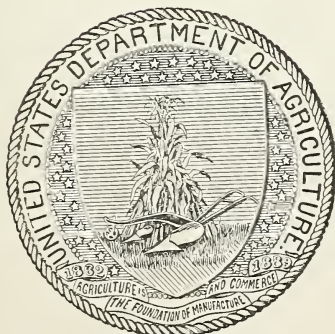
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF PUBLIC ROAD INQUIRIES,
Washington, D. C., June 3, 1903.

SIR: I submit herewith a report of the proceedings of the National Good Roads Convention held at St. Louis, Mo., April 27 to 29, 1903. This convention was largely attended, most of the States and Territories being represented. Among the distinguished speakers who delivered addresses were Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States; Hon. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska; General Miles, of the U. S. Army; Governor Dockery, of Missouri; Governor Cummins, of Iowa; Hon. A. C. Latimer, United States Senator from South Carolina; Hon. W. D. Vandiver, member of Congress from Missouri; Hon. D. R. Francis, president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition committee; Hon. J. H. Brigham, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Gen. Roy Stone, of New York, and Mr. Samuel Hill, of Washington. Addresses were also delivered by prominent men engaged in agriculture, railway transportation, commercial pursuits, and newspaper work. The speakers dealt mainly with methods and materials for building and improving the common roads, the methods of raising funds to pay the expenses of such work, and the needed legislation.

Believing that the publication of this report will greatly help to advance the cause of road improvement throughout the country, thereby benefiting the whole people, I recommend its publication as Bulletin No. 26 of this Office.

Very respectfully,

MARTIN DODGE,
Director.

Hon. JAMES WILSON,
Secretary of Agriculture.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL GOOD ROADS CONVENTION,
HELD AT ST. LOUIS, MO., APRIL 27 TO 29, 1903.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY, APRIL 27—MORNING SESSION.

The National Good Roads Convention met in the Odeon, and was called to order by Mr. L. D. Kingsland, chairman of the local committee of arrangements.

The Rev. Samuel J. Niccolls offered the invocation.

MR. KINGSLAND. On behalf of the commercial and industrial organizations of the city of St. Louis I welcome the delegates of the National Good Roads Association to this hall. The people of St. Louis are very earnest in their advocacy of good roads, and they will watch with great earnestness the course of your deliberations. They feel that this is one of the most important subjects before the people of this country. Every man, woman, and child in this broad country is directly interested in it. We hope that your deliberations will result in giving a direct and immediate impetus to the making of good roads. We are glad to see representatives here from all parts of the country. We hope to see more to-morrow.

I desire now to introduce to you a man who has interviewed all classes of people, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. This man is Col. W. H. Moore, the president of your association.

Mr. Moore then came forward and, after saying a few words to the convention, introduced the Hon. Rolla Wells, mayor of the city of St. Louis, who welcomed the convention to the city.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

By Mayor ROLLA WELLS, *of St. Louis, Mo.*

I have no doubt that this convention will prove a great success and your deliberations result in great good.

I am informed that the object of this convention is the betterment of our social and commercial intercourse through the construction and maintenance of good roads. This is a most important question, but one in which, I fear, I am not well versed. I will not, therefore, attempt to encroach upon the time of others who are better able than I to entertain and instruct you.

I heartily extend to all the delegates in attendance at this convention a most cordial official welcome. I trust that your visit to this city will be most enjoyable

and that all the people of this country will derive pleasure and profit from the deliberations of this body. The hospitality of our citizens is at your command. The freedom of the city is yours.

PRESIDENT MOORE. It gives me great pleasure to present to you a gentleman prominent in the affairs of the nation. As a member of Congress at Washington he has been a wheel horse in working for the people. He is a strong advocate of the improvement of common roads. I have the honor to present to you Governor Dockery, of Missouri.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

By HON. A. M. DOCKERY, *Governor of Missouri.*

I am here to-day at the invitation of your president to supplement the welcome of the mayor of this great city. In behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Missouri I extend to you a most cordial welcome. We are delighted to have you in our midst and to know that you are entering upon a work which is, in my judgment, scarcely inferior to any that now engages popular attention—a work of progress made possible only by the most enlightened citizenship. Good roads—steam, electric, and turnpike—are essential to the complete development of any country.

Even in the most primitive neighborhoods some sort of roadway is soon established. The first settlers blazed pathways through almost impenetrable forests or by frequent use wore trails across trackless plains or over rugged mountains. These original roads marked the beginning of civilization. Their improvement evidences the progress which time, necessity, invention, and varied accomplishments have brought to us.

Time has wrought wonders in the development of roadways. The rough corduroy road of the early period was the means of rapid transit by stage coach. This method of transportation was soon supplemented by the swifter pony express, carrying mail and small packages to distant points. With the advent of steam and electricity came the lightning express train, with almost incredible feats of speed in transporting persons and property. And now the minds of men are intent upon solving the problem of aerial navigation, which, if successful, would open up a mode of travel and communication almost limitless in its possibilities.

The wonderful discoveries and practical application of steam and electricity as motive powers have brought into close relationship the nations of the earth. Distance has been practically annihilated by modern methods of transportation. The systems of railways, both steam and electric, are seemingly approaching perfection. Very few counties of Missouri and of the great West, not to mention the older States of the East, lack the advantages of such means of communication. The people have been prompt and public-spirited in their response to the necessity for the construction of railways. The demand, however, for improved wagon roads does not seem to have found so fixed a lodgment in the public mind.

The time has fully come when our great railway systems should be supplemented by a system of improved public roads. It is true that we have made marked advancement in this direction during the past century, but very much remains to be done.

This country and this Commonwealth have achieved much in the development of their almost illimitable resources. Our own State, however, in the improvement of the country roads has scarcely kept pace with the age in which we live. This criticism, that may be fairly urged against Missouri, applies with equal force and effect to many States in the Union. Our people must be awakened to the necessity for improved country roads. This reform is imperative and it can be secured only by

agitation. But nothing of importance can be done in this line until the people shall be willing to impose upon themselves taxation. I have noted here and there in Missouri a disposition to favor good roads provided they cost nothing. This great reform can never be accomplished unless we touch elbows with the great rank and file of the people and get a ground swell from the people, so that the State may put upon the statute books laws which, under a wise system, shall authorize taxation to build and improve roads.

I speak with some knowledge of this question, because I once held the office of road overseer. I want to say that Missouri and Illinois, and every other State of the West, will be laggards in this work so long as the existing system of attempting to "work the roads" is maintained. There is but one way, and that is to arouse the people to action, so that they will be willing to tax themselves and contribute of their abundant resources. If our people, with the same spirit they manifested just after the close of the civil war in respect to railway construction, will contribute as they should out of the abundance with which the Almighty has endowed them, we shall have turnpikes in Missouri and other improvements in roads that will advance the value of every acre of land and swell the valuation of every dollar's worth of property. It will set this State moving at a more rapid pace in the grand march of national development.

And now I again extend to you a cordial welcome in behalf of this glorious Commonwealth. I trust that the labors of this convention may quicken the public spirit among the people and start a wave of reform that shall send representatives to Jefferson City two years hence who will put laws upon our statute books giving us improved highways, increased prosperity and wealth, and still greater advancement.

PRESIDENT MOORE. It certainly must be to many of you a great satisfaction to witness such evidence of interest in the problem of which the eloquent governor has just spoken. On the one hand, we see distinguished United States Senators and Representatives; on the other, the head of the Army of the United States, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, who does not come here merely to show his interest by his presence, but because he has been a builder of roads himself, and to-morrow he will tell you something about it.

Without the assistance of the gentleman whom I am about to introduce to you this convention would not be here to-day. When we laid the matter before him last fall and showed him what we thought we could do, he said: "I thoroughly approve all this work. Go ahead and call your convention and, on behalf of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, I will guarantee half the expenses myself."

I now have the honor and pleasure of introducing to you that man, the Hon. David R. Francis, president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

ADDRESS ON THE EXPOSITION.

By President D. R. FRANCIS, *of St. Louis, Mo.*

I desire first to congratulate the Good Roads Association upon the very auspicious opening of this convention.

You need not be told by me what the benefits of good roads are. Our governor, who has preceded me, has told you of the means that should be adopted and the methods that should be pursued in order to accomplish this most desirable end.

When I had the honor to be the chief executive of this State, I considered for more than a year the advisability of putting the convicts of the penitentiary upon the public highways of the State, in order that the labor of these convicts might be employed in a way which I thought would be most beneficial to the people of the State. A recommendation to that effect was never made to the legislature by me because it seemed impracticable to carry out the plan. I wish that some one would discover a feasible way whereby this labor in the State penitentiary can be used for the improvement of the public highways of the State.

Your presiding officer has spoken of a work in which I am engaged, and that I believe is the subject upon which I am expected to speak. That work is an international or universal exposition. I think that you will be gratified to learn that this exposition has never lost sight of the great object that brings you together to-day. It is the desire of the management to discover the best material from which roads can be made. We shall permit those interested in different kinds of road-making material and the different designers of plans for country roads to display their materials and plans in order that people of all sections may determine which are the best materials and methods for making public highways.

We hope, also, by having another great international good roads convention in connection with the exposition to increase the interest which is felt in this country and throughout the world in the making of good roads. If any of you have been in countries where there are good roads, you know how much easier life is there. I can remember when I was living on a farm myself. The farm was not on a turnpike, but 3 miles away from it, and if we had been able to devote to tilling the soil and looking after the stock the energy and time wasted in traversing those 3 miles of dirt road we would have been able to pay fifty times over the interest on the money required to build 3 miles of good road.

It is not only desirable, from the selfish standpoint of material interest, to have good roads regardless of their cost, but from the standpoint of your own pleasure, the culture of a community, and the enlightenment of the individuals who traverse these roads. It is not only wise, but it is a duty to remove an obstacle to advancement which can be so easily removed as bad roads. An amendment to the constitution of the State, to improve the highways by a direct tax upon the people of the entire Commonwealth, or to sell the bonded indebtedness of the State to meet the expense, from a commercial standpoint, would be a wise thing to adopt. The interest upon the millions of dollars that would be required to improve these highways would be a mere bagatelle to the people of Missouri. Suppose \$100,000,000 should be invested in the improvement of the public highways of this State and the money raised by the sale of State bonds. These could be floated at 3 per cent. The annual interest upon this debt would be \$3,000,000. The assessed value of the property of this State is about \$1,250,000,000.

Now, in order to raise \$3,000,000 per year, a tax of only 25 cents on \$100 would be necessary. And what would be the result on the material interests of Missouri? The average increase in the value of the lands in Missouri would be at least \$5 per acre. The labor that you now have to expend in order to reach your county seats or to market the products of the forest and the farm would be diminished by one-half.

I am not advocating the idea that Missouri or any other State should pursue a policy of this kind. I think the people of the different States are not ready for such a broad plan; but I am attempting to demonstrate that, from the material standpoint, the standpoint of wise investment, it would be advisable, if the roads can not be improved in any other way, to impose a debt upon the people of the State in order to improve them.

In traveling through Europe about two months ago, in pursuance of official duties, I was impressed with the very superior roadways of that continent. Ours can not be classed with them. They have good roads through France, Germany, and Bel-

gium, and the result is that people from the United States go from their homes to Europe and take with them their automobiles and their teams of horses, in order to have the pleasure of riding for a hundred miles or so upon good highways. It is a very ordinary circumstance in France or Germany or Belgium to hear of Americans who are starting out upon a tour of 50 or 100 miles in parties of three or four vehicles and twenty to fifty people. They spend large amounts of money in the country through which these tours are taken. What is left there by the tourists who take advantage of these good roads is itself sufficient to pay the interest upon the cost of those roads.

From every point of view a good road is an addition and a great benefit to the section through which it is constructed. We have gone through an experience in this city in regard to streets which ought to demonstrate what would be the result of the construction of good roads through the farming districts. The street improvement of this city began about the time I was elected mayor of St. Louis, eighteen years ago this month. At first there was very decided opposition to the taxing of the abutting property for the reconstruction of the streets. Some contracts were let for the improvement of streets and special tax bills were issued against the property abutting on those streets. Some of those tax bills were paid without opposition, but the majority of them were contested. Payment was held back, and a test case was carried through all the courts of the State by some of the prominent citizens of St. Louis. No man had the temerity, even at that time, to oppose the improvement of the streets, but the position assumed by these contestants was that, as these highways were used by the people of the entire city, the cost of improvement should be paid by a general tax upon the entire community and should not be levied upon the abutting property. The highest court at last decided that the tax upon the abutting property was a just one, was a lien upon the property, and, therefore, must be paid. From that time, the improvement of the streets became more general. The impassable condition of the streets up to that time lost us more, from a commercial standpoint, than ten times the interest on the cost of improvement. Since those streets have been improved the property abutting upon them has increased in value from 25 to 250 per cent. To-day public sentiment has become so entirely in favor of street improvement that no property holder can hold out against it; and by a vote of the people of St. Louis, taken within the last year, the charter has been amended so as to remove the tax limit of 25 per cent on the abutting property. Public sentiment had become so decidedly in favor of street improvement that the taxpayers authorized the municipal authorities to put an unlimited tax upon any lot in order to improve the street in front of that lot. The result is that you will see in St. Louis miles and miles of improved streets, which are not only a comfort to the people who live in the city, but are an object of admiration to visitors. They have greatly enhanced the value of the property fronting the streets, as well as increased the pleasure of living in St. Louis.

We are going to have a great international exposition in St. Louis in 1904. The management of that exposition is not only gratified with the promises of its success, but has been surprised from day to day and week to week as the interest in that exposition seems to have spread from country to country and from clime to clime, until now we think we are justified in announcing to the world that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 will be the most universal in its character that has ever been held in any country. Forty-one of the States, Territories, and insular possessions of the United States have signified their acceptance of invitations to participate in the exposition, and appropriations aggregating \$5,400,000 have already been made to defray the cost of their exhibits. The Federal Government, in addition to appropriating \$5,000,000 to aid in the inauguration of that exposition, has appropriated \$1,308,000 to defray the cost of the Government's exhibits. The Government building is being erected on those grounds at a cost of \$450,000, in which, to quote

the words of the legislative enactment, "can be exhibited to the visitors who will go within its gates, all the functions of government as performed at the National capital."

Besides all this, up to the present time, we have had advices of the acceptance of 32 foreign countries to participate in this exposition. Those 32 will include all the first-class powers of the earth save two, and those two, after having declined the invitation twice, are now, I think, giving it favorable consideration. I think, therefore, that this exposition will be in its character more nearly universal than any ever held in this or any other country. [Great applause.]

We are pleased that this good roads convention should assemble in St. Louis during a week so memorable in the history of this exposition movement. On Thursday next, which will be the exact one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the charter whereby the Louisiana Territory was conveyed from France to the United States, dedicatory ceremonies of the exposition in commemoration of that great event will be held. The President of the United States, the only living ex-President of the United States, a delegation from the Senate, a delegation from the House of Representatives, and 34 diplomats representing foreign governments will meet in St. Louis to participate in those ceremonies.

On the day before the dedication the President of the United States, through the influence of the president of this association, has consented to appear and participate in the proceedings of this good roads convention. [Loud applause.] Your movement, I am glad to say, has acquired such an impetus that it not only has interested the officials of the State, but the highest officials of the Federal Government. Every man in the United States who has at heart the welfare of the country and the good of humanity is in favor of the success of this good roads movement. [Applause.]

As representing the exposition, I feel authorized here and now to pledge a continuance of aid to this great movement.

President MOORE. It gives us great pleasure to see ladies in attendance at the convention. There was a time, not so very long ago, when ladies did not appear at such conventions. In my opinion they should appear in every public gathering, to increase its usefulness.

The next name on the programme is that of a gentleman known to you all, the Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States. I regret to say he is not here. He is detained at Pittsburg to-day, but we hope to have him with us to-morrow. As I am expected to say something, I will take advantage of this opportunity to address you.

HISTORY AND PURPOSES OF THE GOOD ROADS MOVEMENT.

By WILLIAM H. MOORE, *president National Good Roads Association.*

The good roads organization, which has culminated in this convention, was born in Missouri. Here we held the first convention in 1892. That was the starter, leading up to the interstate organization which culminated in the national organization formed in Chicago in 1900. We held in this State 73 conventions. Then we held an interstate convention in St. Louis in 1898. There were a good many States represented, and a large attendance. The interstate convention decided that plans should be made to bring about a greater organization; hence a national convention was called at Chicago in November, 1900, in which 38 States were represented

As a result of that convention a committee of 17 was selected to go to Washington, present this subject to President McKinley, and have him present it to the Fifty-sixth Congress. He considered the matter and said to the committee, "I am very glad to tell you now, without going further, that I will include this subject in my message to Congress." That was the result of the Chicago convention and others previously held up to that time. President McKinley did place this matter before Congress. However, he was not the first President to present the road question to Congress, as Jefferson, Monroe, and others had wrestled with this subject back in the early part of the century, long before steam railroads were thought of. But Mr. McKinley was the first President of modern days to take up this matter. For sixty or seventy years this subject received but scant attention. After 1837 or 1838, when the Government ceased cooperation in road improvement, it was thought that the railroads would take the place of common roads to a great extent.

The national convention at Chicago brought results. It determined what should be done but did not arrange for any finances. I was elected president and Mr. R. W. Richardson, of Omaha, Nebr., secretary. And I desire to state here that, without his assistance in this matter, his level-headed management and earnest work, it would have been impossible for this organization to accomplish what it has. We together have cooperated with the Government, through its able representatives, Hon. Martin Dodge, the present Director of the Office of Public Road Inquiries, and Gen. Roy Stone, his predecessor, who organized that branch of the public service. When these gentlemen found our organization in the field trying to do something, they said, "What can the Government do to assist you?" The Office of Public Road Inquiries had very little means. It is astonishing what that Office has accomplished with the limited means at its disposal. The Office was created by Congress in 1893, with an appropriation of \$8,000 a year. This was raised to \$15,000 in 1900, \$20,000 in 1901, and \$30,000 in 1902, and the appropriation made by the last Congress was \$35,000.

After the Chicago convention had ended its work, Mr. Richardson and I wondered what we could do to bring this matter before the public in such a way as to command attention. You can not pass the hat in local communities and get results sufficient to cope with this question of mud. They have troubles of their own and do not feel like throwing money into a hat to exploit general road organization. So we went to the railroads. Now, I have heard a great many people say that the railroads do not care anything about these common roads. There never was a more mistaken idea than that. In this convention, according to letters received, there will be a large attendance of railroad presidents, general freight, passenger, and industrial agents from all over the country.

The first road we selected was the Illinois Central. I went to New York, saw the president, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, and told him we would like to have a train of fifteen cars to carry modern road machinery, etc. First we had learned that the Illinois Central had four or five boats tied up at New Orleans that could not get loads of cotton, nor in fact of anything else, on account of the inland mud blockade. "How much will this project cost?" asked Mr. Fish. I replied, "As near as we can figure it out, to furnish and operate this train for three months will cost you \$40,000 to \$50,000." He said, "That is a large amount to throw in the mud, but we will consider it." Three weeks later he decided to install the train. Remember, that neither the Government nor the national association had anything to do with the payment of that expense. The railroad company shouldered the burden. We needed expert engineers and the Government furnished some and we hired two.

We went from Chicago to New Orleans. Through all those States we went in advance asking the communities if they would cooperate with us. We asked them if they would raise a sufficient amount of money to defray the local expenses if we

would bring the train. We did not visit a single city in the South where we laid the matter before the mayor, the city council, and the supervisors that they did not promptly respond in the affirmative. [Loud applause.] I see many gentlemen here this morning whom we met in the cities of the South.

All along through the South, where only a few years before armies had been passing in civil strife, went these men from the North with the "good roads train," and the men of the South met in conventions and welcomed them, and, under the instruction of those experts, object-lesson roads were built.

As a result of that work the people of those States are organizing. It is remarkable to see what they are preparing to do. I understand that they are not only arranging for taxation at 3 to 8 mills on the \$1.00 valuation, but are preparing to issue bonds for large amounts to be spent in the improvement of the common roads.

We then sent another train over the Lake Shore road, and made a demonstration at Buffalo in 1901. The next train went through the Southeastern States. The Southern Railway put on a splendid train at a cost of about \$80,000. It equipped the train and fed the men. As the result of that work, great things are being accomplished in the Southeastern States.

We have here the distinguished United States Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Latimer. He went to three conventions with us and did everything he could to aid us. And I am of the opinion that it was the good roads movement that elected him to the United States Senate. The good roads movement also elected the governor of South Carolina. I want to say here that we will never forget the kindness and splendid treatment accorded us all through those Southern States. We felt that we were bringing the North and the South together along great industrial lines. [Loud applause.] Along the line we had great demonstrations, and, finally, as the climax, we came up to Charlottesville, Va., the home of the immortal Jefferson. There we held a great convention, and built a portion of the Jefferson memorial road. The Southern Railway held a special train of Pullman coaches at our disposal for three days. Many people from Washington—Senators, Representatives, and other prominent officials—attended this convention and I see before me to-day many of the men who were present. I may mention General Miles, the head of the Army of the United States, as one who went out there with us. [At this point a delegate interrupted with the request that General Miles be escorted to the front of the stage and introduced to the delegates. This was done, and the delegates rose to their feet and greeted him with prolonged and enthusiastic cheering.]

Mr. MOORE (continuing). General Miles is one of the men who has built roads in times past, and later he will have something to say on the subject.

When we finished that work another train was inaugurated over the Great Northern Railroad, with Government and local cooperation under the same plan, and meetings were held and roads built. Without the cooperation of the railroads we could not have accomplished the work which has been done. We also feel that the earnest cooperation of the press is responsible for much of the good accomplished. One paper in the South gave 132 columns to the subject.

You are called here for a purpose. We must consult together and see if we can outline work for the future. I have three plans to lay before the convention for consideration—three plans for securing good roads. We are not here merely to discuss the need of good roads or what they will do for us. I want to impress upon your minds what appears to me to be the proper steps to secure better roads:

First.—If you expect to proceed along the old lines, raising 2 to 5 mills on the \$1 valuation, it will be another century before you have any considerable road improvement in your community. This method will not do. There is something in it, but not enough. There are about 60,000 road officials in the United States, and as road supervisors do not give their time for nothing a large part of the money collected

goes for expenses. If it is wise to make a direct assessment, it seems to me you should make it at least 7 to 10 mills on the \$1 valuation, thus securing a comparatively large fund to work with.

Second.—If this can not be done, if it seems too oppressive on the farmers, I would suggest another plan, which is being adopted mostly in Eastern States. You have delegations here from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, which can tell you about the legislation establishing what is called the "State-aid plan." Under this plan the State appropriates a part (in some cases one-half) of the money, the county which gets the road pays part, the township in which the road is located pays part, and the landowners along the road a part. Pennsylvania, I believe, has adopted State aid within the last two weeks. This plan brings into cooperation all parties interested, from the State down to the individual. It brings in the railroad companies, other corporations, and all owners of taxable wealth. In these Eastern States a large part of the taxable property lies in cities. In Massachusetts only about three-thirteenths of the wealth is in the outlying districts. I believe many States will adopt this plan. All should adopt it.

Third.—The third proposition I want to speak of is "Government aid." I have heard it said all over this country that this convention is to be devoted almost entirely to Government aid. That is a mistake. Unless you show in the different States and in the smaller rural communities that you are willing to take hold of these matters vigorously and earnestly; unless you raise local funds and organize the machinery with which to start this work, you can not expect the Federal Government to come and dump a lot of money into your coffers. If you gentlemen from the different States take up this matter in the halls of legislation and show a disposition to help yourselves, then I think the Federal Government will come to your aid.

I desire to say that there is another important question which must be solved. I have given it a great deal of study, and it will come up before you in all future conventions. Governor Francis referred to it in his speech. This is the question: "Can we use the convicts of the several States and Territories in making public improvements?" If we do not devise some plan in the several States and Territories to utilize their labor in public improvements, we must continue to let them compete with the honest labor of the country. We want to throw around this class all the uplifting influences. We want no dark dungeons. God's sunshine and pure air will benefit them. We want all the States and Territories to do as several States of the South are doing to-day—take those men out and put them to work on the public highways. In this way they are building roads for \$2,000 per mile that in the North would cost \$5,000 or more. You have representative delegates here who will tell you what they are doing in the Southern States.

There were never so many men working as now, never so many owning homes, never so many prosperous as now. We are on the high tide of good times. The machine shops are running to their fullest capacity; the factories are putting goods on the shelves. But we must not forget that great crises always follow great industrial development such as we enjoy to-day. When the next great crisis comes, and we have more men out of employment than ever before, what will we do with them? You should take this matter to your legislative halls and mature plans by which to use the army of the unemployed on public improvements—such, for instance, as improvement of rivers and harbors, reclaiming arid lands in the West, preserving the forests, cleaning the sewers and parks of cities, or, last and most important, constructing roads. The State must provide some means and provide the machinery for putting these men to work. [Great applause.]

When committees are appointed to carry out the recommendations of this convention, select the best men you can from your communities. Get good men to go on

these committees and take hold of this matter as if it meant something, not alone for you and your community, but for the benefit of the State and Nation. Thorough organization may mean the future protection of your home and the welfare of your country.

We feel that there should be another convention which this convention should call. It has taken a vast amount of hard work to lead up to the present results. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the people, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the Business Men's League, the Manufacturers' Association, the Merchants' Exchange, and all the other organizations represented here. The governor of Missouri has done everything to help this convention, has appointed delegates, and sent out proclamations; so has the mayor of this city and other officials, and I want to thank the press of this and contiguous States for what it has done. The press has been an important factor, as it always is, in shaping public sentiment.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

PRESIDENT MOORE. I would like to suggest that before proceeding further with the work of the convention several committees should be appointed. What is your pleasure in this matter?

On motion, the chair was authorized to appoint a committee on credentials.

On motion, it was decided that committees on programme and resolutions should be appointed, and that the delegation from each State should select from the delegation members for service on these committees.

The committees as finally made up were as follows:

Committee on credentials.—Minnesota, G. W. Cooley; Missouri, Harvey Salmon; Michigan, A. J. Sage; Texas, J. H. Bright; California, Adolph Levi; Nebraska, J. L. Minor; Indiana, Robert Mitchell; Illinois, William Grace; Mississippi, W. W. Stone; Alabama, G. R. Farnham; Arkansas, S. Q. Sevier; District of Columbia, M. O. Eldridge; Iowa, A. C. Steel; Ohio, James W. Stewart; Tennessee, M. R. Campbell; Virginia, Henry Horner; Wisconsin, W. A. Walker; Pennsylvania, Col. W. S. P. Shields; Louisiana, H. B. McClendon; Maine, J. W. Dudley; Colorado, James W. Abbott; South Carolina, E. M. Williamson; Montana, W. O. Hutchinson.

Committee on programme.—Burgoyne, of Ohio; Gates, of Tennessee; Young, of Illinois; Hays, of Indiana; Lancaster, of Louisiana; Slinger, of Wisconsin; Stone, of Mississippi; and Brooks, of Pennsylvania, chairman.

Committee on resolutions.—T. G. Harper, chairman, Burlington, Iowa; J. B. Killebrew, Nashville, Tenn.; Wright Smith, Mobile, Ala.; C. C. Bell, Boonville, Mo.; S. A. Duke, Baxter, Ark.; H. H. Rice, Farmington, Me.; W. O. Hutchinson, Helena, Mont.; Adolph Levi, San Diego, Cal.; F. H. Hyatt, Columbia, S. C.; Dr. D. W. Welch, Mount Vernon, Ind.; R. J. Wilson, Darlington, Wis.; C. P. Shaw, Alberene, Va.; Dr. Rachel J. Davison, Flint, Mich.; O. P. Bowser,

Dallas, Tex.; A. V. Eastman, Lake Charles, La.; H. G. McPike, Alta. Ill.; C. C. Reed, Vesta, Nebr.; A. L. Preston, Duluth, Minn.; W. E. Ringold, Linn, Miss.; Mrs. W. H. French, Chandler, Okla.; J. C. Van Pelt, Louisville, Ky.; M. P. Beebe, ———, S. Dak.; F. A. Wiggins, Marion, Oreg.; Samuel Hill, Seattle, Wash; James G. Halleck, Brooklyn, N. Y.; M. A. Fanning, Cleveland, Ohio; J. W. Abbott, Denver, Col.; W. S. P. Shields, Philadelphia, Pa.

The convention then took a recess till 2 p. m.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY, APRIL 27—AFTERNOON SESSION.

In the absence of President Moore, the convention was called to order by R. W. Richardson, secretary of the National Good Roads Association.

Telegrams were read from H. L. Remmell, of Arkansas, William Landen, of Iowa, and T. P. Rixey, of Missouri, expressing regret at inability to attend, and wishing success to the good roads movement.

Mr. G. W. Cooley, chairman of the committee on credentials, submitted the report of that committee, which recommended the seating of all duly accredited delegates in attendance, representing States, good roads associations, industrial, commercial, and other organizations interested in the improvement of the highways.

On motion, the report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Baker, of Iowa, it was decided that all miscellaneous resolutions should be referred to the committee on resolutions without reading and without debate.

A letter from the commercial club of Duluth was read, asking that the next convention be held in that city.

The committee on resolutions reported progress and asked further time to complete its work. This was granted.

The Hon. Martin Dodge, Director of the Office of Public Road Inquiries, Washington, D. C., was then introduced and addressed the convention as follows:

OUR NATIONAL POLICY.

By MARTIN DODGE, *Director, Office Public Road Inquiries, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.*

I notice by the printed programme that I am expected to say something in reference to what the National Government is doing, and point out what, in my opinion, its policy should be in dealing with this subject.

I took notice that while Governor Dockery in his speech declared that it would be profitable from a commercial point of view for the State of Missouri to raise money to pay for the entire cost of improving the roads of the State no matter what they might cost, he also took the precaution to say that he did not advocate doing so. In that he illustrates the stand taken by most public men. Leaders in State politics,

governors, and other high officials, are very reluctant to recommend to the people that they levy taxes or issue bonds sufficient to meet the great expense of making the roads what they should be. For the past hundred years the same attitude has been generally maintained; the leaders in the various States have been reluctant to recommend that their States assume the burden of cost which is necessary. This leads me to believe that there should be some assistance given to the States.

We find, after one hundred years of experience in many of the States, that there is not sufficient revenue at the command of the road officials to carry out any general plan. This being true, I am led to believe that the Government of the United States ought to come forward with some measure of assistance, and ought to do more than it is doing at the present time to aid along these lines.

Let me point out very briefly just what the Government is doing at this time. You all know that in the early days the Government appropriated large sums of money, aggregating altogether about \$14,000,000, a very large proportion of her revenues at that time, to the building of great National roads. Roads were laid out and built by the General Government in 1806 and during the years which followed up to as late as 1832. The policy of the Government in the early times was to appropriate the entire amount of money necessary to build the roads.

Later this policy was abandoned. Appropriations were cut off and for about two generations the Government did absolutely nothing, except in a military way (and not much in that way) along this line.

Ten years ago the Congress of the United States, attention having been called to this subject through the action of a great convention, such as you have here, passed an act giving authority to inquire into and investigate the subject of roads in the United States, to report and inform the people as to prevailing conditions, and make suggestions as to improvements.

A very small sum of money was devoted to that purpose, only \$8,000 a year, for a period of six or seven years; but I am happy to say that during the last four years Congress has taken a much more liberal view, mainly because greater interest has been expressed in the subject, and has increased the appropriation to \$14,000 in 1900, \$20,000 in 1901, \$30,000 in 1902, and for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1903, it has appropriated \$35,000 to be devoted to inquiry and investigation, and the publication of facts and general information. In connection with this work we have established at Washington a physical and chemical laboratory for the testing of road-building materials, and we have several scientific expert road builders located in different parts of the country. During the last few years, since I have been in charge of the Office, I have tried to add to the ordinary method of instructing and informing the people by means of publications and addresses, the object-lesson method. I have built a large number of object-lesson roads in different States; I have been in 22 States a sufficient length of time to construct this sort of experimental, or object-lesson road; always, however, upon the invitation of road officers or committees of citizens in the places visited.

The United States Government does not go into any State, or into any portion of any State, upon its own motion to build roads or give instructions, but does so only upon invitation, and for the purpose of cooperating with those who have sufficient enterprise, ability, revenue, material, and labor to do something and who mean to do something. Under these circumstances we accept invitations to cooperate. We furnish machinery, plans, and specifications, and expert engineers, and we test materials in the laboratory at Washington. We have been very successful in this work. We generally use the local materials, often finding use for material which has been thought to be of little or no value. We have often found people importing material at considerable expense, when they had in their own vicinity better material which was going to waste. This is one of the benefits resulting from the inquiries and investigations we are making.

This plan has been well received, and reports indicate that it has been very satisfactory. I am glad to see a number of gentlemen from the States we have visited here as delegates, and hope they may be able to report to you some of the good results which have come from these object-lesson roads during the past three years.

So encouraging are the results from this method that it would appear to be a wise thing for the Government to do more work of the same kind, and to contribute more largely to the cost of building.

You will understand from what I have already said that the Government is not authorized to pay the expenses of producing roads, but is authorized to aid only in the ways I have stated. I have a corps of experts that I can send out to direct and assist in such work, but that is all. Many friends of the good roads movement, including a good many members of Congress, think it would be a wise thing for the Government to pay a proportion of the cost of building the roads in addition to what it is now doing. I want to say that in the discussions in Congress and before its committees, we have discovered a good many gentlemen in both Houses of Congress who have expressed an unusual and abiding interest in this matter.

The first gentleman to make a motion upon the floor of the House of Representatives for any considerable increase in the appropriation for our work was a gentleman you will have the privilege of hearing at some time during the sessions of this convention, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, lately elected. I refer to Senator Latimer. He was a member of the House of Representatives at the time I speak of, and he made a motion to increase the appropriation for our Office, from \$14,000 to \$150,000. He was the first gentleman in the House of Representatives to come forward with a proposition to make a more adequate appropriation for this work. His motion failed, but a motion was subsequently agreed to by which some increase was secured. We found that many of the Southern statesmen were more progressive on this question than the Northern statesmen. I am pleased to say to you that Mr. Latimer's stand seems to have met the approval of his people.

I may say that the Government can hardly be said to have an established policy in regard to roads. I have already referred to the fact that in early times the Government did build roads and paid all the cost. The whole thing was in the hands of the officials of the General Government. Afterwards this policy was abandoned and the work was turned over by the National Government to the States, and by the States to the counties, and all went into hands of petty officers. That policy has continued up to the present time. Now we are taking up the matter again with a view to seeing what can be done. I do not find that anyone who has studied the question advocates a revival of the old policy, but I find that many think that there should be cooperation between the United States and the individual States, or, failing this, between the Government and the counties, parishes, districts, or other civil subdivisions.

The theory seems to be that at least half the cost of a road should be paid for by those who receive the immediate benefits of the road. If a State desires to build a road in cooperation with the United States, it is believed that it should certainly prepare to pay half the cost.

Governor Dockery, like nearly all the governors I have heard, expressed great doubts as to what policy should be pursued. Governors do not see their way clear to recommend measures whereby all the burden of cost shall fall upon the owners of property in the rural districts. I believe all, or practically all, would subscribe to the doctrine that they should pay one-half. It seems to us who have studied the question that the burden is too heavy for the agriculturist to bear, especially in view of the decline in land and agricultural products in the last twenty-five years. And the case appears stronger when you consider that during the last twenty-five years there has been a most remarkable concentration of population and wealth in

the great cities. You know very well that in most of the States east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio a majority of the people are living in the cities and much more than half of the wealth is concentrated there. If we pursue the policy of resting the entire burden of improving the highways upon the people of the rural districts, we allow one-half, or in some cases more than three-fourths, of the wealth of the country to wholly escape this burden.

When practically all the people lived in the country and very few in the city, this system of taxation was a fairly just one; all the people contributed. It was the intention of the founders of the Government that this should be the case. But with the concentration of wealth and population the burden has been shifted, and a large proportion of those most abundantly able to bear the cost now escape. In order to reestablish in a measure the original policy whereby all the people should bear all the cost of improving the roads, it is necessary to adopt a different plan.

The State aid plan works well in the States where it has been tried. New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York have tried it, and now Pennsylvania and Delaware have come to the front with State aid laws. I have within the last few weeks heard remarkably good reports from all the States which have tried this plan.

The plan of State aid, briefly stated, is this: The State pays a fixed part of the cost of building roads out of the general fund raised by taxation of all the people and all the property in the State. Under those circumstances corporations, railroads, trusts, and the various representatives of the concentrated wealth of the cities, all contribute to this fund. When the appropriation of the money is made, however, the fund is expended in the rural districts, but it must be supplemented by money raised by local taxation.

In the State of New York, which I believe has the best method of all, the State pays one-half, or 50 per cent, the county 35 per cent, and the township 15 per cent.

As I have said, the results which have come from this general plan of shifting the burden of cost and making all the people pay all the cost of the roads have been so satisfactory that it is thought to be a good thing to extend the principle.

In Pennsylvania the legislature has recently passed a bill appropriating \$6,500,000 to be used as a State aid fund. In New York the legislature appropriated about \$1,000,000 at the last session. I do not think that they have passed a bill at the present session yet, but it will probably be for an increased amount.

In the latter State I understand about 90 per cent of the general fund comes from the cities and corporations, and only about 10 per cent of it comes from those owning agricultural lands and living in the rural districts. Thus you will see by this method we are supplementing the farmer's resources. We are lifting a burden from his shoulders; not only the burden of taxation, the burden of cost, but, with the improvement of the roads, we lift another burden, that of difficult and costly transportation. You have already heard what the governor said this morning as to the average increase of the price of land being not less than \$5 an acre. My information is that it would be much more than that; but, even at that conservative estimate, you will observe of course that the agriculturist receives that benefit in addition to the relief already referred to.

Representing the Agricultural Department as I do, being in sympathy with the agricultural classes as I am, I hold it to be beneficial to the whole country to adopt this method of distributing the cost of road building.

Those who might be expected to object to this plan are those who actually make the least objection. I hear no objection from the great corporate interests, from the millionaires, from the representatives of consolidated wealth in the great cities. They are the ones who pay the largest proportion into this general fund, and no part of that fund is expended on city streets; it is all expended to permanently improve the highways in the rural districts. It is certainly very encouraging to find that where

the greatest resources are available under this plan, the least objection has been presented. Wherever you go, from one end of this country to another, from the old to the new, from the Northern to the Southern States, you will find almost no permanent improvement of the highways, unless something has been done to shift the burden so as to make it lighter for the farmers to bear. Comparing this state of affairs with the results achieved under the State aid plan, strongly indicates the wisdom of extending the principle involved. In New York, more permanent improvements in the highways have been made in two years under State aid laws, than were made in two hundred years before.

This leads us to consider the wisdom of extending the principle involved in State aid so as to include the United States Government. As already stated, the United States began by building certain roads and paying the total cost, devoting a large proportion of the total revenues of the Government to this purpose. Later this policy was reversed and the Government did nothing. Now, I believe under the early policy the Government did too much, and too little under the later policy. So I think a policy should be adopted under which the Government will supplement the funds raised by State and local taxation. In States which have adopted State aid, the funds raised locally are supplemented by the State funds. Now, let us on the same principle supplement the funds raised by State and local taxation by a fund contributed by the General Government. I feel more free to recommend this, because I believe that in the distribution of the great revenues of the United States Government, those living in agricultural regions have shared but little in these great appropriations. Most of the discussions that have occupied the public attention during my recollection, as far as revenues are concerned, have been devoted more to the method of raising the revenue and the amount to be raised than the justice of the distribution of that revenue after it was raised.

Under our method of raising Federal revenue by means of internal revenue and tariff duties, the burden rests about as much on the people living in the agricultural districts as upon all other classes of people. I have stated to you that in that portion of our country lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers more than one-half of the people live in cities. But, taking the country at large, including the South and West, where concentration has not taken place to such an extent, it is yet true that more than half of our people live in the country; and while less than half of the wealth is to be found there, under our indirect method of collecting taxes, those living in the agricultural districts certainly bear one-half of the burden. But, on the other hand, not more than 10 per cent of the very great amount that is appropriated annually by Congress is appropriated to the use of those living in agricultural and rural districts, while 90 per cent is appropriated for the use of those living in the cities or adjacent thereto. Public buildings, as you know—great, costly, and numerous—are all built in the large cities. The officers of the Government reside in the large cities. The battle ships are built in the large cities. And so I might go on through the list of expenditures. Now, I am not criticising the policy as an erroneous one; I am not blaming anyone for the policy that prevails, but I am saying that the time has come when justice demands that a larger proportion of these revenues be spent for the benefit of those who live in rural communities. And I know of no better way to do this than by helping the agricultural classes to improve their common roads.

I believe there is no considerable number of persons in Congress, possibly not one in either House of Congress, who would advocate a policy that would result exactly as this has resulted, so far as the collection and distribution of revenues is concerned. I believe that the inequality which exists has resulted from a sort of unintentional discrimination, and that your Representatives in Congress will be perfectly willing to correct this in some degree if their attention is called to it and they are requested so to do.

In this connection I desire to refer to the matter of rural delivery of mails which has come about recently and is so satisfactory. I do not know that there is a single member of Congress who is opposed to rural free delivery, and yet there was nobody in Congress a few years ago who was in favor of that movement; and, when the first sum was appropriated to make the experiment, the movement was so unpopular that the then Postmaster-General left the money in the Treasury. During the last few years the appropriation for this purpose has been made without division in the House or Senate, and the annual appropriation for rural free delivery has reached the sum of \$12,600,000. I believe that this extension of the postal service could have been made forty years ago as well as at the present time. They did deliver mail in cities forty years ago. I believe the country people are too conservative. Had they asked their Representatives to give them rural free delivery of mail, it would have been done long ago. Now it is being done rapidly, successfully, and, best of all, without any burden of expense upon anybody, because the additional revenues, combined with the saving on star routes, and small post-offices, has made up the additional cost.

I think we are in the same position in regard to the question which we are now considering. There is no real reason that I know of, either in constitutional limitations or wise policy, why the Government should not extend beneficial aid in the improvement of highways, or why it should not have done so forty years ago. I believe we are pursuing in this respect exactly the policy pursued for forty or fifty years in regard to the delivery of the mail. The people asked for no delivery of the mail in the rural districts and they got none. The people have asked no cooperation or aid in improving the highways for the last sixty years and they have received none. But I feel confident that, should the people request their Representatives in Congress to make the same effort to secure National aid to road improvement as was made to secure the rural delivery of mails they will speedily find a satisfactory way to do it.

I desire to have it understood that I am simply suggesting to you plans which seem to me feasible, and I offer them to this convention for consideration. The people must decide for themselves and instruct their representatives both in the legislature of the State and in Congress. I believe that whatever the people want their Representatives in Congress will want. I believe if you have suffered any lack of the things you were entitled to, it is merely because you have been too conservative and backward about asking for what you want. [Applause.]

Mr. ISENMEYER, of Illinois. As Mr. Dodge has given this subject considerable attention, I would like to ask him what we can ask from Congress—what part of the cost.

Mr. DODGE. I notice by the programme that Mr. Brownlow, of Tennessee, is to be here and speak in explanation of his bill. Mr. Brownlow introduced a bill in the last Congress which provides that the United States shall bear one-half of the cost of these improvements. As he may not be able to get here, it may be desirable for me to say a few words in explanation of the bill and at the same time answer Mr. Isenmeyer's question.

The bill provides for an appropriation of \$20,000,000. This is to be used only in connection and cooperation with the various States or civil subdivisions of States that may make application to the General Government for the purpose of securing its aid to build certain roads. The application must be made for a specific road to be built, and the State or county making the application must be ready to pay half of the cost, according to the plans and specifications made by the General Government. In no case can any State or any number of counties within the State receive any greater proportion of the \$20,000,000 than the population of the State bears to the population of the United States.

In other words, all of the plans must originate in the community. The bill does not provide that the United States shall go forward and say a road shall be built here or a road shall be built there. The United States shall hold itself in readiness, when requested to do so, to cooperate with those who have selected a road they

desire to build, provided they are ready and willing to pay one-half the cost. Then, if the road is a suitable one and is approved by the Government authorities, they go forward and build that road, each contributing one-half of the expense. In order to prevent the State losing jurisdiction of the road, it is provided that it may go forward and build the road if it will accept the Government engineer's estimate. For instance, if a State or county asks for 10 miles of road, the estimated cost of which is \$30,000, and the State or county officials say they are willing to undertake the work for \$30,000, the Government authorizes them to go ahead and build that road according to specifications, and when it is finished the Government will pay the \$15,000. If the State or county does not wish to take the contract, the General Government will advertise and give it to the lowest bidder, and will pay its contributory share and the other party will pay its contributory share.

It is no part of the essential principle involved in this National aid plan that the exact proportion should be 50 per cent on each side. Any other figure can be adopted. Some think 10 per cent is sufficient; some think $33\frac{1}{3}$ is the proper percentage; others think 25 per cent only should be paid by the Government, 25 per cent by the State, 25 per cent by the county, and 25 per cent by the township. The one idea that seems to be generally accepted is that the Government should do something.

I have already stated that wherever I have been in these 22 States and done a little cooperative work it has been abundantly satisfactory. We have received not only the cordial good will of the people, but have received their commendation almost universally. In fact, I know of no adverse criticism upon the work done. So I am led to believe that it is a true principle that the Government can do something, and I certainly believe it can do something more than it is doing at present. And whether the Government will pay 25 or 50 per cent is not essential to the principle here involved. It might be well to begin with a small proportion, and if it works well increase that. I am sure Mr. Brownlow is in favor of paying 50 per cent. He thinks that is the proper thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I now have the pleasure of introducing a distinguished statesman who has been doing good service for our cause in the National House of Representatives, and whom the people of his State have seen fit to promote to a place in the United States Senate. He probably owes his promotion more to his advocacy of road improvement than to any other cause. I take pleasure in introducing Senator A. C. Latimer, of South Carolina.

CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE.

By Hon. A. C. LATIMER, *United States Senator from South Carolina.*

We have met here to-day to consider one of the most important subjects affecting the American people. A great many of the old men I have come in contact with tell me that the dirt roads are but little better now than they were seventy-five years ago. During three-quarters of a century the development of manufacturing and other industries of the country, particularly of railroads, has been wonderful, yet we people who live in the rural districts still travel over the same muddy roads. Now, it lies in your power to say whether we shall have good roads in the next five, ten, or twenty years, or whether we and our children shall continue to travel through mud during the rest of our lives. This Government belongs to you. Men come to you once every two years asking your votes in order to represent you in the halls of Congress. Hundreds of millions are taken from the Treasury of the United States

and spent in the Philippine Islands, while we go on traveling the same muddy roads. Congress has just appropriated \$3,000,000 to be used on the public roads in the Philippine Islands to give these people over there employment. Now, when a candidate comes before you seeking your votes to elect him to Congress, ask him if he will vote for a \$20,000,000 appropriation by the Government to improve the roads throughout the country so that your mail can be brought to you by the rural free delivery. It took a few farmers in Congress to wake up the House of Representatives on this question of giving to the people free delivery of mail in the rural districts. We have been spending \$17,000,000 a year to deliver mail to the people who live in the cities four to tentimes a day—people who have beautiful streets and electric street railways, so that they can ride to the post-office in five minutes or walk there in ten, because in nearly all the large cities they have substations every half mile or so; yet you people who live in the rural districts, 5 or 6 miles from the post-office, have to walk for your mail or do without it. When the farmers demanded equal treatment in this matter objectors said, "We can not appropriate all this money out of the Treasury of the United States to carry the mail out into the country; it will bankrupt the United States." And yet to-day we find the rural free delivery almost self-sustaining.

It is required that 100 residents live on a 25-mile route in order to get the rural free delivery; and if you have a bad road and no bridges across the streams you will not get the rural free delivery. Now, I hold that the farmer who lives in the backwoods is a part of this Government and has the same rights as people who live in the more thickly populated sections, and he will get them if he will only demand them of his Representatives in Congress.

We want to organize in every county in the United States. We want a firm platform to stand on. You want to declare your purpose in this convention to have good roads in this country and that you want the Government to bear its share of the expense. I will tell you why we have not had any Government aid in building roads during the last seventy-five years. It is because you have sent to Congress men who live in cities. They get bills passed in the interest of the cities. They have the harbors and rivers improved.

What you want now is to have the principle of National aid recognized. You want the Government to appropriate a fixed part of the money necessary to improve the roads in rural districts. Go to your Representative in Congress and tell him he can not get your vote unless he stands by that principle. You will then get not only \$20,000,000, but \$50,000,000, and eventually \$100,000,000.

We have a surplus in the United States Treasury, and yet the poor farmers in the rural districts can not get good roads. The men who have money in the cities do not object to being taxed for road improvement. It is the hide-bound farmer living out in the country who has been protesting.

A few days ago I met a man with whom I was reared, and I said, "Let us talk about this road question a little bit; I have a scheme." Now, one of the worst roads I ever saw is in that same county. He said, "You politicians always have schemes; I don't want to hear it." I said, "Listen to me a moment. My idea is that the National Government ought to pay one-half, the State one-quarter, and the locality or township one-quarter of the expense for the improvement of the roads." He said, "I can not submit to any more taxation; I am paying now all the taxes I can pay." I said, "How much did you pay last year?" And he told me \$45, which was about 15 mills on the \$1 valuation. "Let us increase that 1 mill," said I, "and in that way we will raise a large sum in this township; that 1 mill will only increase your tax \$3." Then I said, "You know this road to Harpers Ferry, 7 miles away?" "Yes," said he, "I was out there last night." "How much would you have given if that had been a good solid road to drive over?" I asked. "I would have given \$3," said he. Now, like this man, most of us do not stop to figure these

things out. Take a certain road. Perhaps a tax of 1 mill on the property of the township will raise \$10,000. You go to the State government and get \$10,000 and to the National Government and get \$20,000; that is \$40,000 in all to spend in that township. And whose road is it when it is finished? It is your road. Who does the work on that road? You have your team, and with it can pay off your tax with a few days' work. You have the road all the time after that, and you will find your land has increased in value \$3 to \$5 an acre. Every farmer can understand a scheme of this kind if he only stops to think. It puts \$40,000 in circulation in that township, and you have worked out your taxes. And the merchants, too, are benefited, because the people have more money to spend with them.

If you want good roads you can get them; you can have the help of the United States Government, too. All you have to do is to get your representatives in Congress to do whatever you decide is right and just. This Government is yours, and every dollar in the Treasury belongs to you, and there is no way in which it can be spent which will bring greater benefit to all the people than to have good roads throughout this country.

My friend, Mr. Dodge, has told you about the building of object-lesson roads. I believe that is a practical idea. Build a sample piece of road and let the farmers drive out of the mud onto a hard good road. There is more practical common sense in that method than in speech making. Go into the hills and valleys of our country and get out the materials and put them on the road, and let the farmers see the results. A great many of us do not believe that we have good materials adjacent to our roads, but I believe we have. All we need is the money. What we want is to get down to practical results. We might stay in session here for months and not accomplish a thing. You want money; that is the bottom of the whole proposition. And how are you going to get the money? Whether you get the Brownlow bill or not, I am in the Senate, and I intend to make it a part of my mission to build up good roads throughout this country. [Loud applause.] My people live in the rural districts and I want to help them out of the mud. I intend to work as long as I am in that body, and I want your help. I want you to say to your Representative when he comes home that he must vote in favor of the platform which we adopt in this convention.

A DELEGATE. I am living in the country, but have no influence; I live in Arkansas.

MR. LATIMER. Every man who lives in this country has influence; some more than others. But if you had the whole of Arkansas you could not control Congress. What we want to do is to organize all over the country. We need organization. It educates our people. There is danger in getting off on wrong lines. You should not undertake to draft a bill. Do not go into details. Nearly every man who comes here has a theory about road building. Let us all agree that what we want is better roads, and that we need money to build them with. Let us first all agree on those propositions.

Then, how are we to get the money? First let us get the National Government to set aside \$10,000,000, \$20,000,000, or \$50,000,000 to be used as a good roads fund. Then you will say to your representative in the State legislature, "Here, we want \$500,000 or \$2,000,000 set aside by the State as a road fund." Then you must talk it around home. You can not get a dollar of this money until your township is willing to raise \$5,000 to \$10,000. Next go to the State and ask it to pay \$5,000 to \$10,000 more. Then the Government gives \$10,000 or \$20,000 more. You must work it out in your local community. [Loud applause.]

Let me tell you, gentlemen, how you will help me wonderfully and help Mr. Brownlow. There are about twenty-five or thirty of us in Congress now working for good roads along this line. You must help us at home. Organize in the school-house and adopt resolutions and say to the candidates, "If you want our votes, you must help us." Make it an issue in the campaign.

If all the people who want good roads will go to work and pull together, Congress will pass the necessary legislation. Then get your legislature to pass the same and organize in your township and the whole thing is done.

President MOORE. We have a gentleman here to-day from another Southern State who knows a great deal about roads; has traveled over them both North and South. I have the honor of presenting the Hon. J. B. Killebrew, of Tennessee.

IMPROVEMENT OF OUR HIGHWAYS.

By J. B. KILLEBREW, *of Nashville, Tenn.*

I wish we had 90 Senators like the one who has just addressed us. I wish we had 300 members in the House like him. Gentlemen, we need just such legislation as he talked about. We need it not only for the country, but we need it for the cities. What is it that builds up the cities if it is not the country around them? Every man who is a patriot, every man who has an interest in his own prosperity, must be for good roads.

Why, gentlemen, the other day the Congress of the United States appropriated \$200,000,000 to build the Panama Canal. Is there a man in this audience that will not say that \$200,000,000 expended in the betterment of our roads will do more good than if spent on the Panama Canal? I think it is going to make our Gulf of Mexico the great Mediterranean of the Western World; I think it is going to extend our trade with the Orient more than anything else; I am for the Panama Canal, but above all things I am for good roads.

The question of good roads is paramount to every other now before the American people. It appeals to all classes and to all interests. Its proper solution will be of more benefit to the great masses of people than the building of the Panama Canal. It will do more to extend the trade and commerce of the country; it will add more to the happiness, intelligence, and prosperity of the people, and will contribute more than anything else to their social elevation and moral strength. The amount of time saved in domestic commerce over and above that now expended in passing over the execrable highways of the country will go far to educate the people of the United States. The internal commerce of this country is probably equal to the entire international commerce of the world. Our foreign commerce in 1902 amounted to \$2,285,040,359. The agricultural products made nearly 63 per cent of the whole, or considerably more than all other products combined. Nearly all this vast amount has to pass over public roads to reach railway stations or a market.

The appropriation for our rivers and harbors made by the last Congress was \$32,540,199.50. If this amount had been devoted to the improvement of our public roads, there would not have been a citizen of the United States that would not feel and enjoy the results of its expenditure. How many of my present audience have ever derived any immediate benefit from the large sums expended for improvement of our rivers? There is not one case in a thousand where there has been any increase in the navigation of the streams or any reduction in the freight rates to the people from these large expenditures. In my own Congressional district the Cumberland River is the main stream passing through several very rich counties. The amount appropriated for its improvement during the past thirty years will aggregate \$2,254,000, and yet the tonnage of this stream, embracing agricultural and forest products, coal, iron ore, and merchandise, is not as great for one year as the tonnage on one of the principal railroads through the same district will amount to in two months.

I recall one instance where \$5,000 was appropriated for the improvement of one of the tributaries of the Cumberland. A few men were employed for a few days in cutting trees that overhung the stream. A few loads of rock were put at the head

of a rapid. This was the whole amount of work done, and the appropriation was exhausted. The only boat that ever ascended or descended this stream was one that took a party up the stream on a goose hunt. On each side of this stream are public highways over which pass more than a million pounds of tobacco a year, besides wheat, corn, and other agricultural products. Had the \$5,000 been expended in improving these roads, macadamizing the worst places, it would have helped the farmers living on both sides of the river immensely.* The money for the improvement of this stream was simply thrown away. This is a sample of the wisdom which sometimes inspires our members of Congress. This river and harbor appropriation is right in principle, but in practice it is greatly abused, and frequently the country fails to secure benefits commensurate with the expenditure. It would be far more beneficial to the people to make an appropriation for the improvement of the roads, with such limitations and restrictions as will insure its proper expenditure.

There is no use in making an argument before this intelligent audience as to the value of good roads. They economize time, labor, and money; they save worry and waste; they add to social and religious progress; they increase the value of property and add immensely to the profits of those engaged in every vocation and especially that of agriculture; they permit the transportation of farm products during bad weather when no work can be done on the farm; they save the wear and tear on horses, drivers, harness, and wagons. Good roads are the avenues of progress, the best proof of popular intelligence, the ligaments that bind the country together in the bonds of patriotism and thrift. They are the woof of destiny woven into the great web of our civilization. Good roads are the rivulets that swell the great streams of commerce that flow out to every country and distribute the products of our fields, factories, forests, and mines. The Government of the United States has never failed to respond to the demands of the country in the improvement of its rivers and harbors. Millions of dollars, for instance, have been expended on Sault Ste. Marie that connects Lake Superior with Lake Huron, all within the State of Michigan. The iron masters and the copper kings of the country and the grain growers of the Northwest have been mainly benefited by the improvement of this great waterway. No one objects to it; it is a proper expenditure to develop the great material interests of the Northwest. But this expenditure is limited in its scope and benefits. The great harbors along the Atlantic seaboard and on the Gulf coast have cost the country hundreds of millions of dollars. These improvements also are to be commended. The improvement of the various harbors and rivers for the past seven years has cost \$130,565,485; but not one dollar has been appropriated to build or improve the common roads.

Whatever makes for the agricultural prosperity and development of the country aids every other industry in the land. All classes rely upon good crops for prosperity—the banker, the manufacturer, the miner, the lumberman; and even the professional men feel the strengthening influence of good crops and the depressing effects of bad ones.

Many affect to think that this question of National aid for good roads and local improvements is a new one; far from it. What has been the practice of the Government? What are the facts? We find the first road that Congress authorized was from Cumberland at the headwaters of the Potomac, in the State of Maryland, through Pennsylvania, and what is now West Virginia to the State of Ohio. This was March 29, 1806. The second road was from the frontier of Georgia, from Athens to New Orleans. This was April 31, 1806. The third was from the Mississippi River to the Ohio, the points being designated. The fourth was from Nashville, Tenn., to Natchez, Miss. In eleven years fourteen great highways were authorized to be built by Congress.

Long before the laws were passed authorizing the building of these roads an act was passed April 30, 1802, to enable the people of a portion of the territory north-

west of the Ohio River to form a constitution and State government, and it was provided that one-twentieth of the proceeds of the public lands lying within the State might be sold and the proceeds applied to the laying out and making of public roads.

In discussing the power vested in Congress for the establishment of post-offices and post-roads, President Monroe said, in whatever sense the term "establish" is applied to post-offices it must be applied in the same sense to post-roads. As the Government has long recognized the necessity of building post-offices, therefore, if necessary, it should build post-roads, or at least aid in the work.

But few judicial opinions have been rendered on this subject. In the case of Dickey against the Turnpike Company, reported in Seventh Dana, the Kentucky court of appeals decided that the power given to Congress by the Constitution to establish post-roads enabled them to make, repair, keep open, and improve post-roads when they shall deem the exercise of the power expedient. But in the exercise of the right of eminent domain on this subject the United States has no right to adopt and use roads, bridges, or ferries constructed and owned by States, corporations, and individuals without their consent or without making to the parties concerned just compensation. If the United States elect to use such accommodations, it stands upon the same footing and is subject to the same tolls and regulations as a private individual. Kent says this decision was supported by sound reasoning.

It has been asserted that Jefferson was opposed to the appropriation of money for internal improvements, but I find that in 1808, in writing to Mr. Lieper, he said, "Give us peace until our revenues are liberated from debt, * * * and then during peace we may chequer our whole country with canals, roads, etc." Writing to J. W. Eppes in 1813 he says, "The fondest wish of my heart ever was that the surplus portion of these taxes destined for the payment of the Revolutionary debt should, when that object is accomplished, be continued by annual or biennial reenactments and applied in times of peace to the improvement of our country by canals, roads, and useful institutions."

Congress has always claimed the power to lay out, construct, and improve post-roads with the assent of the States through which they pass; also to open, construct, and improve military roads on like terms; and the right to cut canals through the several States with their consent for the purpose of promoting and securing internal commerce and for the safe and economical transportation of military stores in times of war. The President has sometimes objected to the exercise of this constitutional right but Congress has never denied it.

Cooley, the highest authority on constitutional law, says:

"Every road within a State, including railroads, canals, turnpikes, and navigable streams, existing or created within a State, becomes a post-road, whenever by law or by the action of the Post-Office Department provision is made for the transportation of the mail upon or over it. Many statesmen and jurists have contended that the power comprehends the laying out and construction of any roads which Congress may deem proper and needful for the conveyance of the mails, and keeping them repaired for the purpose."

This is not a new question. It is true that many old politicians, whose conservatism I admire but whose wisdom I can not always respect, object to the appropriation by the General Government for the building of roads because they say it is paternalism. If it is paternalism to build roads to facilitate the transportation of the mails it is paternalism to deliver the mails. If it is paternalism to build post-roads, why is it not paternalism to build harbors, or improve rivers, or to establish military or naval institutions. These old politicians sit on the dry branches of a dead era and bewail, with the hoarse croak of the raven, all innovations simply because they are innovations.

Aside from the warrant which the Constitution gives for the construction of roads in the clause for the establishment of post-offices and post-roads, the "general wel-

fare" clause ought to be sufficient if there were no other constitutional provision. There is no other one thing that can be done by the Government that will add more to the general welfare of the people of this country than to assist in the building of roads. It is the one thing that everybody wants. I shall never be able to understand why the Congress of the United States should appropriate a million dollars for the construction and improvement of the highways of Porto Rico and devote a large sum to the same purpose in the Philippines, and yet hesitate to make liberal appropriations to aid in the building and improvement of public roads for the conveyance of the mails. Of all the civilized countries on earth, this country has the poorest roads. The United States is regarded by the people of other nations as the most powerful agent in ameliorating the condition of the people of the world. In all that is progressive except good roads it stands first. In material wealth, in varied commerce, in the product of agriculture, in the making of iron and steel, in timber resources and products, in the number of miles of railroads, in the credit and opulence of its cities, and in the per capita wealth of its people, it stands at the head on the roll of nations. Its laws and its Government are best calculated to insure happiness, to inspire the loyalty of the citizen, and to bring prosperity. Yet the original producers of all this wealth and greatness have had less done for them than has been done for the same class in any other country. The farmers have done their full duty to sustain this Government in peace and in war, under every condition of stress and hardship, and yet the Government has not done for them what it has done for the ironmaster, for the coal miner, for the merchant, or for the manufacturer.

In many portions of this country the rural population alone is required to keep up the roads passing through the country. The English country people rose in arms in the eighteenth century because each parish was bound to repair the highways that pass through it from one great city to another. The peasant proprietors and the renters were forced to give their gratuitous labor to this work everywhere, and if this was not sufficient to keep the roads in repair hired labor was employed and the expense met by the parish. This was two hundred years ago, and yet the people of the United States stand now, with reference to their roads, nearly where England stood then.

I do not wish to be understood as objecting to the appropriation to improve the roads in Porto Rico or in the Philippine Islands, for I am quite certain that the Filipinos will never be pacified, conciliated, or civilized without good roads.

It is estimated that of all the roads in the United States there are only 9 per cent good, 10 per cent fairly passable, and 81 per cent bad, execrable, indescribable, welters of mud in wet weather and the origin and creators of insufferable dust storms in dry weather.

There are some things in the Old World from which we should draw instruction and wisdom. France has the best roads on earth, divided into four classes: (1) National; (2) departmental; (3) military; and (4) communal. The national roads are built and kept up by the national treasury. The departmental roads are a charge upon the departments through which they pass. The military roads are usually kept up by the Government, but sometimes the Government is aided in this work by the department through which the roads pass. The communal roads, like our civil district and township roads, are kept up by the communes, but even these receive assistance from the Government when they pass through thinly populated regions. The national roads are paved like a street and have an average width of 52½ feet. The departmental roads are 39 feet wide, and the other roads vary in width. Not less than \$7,000,000 is annually expended by the French Government in making new roads and repairing old ones. This work gives employment to 35,000 persons, and the total length of the roads is something over 350,000 miles. The roads are so well constructed that one man can keep 5 miles in repair if furnished

with piles of broken stone, placed at intervals along the road, and a cart for distributing the stone. Every rut and hole as fast as made is filled.

The maintenance of roads in England is vested by Parliament in turnpike trusts and highway boards empowered to levy local rates on all property. The revenues raised for repairing and building roads is over £3,000,000 sterling or \$15,000,000 a year. This is equivalent to over 40 cents an acre, or over \$256 a square mile, for all the territory in England and Wales. If the same amount was levied by the United States in proportion to area, excluding Alaska and our new possessions, it would amount to about \$77,000,000.

Among the many great advantages of these good roads in France and England is one that has not been mentioned in any discussion of the road question. A French farmer rarely carries his produce to market when he can work in the field. The time selected for doing this work is bad rainy days or very cold days when no work can be done on the farm. At such a time the little covered wagon is filled with produce. The farmer is able to draw three or four times as much to market as a farmer can in Iowa or Tennessee. It has been estimated that it requires ten days' hauling on an average for each farmer in the United States to carry his produce to market. The Twelfth Census reported 5,739,756 farms in the United States; the number of persons over 10 years of age engaged in agriculture at 10,438,219. On the supposition that it takes ten days a year to deliver the produce of each farm to market, it will be seen that in the aggregate there are over fifty-seven million days consumed in delivering the produce of the farm to the railroad or to market. If this work is all done at a time when other work can be done on the farm and when the teams and men should be busy at other work, it will cost \$114,000,000 annually to deliver the crops to market, allowing \$2 a day for man and team.

But this is not all. The increased tonnage that may be drawn over good roads with the same team, as compared with the tonnage carried over bad roads, will shorten the time now required for the work and will make another great saving. So it may be set down as a fact that good roads will save an immense sum in delivering produce to market. There are many important benefits that need only be mentioned here: For instance, saving the wear and tear of wagons, the injury to teams, the losses of time going to and returning from market places, pleasure each one experiences in driving over good roads as compared with bad ones, the social and moral effects of good roads and their contribution to domestic felicity, the largely increased value of farm properties when situated on good roads instead of bad ones, facilities with which children may reach the schoolhouses, and the means of consolidating small and inferior schools into large graded ones. All these things would come as corollaries to good roads. In fact, there is nothing more enjoyed than a good road. It is the common property of everybody; it is shared by all; it is needed by all; it benefits all.

I do not wish the Government to undertake to build roads throughout the United States, but to assist the local governments in that work; to give aid as it gave aid to railroads. I want to see competent engineers put in charge and paid well for their services. There should be no halfway work. This halfway work has been done in the greater part of this country for a hundred years, and, though costing hundreds of millions of dollars, it has been nearly all wasted. We have but few good roads, and these were built, for the most part, under the supervision of road builders. We want permanent roads that will mark this age, as the Appian Way marked the age of Appius Claudius Cæcus, which, though built twenty-three centuries ago, is still in use. We should build roads of such character that the beginning of the twentieth century shall be referred to in the thirtieth as the era of good-road building.

I should like to see the entire revenue tax on tobacco devoted to aid in the building of good highways in this country. This tax now amounts to over \$50,000,000.

It is probably more evenly distributed than any other tax collected by the internal revenue department. Tobacco is used in every civil district, township, and city in this country. The consumer pays the tax, so it does not bear with severity upon the producers. If the farmers and business men of this country will join their forces and bring influence to bear upon their Representatives in Congress, this special tax can be set aside to aid in the building of good roads, even though the war tax has to be restored for the necessary expenses of the Government. Added to an equal sum derived from local taxation, there would be a grand total of \$100,000,000 annually made available for the building and improvement of the highways. At the cost of \$2,000 per mile this sum will build 50,000 miles a year.

There are now something like 300,000 miles of road over which the rural free-delivery routes pass. This mileage is increasing rapidly and we want it to increase still faster. But rural routes can not and should not be laid out over anything but good roads. Where it is impossible to secure material for macadamizing or graveling the roads, steel roads, or plank roads, or roads treated with petroleum can be substituted.

Gentlemen of the convention, the popular sentiment for Government aid in the building of good roads is increasing every day. It is destined to sweep the country. Politicians will not be able to resist the great popular uprising. The Brownlow bill, introduced in the last Congress, has met with signal favor from all classes of people in all parts of the country. It possesses superior merit; it solves the great problem of cooperation between the General Government and the local government in building highways. Its provisions have been wisely framed; its purposes are beneficent; the carrying into effect of its provisions will add immensely to the happiness, intelligence, prosperity, virtue, and power of this great Nation.

To assist in the growth of this sentiment there should be local road associations organized in every township. Men of character should be invited to address these organizations from time to time; local speakers should always be on hand. Petitions should be framed and signed and sent to the Congress of the United States, asking for Government aid. The Representatives in Congress should be made to understand that this movement has the force of a national demand, and the quicker they fall into line the more useful and more popular they will become. There is no party issue or war cry that will gather so large a following of the best and thriftest and most patriotic classes as this. No demagogic appeal is necessary. The adoption of this policy will be freighted with more good to a larger number than any other public work ever undertaken by the American people. [Applause.]

At this point Hon. H. S. Earle, of Michigan, president of the American Roadmakers of the United States, spoke for a few minutes in a humorous vein, after which the convention adjourned to meet Tuesday, April 28.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY, APRIL 28—MORNING SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., President Moore in the chair. The Rev. W. Banks Rogers, S. J., president St. Louis University, offered the invocation.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to state to the delegates that the proceedings of this convention will probably be published as a bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture and will be distributed in all the States and Territories, and each one of you here and your friends will have an opportunity to secure a copy. In order to get

this, hand your name and address to the secretary of this convention or communicate with the Hon. Martin Dodge, Director of the Office of Public Road Inquiries, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

It seems auspicious that this great movement should enlist in its support the greatest men of the Nation, the men who are deeply engrossed with other affairs—not only their personal affairs, but with the Government's affairs. When these distinguished gentlemen come here and express to you their sympathy and interest in this movement it does seem that we are on the brink of accomplishing greater things.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to introduce to you Gen. Nelson A. Miles. [Loud applause.]

GOOD ROADS AND CIVILIZATION.

By Gen. NELSON A. MILES, *of the Army of the United States.*

It is gratifying to meet here on this most interesting historic ground delegates not only from every section of our country, but representatives from the foreign countries, who are interested in the noble enterprise of promoting good roads.

I know of no one element of civilization in our country that has been more neglected than the improvement of our roads; yet this is the element that marks the line between barbarism and civilization in any country. The remains of the ancient highways still found in India and Egypt, as well as in the Roman Empire and Peru, indicate the enlightenment that characterized the peoples of those countries centuries ago. In some instances these great avenues were built for war purposes, and yet were of immense industrial and commercial value to the people living in the countries where they were constructed.

Upon the attention paid to these great internal improvements depended to a great extent the strength, progress, and enlightenment of these nations, and their marked superiority over the savage and semicivilized races, who simply followed game trails and lines of water communication, and whose progress and improvement in thousands of years are scarcely perceptible.

The founders of our Government strongly advocated the necessity of opening up and improving the means of internal communication. The immortal Washington retired from the pomp and circumstance of glorious war to occupy the honorable position of a sovereign citizen, and while conducting the affairs of his plantation was president of a transportation company. The author of the Declaration of Independence, the founder of one of our great universities, and the eminent statesman who gave to us this vast empire west of the Mississippi, was right when he said, in a letter addressed to Humboldt: "It is more rememorative, splendid, and noble for the people to spend money on canals and roads that will build and promote social intercourse and commercial facilities than to expend it on armies and navies." He was right again when he said, in a letter to James Ross, "I experience great satisfaction in seeing my country proceed to facilitate intercommunications of several parts by opening rivers, canals, and roads. How much more rational is this disposition of public money than that of waging war!"

No more fitting place could be found for holding this convention than within the borders of this great Commonwealth, located in the most extensive and productive valley on earth, in the heart of our great country, richly stored with the treasures of undeveloped mines, and having a soil of inexhaustible fertility. Your products can be moved by railroads to any quarter of our country, or floated upon the bosom of the Father of Waters to the Gulf and to ports of every country on the globe. No

more appropriate spot could be found for the holding of this convention than here where stands this great city of the West, which was only a village when Jefferson sent the expedition under Lewis and Clarke to find a way across our new territory and map it out for the future pioneer and home builder. Here that eminent statesman, Benton, advocated a road to the Orient, and here Fremont, the great pathfinder, fitted out his expeditions to explore and develop the great western territory.

During the past hundred years the people of this country have devoted more capital, industry, and enterprise to the construction of great commercial railways than have the people of any other country.

Our Government has expended more than \$440,000,000 for the improvement of our harbors and waterways. If such expenditures of the National treasure have been made in the past for the development of railroads and waterways, is it not now most appropriate that the improvement of our roads should receive National attention and Government aid?

Recently I have journeyed over the great Chinese Empire, embracing the largest population of any country on the globe, yet it is in some respects the weakest, as it has neglected one of the most important elements of national strength. The people of one section of that great country are totally uninformed and indifferent as to what is occurring in another part of their own land. Without means of communication and intercourse there can be but little public spirit and patriotism; as a result of this the flags of all great military and naval powers are now flying in the most important districts of that ancient empire.

In our own country we find the conditions quite the reverse. Here the people rule; the welfare of the Republic depends on the patriotism and intelligence of the masses. In order that there may be the noblest and purest patriotism there must be universal intelligence. Any measure, therefore, that brings to the homes of the American people the daily news of the world, that gives the sovereign citizen the truth concerning the affairs of his own country, that affords him a knowledge of the conditions and necessities of his own people, enables him to discharge his duties of citizenship, benefits the entire country, and gives strength and character to the Nation.

The wealth of the nation comes primarily from the ground. The factory and foundry utilize the products of the soil and mine. As agriculture is our principal industry, so the great mass of our rural people are our main dependence; their patriotism, their public spirit, their welfare must ever be the salvation and glory of our Republic. Therefore every measure, whether by the National Government, the State, county, or municipal authorities, that can promote the welfare of the people should be most earnestly advocated.

Any road that can be made useful for industrial and peaceful pursuits can be utilized for military purposes. This is not an empire or a military despotism and therefore it is not necessary to construct roads for purely military purposes.

Our greatest strength and strongest safeguards are in the character of our institutions and the sovereignty of our people, and every measure that benefits them and preserves the character and the integrity of our institutions promotes, perpetuates, and magnifies the prosperity and glory of our common country.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like for the convention to hear a few practical words from a practical farmer. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. R. H. Kern, of Missouri.

THE FARMER'S RIGHT TO RECOGNITION.

By R. H. KERN, of *Macon County, Mo.*

I am commissioned by Governor Dockery to represent in this convention Macon County, Mo. It is the largest coal-producing county in the State and scarcely second to any other county in agricultural importance.

This convention, composed of delegates from every part of this Union, has assembled at a time when representatives of every nation on earth are gathering here to dedicate the great exposition soon to be held to commemorate the purchase of the Louisiana territory, which now contains the homes of nearly 20,000,000 people and almost one-third of the industrial wealth of this Republic. No convention ever gathered to promote a movement nearer the hearts of the people than this good roads convention. In its sweep it reaches every fireside and compasses every material interest of a great people. In the fierce and rapid development of American life the brain has conceived the developing of great arteries of commerce until our products are sent to all the world, no market being closed to us. We are now settling down to the question of taking the product of the farm to the great artery of trade. All the growth of a century has brought to the front the necessity of economy in all work. The people who produce the most with least consumption of time and energy are the winners.

This movement has for its object primarily the relief of the farmer—practically the relief of all the people. The Constitution of our country, as interpreted by the courts, has allowed legislative bodies to vote the people's money to the improvement of rivers and harbors and, indirectly, of railroads. No pen can accurately figure the vast sums in taxes and land grants that have been so used. To this I urge no objection. I hail this work as the basis of our country's wonderful greatness, yet I would be false to the truth if I did not give the fullest recognition to the fact that our farmers have more than contributed their portion to this great work; but the farmer's turn has now come. After a century of loyal support in this direction he is knocking at the doors of the State and the Nation, asking if they will not appropriate money to be used to help him improve the highway from his home to the town. An experience of a hundred years satisfies me that the township or the county alone (save in exceptional cases) is absolutely helpless before the task of doing this work for itself. Hence to-day in this wonderful land of ours, teeming with prosperity, the highways are almost as bad as when Washington crossed the Delaware.

Who asks this aid? The farmer. Who is the farmer? He is the very basis of the wealth of this country. To his character and his labor a large percentage of America's greatness is attributable. No man can say that in all the legislation of a century he has been favored. The great commercial and manufacturing interests of the country have, by organization, molded laws to further their interests. Not so with agriculture. It has gone on bearing its burden.

Is agriculture entitled to recognition? The drought of 1901 ruined the crops of Kansas and Missouri. Corn went to 60 cents a bushel, hay to \$15 a ton, beef to \$7 a hundred, and millions of people went hungry. Our total exports fell off over \$100,000,000, and all because of a crop failure in only two States of the Union. Is the farmer of small importance? More than two-thirds of our total exports are agricultural.

I stand here urging you to sit no longer in your chairs struggling against a hopeless fate. I ask you to rouse yourselves and carry this war into Africa. The rural vote elects a majority of the State and National legislatures. When you select for these places men who are thinking how they can best serve you, instead of how long they can stay in office, who will study your interests and have the courage to carry your wishes in this great fight into laws, you will get the good roads you must have,

and you will never do so any other way. No community can stand the expense of making stone roads. As a rule, I am a strict constructionist, yet I believe under our Constitution the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of our States can pay more than half the expense of good roads and our townships and counties can pay the balance. I am in favor of pledging our votes only to representatives in State and National legislatures who will advocate this use of the taxing power. If we find a candidate who fears that in doing this he is violating the Constitution, then let us pass him by and select a representative who is not so troubled. Let us pass laws like the Brownlow bill, providing aid from the Government when we contribute our part. If our Supreme Court declares it unconstitutional, then let us amend the Constitution. I think no such amendment is necessary. President Jefferson, a strict constructionist, in 1806 approved the bill passed by Congress to build a highway from Cumberland, Md., to Ohio, and 400 miles were built, at a cost of \$7,000,000. The Federal Constitution empowers Congress to provide for the general welfare of the United States. Under this provision millions have been voted for river and harbor improvements. A vast domain has been given to railroads. Popular sentiment appears to be running strongly toward National aid to road improvement. The Tennessee legislature unanimously recommends the passage of the Brownlow bill, and South Carolina's Senators support it.

Believing that this is the cause of the fireside, the school, the church, of the just recognition of the farmer, and the betterment of the people, I favor organization in township, county, State, and Nation. I want the farmers to be able to consolidate the poor country schools into good graded schools on good roads. I want the farmer to be able to haul his produce to the market any day in the year. I own a farm, and I say to the people of my county, "Tax it for free schools, free books, good roads. Every advance of these blessings adds dollars to the value of all farm land."

In 1896 Congress voted \$10,000 for rural mail delivery. The sneerers said it was a waste of money. The farmer said, "It is my recognition." Our last Congress voted over \$12,500,000 to rural mail delivery, and it reaches over 7,000,000 people. When I draw the curtain of the future, I see the farmers' lives falling in pleasant places; the telephone carries his message; the electric railway passes his door; the highway enables him to send his grain to market and save half his life for a better purpose than swearing at the bad roads and balky horses.

When we choose lawmakers who say to us, "If your township does its part, we will see that the State and nation do their parts in building good roads," we shall no longer behold the spectacle of a Congress voting a billion and a half dollars, as now, without one cent being voted for building good roads; but we will see a just recognition of the right of the farmer to participate in an equal and just distribution of taxes for the good of all; we shall see every acre of farm land enhanced 25 per cent in value and a country permeated with good roads, as are France and Switzerland up to and over the very summit of the Alps.

Napoleon was asked the secret of his victory at Austerlitz. His answer was, "Organization." Let us organize for this great work. Victory will then come, and the sun will shine on a contented and happy people.

Mr. Bain, of Cape Girardeau County, Mo., in behalf of the people of that county, presented the chairman of the convention a gavel, which President Moore accepted with a few appropriate remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. I have the honor to present to the convention the Hon. R. H. Jesse, president of the University of Missouri.

THE RELATION OF ROADS TO SCHOOLS.

By R. H. JESSE, *president of the University of Missouri.*

There is probably not a man in this audience, among those fortunate enough to be born in the country, that was not educated in a little schoolhouse consisting of one room and presided over by one teacher. If the teacher happened to be a woman, the daily appeal was to head and heart; if the teacher happened to be a man, the daily appeal was to head and back. The old-fashioned schoolmaster found out that every boy had a nervous system and the best way of stimulating it was through the back. We are too well satisfied with ourselves not to proclaim that good education and manly men came out of such schoolhouses.

But every fair-minded man desires to give to his children and the children of his neighbors better advantages than he himself enjoyed. Wherever good roads make it possible it is entirely feasible now to substitute for the little schoolhouse of one room and one teacher a consolidated schoolhouse with half a dozen rooms and half a dozen teachers. The schoolhouse of one room and one teacher was good, but the consolidated schoolhouse with several teachers is vastly superior.

It does not cost as much to build a schoolhouse of half a dozen rooms as it does to build six schoolhouses of one room; and six teachers working together can do vastly better work for the children than one teacher teaching everything from the first reader to higher mathematics. The expense for teachers in the consolidated school is no higher than in the single schoolhouses.

How are the children brought to this consolidated school? They are carried in wagons that, in cold climates like that of Missouri, are heated by stoves and amply provided with lap robes to keep the children warm. These wagons take all the children within a radius of several miles every day to the schoolhouse, and take them home again in the evening. Instead of having twenty, thirty, or forty children of different ages in one school, so that community spirit is an impossibility among them, because of the diversity of age, and because of the difference in attainments, hundreds of children can gather into this consolidated school, where class spirit and community spirit thrives and where good teaching abounds.

But what could you do with the consolidated schoolhouse in the State of Missouri? This is no new idea to me. I have been longing for years to stump the State, if necessary, in favor of the large consolidated schoolhouse rather than the single schoolhouses sitting at the crossroads. But the wagons could not get 200 yards in most of our counties. Therefore I have had to smother my zeal, hold my tongue, and wait for the consolidated schoolhouse until Missouri wakes to the necessity of good roads. Then not only shall we have consolidated schoolhouses, but also the principal of the school and his wife will live in the school building, or in one close by. [Applause.] The library and reading room of the school will be the library and reading room of the neighborhood. I know country people too well not to know that many of them are hungry for good literature, which they can not get. The main assembly room of the consolidated schoolhouse will be an assembly place for public lectures. The country people like to hear lectures; and I always like to speak before them. It pays to make a good speech before a country audience. They listen to what you say and make practical application of it.

This consolidated schoolhouse will be a lyceum where people will gather, and there will be lectures. There may even be some "loafing" around the schoolhouse. Men will not go to the country store to swap lies, and they will not spend so much time in the barroom. They will sometimes come to the schoolhouse, to the reading room, and the lecture room.

But when shall we in Missouri have the consolidated schoolhouse? Not until we have good roads. I am in favor of free text-books, but I tell you here and now that

free text-books are a trifle compared with good roads and the consolidated school-house. [Loud applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. I will announce as the next speaker a gentleman many of you know, and of whom all of you have heard, the Hon. James Hogg, governor of Texas.

REMARKS ON WAYS AND MEANS.

By Hon. JAMES HOGG, *governor of Texas.*

This convention is here to devise ways and means by which we may have good roads. The first question to be disposed of is the power of the Federal Government to enter into the State and spend the public money for that purpose. Your constitutional lawyers, your Members of Congress may perhaps find a way to remove all constitutional and legal obstacles. But as this is a movement in favor of the farmer and not of the trusts they may not do it.

The next question is as to the means. The Government to-day has an overflowing treasury. The question with those gentlemen down there at Washington is, what to do with the surplus. Some say they should remit or suspend the collection of the internal revenues. That is to help out the whisky dealers, the breweries, the tobacco chewers, etc. They can doubtless find a constitutional way of doing that. [Laughter.] A plethoric treasury means temptation to corruption. If our Government would confine the expenditures from the public treasury to the United States of North America, and not to the United States of the Philippines, we would have plenty of money to build roads and macadamize them all over the United States. If we should give the Philippines away, sell them, or get rid of them in some other way, we could build roads in every section of the United States. We could build up the arid West and irrigate it from one end to the other.

The question is, How are we going to get the means? We are to get the money by economizing abroad in the expenditure of money, and confine that money to the United States of America. [Applause.] I hope you did not call me up here simply to agree with you upon everything. I did not come here expecting to make a speech, and I did not want to make a speech, but when I do make it I will tell you the truth. [Applause.]

It is inconceivable to me that we should have the United States spending millions on Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, while we at home must do without good roads because we are too poor to build them. It is a piece of blundering foolishness that the American people will have to repudiate some day. Wait till we get into a foreign war and it will cost for every gun you fire enough to build several miles of good roads at home. [Applause.] And this is something you had better be thinking of. We have the means if we will only confine the expenditure of them to the United States of America.

Let us build up the old United States, and build them up in grandeur, and show to the world that we may all be free, leave our children free, and enjoy the blessing of good government. [Applause.]

Hon. MARTIN DODGE. I see in the audience a gentleman who comes from the Pacific Northwest and is president of the Washington Good Roads Association. He was born in North Carolina. Although he formerly worked for the Great Northern Railroad, is one of the governing board of Harvard University of the State of Massachusetts, and one of the trustees of Haverford College of the State of Pennsyl-

vania, he usually refers to himself as a farmer from the State of Washington. I move that Mr. Hill be invited to address the convention and speak for the Pacific coast.

The motion was seconded by the delegation from the State of Pennsylvania and adopted by the convention. Mr. Hill spoke extemporaneously, as follows:

FACTORS IN AMERICA'S PROGRESS.

By HON. SAMUEL HILL, *Seattle, Wash.*

I thank the convention for giving me an opportunity to speak for what seems to some the far-away State of Washington. I desire to assure the convention that my State is interested in the great movement which has brought so many men together from different parts of the United States, men of all shades of political opinions, but all united in an earnest desire that the highways of the United States may be improved. Great praise is due to the executive officers of this association for being able to bring together so many earnest and eminent men.

It is true that I was born in North Carolina, and when I went to Minnesota I learned to speak another language, and yet another tongue I found spoken in the State of Pennsylvania; but now, wherever one goes throughout the United States, one language only is spoken. Whether you pick up Sam Bowles's Springfield Republican, Alexander McClure's Philadelphia Times, the Seattle Times, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, or the Commoner of Nebraska, you will find that the people read and think the same things; and this, in part, has contributed to make the people of this country one nation and one people.

There are three forces or influences which have produced this result. First of all comes that dainty little lady, the schoolma'am, with her skirt in her hand and her book under her arm, marching across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bringing education and enlightenment to every part of the country.

The second influence is that of the country editor, the man who molds and shapes the views of the community in which he lives. He represents a type of man the like of which no other country has ever produced, a man who puts the desire to benefit the community in which he lives before his personal ambition and the pursuit of gain. His influence has contributed more, perhaps, to the development of our republican form of government than all other influences combined.

The third influence is that of the transportation companies. President Jesse spoke of the little red brick schoolhouse with one room, and of the six-room graded school coming as a later development. In the same way I would point to the little railroad which succeeded the stage coach and which later united with some other little railroad until in time the trunk line was formed and later the great transcontinental road.

These three factors have enabled America to take the first rank as a progressive and commercial nation in the world to-day.

I differ with Governor Hogg's idea that the United States should confine its energies and should not reach out to the Pacific Ocean, or beyond it. More than a quarter of a century ago I visited Venice, a city of marble palaces crumbling to decay. There is nothing in the sandy soil along the shores of the Adriatic or in the brackish waters of the sea to make it a great city. But a great city was there, or, rather, the remains of a great city. An old Oxford don said to me: "The nation that has controlled the commerce of the Orient has always dictated and shaped the

policy of the world. First the Phœnicians held sway; they brought back rich cargoes from the Orient; then this trade passed to the Venetians, and they held it for hundreds of years; the Lowlands in turn took it; and now my own country, England, has it, and I hope and pray to God she may always keep it. And," said he, "when she took the commerce of the Venetians she took the lira, the soldei, and the denarius, multiplied them by 25, and called them pounds, shillings, and pence."

And England, quick to see that the day of slow transportation has passed away, aided in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, so that until July of 1901 the quickest way to reach the Orient was to cross the Atlantic, to cross America, and to cross the Pacific. Now, thanks to the agencies above named, the United States stands fully equipped to share in that trade and ultimately to control it.

The cost of transportation on land is cheaper in the United States than anywhere else in the world. To move a ton of freight 100 miles in England costs \$2.30; in Germany, \$2; in France, \$1.75; in Russia, \$1.30; but to move it 100 miles in America costs, on the average, only 72 cents.

A few days ago I stood on the shores of the Atlantic at New London, Conn., and saw launched a ship that would carry 8,000 tons more than any ship ever launched before in the history of the world—a ship built without Government aid, a ship built in spite of some obstacles which the Government placed in its way. It would take to fill that ship the loads of 1,000 of the largest freight cars, holding 30 tons each, which would make a train $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long.

And what was this ship built for? Gentlemen of Missouri, it was built to haul your corn. Gentlemen of the State of Kansas, it was built to haul your grain. And, Governor Hogg, it was built to haul cotton from the State of Texas. You may not know it, but last year through the gateway of Puget Sound, from the State of Texas, passed more cotton than through any other port of the United States.

And where did it go? It went across that despised Pacific Ocean, on whose shores live one thousand million people, every one of whom has got a mouth to eat as well as to talk. And yet Governor Hogg would have the hands of the clock moved backward!

The United States, then, has advanced in every way—in education, in manufactures, and in land transportation, and soon, I believe, will be fully equipped for deep-water transportation. Yet the fact remains that in the last one hundred years almost nothing has been done to improve the highways, the country roads, upon which nearly all the traffic of our country must originate; and before it can get a market it must pay a tax greater than it pays for transportation over the steam railroads or over the steamship lines—the tax which is due to bad highways.

You, gentlemen, have come together not for the sake of seeking your own gain, but you have come together as broad-minded, intelligent philanthropists, men who desire to create, not only for yourselves, but for millions yet unborn, a system of permanent highways which shall be the heritage of the whole people—something which shall belong to everybody. And it seems to me that this is the one great distinguishing feature of our Government as opposed to the government of any other people on the face of the earth. If our Government means anything at all, if it stands for anything at all, it is through its desire to aid and benefit the common people; and you can give them no greater heritage than the means of communication with each other over a system of permanent highways, for over these highways can come all the blessings which come to mankind in any land. The school-teacher, the country editor, and the great transportation companies can have access to the farmer if only these facilities are provided.

I thank God we have no classes in America, that we are all one and the same people, that while we think the same things we sympathize with each other in whatever walk of life our destinies may have placed us. The desire of the country

is, as it seems to me, above all others, that the common people may be advanced, may be aided, and raised to higher position.

Wherever we go in foreign lands we find the people uniting in national songs—in England, "God save the King," in France, the "Marseillaise," in Germany, "Die wacht am Rhein." We have no national anthem because our country has not yet found itself, and found its true expression. Perhaps the true spirit of America might be phrased in these words, which seem to me the true essence of American ideals—the desire to aid the common people:

Our fathers fought with Washington; with Lincoln our sons died;
But at the birth of Freedom all arms were laid aside.
In other lands some fought for power, and some for knightly state;
America, thine aim inure to make the people great.
For thee no foreign conquest, no fratricidal strife;
No anarchy, no oppressor, strikes at the Nation's life.
Be thine, O star of destiny, child of great Nature's plan,
To show the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man.

Mr. DODGE. I feel very much encouraged by the volunteer speech which we have just heard. I am informed that we have here a distinguished representative from the great State of Pennsylvania, Hon. W. S. P. Shields, and I hope that we may hear something from him.

Mr. SHIELDS, of Pennsylvania. Organization seems to be the motto of this convention. We must get together and organize now. In my State of Pennsylvania we organized what is called a "Road Drivers Association," and elected a well-known gentleman—Mr. Frank Bowen—president, and he holds that position to-day. We have about 1,400 members. We have organized that association for the promotion of good roads and the protection of horses.

We are going to select for our State legislature, and for the United States Senate and House, men who will pledge themselves to work for good roads and the protection of horses. [Applause.]

We are here to organize, and unless you go home to your township and to your county and start an organization, as we did in Pennsylvania, you will accomplish nothing. Let every member of this organization pledge himself to stand for the candidate who will promise to work and vote for good roads.

You can not go to your Congressman after he has been elected. But wait till his term is up. Or, get after the new man who is nominated. Get him to pledge himself for good roads, and then elect him. In my judgment that is the only way we can accomplish anything.

At this point recess was taken until 2 o'clock p. m.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY, APRIL 28—AFTERNOON SESSION.

President Moore called the convention to order. Hon. William Jennings Bryan appeared upon the platform and was enthusiastically received by the audience.

Mr. Good, of Indiana, read an invitation to the association to hold its next convention at Indianapolis, which was referred to the executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I want now to thank the newspapers of St. Louis for what they have done in our behalf, and for what they say of the work we are doing, and what results may be expected to flow there-

from. It is the press to-day which moulds the opinions of the world regarding this as well as other great movements.

I am now going to introduce to you a man I have known for years, whose heart is as pure as a star—a man who has done much to set every man and woman thinking on the vast problems of our modern world. I know everyone will be gratified to hear him. I am glad to have the distinguished honor and pleasure of presenting to this convention, William Jennings Bryan. [Applause.]

THE ROAD PROBLEM.

By Hon. WILLIAM J. BRYAN, *Lincoln, Nebr.*

I want to acknowledge my obligation to your president, Mr. Moore, for his efforts to enlighten me. He came out to Nebraska some three or four weeks ago and urged upon me the importance of attending this meeting. I have learned more about good roads from him and from the literature that he has brought to my attention than I ever knew before. I want to thank him for the effort he made to turn my attention to this subject.

I hardly know in what capacity I speak to you this afternoon—whether I come as one of the officials of the Jefferson Memorial Road Association, which is interested in rearing a monument to Jefferson, as a citizen of a State carved out of the Louisiana purchase, as the editor of a paper, or as a farmer. I hardly know what my real position is. But I am here, and I am glad the spring has been backward, so I do not lose much time from corn plowing while I am here. [Laughter.]

I have become exceedingly interested in this subject of transportation as I have studied it. They tell us about the wonderful improvement in shipping. I was interested this morning when I heard of the launching of a great boat that would carry more than any other boat ever built. Thus we get some idea of the magnitude of our foreign commerce. In this country we have an amazing railroad development. But nothing to which I have turned my attention in the last few years has seemed to come nearer to the people than this question of good roads. [Applause.] I find there is a new field here, and I have got so far along that I have made up my mind to build a little sample road out on my farm; and not only that, but to do what I can to get my county and my State to do something in the matter of roads. [Applause.]

The expenditure of money for the permanent improvement of the common roads can be defended (1) as a matter of justice to the people who live in the country, (2) as a matter of advantage to the people who do not live in the country, and (3) on the ground that the welfare of the Nation demands that the comforts of country life shall, as far as possible, keep pace with the comforts of city life.

It is a well-known fact, or a fact easily ascertained, that the people in the country, while paying their full share of county, State, and Federal taxes, receive as a rule only the general benefits of government, while the people in the cities have, in addition to the protection afforded by the Government, the advantage arising from the expenditure of public moneys in their midst. The county seat of a county, as a rule, enjoys the refreshing influence of an expenditure of county money out of proportion to its population. The capital of a State and the city where the State institutions are located, likewise receive the benefit of an expenditure of public money out of proportion to their population. When we come to consider the distribution of the moneys collected by the Federal Government, we find that the cities, even in a larger measure, monopolize the incidental benefits that arise from the expenditure of public moneys.

The appropriations of the last session of Congress amounted to \$753,484,018, divided as follows:

Agriculture	\$5,978,160
Army	78,138,752
Diplomatic and consular service	1,968,250
District of Columbia	8,647,497
Fortifications	7,188,416
Indians	8,512,950
Legislative, executive, and judicial departments	27,595,958
Military Academy	563,248
Navy	81,877,291
Pensions	139,847,600
Post-Office Department	153,401,409
Sundry civil	82,722,955
Deficiencies	21,561,572
Permanent annual	132,589,820
Miscellaneous	3,250,000

It will be seen that the appropriation for the Department of Agriculture was insignificant when compared with the total appropriations—less than 1 per cent. The appropriations for the Army and Navy alone amounted to twenty-five times the sum appropriated for the Department of Agriculture. An analysis of the expenditures of the Federal Government will show that an exceedingly small proportion of the money raised from all the people gets back to the farmers directly; how much returns indirectly it is impossible to say, but certain it is that the people who live in the cities receive by far the major part of the special benefits that come from the showering of public money upon the community. The advantage obtained locally from Government expenditures is so great that the contests for county seats and State capitals usually exceed in interest, if not in bitterness, the contests over political principles and policies. So great is the desire to secure an appropriation of money for local purposes that many will excuse a Congressman's vote on either side of any question if he can but secure the expenditure of a large amount of public money in his district.

I emphasize this because it is a fact I have not heard referred to. The point is that the farmer not only pays his share of the taxes, but more than his share, yet very little of what he pays gets back to the farmer.

People in the city pay not only less than their share, as a rule, but get back practically all of the benefits that come from the expenditure of the people's money. Let me show you what I mean when I say that the farmer pays more than his share. The farmer has visible property, and under any form of direct taxation visible property pays more than its share. Why? Because the man with visible property always pays. If he has an acre of land the assessor can find it. He can count the horses and cattle. If the farmer has pigs, they begin to squeal when the assessor comes around [laughter]; he can not hide them. The farmer has nothing that escapes taxation; and, in all direct taxation, he not only pays on all he has, but the farmer who has visible property has to pay a large part of the taxes that ought to be paid by the owners of invisible property, who escape taxation. [Applause.] I repeat, therefore, that the farmer not only pays more than his share of all direct taxation, but that when you come to expend public moneys you do not spend them on the farms, as a rule. You spend them in the cities, and give the incidental benefits to the people who live in the cities.

When we come to indirect taxation, the farmer's share is even more, because when you come to collect taxes through indirection and on consumption you make people pay not in proportion to what they have but in proportion to what they need. And God has so made us that the farmer needs as much as anybody else, even though he has not as much with which to supply his needs as other people. In our indirect taxation, therefore, for the support of the Federal Government the farmers pay even more out of proportion to their wealth and numbers. We should remember also

that when we collect taxes through consumption we make the farmer pay not only on that which is imported, but upon much of that which is produced at home. Thus the farmer's burden is not measured by what the Treasury receives, but is frequently many times what the Treasury receives. Thus under indirect taxation the burden upon the farmer is greater than it ought to be; yet when you trace the expenditure of public moneys distributed by the Federal Government you find that even in a larger measure special benefits go to the great cities and not to the rural communities.

The improvement of the country roads can be justified also on the ground that the farmer, the first and most important of the producers of wealth, ought to be in position to hold his crop and market it at the most favorable opportunity, whereas at present he is virtually under compulsion to sell it as soon as it is matured, because the roads may become impassable at any time during the fall, winter, or spring. Instead of being his own warehouseman the farmer is compelled to employ middlemen, and share with them the profits upon his labor.

I believe, as a matter of justice to the farmer, he ought to have roads that will enable him to keep his crop and take it to the market at the best time, and not place him in a position where they can run down the price of what he has to sell during the months he must sell, and then, when he has disposed of it, run the price up and give the speculator what the farmer ought to have.

The farmer has a right to insist upon roads that will enable him to go to town, to church, to the schoolhouse, and to the homes of his neighbors, as occasion may require; and, with the extension of rural mail delivery, he has additional need for good roads in order that he may be kept in communication with the outside world.

A great deal has been said, and properly so, in regard to the influence of good roads upon education. In the convention held at Raleigh, N. C., the account of which I had the pleasure of reading, great emphasis was placed upon the fact that you can not have a school system such as you ought to have unless the roads are in condition for the children to go to school.

While we are building great libraries in the great cities we do not have libraries in the country; and there ought to be a library in every community. Instead of laying upon the farmer the burden of buying his own books, we ought to make it possible for the farmer to have the same opportunity as the people in the city to use the same books, and thus economize on the expense of a library. I agree with Professor Jesse in regard to the consolidation of schoolhouses in such a way as to give the child in the country the same advantages which the child in the city has. We have our country schools, but it is impossible in any community to have a well-graded school with only a few pupils, unless you go to great expense. In cities, when a child gets through the graded school he can remain at home, and, without expense to himself or his parents, go on through the high school. But if the country boy or girl desires to go from the graded school to the high school, as a rule it is necessary to go to the county seat and there board with some one; so the expense to the country child is much greater than to the child in the city. I was glad, therefore, to hear Professor Jesse speak of such a consolidation of schools as will give to the children in the country advantages equal to those enjoyed by the children of the city.

And as you study this subject, you find it reaches out in every direction; it touches us at every vital point. What can be of more interest to us than the schooling of our children? What can be of more interest to every parent than bringing the opportunity of educational instruction within the reach of every child? It does not matter whether a man has children himself or not. He may have the kind of family that they say the graduates of Yale and Harvard have, averaging about three. Or, he may have one large enough to excite the admiration of the President. [Laughter and applause.] No matter whether he is guilty of race suicide or race flood, no matter whether he has few children or many, every citizen of a community is interested

in the intellectual life of that community. Sometimes I have heard people complain that they were overburdened with taxes for the education of other people's children. My friends, the man who has no children can not afford to live in a community where there are children growing up in ignorance; the man with none has the same duty as the man with many, barring the personal pride of the parent.

I say, therefore, that anything that contributes to the general diffusion of knowledge, anything that makes more educated boys and girls throughout our country, is a matter of intense interest to every citizen, whether he be the father of a family or not; whether he lives in the country or in the town.

And ought not the people have the opportunity to attend church? I am coming to believe that what we need in this country, even more than education of the intellect, is the education of the moral side of our nature. I believe, with Jefferson, that the church and the state should be separate. I believe in religious freedom, and I would not have any man's conscience fettered by act of law; but I do believe that the welfare of this Nation demands that man's moral nature shall be educated in keeping with his brain and with his body. In fact, I have come to measure civilization by the harmonious development of the body, the mind, and the heart. We make a mistake if we believe that this Nation can fulfill its high destiny and mission either with mere athletes or mere scholars. We need the education of the moral sense; and if these good roads will enable men, women, and children to go more frequently to church, and there hear expounded the gospel and receive inspiration therefrom, that alone is reason enough for good roads. [Applause.]

The people of the towns, especially the rural towns, are interested in making it possible for the people in the country to reach their local market or trading place during all times of the year, for, throughout the agricultural portion of the country at least, the villages and the cities rest upon and derive their support from the farms. The farm is the life of the city, and the people in the cities are intensely and vitally interested in enabling the country people to get to the towns to do their trading. Sometimes I have heard country merchants express dissatisfaction because the people of the country would buy of the mail-order house. If the country merchant wants to keep his trade at home, let him make the roads good between his patron and his store. That is the best way. [Applause.]

There is a broader view of this question, however, that deserves consideration. The farm is, and always has been, conspicuous because of the physical development it produces, the intellectual strength it furnishes, and the morality it encourages. The young people in the country find health and vigor in the open air and in the exercise which farm life gives; they acquire habits of industry and economy; their work gives them opportunity for thought and reflection; their contact with nature teaches them reverence, and their environment promotes good habits. The farms supply our colleges with their best students and they also supply our cities with leaders in business and professional life. In the country there is neither great wealth nor great poverty—"the rich and the poor meet together" and recognize that "the Lord is the father of them all." There is a fellowship and, to use the word in its broadest sense, a democracy, in the country that is much needed to-day to temper public opinion and protect the foundations of free government. A larger percentage of the people in the country than in the city study public questions, and a smaller percentage are either corrupt or are corrupted. It is important, therefore, for the welfare of our Government and for the advancement of our civilization that we make life upon the farm as attractive as possible. Statistics have shown the constant increase in the urban population and the constant decrease in the rural population from decade to decade. Without treading upon controversial ground or considering whether this trend has been increased by legislation hostile to the farm, it will be admitted that the Government is in duty bound to jealously guard the interests of the rural population, and, as far as it can, make farm life inviting. In the employ-

ment of modern conveniences the city has considerably outstripped the country, and naturally so, for in a densely populated community the people can by cooperation supply themselves with water, light, and rapid transit at much smaller cost than they can in a sparsely settled country. But it is evident that during the last few years much has been done to increase the comforts of the farm. In the first place, the rural mail delivery has placed millions of farmers in daily communication with the world. It has brought not only the letter but the newspaper to the door. Its promised enlargement and extension will make it possible for the wife to order from the village store and have her purchases delivered by the mail carrier.

The telephone has also been a great boon to the farmer. It lessens by one-half the time required to secure a physician in case of accident or illness—an invention which every mother can appreciate.

The extension of the electric-car line also deserves notice. It is destined to extend the borders of the city and to increase the number of small farms at the expense of flats and tenement houses. The suburban home will bring light and hope to millions of children.

But after all this, there still remains a pressing need for better country roads. As long as mud placed an embargo upon city traffic the farmer could bear his mud-made isolation with less complaint, but with the improvement of city streets and with the establishment of parks and boulevards, the farmers' just demands for better roads finds increasing expression.

Just to what extent action should be taken by the Federal Government, the State government, the county, and the precinct, or in what proportion the burden should be borne is a question for discussion; but that country roads should be constructed with a view to permanent and continuous use is scarcely open to debate. There must be a recognition of disease before there can be an intelligent discussion of a remedy, but when the disease is once located the people may be depended upon to find not only a remedy, but the right remedy. The people now realize that bad roads are indefensible, and are prepared to consider the remedy.

I have tried to show that from every standpoint, the farmer's standpoint, the standpoint of the citizen of the town, and the broader standpoint of the patriot, the farmer's needs must be looked after. And when this disease of bad roads is once understood, then you can trust the intelligence of the American people to find the remedy. Meetings like this will not only emphasize the fact that bad roads are indefensible, but will bring out men who are interested in these questions, who have studied them and can present remedies for your consideration. I have enough confidence in the patriotism and intelligence of the American people to believe that in the clash of ideas and conflict of views the best will always be triumphant. Under our form of government people not only have a right to sit in judgment upon every suggestion made, but have the right of suggestion, and it is in the magnitude of this counsel that there is safety.

And now, my friends, let me thank the officers of this association for this opportunity, this necessity, I may say, of studying a question which had escaped my notice, but which, upon inquiry, seems to me not only a large one, but one that vitally affects all the people of our land. [Loud applause.]

The committee on programme reported as follows:

The committee on programme recommends the carrying out of the programme as now arranged, so far as possible, and that, where it is necessary to substitute speakers for those whose names appear on the printed programme, but who are not here, the president be authorized to name the substitutes, and that these substitutes be limited to ten minutes for their remarks, and that all speeches on questions of debate on the floor be limited to five minutes' time.

On motion, duly seconded, this report was adopted.

The secretary read a telegram of congratulation and encouragement from Mr. R. W. Wright, night editor of the Chicago Chronicle, who was on the programme for an address on "The press and the roads," but was unable to attend the convention. On motion, his address was ordered printed in the proceedings of the convention.

THE PRESS AND THE ROADS.

By ROBERT WORTHINGTON WRIGHT, *Journalist, Chicago, Ill.*

The development of the American press has been more rapid than the building of good roads, and hence it is in a position to give indispensable aid to this movement and to arouse public sentiment in its favor. The press should, and I believe does, stand for all that represents and makes for good government; and, as good roads and good government are inseparable, I feel certain that the newspaper men of the country will join me in pledging their support to the cause of the National Good Roads Association.

To paraphrase a famous saying: "I care not who makes the laws of a country; let me make its roads and I will make it great." Generations are born, live their brief span, build their monuments doomed to decay, and pass on to make way for others. Good roads are the deeds that live after them, and a new motto should be, "By their roads you shall know them."

As a wheelman and a horseman for many years, with bitter experience on American highways, I know that many roads ought never to have been built at all. As a newspaper man, I look to this association to educate and interest the people through its own efforts and the medium of the press to a proper realization of the importance of the good roads movement.

The best roadmaker in the world is the newspaper. Printer's ink and white paper properly combined will build more roads than all the machinery that ever lay idle in a warehouse. The same machinery is inert and powerless until ink and paper, with brains back of the combination, have done their work to mould public opinion to its proper use on our public highways.

Speaking from the standpoint of a metropolitan newspaper man, I realize that there is much to be done in the matter of publicity for this movement. These great gatherings are well enough in their way. Any man who attends this convention must needs have a broader and more comprehensive knowledge of the subject, and must be imbued with greater enthusiasm for individual effort in his own field. But more concerted effort is needed. Conventions are forgotten. The interest born of enthusiasm such as this is prone to die easily. The average editor is glad to give generous mention of such an important gathering as this, and, if in his own news territory, allows it extended space. That generally ends his specific interest in the subject. If something is needed later in the way of awakening the public, the editor of the city daily fails to see where perfunctory notices on the general subject of good roads will interest his readers, sell his paper, or generally add to the standing of the property he represents.

The plan of a general campaign of newspaper publicity in behalf of this movement is one that should invite the best thought and efforts of the advocates of good roads. The work can not be done through trade or class journals alone, nor can it be accomplished entirely, or even in more important aspects, through the so-called metropolitan press. There are too many other matters of national interest demanding the attention and space in the papers in the great cities, and the good roads movement must necessarily be incidental and take its place in the general run of news. Speaking personally, as one who helps to make such a paper, I may say that we are interested in your work; we believe in good roads; we wish the movement

success, and will do what we can to aid it. If you have anything new and interesting, we are glad to have you give it to us, but it must be timely and of general and immediate interest. It is a wise man in these days who can command any extended space in a big newspaper, unless he does or says something that whets the public appetite for live news.

It is not the great city daily, however, that represents most accurately the trend of public thought or that moulds the opinion of the mass of newspaper readers. This is particularly true as regards the good roads movement. You must depend upon the farmers, the citizens, and the taxpayers of the smaller cities, the substantial business men and property holders in the vast territory outside the control of the metropolitan authorities, for the support of this association and the cause it champions. You should apply to the country editor. He is a power in the land and long may he prosper. Get your literature out to the editors in the towns and cities that go to make up the great American press. They represent the people and they will be glad to aid you. Not that they will print matter that the city editor would throw away, but their readers are more directly interested in the subject. There is a wide difference between roads and pavements. In Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and other big centers it is a question of paving, which I believe your association has wisely kept away from. But give the country editors something fresh and new in the way of improving the roads in their own sections, such as timely articles on the subject of road construction and suggestions for the organization of good roads associations. Divide the country into sections and work it by degrees as far as circumstances will permit. Impress upon the editor that the people look to him to help them. Have him influence the Congressman from his district to push the movement for a big National appropriation to help build roads. Boom the proposition that good roads are a better investment for the people than the improvement of a lot of one-horse rivers and creeks. Don't frighten the farmer with too big figures or too much talk of a National highway. The farmer pays the tax, and as a rule he does not care much about the road proposition except as it will help get his crops to market or his family to church on Sunday. Don't talk big taxes, but economy, and above all get in touch with the country editor. Send him your literature, keep in touch with him, get him to educate the farmer on the road movement, and wake up the influential citizens of his town. He is interested in everything that pertains to the good of his community. Cultivate him. He will print much matter that will aid the movement and which would be lost if sent to the big papers. The use of the various newspaper syndicates for the dissemination of this class of literature is a subject which should be looked into by this association.

The trade press occupies a no less important field in its way. Its influence, its prestige, its labors for the cause of good roads are deserving of the highest praise, and it is an indispensable adjunct to the movement. In commending your attention to the all-powerful influence of the press I do not wish to minimize in any way the work of the able trade journals that have represented this movement in the past, but more especially to emphasize the value of a news campaign among the great moulders of public opinion in America—the editors of the country press.

The CHAIRMAN. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you a man who has been a pioneer in the good roads movement, who saw the necessity of it before the Office of Public Road Inquiry was established. When the great exposition was held in Chicago, General Stone was the man who went to the association and had built the sample roads that appeared at Chicago. General Stone then took the matter to Congress, which created the Office in 1893. He will now tell you something of what he knows about the national movement for good roads.

GOOD ROADS AND HOW TO GET THEM.

By Gen. ROY STONE, *of New York, N. Y.*

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Ten years ago three great leaders were fighting their separate battles for good roads in the United States. Colonel Pope in the East, Judge Thayer, of Iowa, in the West, and Isaac B. Potter all along the line. They had little faith, however, in a national movement; and they had seen too many State conventions fail to materialize. In fact, so forlorn a venture did it seem that, although a goodly number signed my call, I dared not ask for a dollar toward the expense of calling or holding the convention, and had, therefore, the high privilege of financing it alone.

My success in assembling that convention was due to the press of the United States; its happy outcome was due to the newspapers of Chicago, which gave columns and pages to its proceedings, in the midst of all the news of the dedication of their great "White City."

With this grand send-off our National League for Good Roads, organized there, was able to raise \$10,000 for a year's campaign, and that campaign, among other things, brought about the organization of the Office of Public Road Inquiries at Washington, and all the great work accomplished by it in ten years.

THE CHANGED CONDITIONS.

Comparing the conditions of to-day with those of ten years ago we see the progress of the country most strikingly displayed. But progress in road sentiment is perhaps more marked than in any other line. The convention of 1892 was called by a few private enthusiasts, with fear and trembling for the result; this convention was called by a multitude of high officials in perfect confidence of the Nation's interest and participation. In 1892 our delegates were self-appointed; here they are appointed by municipalities, States, and public bodies. In that convention we dared not whisper "National aid to road building" save in secret; now we can shout it on all the highways and byways. At that time a majority of the people of the United States had never seen a good road; to-day, through National object lessons and good roads trains, it is a familiar sight to nearly every one. Then, even State aid was denounced as a dangerous experiment; now it is being generally adopted. In those days to borrow money for good roads was denounced as "robbery of future generations;" to-day it is accounted a blessing, and especially to them. Everywhere counties are borrowing money for highways, and the States of New York and Pennsylvania are preparing to issue road bonds amounting to many millions of dollars. At that time you would have paralyzed a Congressman by even hinting at a Government appropriation for public roads; now he only asks "how much," and puts his ear to the ground again.

But the most important change of all has developed south of Mason and Dixon's line. That section was believed to be especially hostile to National action and absolutely hidebound in its strict-construction ideas; now it is foremost in the growing feeling, which is likely soon to become a public demand, that the Nation shall insure the people the indispensable primal means of communion and intercourse, a universal system of good common roads.

Since 1892 an entirely new force has appeared in the good roads field and one whose influence can not now be measured or bounded. Already the automobile industry is one of the most active and powerful in the land, and its representatives fully realize that its ultimate success is bound up with that of road improvement, for in France, where the roads are good, it leads all other manufacturing industries in size and profit.

Such are the happy auspices under which this great convention inaugurates the new good roads campaign. These conditions warrant the utmost freedom in the discussion of ways and means and methods of road construction.

NATIONAL AID.

For fear, however, that the convention should be led by such free discussion to waste itself and its influence on abstractions or side issues, I hope it will first decide to make a strong presentation to Congress of the "Brownlow bill for National aid." The people are ready for a measure of this kind, and it will give us good fighting ground. The opposition which will come from other seekers after appropriations will consolidate the friends of good roads in Congress and out, while the discussion may help to develop alternative plans that will move on lines of less resistance.

The Brownlow bill should be indorsed by this convention and passed by Congress. What can be done further to accelerate our progress toward the great end? Even if we can secure an annual appropriation of \$20,000,000, and it is supplemented by State aid of a like amount, it will be totally inadequate to any prompt realization of good roads for the whole country. The youngest of you here will never see the work half done, and we veterans will scarce see a beginning. Indeed, such appropriations, liberal as they seem, will not much more than keep pace with the extension of roads in the newer sections of the country, and the great bulk of the undertaking will always be ahead of us, while the record of National and State taxation will pile up against road improvement and make a constantly growing argument for its opponents. If the problem should be solved it will not be the first time in our history when "main strength and awkwardness" have laid down their burden and pure ingenuity has walked away with it.

How to lift off the burden of bad roads without putting a burden of taxation in its place is the question for this body to discuss and determine, and on that question every delegate must carry such light as he can home to his neighbors. And here, I may be pardoned for saying, as regards the estimate of the annual loss by bad roads, which I announced officially some years ago and which has been derided by many wisecracks who are perhaps not to blame for what they don't know, it was the result of a thorough digestion of well-ascertained facts, the boiled-down experience of 10,000 intelligent farmers in all parts of the country, honestly applied to the census returns and other official data, and I would not to-day discount it nor abate one dollar from its enormous total of six hundred millions.

STEEL ROADS.

We have invented railroads and perfected them, but it has occurred to but few of us that the same means of "smoothing the way" is open to us on common roads, and that there is no more reason for running a wagon over stones and dirt than a locomotive.

Within the last few years European engineers have wakened to the fact, and successful experiments have been made with steel tracks for wagons in Germany and even in Spain. In this country, with our little appropriation for the Office of Public Road Inquiries, we have tried to experiment with steel, but always with some cheap makeshift of construction that gave us no result.

A year ago I persuaded the Automobile Club of America to make a thorough test of steel tracks in city and country, and with the liberal aid of the president of the United States Steel Corporation we are doing so. Special plates 12 inches wide were rolled with a heavy downward flange and slight upward bead at each edge. These were laid in a New York street last autumn, simply bedded in a trench of gravel on a shallow foundation of rough stones, the plates being riveted together end to end with side and bottom fish plates, and tied occasionally by a cross rod. They have

not varied in line or level under a heavy traffic, and have so favorably impressed the engineers of the city that they have been ordered for use along the docks, and bids are asked for extensions in streets intended for heavy trucking.

The traction on the plates is found to be much lighter than on a good stone block pavement.

This is not the place to go into details, but I think I can maintain these points:

First. That the steel roads will be cheaper to build than good stone roads in many places, and especially in the Mississippi Valley, where in many parts hard rock is absent.

Second. That in all places they will be much cheaper to maintain.

Third. That they will greatly reduce the cost of hauling, both in the amount of power required and the wear and tear of animals and equipment.

The common field stones and bank gravel will serve for foundation; or, where they can not be had, burnt clay will do equally well. A few inches of gravel to cover over the track between the plates can always be brought by railroad, if necessary.

BONDS GUARANTEED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The Government of the United States has repeatedly used both its cash and its credit in promoting different kinds of public works; it has even loaned its credit to private corporations for the public good. If it is to give aid to road building, the form of that aid is a matter of expediency, not of power or precedent. The only questions to be settled are, what will do the most good and what are the safeguards offered.

The Government's credit would give almost unlimited aid. Its guaranty would enable the local communities to borrow money at 2 per cent, and to postpone payment indefinitely or forever. As to safeguards, the communities which borrow money on such terms, for such a purpose, could afford to give whatever security the Government might demand for its guaranty; and the investment itself would multiply its own security, since every dollar put into road building adds \$5 to \$10 to property values in the vicinity.

For a further safeguard to the Government, the State, having the special power of taxation to protect itself, could guarantee the county bonds without the slightest risk to itself. It could even reserve the power to take tolls on roads in default as the easiest method of collection.

USE OF POSTAL SAVINGS.

Every civilized nation but ours, and some of the half-civilized, give to their rural districts, even the most remote, the benefit of taking care of private savings through postal agencies. We refuse this to ours, ostensibly, because we have no permanent debt in which to invest the deposit; really, perhaps, because the banking interests mistakenly oppose it.

Why not open the door of the National Treasury, take in the rural savings, invest the money in road improvement bonds, and get it into circulation and general business?

There is money enough hidden away where the banks never get a smell of it to build more roads than we could pay for by taxes in a whole generation. Why not establish these agencies, develop thrift and economy, and add security to rural existence? The innumerable household hoards that now tempt cupidity to crime, and endanger life in lonely homes, would be speedily emptied of their idle treasure, turned into paying investments, and through them into channels of trade and production. Can we imagine any truer poetic justice than letting the farmer build his own good roads with his own idle money and still have that money safely at interest for his own benefit?

Now, Mr. President, I only fear that I have proved too much, that it must appear too good to be true—not only to get good roads but better ones than we have ever dreamed of, not only to get this great blessing and get it now, but to get it for nothing, not only to get it for nothing but to have other blessings thrown in, to get Federal aid without Federal taxation, State aid without State taxation, and local initiative without increased local taxation, altogether must seem Utopian and visionary. I quite admit it and I expect that criticism. I do not even ask this convention to take it into serious consideration; it is too rich a feast for quick digestion; but I will ask the convention to provide for a deliberate study of my plans, both constructive and financial, by some of the best practical talent at its command. If I may claim any credit for work done for good roads in past years I believe I may safely ask this consideration at your hands. It is the problem of our time and I have struggled with it all my life. If I have not lost my head in the effort so that I am no judge of the result, the problem is nearer solution than the most sanguine friends of good roads have dared to hope.

But whatever may be the fate of my proposition, good roads are coming whether by easy ways or hard. Federal aid is in the air; our young statesmen are eager to promote it, and our oldest no longer have the cold shivers when it is mentioned. It has reached the very top. Within this month a President of the United States has said what no President has dared to breathe in almost a hundred years—that the Federal Government can and should “cooperate” in the building of common roads. For these brave words every advocate of road improvement in the land, and they are millions upon millions, will join me in saying, “God bless the fearless man who uttered them.”

The CHAIRMAN. In Pennsylvania the legislature has just made an appropriation of \$6,500,000. Dr. Rhodes will tell us about that.

PENNSYLVANIA'S NEW ROAD LAW.

By Dr. W. L. RHODES, of Lansdowne, Pa.

The legislature of Pennsylvania has within the last four weeks made the most liberal provision for State aid to good roads that is on any statute book in the Union, and the measure has been signed by our governor. We of Pennsylvania are good old Quaker stock, as a rule, and move slowly but surely. It may interest you to know that we have the oldest turnpike road in the United States, the old York road leading from Philadelphia to York, constructed in 1711. We have also the oldest macadam road on this side of the ocean, macadamized in 1792, and known at that time as the best road on this side of the ocean. We have in Philadelphia the longest straight street in any municipality of the world, Broad street, which is, I think, 9 miles long and paved for that distance.

Our good roads law, originated by Mr. Sproles, father of the Sproles law, of Philadelphia, was lately enacted by our legislature. It is a combination of the features of the Higbee act of New York and the Hamilton road bill of Pennsylvania. As it was signed by the governor after being amended, the community in which the improved road is built pays one-sixth of the expense of the road and the county pays one-sixth, which together make one-third; and the State pays the other two-thirds.

The Sproles good roads law appropriates \$6,500,000 to be spent by the State in six years—\$500,000 to be available the first year, \$500,000 the second year, and after that \$1,000,000 each year for two years, and the remaining \$3,500,000 in the remaining two years. The bill provides for the appointment by the governor, with the consent of the senate, of one road commissioner, who must be a civil engineer and

thoroughly competent to take up the question of improved highway building. The locality that wants improved roads applies through the supervisor. If the supervisor will not apply—and of course we sometimes have arbitrary supervisors—the application can be made by the county commissioners. In case they do not apply, the majority of tax-paying people whose property abuts on that road may go to the circuit court and compel the county commissioner to apply for State aid. An outline of the road is given to the State highway commissioner, and, if he deems it of sufficient importance as far as the location and travel are concerned, he appoints some one to visit the road and prepare a detailed map and report of its condition and the probable cost of making it a highway according to the State's requirements. Then the cost to the community is calculated, and if the people see fit to spend the money the work is let under contract. The township has a right to bid for the contracts the same as any private individual or corporation. Of course the commissioners can reject any and all bids. After the contract is let the road must be made up to the State's standard. Then, as I say, the State pays two-thirds, the county one-sixth, and the immediate vicinity or township one-sixth.

We call our subdivisions of the counties townships. I myself live in the township of Upper Darby. Now, if any road is built under this law in Upper Darby one-sixth of the cost thereof must be paid by the taxpayers of Upper Darby. If the road is in a part of two townships, then each township must pay its proportional cost of that improvement up to one-sixth of the entire cost.

A DELEGATE. When is that collected—annually or at once?

Dr. RHODES. At once; upon completion of the road the money from the county and State is collectible at once, upon order of the county commissioner upon the State's funds.

Mr. MOORE. What constitutes a township in Pennsylvania? We want to know about how many taxpayers are in one of those townships.

Dr. RHODES. I regret to say that I can not tell you what constitutes a township. Pennsylvania is divided into counties and those counties into townships. The township in which I live is five times as large and has twenty-five times as many taxpayers as some others in the same section of the State. So I do not know that there is any rule for the size or shape of the township. We have counties of all sizes and shapes.

A DELEGATE. Are not the townships created by county courts?

Dr. RHODES. Yes; at present. The early creations I can not answer for. I am happy to say I am not responsible for that.

The township levies the township road tax. It must at the same time levy a certain proportion for county purposes for use on county bridges, etc.

A DELEGATE. Will you give us an idea of what constitutes a standard road—of what it is built and how it is built?

Dr. RHODES. We did not establish any legal standard for road building. That is left entirely to the discretion of the highway commissioner. As far as practical road building is concerned, I regret to say that I have no experience.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the gentlemen of the convention that every question you are now discussing you will find fully answered in the bulletins supplied by the Government without any expense. You can get them by making application to the Hon. Martin Dodge, Director, Office Public Road Inquiries, Washington, D. C.

A DELEGATE. What we have been listening to is all right, but some of us live in places where we do not think it would be possible to construct a road of any ordinary material that will stand. I would

suggest to those like myself, who have such conditions to overcome, the best thing to do is to put down logs 6 to 8 inches in diameter. I have known such roads built thirty years ago by the Federal Government that are yet in good passable condition.

Mr. MOORE. Have you had any experience with creeping sand?

The DELEGATE. Such a road as I have described will be just like a pontoon bridge across a river.

Mr. MOORE. In building such roads, before you put on your logs, you should take long swamp hay or grass and lay it crosswise on your roads, first; then put a little soil on the hay, then put on the logs. The hay will last twelve to eighteen months before it rots and then the sand will not creep.

The secretary read a telegram received from Hon. A. W. Campbell, deputy minister of public works of Canada, and Hon. Andrew Patullo, member of Canadian parliament and president of Canadian Good Roads Association, regretting that important road legislation before the Dominion parliament prevented their attending the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to introduce Mr. George C. Power, the man who was in charge of the first good roads train, that of the Illinois Central Railroad.

Mr. POWER. The Illinois Central Railroad Company was approached by Mr. Moore and his associates and asked to run a good roads train over our territory south. As a result of that meeting the Illinois Central Railroad ran a train from Chicago to New Orleans and back toward Louisville. The expense of this train was paid for by the railroad company.

As the result of that campaign there has been a very great interest created and a strong sentiment for good roads has been developed. We see it every day, and we stand ready as a railroad company to foster and help all we possibly can everything that will benefit this good roads movement. I think I am safe in saying that all the railroads in the country, under their present management, are ready to take hold and do anything that is consistent to help out this movement.

On our road we have gone so far as to have samples of road material sent to the road inquiry office at Washington to be tested, and those samples are on file in our office for the benefit of people along our line. We propose to keep on forever, if necessary, or until such a time as this movement for good roads shall reach its climax.

The CHAIRMAN. These good roads trains are responsible for a great number of these delegates being here to-day. We feel very grateful, indeed, and can only say again to the officials of the Illinois Central and the other great railroad systems that we appreciate what they have done to advance the interests of good roads throughout the nation.

BITUMEN AS A ROAD MATERIAL.

By FRED J. WARREN, *of West Newton, Mass.*

In order to give my statements, perhaps, a little more force than otherwise they would have, it might be proper to state my experience. I have no special ability, but simply happened to have the opportunity to be brought up in a family interested in bituminous products. They were the first importers of asphalt. For twenty years I had devoted my time as a practical constructor of asphalt pavements, after a few years in the refineries, and for the last four years I have been interested in investigating the use of bituminous materials, especially for the use of streets in cities. I have been operating a laboratory at an expense of about \$20,000 a year for the purpose of examining and finding out the causes of failure in bituminous pavements.

The Hon. Judge Wood, of this city, in a recent case on paving, stated a very apt thing, which is absolutely true: "If you take the same things and use them in the same way, you will always get the same results. And when you assume to say that you have used the same things and have not gotten the same results, it is self-evident that you have not had the same things, or have not used them in the same way." It is a fact which can not be gainsaid that bitumens have proven their actual usefulness.

A DELEGATE. I object to the gentleman's speech, because I do not understand that this convention was intended to advertise any man's goods.

Mr. WARREN (continuing). I intend to speak of no material, absolutely none, and no process, except to say that I believe it is possible to build a good road, so good that all the people will unite on the use of that material, and will agree on it. I believe that it is not possible to-day, but I believe it will be possible to use bitumen, and scientific investigation will show that a combination of bitumen and stone, or something else, will produce a road so desirable that all the people will believe it is worth the cost and bring about legislation for the building of such roads. This may not come soon, but I believe it will come some time. I believe it will be one of the great works of this century.

I think the contract system is an abortion and a fraud. I am a contractor, and represent a concern that does about \$2,000,000 worth of contract work a year, and I will say to you that you pay 50 cents a square yard more by the contract system, simply because of the defects of the system. Your laws are passed with the idea that the men whom you put in office are going to rob you. You provide precautionary laws that restrict them. You deprive them of individual judgment. One city copies what another city does. The result is we do not move forward. If you will pass laws leaving the discretion in the matter to the executive officer having charge of the road, and permit him to complete it, you will put the contractor out of business and get a road at less than it costs to-day.

You assume that your officials are dishonest, and you put methods in their hands whereby they can follow the letter of the law and still be dishonest. If you assume a man is dishonest you will make him dishonest. Put him on his responsibility, and he knows and feels that he is responsible for his acts. Then if he does not take advantage of the opportunity and produce good results, put him out of his job. Everyone ought to be selfish enough to protect his own interests.

The first thing to do to get good roads is to get good legislation. Then each individual county or city should not try to learn everything by its own experience. That is too expensive. It costs millions to learn the good roads business, and the benefit of all experience should be made available for all.

Now, I will get down to the practicality of good roads. Reference has been made to "building a road in the sky." Gentlemen, I never saw a good road built on the ground until it had been built in the brain of the competent builder.

Telford proposed to build a road 18 inches thick with big stones at the bottom. Macadam found he did not need large stones. In Massachusetts you will find as good roads built of 4 inches of total depth as you will find anywhere in the world. When you want economy get good material. Don't use poor material under any circumstances. You will come nearer getting your money's worth if you pay \$10 for good stone than if you pay 50 cents a ton for poor stone. One-half inch of good stone will wear longer than an inch of poor stone. If you will roll it when dry, dirt is as good a foundation as can be built, and a load on a broad tire can not cut into it if it is kept dry. You need a foundation provided with drainage. If you keep the dirt dry, it will always furnish a good foundation and you only want enough foundation to furnish drainage to take care of the surface water. If you can make a road surface waterproof, I think one and a half inches of surface is as good as a foot deep. It is worth trying. When you do that bitumen is a cheap road material. By virtue of the contract system, the entire bitumen business has been organized into combinations so as to require the payment of interest on the investments equal to \$75 per ton—enough to pay for paving all the roads in the country.

The convention then adjourned for the day.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29—MORNING SESSION.

Convention was called to order by President William H. Moore.

The Rev. James W. Lee, pastor Centenary Church, St. Louis, offered prayer.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The committee on resolutions presented the following report through Hon. T. G. Harper, chairman of the committee:

Mr. HARPER. Our committee had a very large volume of resolutions submitted from various parts of the country, and it would have been impossible to embody all the ideas they contained. Many of them dealt largely with details. We think, however, we have included all those of a general nature, which it would be advisable for us to submit. The following are the resolutions we propose:

Be it resolved by the National Good Roads Convention, assembled in St. Louis, Mo., April 27, 28, and 29, 1903:

1. That the building of good roads in the United States is of paramount importance to National prosperity and commercial supremacy.

2. That we indorse the work of the Office of Public Road Inquiries of the United States Department of Agriculture for the betterment of the public highways of the country; and we believe this Office should be enlarged into a bureau of the Department of Agriculture with sufficient appropriations at its disposal to extend its work into all the States, and that we especially urge the Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for such increased appropriation.

3. That the greatest progress in the improvement of the public highways has been made in the States which have adopted the principle of State and local cooperation, and consequently this convention declares itself in favor of State aid in the improvement of the public highways.

4. That we believe the appropriations heretofore made by the National Government for the building of railroads and canals and the improvement of rivers and harbors have been wise and beneficent; but that we also believe a Federal appropriation for the improvement of our common highways has now become necessary to

extend the blessings of intelligence, to promote a high order of citizenship among all classes of people, and to meet the ever-growing necessities of the agricultural classes. We therefore demand, in justice to the agricultural classes, Federal appropriations to aid in highway construction, as provided for in the Brownlow bill, and we recommend the harmonious cooperation of the township, county, State, and National governments in the furtherance of road improvement.

5. That this resolution favoring National aid be presented to the Congress of the United States by a committee composed of one person from each State of the Union, to be selected by the secretary of the National Good Roads Association, who shall also arrange the date and place of meeting in Washington, D. C., and for the presentation of said resolutions by the said committee to the committees of Congress having charge of the bill; provided that representatives of the leading commercial and industrial organizations interested in highway improvement may be included in said committee, to be selected in like manner.

6. That we favor the organization of road associations by States, Congressional districts, counties, and townships, which shall have for their object the improvement of public highways, the naming and beautifying of the same, and the numbering of the country houses, so as to facilitate travel and the rural free delivery of the mails; and that we recommend the establishment throughout the United States of a complete and perfect organization from the Nation down to the township, which organizations shall interlap and make a complete national association. To this end we recommend that the delegates here assembled, on their return to their respective States, proceed as representatives of the National Good Roads Association, wherever such organizations do not at present exist, to organize their States, counties, and townships along the lines herein suggested, and, where State organizations now exist, that we give them our earnest support and influence.

7. Whereas there is a growing demand on the part of the people for the cooperation of the United States Government with the States and civil subdivisions thereof, in the work of the public road building; and

Whereas Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, on March 29, 1806, approved an act for the laying out and building of a public road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio, thereby establishing a precedent for the Government of the United States undertaking the work of public road building; and

Whereas the Jefferson Memorial Road Association has begun the construction of a memorial road to connect Monticello, the home and tomb of Jefferson, with the University of Virginia, which he founded, to serve as a National object-lesson road and as a perpetual evidence of the esteem in which Jefferson's services are held by a grateful people:

Resolved, That this National Good Roads Convention heartily indorses and approves the construction of this memorial road, which has for its object to honor the memory of Jefferson and at the same time promote a great public reform, of which he was a consistent and wise advocate; and it therefore urges all advocates of road improvement to aid in the completion of this work.

8. That we heartily indorse and approve of the untiring efforts in the cause of road reform of the officers of the National Good Roads Association, Col. W. H. Moore, president, and R. W. Richardson, secretary.

9. That we desire to express our appreciation for the generous cooperation and assistance of the Hon. D. R. Francis and the other officers of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; of Hon. Martin Dodge, of the United States Department of Agriculture; and of Hon. L. D. Kingsland, chairman, Col. Charles E. Ware, secretary, C. E. Huttig, treasurer, and the other members of the local committee; the press, and all others who have contributed to the success of this convention.

On motion, the resolutions were adopted.

ROAD LAWS.

By M. R. CAMPBELL, of *Tullahoma, Tenn.*

The general complaint of the condition of our common country roads in the winter season seems unlimited, and I am glad to say before this intelligent and patriotic audience that there is no North, no South, no East, no West in the common interest and in the common wish for a decided improvement. The common country roads and the common country schools are very closely allied to the common interest and the common welfare of the country; they reach to the common habitations and the plain, common people of the land; for it is upon this class of people that our present form of government must depend for its perpetuity. The country people are "such as sleep o' nights;" they are free from the broils and turmoils and strifes and agitations peculiar to city life.

If it requires all the governments working in cooperation from the General Government down through the States, counties, and townships to the road districts to give us good roads, let us welcome the aid from every helping source. Paternalism has no terrors for me; indeed, I much prefer paternalism any time, in any form, and anywhere to infernalism in the way of bad roads. The question of roads is one of far greater concern than any question now unsolved or unsettled confronting the people of this country. It is a question that directly affects the well-being of fully two-thirds of our people. It affects them financially, morally, and spiritually. * * *

Better public highways, better neighborhood roads, and an easier means of inter-communication of neighbor with neighbor are among the greatest hopes for the preservation of our institutions. While the Constitution is the palladium of our civil liberties, the hope of our form of government is in the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and whatever conduces to these ends is right, and what is clearly right should always be constitutional.

Great praise and credit are due to the founders and advocates of the public free schools, and many have been the millions of dollars expended in their behalf, and all for the purpose of improving the intellectual character of our citizenship.

Good roads will be a great stimulus to an improved condition of life; good roads will enable people to get about more, to see more, and to think more.

The people of this country have spent a vast amount for the betterment of their roads; and great effort has been made by statesmen to devise satisfactory laws for the laying out, construction, and maintenance of the common highways; and yet the last stage of the roads seems worse than the first. Every winter and spring the same old cry is heard in all the land: "The roads are awful," or "The roads are worse than I ever saw them." I have ridden over dirt roads—public highways—the past winter, when it was load enough for a team to haul an empty wagon, and this condition lasted for over two months. The loss of time and money from such a condition amounts to an enormous sum annually in any State.

We have expended our vocabulary of English in finding fault with the roads, but it now behooves us to suggest a remedy for the evil complained of, and which we all know to be true.

The road laws of the different States are generally quite too long and too often changed; the people don't have time to get well acquainted with the law before it is repealed or changed; and all amendatory acts conclude with this or a similar declaration: "All acts or parts of acts in conflict with this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed." To fully understand the road law in many of the States the inquirer has to go back to the days of George Washington or Andrew Jackson, and rummage through the musty pages of the many road laws that were passed at various times.

Road laws should be plain, simple, and easily understood, so that the common people can understand them, and there should be much left to executive intelligence.

Every State should have a commissioner of public roads. Every county should have a road superintendent with ample authority to view out and lay off public roads within his jurisdiction and to oversee and generally superintend the construction and maintenance of these public roads under the general direction of the State commissioner. This would materially abridge the laws in relation to public roads, for any competent superintendent can build a road better, and do it much cheaper, than any ordinary legislature can legally direct him to do it. The amount annually consumed by legislative bodies in discussing, amending, and changing the road laws would go far toward paying all of the State expense of the office of State commissioner of public roads. The State commissioner should have annual meetings of the county superintendents to discuss the road construction and maintenance, and draft needed legislation or suggest the same.

If possible, laws should be enacted to prevent the construction of roads running up steep hills or down into gullies or creek bottoms to save an acre or two of land, and to require that all roads be well and properly drained.

Superintendents of the different counties should be held responsible by law for a proper maintenance of the roads at all seasons of the year, and if he can not do the work he should report the fact to the county court for relief.

Laws should be passed in all States taxing heavily or forbidding the running of narrow-tired wagons on public roads, for they are a positive injury to all roads of every grade and kind. The difference between the effects of wide and narrow tires might be strongly illustrated in this way: Take a disk harrow or disk plow and put 3,000 pounds thereon, and haul it over the roads for a month so as to pass over the same part of the road ten times a day, when the ground is damp, and then see its condition; then take one of those heavy steam rollers used in road construction, weighing 10,000 pounds, and have it pass over this same piece of road for the same number of times as the disk plow, and observe the change. It is folly to permit the running of 2-horse wagons carrying 2,500 to 3,000 pounds with tires $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide.

I am aware of the difficulty of getting such a law passed in a State where the narrow tire prevails, but this can be done by passing the law to take effect at a somewhat distant date, so that in purchasing new wagons or repairing old ones the change can be made without great loss to any party; but loss or no loss, it will have to be done before good roads can be maintained. Narrow-tired wagons have long since been outlawed in older countries, and they will have to be in this, for they are absolutely destructive to dirt roads.

In some States, in order to do away with the destructive narrow tires, it may be necessary for the legislature to pass acts declaring the running of wagons and other vehicles on the public roads in the States to be a privilege, and then tax the harmful narrow tires, and not those of the legal width.

It may have been noted that my suggestions aim at the employment of competent men to survey and lay out the roads, and to construct and maintain them, for it is folly to employ an incompetent person to do such work and expect satisfactory results. It is no uncommon thing to see a novice in road construction make the ditch on the wrong side of the road; and if you ask such a man why he didn't ditch the road, he will very positively tell you he did. Yet it would seem that even the horses and mules that travel the road would know better. Ditches should always be on the high or hill side of a road; and when the land is level both sides should be well ditched, for ample drainage is absolutely necessary in keeping up a dirt road. Dirt roads should be worked in the early summer, and not in late summer or fall, but repairing should be in order at all seasons.

With sufficient funds and plenty of rock or gravel good roads can be built anywhere. Whatever class or kind of road is built, proper maintenance should be insisted upon.

And now as I close let me say a word in behalf of the poor horse, that noble animal that has ever been man's best help and best friend, affording him so much profit, so much comfort, and so much pleasure. Often overloaded, overworked, and underfed, he is then forced under the whip to draw loads through miserable ruts and well-nigh impassable mudholes. Is not this the worst sort of cruelty to animals? In conclusion let me sum up what is needed in the treatment of the bad-roads disease: Shorter laws, fewer changes, more money, better executive ability, a little science, and a great deal of common sense.

MR. KING, of Missouri. I want to talk about mud. I would like to see the rest of the time this session spent practically. Let us talk about mud. Let us talk about what you are going to do with a hill that has rock in it. Let us talk about those things that Missourians and Illinoisans are wrestling with all the time.

THE CHAIRMAN. I am glad the gentleman has brought up the point. We have one with us here who will talk to you on this subject. I will introduce to you Mr. W. L. Dickinson, of Massachusetts.

PRACTICAL ROAD BUILDING UNDER THE STATE AID PLAN.

By W. L. DICKINSON, of *Springfield, Mass.*

It affords me great pleasure to attend this convention, as I have been in this good-roads work from the start, being one of the pioneers of the East. In New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and all the other States of the East we are agitating for good roads. In Massachusetts we have been expending on an average \$500,000 a year; one year we had an appropriation of \$800,000, but we found that we could use it all to good advantage.

We have something like 17,000 miles of public roads in Massachusetts outside of the cities. We have constructed 483 miles of road, at a cost of \$4,000,000. Our macadam roads have cost on an average something like \$8,000 a mile; our gravel roads have cost from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a mile. Our standard road is 15 feet wide; we have more State roads of that width in Massachusetts than any other, but, of course, we have some wider roads.

We find that it has been a course of education. We had everything to learn when we first started, and we have many things to learn yet. We are living in a progressive age, and one finds it out very quickly in the construction and maintenance of roads. In Massachusetts the State pays three-fourths and the counties one-fourth of the cost of building the roads; the maintenance is by the State, and we find that is quite an item now. Provision should have been made for the cities and towns to take care of the roads after they were built.

While it is true that we have a complicated and expensive system in our State, as compared with some others, we have obtained good results, and the people generally are satisfied with it.

As far as Massachusetts is concerned we are through agitating the question of good roads; we have been building them. But now the question comes up in a broader way—the question of a National appropriation. Our people realize to the fullest extent the commercial value of good roads, because we have had the practical experience. We have found out their value. In other matters of national importance the United States Government has assisted, and it is the general opinion of those well informed on this good-roads question that the National Government should give financial assistance in the construction of through lines of interstate roads. We want roads so we can get somewhere, not only in the State of Massachusetts, but we want to come out here and see you; and we want to ride over good roads. Millions

of dollars are annually expended for the improvement of our rivers and harbors, when, from a commercial standpoint, the public highways are just as much entitled to financial support.

No one will deny that good roads will reduce the cost of hauling agricultural products to the railroad; and if this be admitted, it can be easily shown that this will reduce the cost to the consumer. We believe there should be some method of cooperation to secure the best possible results, and in order to obtain a practical system we believe there should be cooperation between the National and State governments, and also with counties and townships. We must come together and devise some way to accomplish this.

In all of our Eastern States we found that before we could get legislation the first step was to appoint a committee or commission to investigate and report back the result of their investigations, with their recommendations, to the legislature. The legislature authorized the governor to appoint such a commission. I think the same course was pursued in every State where State aid has been granted.

A DELEGATE. What salary did they get?

Mr. DICKINSON. They did not get anything. They worked for the cause of good roads without getting a dollar. Our roads up to date have been constructed by using funds raised by the issuance of thirty-year bonds.

A DELEGATE. This appropriation of \$500,000—how was that made?

Mr. DICKINSON. By the issuance of bonds.

In all these Eastern States, as I was saying, they had to have commissions to investigate, and of course people all the time were interested and were watching and hearing the different arguments for and against the States giving financial assistance. I find that this is also true in the older countries of Europe.

In view of the fact that there are many complicated questions connected with a National appropriation and varying conditions existing in the different States, it would seem to be wise policy for the friends of good roads to work for the passage of an act by Congress authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a commission to investigate the varying conditions that exist in different sections of the country and make recommendations. That is only a suggestion, but, as I have already stated, that is the way we have had to proceed in all these States where we have secured State aid.

Another thing we have had to contend with in Massachusetts and other Eastern States, where they have gone pretty thoroughly into this question of road reform, is the question of securing men who had been engaged in the practical work of road construction and maintenance. When we first started, the position of supervisor or superintendent was usually filled by some "good fellow," who was elected because people liked him or he had some political "pull." We have gotten beyond that now and understand that we can not afford to have such men in these positions. They find that it is just as much an art or a trade as anything else, and now they endeavor as far as possible to train the road builder. We find it takes years of experience to educate them in that line. Last September, in company with the second vice-president of the New York and Chicago association, I rode from New York to Chicago in an automobile in the interest of a continuous line of highways between the two cities. That trip fully demonstrated the necessity of continuous lines of interstate roads running across the country in various directions. It also demonstrated the necessity of roads being substantially constructed and properly maintained. Now when I say properly maintained I wish you to understand that the work of maintaining a good road is a trade by itself. The two secrets of the good roads of Europe are (1) proper construction and (2) a system of constant maintenance. You can not have good roads without a system of continuous repairs any more than you can allow your buildings, your horses, your harness, your wagons, or anything else to be continually used without constant repairs.

A DELEGATE. How much does it cost to repair and maintain a macadam road for a year?

Mr. DICKINSON. About \$100 per mile per year. That is, with a country road, you understand. The amount is larger in the cities. Here is another point we appreciate in Massachusetts. We have tried various materials. We are looking for some improvement. And among the things we have tried on some of our roads leading into the cities and into the towns is what is called bituminous macadam. We use a cement, prepared scientifically, that binds the particles of stone together and makes the road more durable. The use of this material reduces the cost of maintenance. This has been used for the past two years very successfully. I noticed in Pawtucket, R. I., a road of this material with quite heavy traffic, and it seemed to stand.

A DELEGATE. What do you consider proper construction in the East?

Mr. DICKINSON. It varies according to conditions; according to the weight and amount of traffic, and according to your foundation. We started in with the idea that we had to build what is called a Telford road. Some of those roads cost us \$20,000 a mile, and we had to stop and consider where we were going to come out. With experience we found we could build even what are termed "4-inch roads." I shall never forget an investigation I made in New Jersey, three years ago. I found miles of 4-inch road. I must say when I went there to make that investigation I was prejudiced against them. It was against my experience, but still I was willing to be convinced. I was willing to look into it. Before I finished that investigation I found out the real reason why those roads were constructed and operated successfully. I stood one afternoon watching the method employed in construction, and asking questions of the foreman in charge of the work, who seemed to be a very practical fellow. I said to him: "My friend, I would like to have you tell me, if you can, why it is that with only 4 inches of macadam this road holds up this immense traffic?" He replied: "We look out for the foundation. We get a perfect base, and we are very careful what we put into the base; we roll it thoroughly, and consolidate the base just as thoroughly as we do the surface; and when we get a base of the proper material properly shaped and brought to a proper grade, we lay on one layer of 2½-inch stone. We place this on very uniformly. Then we commence with our rollers on the side lines, gradually working toward the center so as to angle those stones together. We endeavor to form with the first layer a perfect arch with one piece of stone lapping over the next. On top of this we put a layer of smaller stone, and finally bind them with the dust and with sand or other suitable material for a wearing surface. The secret of it is that that foundation is so constructed as to hold up the weight of the traffic, and we simply want the stone to give a good wearing surface."

A DELEGATE. How do you form that foundation?

Mr. DICKINSON. We try to avoid using any material that has too much clay or vegetable matter which would have a tendency to give with climatic changes. We do not believe in having too much clay, although I have known of instances where about 8 inches of crushed stone was put on top of clay when dry, and with proper underdrainage it worked successfully.

A DELEGATE. What do you use for a base when you do not have clay?

Mr. DICKINSON. Gravel is the best; but if you can not get that, sand or cinders or brickbats—anything that will give you a firm base.

A DELEGATE. What is the meaning of Telford base?

Mr. DICKINSON. A Telford base is one made of large stones properly set, and it is a very necessary thing to have in case of a poor foundation. Telford, on a clay foundation, is nice but expensive, unless you have stone right alongside the road.

A DELEGATE. If Massachusetts appropriates half a million a year, there is no reason why some of our States farther west should not follow her example; but how do you get at that? What process do you adopt to have the counties secure their shares?

Does the State furnish engineers to go out and locate and survey the roads? Answers to a few such questions like this might enable us to work better.

Mr. DICKINSON. In our State we have a board of three highway commissioners. I think the best results are secured where there is only one commissioner. If you live in a certain county and necessity exists for a road, you circulate a petition, which is presented to the commissioners for consideration, and if they think it wise and for the public interests, they grant your request. They endeavor to work on what is called "through lines" of road—roads that will accommodate the greatest number of people; that is the important point. We also have what is called a "small-town act," which enables the smaller towns to receive benefits. We did not have that at first, but it has proven very popular. We have worked on this principle: That the roads to the main centers of trade should be improved first so that the farmer, the manufacturer, and the mine owner with their products could reach the markets as easily as possible and reduce the cost of transportation.

Mr. MOORE. I would like the point in question brought out more clearly. We want to know how the county gets this money under the State aid plan.

Mr. DICKINSON. In Massachusetts our mode of operation differs somewhat from that of any other State in the Union. While the machinery of our general plan is somewhat complicated, the commission has the handling of everything. The legislature makes the appropriation. The commission orders the work done, and it is done at the expense of the State. Then one-fourth of the cost is assessed on the county (we do not have any townships to deal with). In New Jersey it is all handled by the counties. They attend to the details of the work. They raise the money and go ahead, subject to the approval of their State highway commission. In that State they have probably the most practical system there is, and yet the simplest. It would pay you gentlemen who are contemplating State aid to look up the New Jersey system. They make use of their county organization to raise their own fund under the general statute law, either by the issuance of bonds or by direct appropriation. They petition for State aid. The State highway commissioner takes the matter under consideration, and he alone examines the specifications for doing the work; he ascertains whether it is a through line leading to centers of trade. If everything is satisfactory and all the conditions of the State are complied with, then the State pays one-third of the cost, the towns and counties paying the rest.

A DELEGATE. Where you have a clay subsoil and no other material but crushed stone, what is the least thickness of crushed stone that is safe for ordinary rural traffic?

Mr. DICKINSON. I should want to put on a good heavy course of stone—at least 12 inches under such conditions.

A DELEGATE. Would 12 inches keep the frost from heaving it?

*Mr. DICKINSON. I am afraid not. In view of the fact that in some cases it is hard to get suitable stone, I would rather spend money constructing the base of some other material, and not expend so much money for stone.

A DELEGATE. In regard to the question of drainage: Do I understand you have drains under the roadbed?

Mr. DICKINSON. Wherever it is necessary; sometimes on the side only, and sometimes both side and center drains.

A DELEGATE. How much investment has Massachusetts in road machinery, and under whose control is it used?

Mr. DICKINSON. We have not much of an investment; we have something like \$20,000 invested in steam rollers in different counties, and the State has assisted in paying for them. But the cities and towns, as a rule, own their own steam rollers. A large percentage of our work is done under the contract system. We have endeavored to induce the cities and towns to take these contracts, with the idea that they would tend to educate the people; and, if there was any profit, we wanted the cities and towns to have it. In some cases this plan worked well and in some it did not.

A DELEGATE. Have you any stone-crushing machinery?

Mr. DICKINSON. None that belongs to the State. Most of that work is done by contract, at so much a ton for the stone, and the price varies according to the length of the haul.

A DELEGATE. I notice nothing has been said in regard to culverts; I think that is one of the important things.

Mr. DICKINSON. I have not had so much experience with culverts as in the construction and maintenance of roads. We use various materials for culverts; in some cases we use artificial stone culverts, and in some brick and stone; we have also used some of those large vitrified pipes and some iron pipes. In the mountainous section, up through the Berkshires, we have to provide pretty liberally for culverts as the surface water comes quickly off the mountains and we have to take care of it.

WHAT THE SOUTH WANTS.

By CHARLES P. LANE, of *Huntsville, Madison County, Ala.*

I have the honor, gentlemen, to come from the State of Alabama with a delegation of ten progressive men, and, among the instructions I received from my community was this: "Stand pat and firm for the Brownlow bill; recommend it; indorse it." I see that the gentlemen of the committee have wisely and properly indorsed that bill in their resolutions. Hence, I want to say that we indorse and approve those resolutions. Last January the legislative assembly of Alabama, ignoring the demagogical cry of "paternalism," unanimously indorsed the Brownlow bill, and recommended its passage through Congress. This places our State in the front rank on this great question, and sets an example worthy of the consideration and emulation of other States.

I want to say to you that the road proposition is a practical problem and not a theoretical one. I was never a school-teacher; I was never educated; I was never one of those men who claim to have been born under a bright particular star. I came along with the crop of spring babies in 1855. I am a free-born American citizen. When I arrived at maturity I realized that a pedigree was worthless, but that individuality, electricity, and good roads were the great propelling powers that would carry this Nation on to glory. About twelve years ago, in the county of Madison, paralyzed as it was by the effects of war, about a dozen men, seeing the condition of things, the devastation, ignorance, and poverty, realized that something had to be done. We could see nothing else to do but to build free turnpikes; so a campaign was inaugurated. Pardon me for going into these details, because I am going to show you something practical. We went into this campaign, and the legislature passed a bill providing for the issuance of \$100,000 in bonds. We went before the people; and we had in my county that class common in all sections—the self-styled "conservative class," men who do not want to improve. I call them "muzzle-loaders;" they belong to the dead past. They do not want any innovations or changes. They fought us and, at the first test, they beat us 1,005 votes before the people. That was in the fall when the roads were good. We immediately went back to the Alabama legislature and obtained sanction for another election. We tried them again; and never shall I forget that campaign, made on horseback, over hills and bottoms; and by February there was a change of sentiment from 1,005 against us to 1,855 majority for free pikes. It shows that the people are intelligent and patriotic. If given time to study problems fairly, the people of America are all right, and will do the proper thing.

We issued those bonds and we built our pikes. We did it in a rather crude way in the start, but as we went along we gathered experience. And when we had built about 100 miles of pike in less than six months, a howl went up in Madison

County that was heard from the Tennessee line to the Tennessee River, demanding another 100 miles of pike; and enough bonds were issued to build another 100 miles of pike. And now, what has been the result? Before we started out for good roads the city of Huntsville had but about 4,500 people; the county was almost depopulated; there were scarcely any Northern men there at all; few white people lived in the country. But suppose you start out to-day from that beautiful little city; go out on the Meridian pike. All along that road from Huntsville to Meridianville, a distance of 15 miles, there are beautiful homes, straight fences, barns painted, and an air of general prosperity and civilization prevails. Not only did we produce that magnificent result, but we so greatly increased the value of the taxable property of Madison County that we paid off those bonds and scarcely knew when we paid them.

Good roads will do more than anything else to attract desirable people and to build up a locality. Instead of my county being depopulated of white citizens, it is filled with the beautiful homes of white citizens who have moved there. You people of the South know what I am talking about when I refer to the horrible conditions that prevailed in what we call the "Black Belt." But you go there now, and you will see good big horses, and painted wagons, and prosperous "Yankees," as we call them; and, God bless them, we want them to come down there. Yes, in Alabama all is prosperous now. We have mixed our Southern with your Northern blood and energy, and we are ready to lay aside our pedigree and to "come down to knucks," as the boys say, building cotton factories and good roads and being prosperous and successful.

We want to say, as Alabamians and as Americans, in refutation of what the distinguished gentleman from Texas said, "We will shoot anything under heaven that shoots at the American flag." [Applause.] We may have fought against that flag, but now it is our flag and the people of the North are our countrymen. And as people loving our country, we turn with scorn on those who raise the cry of "paternalism" when Government aid is proposed. We say, "This is our country, and let the Government reach out its strong arm and help the people." The government that is not a father to the people is a poor government. This is a people's government, and if the United States Government is willing to offer to put up half the money to build good roads, we from Alabama will extend our hand to Uncle Sam, give him a cordial shake, and say, "Old fellow, we are with you." Let us strengthen the ties of love between the States and the National Government. [Applause.] This is the sentiment that comes from the South, where we love the country and despise the quibbling demagogues. We have less use for a demagogue than any people on earth.

It is encouraging to see the great States of the Union represented here by men of intelligence. We do not care for politics. It is the development we want. [Applause.] We are satisfied with the political conditions that exist; we are perfectly delighted with the prosperity brought about by American wisdom, and all we want to do at this time is to make the United States greater; and the way to make it greater is to do something to benefit the townships in the rural districts where the people are poor and illiterate. The value of a man's work is measured by his usefulness to his fellow men. [Applause.] And the man who has intelligence and strength should use them to help his less fortunate brothers who live among the hills and swamps in illiteracy and poverty.

Now I want to tell you a little incident that first set me to thinking on the line of good roads. I was sitting one evening at the foot of the Cumberland Ridge when I saw what is known in that country as "a poor white man"—and we have some mighty poor ones—driving two little rabbit-headed mules hitched to a wagon, and, like most poor men in this country, he had a great many children—he had seven. It was along in the evening, and the worst road I ever saw. This man was a tenant, moving from one place to another. I happened to have a good pair of mules in town, and I walked three-quarters of a mile to town and brought them out to help

the poor man. When I got back one of those little mules had lain down on its side in the mire, and its life was at an end. As I looked at it I thought of the commandment which says, "Thou shalt not kill." My friends, I think that applies as much to the dumb brute as to man, and the God who gave us horses and mules intended that we, as civilized people, should protect them, and did not intend for us to overload and abuse them. In this country more poor dumb brutes have been murdered by the hand of man in violation of that law than we could possibly count. I remember, when as a child while the war was going on, that the horrible roads killed more horses and mules than our guns.

We want good roads, for they are the greatest compounders of comfort, wealth, progress, and higher civilization known to enterprising men. The people are entitled to them. To build them is not only our privilege, but it is our duty as civilized, progressive men. When I see the prosperity of the town, I think this prosperity will be greatly increased by the prosperity of the rural precincts. It takes money to build good roads. The best way to get that money is by a bond issue. You can get money at 3, 4, or 5 per cent on good bonds for twenty years. Build your roads with this money, and so greatly increase your taxable values (at the same time decreasing your tax rate) and so greatly attract the people that you will scarcely feel the expense of paying these bonds. They will liquidate themselves. A sinking fund will grow out of the increased value and pay the bonds, as it has in Madison County. If Madison County can do it, why can't a county in Missouri, Maine, or Texas do it? You can do it, and you will, if you get rid of the demagogues and give the intelligent country people a chance at it.

The Brownlow bill provides that the Government will pay one-half if the States and counties will pay the other half. It authorizes the States to allow the counties to pay the other half, or the State can pay part and the county pay part. It is a great measure—one of the greatest that has been offered in Congress in twenty-five years. [Applause.] I think it ought to be passed, and I hope you will use your influence on your respective Representatives to have it passed.

Mr. HARPER, of Iowa. I desire to move that the time from now on until noon be devoted to five-minute speeches from the delegates from each State here represented. I believe it is the uniform desire of all delegates to hear what the people are doing in the different States along the line of improving the highways.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair is compelled to follow the printed programme as far as possible; therefore the gentleman's motion is somewhat out of order, but the force of it appeals so much to the chair that he will endeavor to have each State report what it is doing, as far as possible, without interfering with the regular programme.

The chair desires at this time to name the committee on the selection of officers for the ensuing year. These names I have had to catch as best I could, and if there are any mistakes the delegates will please correct them:

H. W. Salmon, Missouri, chairman; W. T. Beatty, Illinois; H. H. Rice, Maine; G. W. Parsons, Iowa; M. P. Beebe, South Dakota; J. H. Bright, Texas; W. W. Stone, Mississippi; W. O. Hutchinson, Montana; and Samuel Hill, Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now hear Mr. Waters, of Missouri, explain about the improved earth roads of his section.

EARTH ROADS BY THE MISSOURI METHOD.

By G. W. WATERS, *Canton, Mo.*

The inventor who can discover a cheap process whereby earth and clay of a roadbed can be rendered impervious to water will be a public benefactor. So long as an earth road is smooth, impervious to water, and of easy grade, so long it is the most desirable one for travel; in fact, it is an ideal highway for public use.

Even though it may not be possible to construct and maintain an earth road that shall be in perfect condition the year round, yet any inexpensive method that will materially shorten the length of the bad period is worthy of consideration. That it is possible to reduce by nine-tenths the lengths of the periods during which the roadbed will be soft is now a demonstrated fact. The process whereby this end may be accomplished is very simple, and exceedingly inexpensive, costing less than \$5 per mile per annum. Before describing this method I will outline some of the basic principles that enter into it.

A roadbed saturated with moisture becomes soft and nonresistant; the wheels of vehicles and hoofs of horses sink into it; it is a mud road. Reduce the moisture somewhat and the mud begins to harden. Reduce the moisture to a minimum and the road becomes hard and firm.

Water must enter the roadbed either by falling upon the surface and soaking down or by capillary action from beneath. Now, if by any process in the construction or treatment of the roadbed we can prevent the entrance of water beyond a 15 per cent saturation, the roadway will remain solid. Water enters the road by percolation or by capillary attraction through the pores or interstices between the particles of earth composing it. Hence, the object desired is, if possible, to so close those pores or interstices by compaction that the water will not find access. If this is done effectually, it is evident that the roadbed can not absorb water or get soft. Some tests have been made in the following manner:

A 4-inch stratum of earth is moistened to about 20 per cent, then rolled with a 10-ton 4-foot roller; another 4-inch stratum is treated the same way, and then another till a roadbed 24 inches deep is constructed. It has been found that the material used is so thoroughly compacted that, so long as the rain which falls upon it finds ready escape, the roadbed is practically impervious. In a comparative laboratory test it has been found that earth not compacted—that is, freshly thrown up by a grader when dry—will absorb as much water in one hour as the compacted earth will in seven days; or, in other words, the compacted material is 168 times as resistant to percolation as the noncompact earth. Again, it was found that capillary action is practically destroyed in a cube of earth that has been thoroughly compacted at the proper degree of moisture. In fact, it was found that in clay or clay loam, thoroughly compacted, the capillary tubes are practically closed, so that without the aid of percolation from the surface it is impossible by capillary attraction alone to induce as much as a 15 per cent saturation a distance of 10 inches above the water level.

Now, if the foregoing philosophy is true (and it has been proven true), what does it mean in practical application to earth road construction? How may we, in a cheap and efficient manner, construct and maintain an earth roadbed so as to secure the conditions? The plan is simple—too simple for ready acceptance—yet as efficient as it is simple.

A simple drag is drawn along each side of the roadbed at the proper time, so as to smooth the surface, filling the ruts, pushing the earth slightly toward the center of the road and pressing it into all crevices. This is done after each wet spell, just as the surface is beginning to dry. This produces a smooth surface, the ruts and tracks being obliterated. The vehicles that run on the road go promiscuously over

the surface and compact it as completely as if it were rolled by a heavy roller. In fact, a wagon with 1½-inch tires, and with a total weight of only 1,250 pounds, produces as great a pressure upon the surface touched as a 10-ton roller. An ordinary 2-horse wagonload would produce a pressure equivalent to a 20-ton roller. The only question is, therefore, How much of the surface will be thus reached? Experience shows that in a roadbed kept smooth for a considerable period—say six months—every part of it gets its quota of rolling. Then, again, the smooth roadbed thus compacted sheds the water that falls upon it almost as easily as a shingle roof. Hence the chance for saturation is reduced to a minimum. It is stated that this compacted condition is destroyed by frost. But it should be remembered that the expansive force of frost is directly proportional to the water content. A saturation of less than 15 per cent would not when frozen exert expansive force enough to materially lessen the cohesive force or widen the interstices.

Roadways cared for in the manner suggested have remained solid enough to bear up heavy traffic for the past five years every day of every year, the only mud being 1 or 2 inches on the surface, and that quickly hardened after the rains, and was promptly smoothed, thus restoring the fine condition of the road. All sorts of clays, and even sticky gumbo of the Missouri River bottoms, have been successfully treated in this way so as to remain good throughout the extraordinary wet season of 1902.

The CHAIRMAN. I am now going to introduce to this convention a gentleman from the great agricultural State of Iowa. Many of you know him. It gives me great pleasure to introduce at this time the Hon. Lafe Young, of Iowa.

SELF-HELP BETTER THAN GOVERNMENT AID.

By HON. LAFE YOUNG, *of Des Moines, Iowa.*

I am rejoiced to be in a convention devoted to this great purpose. There is no more important proposition pending before the American people than that which involves the improvement of our public roads. Many have inquired why the American people have been so laggard, so behind the times, in the matter of road improvement. Such inquiries are without due consideration of the American character. You know the American citizen never does anything until the extreme moment has arrived, and then he acts. If he is going to New York on the "5 o'clock limited," he does not begin to shave until 20 minutes to 5; does not begin to pack his valise until 10 minutes to 5, and he lands at the station with only one cuff buttoned and jumps on the rear of the train just as she leaves the station. [Laughter.] That is the way the American citizen postpones the inevitable. And he has postponed in the West this good roads problem ever since the California and Salt Lake trails went across the middle Western States. He has postponed this problem fifty years in the Louisiana Purchase territory. He has postponed it a hundred and fifty years in the East, where they ought to know more than we do. It has been a general postponement. Now we have reached the time when the Federal Government is strong in the discharge of every duty. The flag is honored wherever civilization is known [applause]; education is promoted throughout all our vast domain; churches everywhere point their spires toward heaven; our civilization is at its highest. We are rolling in wealth; we are groaning with thrift; we are in the possession of unparalleled prosperity, and we have just found time to halt and look about and see what can be done for the happiness and comfort of the people. This convention points the way and calls the attention of this waiting, thrifty people to the one unsolved problem—that of good roads. The one passing question of the hour is, How are we going to travel over the country?

Now, in Iowa we have good roads in those seasons of the year when we do not need them, and in the season of the year when we need good roads the weather is too inclement to make them. Hence, we are a good deal like the Arkansas traveler with the roofless house.

I want to tell you why we haven't good roads. It is because we have not made them. We ought to have made them, and the duty rests primarily upon us. I want to make a prophecy and a prediction, running contrary to what I know is the majority sentiment here, and that is, you will wait a long time if you wait for Uncle Sam to build the public roads in the 45 States of this Union. [Applause.] That is not a popular thing to say here. It is the belief here, among those who have given this question more attention than I have, that the Federal Government ought to be a partner in the building of roads in all of the States. You recollect the story in the old school book of the lark and the farmer. You remember the lark's nest was in a golden-ripe wheat field, and the little ones told the mother lark one evening that the farmer had gone to town to get some one to cut the grain, and they said: "We had better move, because our nest is going to be disturbed." But the old lark said: "Don't worry; so long as the farmer depends on some one else to cut his grain our little nest is safe." But on a later day, when the mother lark came home and the little ones told her that the farmer and his sons had passed through the grain that day and said they intended to cut the wheat themselves the next day, the old lark said: "Let's move; there's going to be something done." And when the American people make up their minds to have good roads, my judgment is that all you ought to ask of Uncle Sam and the Agricultural Department is plans and specifications to tell us how to do it. I don't believe—and I am not a "State's rights" man—that the Federal Government has any more right to build public roads through 45 States than it has to build pavements or sewers in the city of St. Louis or in the city of Chicago.

I am in favor of good roads, and I believe the people of the State of Iowa have the money, and the will, and the power, and the interest—and that the same is true of every other State—to build the good roads needed. I suppose that I ought not to set my judgment against all these gentlemen who know more about it than I do, but I believe the right moment has come for the American people to resolve in their State capacities to accept plans and specifications from this splendid Department of Agriculture and go back to their several States and put them into execution. The Federal Government is exercising sufficient authority to establish mail routes, as she has from the beginning of the mail service. We are not justified in asking the Government to come into the State of Iowa, where the soil is 9 feet deep, and build a road. Who for? For all the people in our State who own the land and who would be benefited by the road when constructed. Let us ask the Federal Government, which we love and respect, to advise and to instruct, to tell us and point the way, and leave the labor and expense to the people who are benefited directly and indirectly. In our State, farm lands are worth \$100 an acre, and we can afford to make our own public highways. Besides, my friends, this is simply dodging the responsibility which rests upon us. It is easy enough to come together in convention and resolve what Congress shall do. But is it more practical for us to resolve what we shall do when we reach our homes. [Loud applause.]

It is not my purpose to raise anything but a useful topic for the attention of thoughtful men, but I believe it is for the wisdom and the success of good roads that we resolve not to depend upon an imaginary donation or contribution, but to depend upon ourselves. I am in favor of good roads and for the upbuilding of this great Republic. I believe it has a great destiny. I am glad to be with you in this convention, and I know you will respect one who has expressed his own honorable sentiments in what he believed to be an honorable and direct manner.

A letter was read from Senator Ankeny, of Washington, regretting his inability to be present, and expressing his profound interest in the good roads movement.

On motion, the convention took a recess.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The CHAIRMAN. In compliance with a general desire on the part of the delegates, it has been arranged to devote some time this afternoon to five-minute speeches from delegates representing the different States. It is desired particularly that the speakers give the convention some idea of what is being done in their respective States.

A delegate from Colorado moved that no extension of time be given to those speaking under the five-minute rule, and that the talks be made from the floor instead of the platform. This motion was unanimously adopted.

FIVE-MINUTE SPEECHES BY DELEGATES.

HON. H. S. EARLE, of Michigan. Michigan was one of the pioneers in the good roads line. In one county alone there is 100 miles of stone road, built under the county-aid law. Michigan has created a State highway department, and has appropriated \$10,000 for the expenses thereof for the next two years. A State highway commissioner will be appointed within thirty days. We can not grant State aid until our constitution is changed, but I predict that the constitution will be changed so as to permit of it not later than the spring election of 1905.

Machinery manufacturers have furnished me with good roads machinery for my good roads train free; the railroads have hauled the train free; the localities where I have built sample stone roads have furnished the material, food, and lodgings free; and I have done the work free; and I have had something to do with raising in the last three years \$600,000 for stone roads in local communities. We shall in the future invite cement manufacturers to go with the good roads train, to build culverts and bridges of concrete, showing road builders how much cheaper is artificial stone than cut stone and how much better it is than wood for these purposes; for, with these built permanent, the road taxes in the future can be applied to the betterment of the roads.

We do not stand for stone roads everywhere, but stone roads where the amount of traffic warrants the expense, and gravel and well-graded earth roads where the traffic is lighter.

Mr. BRIGHT, of Texas. I have here in my hand a telegram from a little city in the Empire State of Texas. Before I read this telegram I would like to tell you just a little about Texas. We have had some little experience with good roads down there, but before I tell you about good roads I want to tell you a little about the State. Texas is seven times as large as Missouri. We have almost every product that is produced in any other State in the Union. I believe we have untold mineral wealth in the State, but we have never found it necessary to search for that, because we have been able to make a living above the ground. Our constitution looks out for the protection of the women and children. In it is a provision for a homestead law, whereby, if a man ceases to remember his duty to his family, the law steps in and says, "You shall not deprive your family of a home." For the children we have a permanent school fund large enough to educate every child who will ever be born in the broad expanse of Texas.

In regard to roads, we have a constitutional amendment that provides that each county shall levy a tax of 15 cents on \$100 for road and bridge purposes. That looks like a small amount. I live in Jefferson County, where we have 700 square miles of territory—and that is not one of the largest counties in the State. But, with \$16,000,000 assessed valuation in the county, we can issue \$450,000 in bonds for road and bridge purposes.

Texas is here to learn. She is also here to tell this convention what she has done, what she is doing, and what she is going to do; and if our friends from Missouri will come down we will show them. We have materials of all kinds, from sand to asphalt, to build roads with.

On the 19th of last March we organized the first good roads association in the State of Texas, with quite a membership, and commenced giving talks in the various counties in the State. We want good roads and want to get out of the mud. Our State is largely level, and it does not cost much to build dirt roads, but we want something better—we want macadamized roads. A few counties have started out and built macadamized roads.

Tarrant County has built 200 miles of macadamized road.

Dallas County has 150 miles of macadamized road and 100 iron bridges, and is now building her small bridges and culverts with concrete. This county has only recently voted bonds to the amount of \$500,000 for the purpose of carrying on this work.

Harris County has recently voted about \$600,000 for the construction of good roads.

In the State are miles of the finest shell roads. All you people who have fine horses and have been down in Louisiana know what a shell road is. Jefferson County, in the eastern part of the State, has voted \$200,000 for good roads purposes, which has been expended, and they will have very soon, under a late act of the legislature, an appropriation of \$200,000 more for that purpose. This county has some beautiful shell roads and will soon build more.

Other counties have not reported, but it is gratifying to us to know that we are not behind the people of our sister States in the construction of good roads. Only recently our State legislature has passed a State road law that will do much to aid and encourage the good work.

I now desire to read the telegram: "The Chamber of Commerce of Beaumont, Tex., invites you to hold the next convention in Beaumont."

E. F. HEISLER, of Kansas. I wish to say for Kansas that in our day we have had some of the best natural roads in the world. As early as 1849 we had one of the longest and best roads in the world, located along the "divides," the great Santa Fe trail, 850 miles in length, which in later years carried its miles of "prairie schooners." But this naturally has given way to the State and county roads, mainly located on section lines.

The county from which I hail, Wyandotte, has done something toward macadamizing our public highways, and at this time we are macadamizing four roads in Wyandotte, the smallest and most populous county in the State.

Mr. JAMES, of Pennsylvania. I wish to make a statement right here in regard to what Pennsylvania is doing, and what her delegates are ready to do here.

Pennsylvania gives to-day five and one-half million dollars to her public schools. They have free text-books. She has placed a statute upon her books which makes it possible for every township to consolidate its schools. And within thirty days she has passed an act, and the governor has signed it, appropriating six and one-half million dollars for the benefit of the roads. [Applause.]

We are here as delegates from Pennsylvania, ready to work in harmony for any reasonable and legitimate plans that may be gotten up, or resolutions that may be passed. We are not here to pull down anybody or anything, but to upbuild everything connected with transportation, especially good roads. We want to build up our

waterways and our highways, not to take from one, but to give to both. On this ground you will find Pennsylvania ready to meet you.

JOHN CONNER, sr., of Lauderdale County, Tennessee. The general prosperity of the people of France can be attributed mostly to the good roads; in fact, so with all other nations that have achieved much success. The only enduring monuments that now remain of the great Roman Empire are some of the good roads built more than two thousand years ago. I live in the richest country in the world, with the poorest roads in the world. You might take a young man just starting out in the world and give him 5,000 acres of land and build a house on it worth \$1,000,000 and stock the place with everything you choose, and tell that young man he will have to go into a contract not to bring anything onto that place nor take anything off, and he would not stay two years. Yet that is about the condition we are in on account of bad roads. If we just had good roads, we would have everything else we want. We do want good roads, and we want them badly.

MR. HARRITY, of Alabama. I wish to say to you, Mr. Chairman and members of the convention, that we as delegates from Alabama think it unnecessary to further illustrate what has been done in our State, or what we intend to do, as the gentleman who spoke from the platform this morning not only expressed our sentiments, but told you what we expected to do for good roads in our State and in our county.

HON. W. D. VANDIVER, of Missouri. As a member of the National House of Representatives, I sat in Washington day after day and witnessed large appropriations of money, hundreds of thousands, and even hundreds of millions, appropriated for various purposes, and then remembered that, out of all that vast aggregate of money, more than 60 per cent of it is contributed by the farmers of America, yet less than 5 per cent goes back to their own neighborhoods. [Applause.] I am convinced that something should be done. As long as a system of indirect taxation shall prevail, vast sums of money will constantly be raised for public purposes. I am not opposed to internal improvements of any kind, whether of rivers and harbors or other things. But when I remember that the farmers of this country are the backbone and sinew of its progress and prosperity, and when I remember that of the \$1,460,000,000 exports to foreign countries, the farmers of this country furnish \$940,000,000, and thus save the credit of the country, I am more and more disposed to favor any appropriation which will bring to their doors better means of communication. [Applause.]

When I remember again that the governments of ancient times, and from them down to the present, have been successful only in proportion as they have been enabled to carry on communication and commerce with each other; and when I remember especially that the most magnificent and durable public works of ancient Rome were her public roads, extending almost from the heel of Italy to the summit of the Alps, I am disposed to believe that the great highways from Atlantic to Pacific and from Gulf to Lakes should be part of our public improvements. [Applause.] Whether it costs the National Government \$1,000,000 or \$100,000,000, we have the money and we ought to use it. [Applause.]

In round numbers there are 45 States with an average of about 61 counties each; an appropriation of \$100,000,000 by the National Government, supplemented by an equal amount raised in the States, will in two years time give us 100 miles of first-class gravel or macadamized road in every county in the Union. [Applause.] This amount of money is seemingly a vast sum; yet when you compare it with other vast sums that have been expended within the last decade by our Government and the States of this Union, it sinks into utter insignificance. What is \$200,000,000 spent for roads coming to our doors compared with \$500,000,000 per year spent in our distant islands? [Applause.]

[The speaker's time having expired, the Colorado delegation gave him their time.]

MR. VANDIVER (continuing). As to what Missouri will do, I trust that this auspicious

cious occasion is the beginning of a new era for the State, and for Colorado, too. Occupying a central position among the great States of this Union, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, and the other central Mississippi Valley States, have recognized the great responsibility that is upon them now. As Missouri has been accustomed to take the lead in some other things, I want her to take the lead in this good roads movement also. I shall not stop here to discuss the question of where the money is to come from, or how it may be saved from other expenditures of the Government. But, regardless of what may be the expenditures of this Government for foreign conquests and enterprises beyond the sea, no man can doubt that within our own borders we still have the resources of capital and energy and enterprise to develop our own country. [Applause.] Missouri, I say, has taken the lead in many other enterprises and public-spirited movements of the country. Possessing, as we do, a vast extent of beautiful country, with a salubrious climate, a fertile soil, and skies as blue as those which ever enraptured the heart of the visitor to Southern Italy, we may well look forward to the time when Missouri shall stand at the head of the column.

We invite the States of Iowa, Illinois, Colorado, and all other States of the Union, if they can not get gravel and limestone and granite enough within their own borders, to come to us and we can furnish it to build all the roads they will ever want. [Applause.]

I believe I am one of the first members of Congress to declare in favor of liberal appropriations and not for experiment only. We have had experiments, and now it is time for doing some work. The farmers of this country want means of communication and means of transporting their products to the railroad, and now is the time to begin and work in earnest. I believe the time is ripe when not only the members of Congress, but the States of the Union, will sanction this movement, and demand that the farmers of this country get at least some recognition from the National Treasury. [Applause.]

Mr. REMMEL, of Arkansas. I wish every Congressman in the United States could be on this platform this afternoon, and could be infused with the same spirit of patriotism as the gentleman who has just preceded me. [Applause.] We need votes in Congress. This is the most important and at the same time the most popular movement that has ever been inaugurated in this country. The Brownlow bill is to-day upon the lips of men throughout the length and breadth of the nation.

I am here to tell you what we are doing in Arkansas. We held a convention in January, and we had a greater convention than is assembled in this hall to-day. Every county in the State was represented. Every county judge was in that great convention. While we have more navigable waterways than any State in the Union, and advocate the improvement of these, we are also in favor of improving the common roads, and we want the National Government to step in and help the farmers of our country.

Since that convention was held in January the city of Fort Smith has put a movement on foot and has already built 2 miles of road. The Government sent down a representative to teach them how to build it. In the city of Little Rock they are paving 1 mile with asphalt. We have the asphalt in our own State. I am not here representing any asphalt company; but old Arkansas has a vast field of it, and we will not have to import it from any other State in the Union.

Mr. W. O. HUTCHINSON, of Montana. We come from Montana to bring greeting to this National Good Roads Convention. We came here on our own time and at our own expense to be assisted and, perchance, to assist in the solution of this great national question.

We have put upon our statute book in the last sixty days a statute that shows we are now on the road to progress in the matter of good roads. In our State we have

the water, the wood, the stone, and many other things necessary to the building of good roads. I want to tell you that Montana is with you heart and soul, with energy, money, and everything we have.

Mr. A. LEVI, of California. In behalf of the city of San Diego, in San Diego County, Cal., I will promise you that I will do all in my power to continue the good work which this convention has so successfully demonstrated to myself and the rest of the delegates. I can assure you that California will never be backward in improving anything, and especially in improving her roads.

Mr. HART, of South Carolina. In regard to building roads in South Carolina, I want to say that Mr. Holmes, of North Carolina, came to our State and built some roads by mixing clay and sand, and we found them the best roads now in the country.

We are organized in South Carolina; we have our State associations, and we are working.

Now I have heard a good deal of shouting for the Brownlow bill, but I tell you we must do something for ourselves. If we want to do something for our country we must start at home. Let the counties organize. Let each State organize. If the Government sees we mean business and want to do something it will come to our aid.

I am glad to be here with you, and I will stand by every man who will push this question, as it is one of the most important now before the public.

Mr. WELCH, of Indiana. Indiana has between 50,000 and 60,000 miles of road already constructed. Up and down the Wabash they use gravel. In the southern part they use limestone.

Posey County has built 31 miles of road in the last year. We hold an election in the spring, and I think the good roads movement will be indorsed in every township in the county.

A few months ago I saw in a magazine an account of the Brownlow bill. I looked in vain for it in our county paper. I wrote to our Congressman for a copy of it and asked: "How is it that a measure that meets with universal approbation and appeals to common sense should meet with such scant courtesy from Congress?" He replied that he and Mr. Brownlow were strong personal friends and he would call upon him when Congress met. But I am getting up a petition with 10,000 signed names. It reads like this: "We, the people of Posey County, demand—we do not importune or petition—that the members from Indiana give support to the Brownlow bill and see that it is called up and put upon its passage." A copy will be sent to every Senator and Representative. I wrote to Mr. Brownlow and he sent me a typewritten copy of the bill and some literature on good roads. I made myself a committee of one to see that the bill was published in every paper in the district. When I go home I do not propose to give my Congressman any peace until he promises me, without any reservation, that he will support the Brownlow bill.

Mr. HUTCHINSON, of Wisconsin. I wish to state to this convention that Wisconsin has done almost nothing toward the advancement of the movement which we are here to promote. It is not because Wisconsin is not willing, for she is willing and ready for anything in the line of progress or improvement which this convention may see fit to adopt, and as an humble member of the delegation from Wisconsin, I am here to say that we are here for State, county, and municipal cooperation, and shall do everything in our power to bring that about when the time is ripe to do so.

Mr. H. B. SMITH, of Richmond, Va. In Virginia we needed legislation. A committee of us went to the legislature and said: "We want a bill put through at the present session." Three bills were pending, so we decided on one, and then they found all sorts of flaws in it. We said: "That doesn't make any difference, it is a move in the right direction and we want action. If there is anything to be changed, we will amend it at the next session." We are forming local associations among the

farmers. Our movement is going along rapidly, and everything looks bright. I think in another year or two we shall make a creditable showing in Virginia.

Mr. COOLEY, of Minnesota. Mr. Bryan said yesterday that the great burden of bad roads falls on the farmers. It may be that the farmer does have to bear a great share of the burden, but let me tell you the farmer is not alone. Every man in this city, whether he owns \$1,000,000 or a small amount, is paying his share of the taxes for bad roads. There are in the city of St. Louis about 400,000 people who consume not less than 500 tons of produce every day, and it is an axiom of transportation that "the consumer pays the freight." Now, Mr. Dodge here will inform you, and he has already published the statement, that this transportation costs an average of 25 cents per ton per mile. The authorities from Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, pioneers in good roads, will tell you that it costs 8 to 10 cents per mile per ton over macadamized or otherwise well-built roads, making a saving of 15 cents per ton per mile. This 15 cents is the bad roads tax which consumers pay. Now, if you estimate that the 500 tons of produce consumed daily in St. Louis are hauled on an average 10 miles over bad roads, this tax will be \$750 per day, or \$250,000 every year that the people of St. Louis are paying as their tax for bad roads—enough to build 50 miles of macadam road every year.

Minnesota is one of the youngest States in the good roads column. We organized there only a few years ago, and it is only during the past year or two that we have accomplished anything in the way of good roads construction. We have built probably 100 or 200 miles of road, at a cost of \$1,000 to \$5,000 a mile, over which you can haul the maximum loads every day in the year. And we have built dirt roads at less expense, over which we can haul the maximum loads nearly all the time, except when blockaded by snow or a long continued rain. We believe we have as good a country for building roads as any portion of this Union.

We found that the only way we could carry on our system of road construction and make it of benefit to the people generally was by organization. During the past year we have organized ten county good roads associations. Every one of those associations has taken up the question of constructing good highways. Interest is manifested not only by the principal men of the different communities, but by the entire people. They all feel satisfied that the only way to get good roads is by organization. And I would advise the vice-presidents of this association and the representatives of the different States, when they go back to their communities, to commence organizing, and organize in every county a good roads association. By doing that you will get the support of the entire people, and assist in carrying on this great movement.

Hon. JOHN DYMOND, of Louisiana. In Louisiana the road matter had been a sea of mud, until our good friend Mr. Moore and his coterie came to Louisiana about two years ago and captured our governor, captured our hearts, and captured the whole State, and made us all converts to the good roads movement. Since we have been here we are almost tempted to accept National aid, but can hardly believe that the good old party to which some of us belong will consent. We should try to do what we can at home. We are now doing what we can in that direction. Under the constitution of 1898, which I helped to form, we now levy a tax of \$1 per head on all boys and men between the ages of 18 and 55, and that brings into the treasury quite a large sum. It might be well for some other States which are suffering from a shortage of funds to levy a similar tax. We are here to-day with a large delegation all the way from the waters of the Gulf to the hills of north Louisiana, and from the flat pine lands of the east to the prairies of the west. We come to help you in this movement and bid you God speed, and shall endeavor to emulate you in all we do.

Mr. BROOKS, of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has been referred to on several occasions as being one of the States that has gotten into line with a State appropri-

ation. That, to my personal knowledge, has been a fight of over twenty-five years. The matter was brought up from time to time in the legislature. I had the honor to be a member of the legislature for a number of terms. The great trouble was, that the man who had the greatest need of good roads, the farmer, wanted a good road, but wanted other people to pay for it. Two years ago we would have passed a bill had it not been for the farmer. He wanted to tax the railroad to pay for the good roads. The railroad interests said to the coal interests and the oil interests, "if they tax me this time they will tax you next and you would better help us defeat the bill." And the only way we ever succeeded in getting it was by getting the farmer to allow the money to come from the general treasury of the State. When the people agreed to that, we passed the bill appropriating \$6,500,000.

I have a suggestion to make which I will put in the form of a resolution: *Resolved*, That a secretary be appointed for each State represented here, who, during the time between the meeting of this convention and the next, shall collect statistics on the subject of roads and present them to the next convention. [On motion, this resolution was adopted.]

Mr. E. A. FROST, of Illinois. The deep feeling evidenced in this convention will stimulate thought and action among the people. We want to reach our representatives, not only in Washington but in the State legislatures, and show the men who are directing our affairs that there is a deep-seated movement, born of the necessities and aspirations of the people, to have our common roads improved. It has happened too frequently that the politicians have played with the desires of the people, but fortunately this movement is so strong to-day that they will not dare to tamper with it.

Mr. CLARK, of Nebraska. If there is anything that Nebraskans wish to do it is to have some one instruct us how to make good roads. Nebraska is liberal. We give four rods for right of way on either side of the section line. Each square mile can have a road on all sides of it. I think no State in the Union has better natural roads than Nebraska. If this were not true it would have been impossible to carry supplies to the great mining districts farther west, from 1869 until 1875, before the Union Pacific Railroad was completed. Our supervising system is not what it should be.

I think if there is anything of which we ought to feel proud it is that we contributed Secretary Richardson to this movement. [Applause.] I know of no other man in the State of Nebraska who could have performed the work so well as Mr. Richardson. If our late Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Morton, were living to-day, I take it he would be with you. I knew him since 1855. He was always ready to push forward the interests of mankind, and, if he were living to-day, I believe he would be one of the foremost men in this convention.

Mr. MCKINNEY, of Oklahoma. I wish to say that if the Eastern States will assist us this winter, will help us knock down this Chinese wall between us and statehood, we are ready to show you that we are not only capable of comparison in patriotism, but also in good roads.

Judge GREGORY, of Kentucky. Kentucky is fully alive to the evils of mud. While still hampered in State organization, our individual counties and communities have combined and are strongly in sympathy with the good roads movement. Three years ago the people in Jefferson County, in which the city of Louisville is located, took a vote to decide whether or not the turnpikes of the county should be free. There was something more than 100 miles of toll roads in operation. It was necessary to levy a tax in order to pay for them and make them free. Under the laws of Kentucky it was necessary that the tax should be levied upon the property in the city and in the country. Now, notwithstanding the fact that the assessed value of property in the city was something like nine times as great as that in the rural parts

of the county, and notwithstanding the fact that the country received nine times as much benefit from that improvement as did the city, Louisville—with a patriotism which has not been surpassed by any city in the country—by an overwhelming majority voted to free every turnpike in Jefferson County, and those magnificent turnpikes to-day are free. [Applause.] And, in addition to that, they have added to the 100 miles of pike during the last five years more than another 100 miles, and every turnpike is constructed at the cost of the city and the country districts alike.

Gen. ROY STONE, of New York. The State of New York has made very rapid progress in its financial arrangements for good roads. It began about five years ago with an appropriation of \$50,000, to be given as State aid, with a corresponding amount to be given by the counties and towns. That State aid has been increased from year to year until this year it has reached the sum of \$1,000,000. The State legislature has also passed a concurrent resolution proposing to amend the constitution of the State so it may issue bonds to the amount of \$50,000,000 to be used in the same manner in improving the roads. With those \$50,000,000 they expect to build about 7,000 miles of good roads in the State. They will have roads running through the State from end to end and from side to side. These roads will be made largely from rock from the Hudson River, that will be carried through the State by the canals and railroads.

The CHAIRMAN. We now have the chancellor of the University of Mississippi with us, and I take pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Robert B. Fulton.

Dr. FULTON. I wish, first of all, to thank Mr. Moore and the representatives of the Good Roads Association for the great work which they began in the State of Mississippi. I wish also to indorse most heartily the principle of National and State aid of highways throughout all our country.

Perhaps I will be excused for my deep interest in this matter when you understand that I come from one of the alluvial States of the Union, away down on the Mississippi River, where the solid matter which is carried down in the waters of the Missouri and the Mississippi is deposited on the land, and when this is moistened it has about the same consistency as the waters of the Missouri. Under such conditions you can imagine what our roads are like when it rains. They are without bottom; the alluvial soil, moistened, becomes simply mud; traffic is suspended; financial losses follow; and the loss in intellectual and moral progress, and through lack of attendance on our schools and churches is beyond all computation.

There are two words which give more hope of the development of our civilization than any others; they were brought to us by the officers of this association when they visited our State two years ago; they inspired us to hope and effort, and will ultimately lead to an improvement which will contribute to our material and spiritual development. Those two words are "good roads."

The CHAIRMAN. I have the honor to present to you Lieutenant-Governor Rubey, of Missouri.

Mr. RUBEY. You have come together here to discuss one of the greatest questions that can come before a country such as ours, a great, magnificent agricultural land. And coming as you do from all sections, good results must surely follow.

I am not going to make a speech; I simply want to second the welcome extended to you by our governor. We are glad to have you assembled within our borders. We welcome your coming. We hope you will come again. We hope that the arguments you have made on this great subject will result in good roads for this country of ours.

The CHAIRMAN. I observe a gentleman here who has given great attention to this question, Governor Prince, of New Mexico, and I call upon him to tell you what they are doing in his Territory.

Governor PRINCE, of New Mexico. I only arise to let you know that the Territory which I represent stands with you on this subject. It is, as you have said, a Territory; it is not a State, to the great sorrow and indignation of the American citizens there. They have no representation in the Congress of the United States that can vote and help you. But they have not waited for that to do what they could.

In our legislature which adjourned two or three weeks ago, even in the last days, when it took a suspension of the rules, by a unanimous vote, they passed resolutions in favor of the Brownlow bill in both houses. [Applause.] And this was done, although the Brownlow bill does not include the Territories in its benefits.

I see a number of mottoes hung up here, all of which are admirable in sentiment. One of those is something in regard to prison labor. The legislature of New Mexico has passed an act for the construction of a magnificent scenic highway between the cities of Las Vegas and Santa Fe, passing through a great Government reservation which is there, the Pecos Reservation, the work to be done by the labor of convicts, aided by an appropriation from the legislature of the Territory. [Applause.]

I have only risen at your suggestion, Mr. Chairman, in order to let the people understand that New Mexico, though a Territory, stands for good roads.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Salmon, of Missouri, chairman of the committee on selection of officers for the ensuing year, presented the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

The committee on recommendation of permanent officers of the National Good Roads Association begs leave to recommend the election of W. H. Moore as president, R. W. Richardson as secretary, and C. H. Huttig as treasurer of the National Good Roads Association.

This committee also recommends that the chairman of each State and Territorial delegation on this floor shall hand to the secretary of the National Good Roads Association, before the adjournment of this convention, the name of the man suggested by his State delegation for vice-president from his State or Territory, and that the selection of the vice-presidents be left to the executive committee.

Mr. Rippe, of Missouri, moved that the calling of the roll of States be dispensed with and that the convention proceed with the regular order of business.

The motion prevailed.

The CHAIRMAN. We have here with us a man who has come out of a sick bed and traveled from Washington to get here. I have the honor and pleasure of introducing to you the Hon. J. H. Brigham, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

EDUCATING THE PEOPLE ON THE GOOD ROADS QUESTION.

By Col. J. H. BRIGHAM, *Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.*

I regret very much that the Secretary of Agriculture could not be with you, but I am glad to be here myself. After the flow of oratory to which I have listened this afternoon it is rather embarrassing to a "sure enough" farmer to get out on a platform and talk.

The tax imposed upon all our citizens by bad roads is, I believe, the most onerous and useless of taxes. The way to get rid of that tax is to make better roads. It will cost money, but it will pay. We can not afford, with the other improvements that are being made in this country, to continue longer to wade through the mud we find at certain seasons of the year in these great agricultural States.

The good roads movement has interested me for many years. Being myself a practical farmer, I have been in favor of devising some plan whereby the cost of this improvement would be fairly distributed. We can not blame the farmer for objecting to more than his proportion of the burden of taxation. I hope that this convention will be able to suggest some way of fairly distributing the tax imposed for road construction. What we need in the country districts now is good roads. We have electric lines; we have the telephone; we get the daily newspapers, and what we now want is good roads running by our homes. I think it is the duty of our people to build these roads, because the ideal home of the future will be in the country, where the air is pure and the associations elevating; but you can not have an ideal home when it is surrounded by bad roads a portion of the year. We can not do all the work needed in one year, but let us commence and do the work as rapidly as possible. I believe in distributing this burden, as I have said, and I see no reason why the General Government should not appropriate a certain sum of money to be expended in this great work. Of course, the States and the counties and communities would be expected to cooperate; but if the Federal Government will give something to help pay these expenses it will be encouraging to all the people. [Applause.]

Some of the speakers say we must stir up Congress. We must first educate the people. When the people are in favor of a National appropriation for good roads, the Congressmen will be in favor of it, and not until then. [Applause.] You are doing a great work along that line. You will do better work perhaps later on, because when one of these movements gets started it is mighty hard to stop it. This reminds me of a story which illustrates this. Two farmers stood beside a railroad for the first time, and saw an engine hitched to a long train of cars standing still on the track. One of them said to the other, "Jim, she can't start it. It's not possible." But after a while, when they turned on the steam, the train started to move very slowly, then commenced going faster and faster, and finally with a whirl and a roar passed out of sight. Then he said, "Jim, they never can stop it." So it will be with this movement—get it well started and you will not be able to stop it.

I am a member of the organization of the Patrons of Husbandry, commonly called the Grange, and was for several years the chief executive of the State Grange of Ohio and also of the National Grange. This organization has been instrumental in securing considerable important legislation for the agricultural interests. I remember when the master of the State Grange of Kentucky introduced a resolution in the National Grange to elevate the Department of Agriculture and make its head a member of the Cabinet. Almost everyone thought it a hopeless undertaking. Many of the farmers thought so. They did not then appreciate what the Department of Agriculture could do for the development of that industry. The first attempts for securing legislation were unsuccessful, but the Grangers never give up

a fight if they think they are right, and after twenty-five years of hard and persistent work the elevation of the Department was secured.

The men at the head of this Department are practical farmers and are, of course, deeply interested in agriculture. They do not lose sight of other great interests in this country, but I want to assure you that the Secretary and his assistants keep most prominent in their minds the question: "What can this Department do for agriculture and the farmers of this country?" I see no reason why the National Government should not reach out its strong arm and appropriate liberally for the purpose of giving the people of the whole country better means of communication.

I want to say in conclusion that I am in sympathy with this movement and that I want some way devised to distribute the burden equally and fairly. Then I want to see this movement pushed with all the energy that is characteristic of the American people. When we undertake to do anything in the United States of America we do it well; and after a while we are going to have as good roads as can be found anywhere in the world. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. A gentleman said recently that the Almighty is not making acres, but is making ideas. Iowa is making ideas. I want to present one of these idea makers to this convention; and I want to state to you that as governor of the State he issued what to my mind was the strongest proclamation for participation in this convention that was issued by any of the States. [Applause.] It gives me great pleasure to present to you the chief executive of the State of Iowa, Governor Cummins.

THE "IOWA IDEA" OF THE GOOD-ROADS PROBLEM.

By Hon. ALBERT B. CUMMINS, *Governor of Iowa.*

In the middle of the forenoon, on the southern borders of my own State, I delivered the President of the United States safe and sound into the keeping of the governor of Missouri. [Applause.] He is coming here to you as rapidly as steam will bring him, detained only by the multitudes that gather to hear and applaud him.

It has been my misfortune not to share with you the pleasures of this convention, and therefore I am wholly ignorant as to what has been said and what has been resolved, and I have no doubt, therefore, that the utmost I can do will be, as a distinguished English jurist once said, to "express a uniformity of idea in a variety of language"—it is not the "Iowa idea" either that I am referring to.

The exploitation of any great development must depend upon the people. Interest must be stimulated and preserved in the rank and file of the citizenship which has conferred an honor so distinguished upon the American name.

I can only speak of my own State—and to tell you the truth, I am reluctant to speak in terms of sober reality and truth of my own State, before a company assembled from the various States of the Union, as it is apt to excite envy and discontent. [Laughter.]

I believe, however, that it is the accepted judgment of the people of the United States that, when God came to bestow His favors upon the coming Republic, He gave the choicest of them to the Commonwealth which we call Iowa. He has bestowed upon us splendid natural advantages, but it remains for the people of our State to supply themselves with good roads.

After a very careful investigation of the state of the public mind, I can say that the people of Iowa are deeply intent upon this problem. They understand that the hour has come in which this great improvement must be carried forward to triumphant

success. We have had in the past history of the United States moments of victory which have thrilled every honest and patriotic heart; every year has had its duties; every year has announced its triumphs. We have constructed and are now enjoying the most complete, the most efficient, the most magnificent system of railways known to the earth; and we intend to add as a fit companion to these great arteries of traffic the best highways known to the civilized world. [Applause.] I can not but believe that the people of this country, ignoring all partisan lines which have heretofore divided them, will unite in making the real dowries of nature accessible to the traffic of the world. [Applause.]

In our State nine months in the year we have as good roads as can be found anywhere in the country, and the remaining three months we have the worst roads over which a human being can travel. We propose to remedy that great defect in our industrial system. This subject has not heretofore attained the prominence it now enjoys. This is a busy world. A thousand duties have crowded upon us from month to month and year to year, and the energy even of the American is not sufficient to accomplish all his destiny within a single decade. But we have now reached this question, and I believe that the public men and the public interest will fasten upon it until we shall solve it to the honor and the prosperity of the Nation, as we have solved every other problem which fate and civilization have required us to solve. [Applause.]

Now, as I do not know what has been decided upon, I know you will judge me mercifully if what I am about to say shall contravene former utterances or shall not be in harmony with the thought which has been developed. I believe that good roads are necessary and that they are necessary now, and I shall be very sorry to see this great movement and all the apostles and workers in this cause halt while we ask of the National Government the aid which some of you expect. The outcome of the proposition is problematical, and its propriety is doubtful. I would have the most profound sympathy for the unfortunate Congressman of the United States if our high legislative tribunal were turned into a field of rivalry respecting roads, such as it is now with regard to our rivers and harbors. Now, whatever National aid may come in the future—and it may come, and I do not oppose proper and reasonable aid—I, for one, believe that each State ought to take up and carry forward this question for itself without regard to National aid. [Loud applause.] I fear a little for that magnificent surplus in our Treasury should it be finally determined to devote it to the improvement of our roads. I know the States of this Republic fairly well, and I know that until the Nation does stretch forth its hand in their aid the States can and will carry on this work for themselves, under the advice and instruction of our magnificent Department of Agriculture at Washington. [Applause.] Do not let the impetus which we have now gained lose its force. Do not allow the interest to go down. While waiting for the General Government, let us each for ourselves, in our several States, determine that now and henceforth this subject shall be prominent in our deliberations and shall receive such consideration upon the part of our legislative assemblies as is necessary to carry into full effect the sovereign powers of the States. And in that way in a decade this great Union will be blessed with good roads, over which the traffic of the country may move with economy and with regularity in every season of the year, and without respect to the character of the soil which lies adjacent to the highways. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The eyes of the world at this hour are turned upon St. Louis. It is most fortunate that we can say here to-day that we have a Chief Executive, who is able and willing to visit all sections of this country in order to find out what the people need. [Applause.] No man can tell what exists in the several States

and Territories, and what their needs may be unless he goes out among the people.

It is most gratifying to be able to introduce to this assemblage the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt.

GOOD ROADS AS AN ELEMENT IN NATIONAL GREATNESS.

By HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *President of the United States.*

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When we wish to use descriptive adjectives fit to characterize great empires, and the men who made those empires great, invariably one of the adjectives used is to signify that they built good roads. [Applause.] When we speak of the Romans we speak of them as rulers, as conquerors, as administrators, as road builders. There were empires that rose over night and fell over night; empires whose influence was absolutely evanescent; who passed away without leaving a trace of their former existence. But wherever the Roman established his rule, the traces of that rule remain deep to-day, stamped on the language and customs of the people, or stamped in tangible form upon the soil itself. Passing through Britain, more than fifteen centuries after the dominion of Rome passed away, we can see that the Roman roads still remain.

Going through Italy, where power after power has risen, flourished, and vanished since the days when the temporal dominion of the Roman Emperors transferred its seat from Rome to Byzantium; going through Italy after the Lombard, the Goth, the Byzantine, and all the people of the middle ages have ruled that country, it is the imperishable Roman road that reappears.

The faculty, the art, the habit of road building marks in a nation those solid, stable qualities, which tell for permanent greatness. [Applause.]

Merely from the standpoint of historical analogy we should have a right to ask that this people which has tamed a continent, which has built up a nation with a continent for its base, which boasts itself with truth as the mightiest republic that the world has ever seen, and which we firmly believe will in the century now opening rise to a place of leadership such as no other nation has yet attained [loud applause], merely from historical analogy, I say, we should have a right to demand that such a nation build good roads. Much more have we the right to demand it from a practical standpoint. The great difference between the semibarbarism of the middle ages and the civilization which succeeded it was the difference between poor and good means of communication. And we to whom space is less of an obstacle than ever before in the history of any nation, we who have spanned a continent, who have thrust our borders westward in the course of a century and a quarter from the Atlantic over the Alleghenies, down into the valley of the Mississippi, across the Great Plains, over the Rockies, to where the Golden Gate lets through the long heaving waters of the Pacific, and finally to Alaska and the islands of the Orient, we, who take so little account of mere space, must see to it that the best means of nullifying the existence of space are at our command. Of course, during the last century there has been an altogether phenomenal growth in one kind of road, wholly unknown to the people of old—the iron road. The railway is of course something purely modern. Now, a great many excellent people have proceeded upon the assumption that having good railways was a substitute for having good highways. A more untenable position can not be imagined. [Loud applause.] What the railway does is to develop the country, and of course this development implies the need of more and better roads.

A few years ago it was a matter, I am tempted to say, of national humiliation, that there should be so little attention paid to our roads; that there should be a willingness, not merely to refrain from making good roads, but to let the roads that were in

existence become worse. I can not too heartily congratulate our people upon the existence of a body such as this, having its connections in every State of the country, and bent upon the eminently practical work of making the conditions of life easier and better for the people whom of all others we can least afford to see grow discontented with their lot in life—the people who live in the country districts. [Loud applause.]

The extraordinary, wholly unheard-of rate of our industrial development during the past seventy-five years, with the good phases, has also had some evil phases. It is a fine thing to see our cities build up, but not at the expense of the country districts. [Loud applause.] The healthy thing is to see the building up of both country and city go hand in hand. We can not expect the ablest, the most eager, the most ambitious young men to stay in the country, to stay on the farm, unless they have certain advantages. Farm life is in too many cases a life of isolation, of mental poverty, a life in which it is a matter of great and real difficulty for one man to communicate with his neighbor. You can rest assured that, unless this is changed, there will be a tendency to leave the farms on the part of those very people whom we should most wish to see stay there. It is a good thing to encourage in every way any movement which will tend to check an unhealthy flow from the country to the city. There are several such movements in evidence at present. The growth of electricity as applied to means of transportation tends, to a certain degree, to exercise a centrifugal force to offset the centripetal force of steam. Exactly as the use of steam has tended to gather men into masses, so now electricity as applied to transportation tends to scatter them again.

The trolley lines that go out through the country are doing a great deal to render it possible to live in the country and yet not lose wholly the advantages of the town.

The telephone is not to be minimized as an instrument with a tendency in the same direction.

Rural free delivery is playing its part along the same lines.

But no one thing can do so much to offset the tendency toward an unhealthy drain from the country into the city as the making and keeping of good roads. [Loud applause.] They are needed for the sake of their effect upon the industrial conditions of the country districts, and I am almost tempted to say that they are needed more for their effect upon the social conditions of the country. [Applause.] If winter means to the average farmer the existence of a long line of liquid morasses through which he has to move his goods if bent on business, or to wade or swim if bent on pleasure; if an ordinary rain means that the farmer's girl and boy can not use their bicycles; if a little heavy weather means the stoppage of all communication, not only with the industrial centers, but with the neighbors, then you must expect that there will be a great many young people of both sexes who will not find farm life attractive.

It is for this reason, among many others, that I feel the work that you are doing to be so preeminently one for the interest of the Nation as a whole. I congratulate you upon the fact that you are doing it. In our American life it would be hard to overestimate the amount of good that has been accomplished by associations of individuals who have gathered together to work for a common object which is to be of benefit to the community as a whole. And among all the excellent objects for which men and women combine to work to-day, there are few, indeed, which have a better right to command the energies of those engaged in the movement, and the hearty sympathy and support of those outside, than this in which you are engaged. [Loud applause.]

The convention then adjourned sine die.

