

dividends for the five fat years, 1906, were \$4,871,334.37 less than distributed during the five lean years over 30, 1875.

holders during the more recent period in dividends the same proportion from all sources (27.445 per cent) as distributed in the earlier period, we received \$85,147,858 more than did receive according to the official

years back it was said of this course of its official reports "were made to deceive both the public and us, while others were drawn so loosely only ridicule and disgust." And for to this it was officially declared railway reports in general that they are *incorrect*, and in many cases made so for the purpose of concealing public violations of law and want of fiduciary trusts."

LEVI STEVENS LEWIS.

* * *

LAKES-TO-THE-GULF DEEP WATERWAY. I.

navigation with incidental water power regardless of deep water ways to be the issue at the core of the now profoundly agitating the idea of a deep waterway through the Mississippi from the Great Lakes to the Gulf

ways affect every interest and every citizen of the United States. Whether for good or ill they can escape their influence; and through ignorance, indolence, indifference or inaction, for any other reason, none can safely ignore them. They demand for consideration. They raise the questions which, like everything else, nobody can let alone because they are there. Yet the controversies through the nation-wide in interest and in geographical about the upper Mississippi River and concentrate government of the lower valleys of Illinois

that they may ruffle the temper of the convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Association are strong, but no score can be definitely made.

Deep Waterway Movement.

of that convention are to be held in the Grand Theater at Chicago on the 12th,

13th and 14th of October. They will be under the local management of the city of Chicago, assisted by the Association of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

The permanent headquarters of the deep waterway Association which calls the convention, are in the New Bank of Commerce Building at St. Louis, where the president, W. K. Kavanagh, or the secretary, Thomas H. Lovelace, may be addressed or called upon for information by any person or organization interested in the deep waterway project, whether for it or against it.

A map of northern Illinois will be enough to make the details of this explanatory editorial clear.

+

Although the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association is only six years old, it developed out of earlier deep waterway movements.

Its immediate progenitor was organized early in 1906 by a few Congressmen at Washington under the lead of the present Senator Lorimer. Of that, however, we shall tell farther on, for claims may be fairly made by still earlier organizations and persons to a share in its parentage.

Some of these claims are enumerated in one of his official messages* by Governor Deneen of Illinois. He dates the movement back to 1674, and credits its origin to Joliet, the explorer. Joliet pointed out the feasibility of a waterway—not a deep waterway, of course, but a navigable waterway—from the Lakes to the Gulf, as early as that year. The idea was contemplated also, as Governor Deneen intimates, by the following clause in the famous Ordinance of 1787, under which the area now known as the State of Illinois became part of the great Northwest Territory: "The *navigable waters*† leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said Territory as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other State that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor."

In the same message Governor Deneen refers also to commendations of a waterway by Albert Gallatin, through his report on "Means of Inland Communication," made as Secretary of the Treas-

*Special message of Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois, to the Forty-Seventh General Assembly of Illinois, April 25, 1911, reproduced in full in his message to the same General Assembly in special session under his call, June 14, 1911.

†It may be well to bear in mind the italicized words, "navigable waters;" for upon the question of whether one of the natural water courses connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi is legally a navigable stream hinges an important factor in the controversy.

ury to Congress in 1808; and to the coupling of this Illinois waterway in a Congressional bill in 1811 with projects for the Erie and other canals. President Madison, too, is cited by Governor Deneen, along with Clinton, Morris and others, as favoring a waterway across Illinois for the purpose of connecting the Erie Canal with the Mississippi River.

In 1822, as Governor Deneen further explains, Congress authorized the then infant State of Illinois to cut a canal through the public lands from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, and in 1827 made a land grant in aid of its construction. State legislation in Illinois regarding this canal began the same year, as narrated in Governor Deneen's message; and several State laws on the subject were enacted at different sessions of the legislature from that year down to 1836, when the canal was begun, and thereafter upon its completion in 1848 until the present time.

The Illinois canal mentioned by Governor Deneen was of the canal-boat species, with a depth of less than five feet; and Joliet's conception could hardly have anticipated present notions of deep water navigation. Indeed, no waterway deeper than ten feet appears to have been proposed, even for "large vessels," in any of the periods referred to by Governor Deneen. His citations must therefore be regarded as indicating an ancient spirit rather than the modern purpose of deep waterway demands.

In the older conception of deep water navigation a deep waterway convention was held at Memphis in 1845. There were 550 delegates in attendance, John C. Calhoun presided, and the resolutions declared a deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf to be a proper subject for public expenditure. This convention might be recorded as the first to demand a deep waterway, were it not that "deep" couldn't have meant in the water commerce of 1845 what it means now. A similar observation would probably apply to the Congressional speech of Abraham Lincoln in the '40's, wherein, as Congressman Henry T. Rainey summarizes him, "he advocated the same route over the same valley, connecting the Lakes with the Illinois River, and the same route down the Illinois and down the Mississippi to the Southern Gulf, that is advocated today by the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association." Probably we may assign to the same category the national Ship-Canal convention at Chicago in the early summer of 1863, of which Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin was the permanent chairman.

No doubt the spirit of all those early waterway

promoters was identical with that which animates present day deep waterway advocates; but developments in water carriage have in our time brought to the fore a definite issue.

What is a deep waterway? This is the burning question that will agitate the deep waterway convention at Chicago next week, unless the advocates of a depth of less than 14 feet remain silent or stay away.

+

On that crucial question sides have formed and the partisanship is bitter. One side advocates a minimum depth of 8 feet; the other a minimum depth of 14 feet, with locks, rock-cuts, bridges and all other permanent construction adapted *now* to a depth of 24 feet in the future.

On the 8-foot side of this depth controversy it is urged that a fund of \$20,000,000 authorized by the people of Illinois on referendum in 1908 be immediately used, in whole or part, for construction by the State of Illinois, with such Federal co-operation as the government at Washington may be willing to give. The construction proposed is through the Des Plaines River to the Illinois River at Utica, from the Lockport end of the sanitary canal which already extends, with a 24-foot depth, from Chicago to Lockport. On the other side of the controversy it is urged that Illinois should first secure from the Federal government guarantees of co-operation in the making of a 14-foot channel as the minimum from the Chicago sanitary canal to the deep waters of the Mississippi, and that Illinois expenditures for construction shall not proceed until that policy as to depth is adopted.

Each side accuses the other of playing into the hands of the electric monopoly interests of Illinois with reference to water-power sites.

The followers of Senator Lorimer, who stands out for the 14-foot minimum, accuse Governor Deneen, who accepts the 8-foot minimum, of playing spoils politics for renomination; while the followers of the Governor accuse the Senator of playing deep water politics to "down" Deneen.

Of course railway interests come in to confuse the controversy. Fearing effective waterway competition, they seize upon this possible opportunity of making the deep waterway project miscarry.

On the other hand, landed interests all through the Mississippi Valley are sincerely promoting the 14-foot project—from public spirited motives no doubt, but none the less with a consciousness that it will increase the value of their coal deposits, their stone and cement quarries, their farm sites and their building lots. They are supported from

motives by general business interests at all centers and elsewhere along the route.

+

Such as those confusing factors enter convey into the plans and purposes of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association, the success of its forthcoming sixth convention will be appreciated if the origin and program of the Association be understood in advance.

The Deep Waterway Association.

More directly due to Senator Lorimer, Senator Rainey, Congressman Madden, and a number of Congressional associates, together with various business groups which they organized in various cities and towns of the Mississippi River region, the origin of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association may be traced to earlier bodies and to organizations longer

than the earlier bodies out of which it has grown. The Mississippi River Improvement Association, organized about fifteen years ago along the banks of the Mississippi in the Delta. Although its primary object was to maintain a durable levee line in defense of the lands of the Delta, this association consolidated into a permanent deep water channel. Another is The Western Waterway Association, organized at about the same time, the object being to improve navigation on the river and some of its tributaries. Among the others are The Ohio River Improvement Association and The Upper Mississippi Improvement Association. The object of the latter is fully indicated by its name; the latter is organized to improve the Mississippi north

of the influence of those organizations covers practically the entire field of proposed geographical and political. Within the region of the Upper Mississippi Improvement Association may be considered all the region that extends westward from St. Louis to the mouth of the Mississippi River and thence to Lake Michigan. The Mississippi River Improvement Association is the region from St. Louis to the Gulf. The collateral interests of the Missouri River organizations and so is the common interest of all in the navigation project. And inasmuch as support from the Federal government is a factor in the deep waterway campaign, agitation for Federal assistance for their own localized objects respect-

ively, emphasizes the utility of their affiliation for general purposes.

Probably the earliest leader in the general movement was Charles Scott, the distinguished lawyer of Mississippi, still living, who cut a large figure in the reform politics of that State a few years ago with his horseback campaign for Governor. Mr. Scott is president of The Mississippi River Improvement Association, and has been from its organization; and about ten years ago he was permanent chairman of a convention of The Western Waterway Association at Memphis. As those organizations were even then respectively promoting the navigable possibilities of the Mississippi as far north as St. Louis and of the Missouri from St. Louis westward, Mr. Scott was brought into official relationship with so much of the field of the unified movement which the Lakes-to-the-Gulf association now represents, as lies south of St. Louis, and consequently into sympathy with the whole project as it has since developed. In his speech on taking the chair at the Memphis waterways convention he gave full expression to that sympathy. His theme was the importance to the entire country of a deep channel from the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi River to Lake Michigan; and he made it plain that by "deep" he meant not merely deep enough for canoes, canal boats, barges and light-draught ships, but for ocean-going vessels, so that the commerce of the world might penetrate the American continent without breaking bulk.

Mr. Scott's suggestion was somewhat lightly regarded at the time as the impracticable dream of a waterway enthusiast. But within a few years this dream of his became the declared purpose of a business organization representing the whole Mississippi Valley—the identical Association, that is, which is to hold the deep waterway convention at Chicago next month.

+

Like so many practical movements for realizing the dreams of economic enthusiasts, that Association got its strength directly from business discontent.

Business men down the Mississippi from St. Louis, found themselves hampered by insufficient transportation facilities. Railroads having paralleled the river, its constantly changing channel, caused by caving banks and the formation of bars which added irregular uncertainties of carriage at all places to the regular ones at low-water stages, diverted custom from the old river boats to the railroads and drove the boats out of

service. This was at first not noticed with any concern by shippers, for the railroads transported freight with reasonable dispatch. But when the traffic outgrew railroad facilities, shippers were startled at their loss of river-transportation.

A spectacular illustration is afforded by the experience of Memphis during a cotton season. So much cotton had been brought into that city by the railroads, and they took out relatively so little, that warehouse accommodations were exhausted and the open streets had to be used for storage. Enormous financial damage resulted. Thereupon the business interests—touched upon the pocket nerve till it stung again—denounced the railroads for bad management, and the answer they got was an admission of incapacity to handle the traffic.

Similar indications of railroad inefficiency put business men along the lower Mississippi upon inquiry, and it happened that their inquiries coincided in time and purpose with the efforts of Senator Lorimer, then a member of the lower house of Congress, to bring Mr. Scott's Gulf-to-Lakes-deep-waterway dream to a practical realization.

+

Mr. Lorimer, a Republican, had invited Congressman Henry T. Rainey, a Democrat, Congressman Martin B. Madden, a Republican, and other members of Congress of both parties, to make a voyage as his guests in a small launch from Lake Michigan to the Gulf along the route of the deep waterway, for which he had long been a vigorous advocate. From the Lake at Chicago Mr. Lorimer's party proceeded through the Chicago and the Des Plaines rivers, the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the Illinois River to the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to the Gulf. Their object was to qualify themselves by observation and strengthen themselves with organizations, to promote in Congress the project of connecting the Lakes with the Gulf by a deep waterway for modern navigation. At every stop of the launch, its Congressional passengers made deep waterway speeches and organized a local group under the name of "From-the-Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association." Subsequently they organized at Washington the "Mississippi Valley Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association," and this temporary national body called the first of the series of conventions of which the sixth is to be held at Chicago next week.*

*While Mr. Lorimer's party were making their voyage of observation and organization, a committee of the Chicago Commercial Association was engaged in an inquiry into the subject of water transportation, and in June, 1906, this committee, of which E. S. Conway afterwards permanent chairman of the first Deep Wa-

III. Early Conventions of the Deep Waterway Association.

The first convention of the deep waterway organization sat at St. Louis, November 15th and 16th, 1906. The call had been addressed to "all mayors, organizations and individuals interested in the permanent improvement of the Mississippi River." Although formally convened by the Mississippi Valley Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association, the convention was locally managed and all responsibilities for it assumed by the Business Men's League of St. Louis. The Business Men's League of Memphis co-operated. It was called to order by Congressman Lorimer, then a member of the House committee on rivers and harbors, and at his suggestion C. P. Walbridge was made temporary chairman. By appointment of the temporary chairman, Congress Martin B. Madden became chairman of the committee on resolutions.

Prominent among the speakers, in addition to Mr. Lorimer, Mr. Walbridge and the permanent chairman, E. S. Conway, were David R. Francis, Congressman Henry T. Rainey, and Congressman Champ Clark. Mr. Lorimer advocated a permanent central organization to bring pressure upon Congress for the construction and maintenance of a channel deep enough to float lake vessels drawing 21 feet of water. Mr. Walbridge spoke to the same effect. So did Mr. Clark and Mr. Rainey; and Mr. Rainey touched the point now in controversy by saying: "When our waterway of 14 feet is built it ought to be built with sills on the locks below Joliet at least 20 feet deep, in order that when the time comes we shall be able to build a 20-foot waterway from the Lakes to the seas."

The resolutions, adopted unanimously, declared that—

it is the object of this convention to direct public attention especially to the project for a deep waterways channel to extend from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

They also declared that—

the proposed deep waterway is to extend from the Chicago Drainage Canal through the valleys of the Desplaines and Illinois Rivers to the Mississippi River at Grafton, Illinois, and thence down the Mississippi to St. Louis, and is to have a minimum depth of 14 feet throughout. We recommend for the purpose of meeting the probable future needs of navigation that the minimum depth over the miter

(terway convention), was chairman, made its report: "From the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico." Though restricted pretty closely to a general presentation of facts bearing upon the commercial utility of canals and improved streams, this report apparently favors the "proposed deep waterway connecting the mouth of the Chicago River with the Mississippi via the Chicago Sanitary Canal, the Desplaines, the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers."

locks should be 21 feet in the initial
 resolutions declared that—
 recommends to its Representatives
 diligent, assiduous and untiring efforts
 necessary means with which to develop
 way.

+

icles of permanent association formu-
 first convention, the name adopted
 ent one—"The Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep
 Association"—and its declared objects

the building of a deep waterway from the
 Gulf by urging upon the national and
 States the necessity for legislation and
 adequate for the purpose.

was—

izens residing in the Lake and Gulf
 States within the Mississippi Valley;
 to be appointed by the Governor from
 tional district, one by the Mayor from
 1,000 and less than 2,500 population,
 or of each city of 2,500 and less than
 the Mayor of each city of 5,000 and
 10,000, five by the Mayor of each city
 less than 20,000, ten by the Mayor
 of 20,000 and less than 50,000 twenty
 of each city of 50,000 and less than
 by the Mayor of each city of 100,000
 250,000, fifty by the Mayor of each
 and over, one from each river im-
 commercial association and one more
 members thereof.

+

convention was held at Memphis in
 attended by 2,300 delegates, includ-
 ors of States and 64 members of
 there was extraordinary enthusiasm
 Roosevelt's water trip down the
 in St. Louis to Memphis and his
 ch in forceful superlatives for the
 ect. Beneath this enthusiasm there
 however, for in the interval between
 ond conventions and at the request
 ion, President Roosevelt had ap-
 ad Waterways Commission.
 s of the deep waterway organiza-
 successfully busy also in carrying
 ucational campaign by means of
 nal correspondence with manufac-
 s and traveling salesmen. Their
 every State in the Union; and
 ndence, arguments from the prin-
 Association found their way into
 n. An impressive feature of this
 was the comprehensiveness of its
 nagers of the Association did not

confine their arguments to the importance of a
 deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf. That
 project might not have been attractive to Con-
 gressional constituencies beyond the sphere of its
 commercial influence. The arguments were there-
 fore so expanded as to impress upon *all* Congres-
 sional constituencies "the necessity," as one of the
 documents* of the Association expresses it, "for
 the improvement of *all* the waterways of the
 country."

One result of this work was shown in the fact
 that the regular rivers and harbors bill in Con-
 gress, adopted before the assembling of the second
 convention and after the first, carried the largest
 appropriation for river improvement that had ever
 been made; and in that appropriation there was
 a clause providing for an official Federal survey
 of the then unsurveyed part of the proposed deep
 waterway, namely, from St. Louis to New Orleans.

Another move of the Association had not been
 so successful. At its request Congressman Rich-
 ard Bartholdt of Missouri introduced in Congress
 a bill providing that the Federal government issue
 bonds to the amount of \$500,000,000 for water-
 ways. But Congress had received this bill with
 coolness. President Roosevelt, however, on his
 way down the river, declared himself in its favor.
 So the only lack of success in the Association's
 program up to its second convention was more
 than compensated by the President's declaration,
 and this he afterwards confirmed officially in a
 message to Congress.

+

Chicago was the place of the third of these deep
 waterway conventions. Meeting in 1908, it was
 addressed by William J. Bryan and William Taft,
 the candidates respectively of the Democratic and
 the Republican parties for President of the United
 States. Both declared for a deep channel.

The advance of the movement and the growth
 in strength of the Association were indicated by
 the attendance at this convention. In number the
 delegates had increased from 1,100 at the first and
 2,300 at the second to 3,517. Every State in the
 Union was represented, and among the official
 guests were 7 Governors and 70 members of Con-
 gress.

Further encouragement from influential polit-
 ical sources was noted. Both the Republican and
 the Democratic national conventions had made
 platform pledges, and through the urgency of
 Alexander Y. Scott (son of the Charles Scott

*Report of William F. Saunders, Secretary of the Asso-
 ciation, to the Fourth Convention, in the official proceed-
 ings of the Convention of 1909 at page 21.

mentioned above), a Mississippi delegate to the Democratic convention at Denver, and with the co-operation of Mr. Bryan, the pledge of the Democratic platform had committed the party to a deep channel.

The younger Mr. Scott, who served as chairman of the committee on resolutions at the third deep waterway convention, felt the influence, already concentrating and gathering force, of the controversy which has now assumed definite shape and may possibly find bitter expression at the sixth convention. Questions of route and of minor detail in construction were raised in such manner as vaguely to indicate serious divergences; but, although they made the meeting of the resolutions committee somewhat strenuous, these questions did not discolor its report. The deep water policy already declared for was reported by the committee and adopted by the convention.

IV. The Fight Begins.

It was at the fourth convention, held at New Orleans October 30th and November 1st and 2nd, 1909, that the divergences began to take on definite shape and to develop vigorous partisanship.

This convention was composed of 4,902 delegates. Every State was represented, and the gubernatorial and Congressional guests numbered respectively 29 and 185. It was addressed by President Taft, Secretary-of-War Dickinson, Gifford Pinchot, Congressman Lorimer, and several Governors of States, including Hadley of Missouri, Donaghey of Arkansas, Stubbs of Kansas, Carroll of Iowa, Davidson of Wisconsin, Noel of Mississippi, and Deneen of Illinois.

President Taft gave characteristic evidence of his sense of trouble a-brewing. As Mr. Lorimer intimated, the President spoke like "a man about to step on eggs he didn't want to crush." From enthusiasm at Chicago the year before, he had become lukewarm. Saying much in general phrase of gradual changes, of difficulties to be overcome, of caution before going ahead, of knowing the cost before you spend your money, of his delight at learning of improvements made in the lower Mississippi, of their making progress "in spite of the fact that the progress is not what it ought to be," of getting "what you desire in a measurable time," and so on, with jokes thrown in, his speech was of the kind that anyone who has had the responsibility of a ticklish speech to make, and every shrewd observer of public speaking, will recognize as appropriate for the President on such an occasion. Mr. Taft's prudence since his campaign speech at the third of these conventions may have been from sen-

sitiveness to official responsibilities; or it may have been influenced by considerations suggested by his allusion to "railroad transportation and the building up of the country by that means." At any rate he had doubtless heard a bell ring, whether he knew where the clapper was or not.

In this connection it should be noted that sincere promoters of the movement had already observed that whereas in its early stages it had received hearty assistance from railroads—that is, apparently hearty assistance,—yet as it grew into fighting shape there was an apparent disposition by railroad interests to discourage it quietly. Observers such as these thought they detected in President Taft's bunshyistic speech at New Orleans a sinister significance, and this impression the hostile speech of his Secretary of War—a noted railroad lawyer—did not by any means modify.*

Governor Deneen followed President Taft with a non-committal speech. His only allusion to water depth was a statement to the effect that in building the Sanitary Canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River the State of Illinois had built it of such dimensions as to accommodate Lake, Gulf and ocean traffic; and in harmony with that purpose had expended \$53,000,000 and authorized the expenditure of \$20,000,000 more.

Congressman Lorimer spoke at this convention also, presenting specifically in much detail and with effect the case for a waterway with a minimum depth of 14 feet.

He was followed by Gifford Pinchot, at that time Chief of the United States Forest Service, in a compact argument not alone against weakening plans by excessive haste, but also against their being "drowned in excessive deliberation."[†] His speech was so clear, compact and fair that we know no better means of aiding in the elucidation of the then gathering controversy than by quoting that part of it which dealt with the questions of necessity, cost and depth:

Whether 14 or 24 feet is the depth of channel we need in the end, there is a vast amount of work which must be done in each case, which must be done in exactly the same way in each case, and about which there are no contentions among the engineers. It is not necessary to decide on the ultimate depth before beginning the work of improvement. Since there will be no locks between St. Louis and the Gulf, the depth may be increased from time to time as the needs of commerce require.

*These speeches are reported in the Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association, the President's at page 29, and the Secretary-of-War's at page 61.

†Mr. Pinchot's speech appears in the official report of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association (1909), pp. 87 to 95.

we shall want fourteen feet. If later we later depth, none of the work expended on the channel will have been wasted. The advantage of constructing the waterway is the only matter in dispute. On this we have the united belief of the business men of the Mississippi Valley, that it is not only commercially advantageous but commercially indispensable. The opinion of these men on this subject must be final. The question of cost remains. The 14-Foot Waterway Board estimates that it will cost about \$159,000,000 for the 14-foot waterway from the Gulf to the end of the Chicago Drain. The State of Illinois has already authorized an expenditure of \$20,000,000. About \$90,000,000 more will be required for the river below Cairo. This covers the work of the Mississippi River Commission. It will be required to protect the banks of the 14-foot channel or not. There is more than \$50,000,000 as the total estimated cost between the cost to the United States if we build the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway and the cost if we do not build it. The 14-foot project, if completed, estimates, will cost in money that would be spent, a little more than half what the State of Illinois has devoted to deep waterways and less than half what the State of New York has voted to spend on deepening the Erie Canal. To sum up, the physical facts about the project are known. The engineers are agreed upon the estimated cost, the best methods for the work and the practicability of doing it. The business men are agreed that the deep waterway is commercially necessary. The additional estimated cost is less than one-seventh the present cost of freight by water transportation on the Mississippi. The Mississippi River Commission is ready to proceed with the work. The business men are better now than they will be if we do not build it. The money is lacking but the money.

+

resolutions presented by Charles Scott as chairman of the resolutions committee and adopted at the convention, were in harmony with the views of Mr. Lorimer and Mr. Pinchot. On the question of depth they declared that—

Government should, and shall without delay, enter on a definite policy and plan for the development, beginning with the immediate improvement of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, as a part of a great water system in such a way as to insure effective navigation between the Gulf of Mexico on the south and the Great Lakes on the north. The main trunk to be developed without delay and with constant reference to the future effective development of the tributaries of the great rivers of the country and the lakes, bays, bayous and sounds of the country, and the canals and locks required in and for a complete inland navigation adapted to our growing commercial needs. . . . The following are some of the portions of a recent report of the National Board of Survey composed of leading engineers, which demonstrate the

complete practicability of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway, we repudiate and condemn that portion of the report declaring against the commercial expediency and necessity for the project, and reaffirm our fixed conviction that the vast and rapidly advancing commerce of our interior, already reaching an annual freight charges of 40 billion dollars, absolutely demands the opening of a waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea, not less than 14 feet deep and adapted to modern terminal and transfer facilities. . . . We affirm our conviction that it is the duty and is within the Constitutional powers of the Federal government, to exercise jurisdiction over terminals and over the connections with other transportation agencies required for the development and maintenance of water transportation; and we hold that the regulation of terminal and transfer facilities is not only essential to, but is an integral part of, any practical system of commercial navigation.

These declarations were full in the face of an attempt, the first yet made, to commit the Association to an endorsement of any depth of channel that the Federal Government might offer—an 8-foot channel being suggested in place of the 14-foot channel demanded.

+

Meanwhile a fight over the 14-foot versus the 8-foot issue had begun to concentrate in Illinois. But that is a further story, the particulars of which and its relations to the general subject must be reserved for the next issue of *The Public*.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICAL SIGN BOARDS

Portland, Ore., Sept. 24.

If this generation is of the perverse and wicked kind that seeketh after a sign it needn't advertise in the "lost and found" columns, for the signs are visible to the naked eye. But sign hunters are not always wicked and perverse; you'll notice that all kinds of saints have their eyes peeled for signs.

+

When a State press association is opened with a talk on Singletax by W. S. U'Ren, that's a sign, writ in large letters and posted in a conspicuous place. That's what happened Thursday, September 21, when the newspaper men of Oregon met in annual session in Portland. Some men would have made an address; U'Ren didn't. Others would have "talked editorials" to those newspaper men; U'Ren didn't. It was more like an interview, with eight or ten inquisitive newspaper men as interviewers and U'Ren as the interviewee; and that made it interesting.

Naturally, "in those circumstances," as the *London Times* would say, there was no continuity; but what those newspaper men wanted was information rather than continuity. They didn't want to be preached at, for they do some preaching themselves. U'Ren hadn't talked more than three minutes before