

The Harvard Classics

The Publishers' Statement

THE publishers of The Harvard Classics feel warranted in calling their undertaking one of the most important literary and educational projects of recent times for three reasons.

First: because the selection and arrangement of the series have been done by the most experienced educator in America, and one of the most thoughtful of modern publicists, whose position and character sufficiently vouch for the thoroughness and scholarly judgment with which the work has been executed.

Second: because no such comprehensive extension of liberal education has ever been attempted before under such auspices.

Third: because the mechanical part of the work, the actual making of the books, has conformed in every respect to the best methods of paper-making, typography, press work, and binding. We have had hundreds of appreciative letters from book lovers and book collectors all over the country.

It was Thomas à Kempis who wrote that beautiful and suggestive sentence in the "Imitation of Christ," "*Da mihi, Domini, scire quod sciendum est,*" ("Grant me, O Lord, to know whatever is to be known"), a sentence which must ever stand for the student's aspiration and the scholar's prayer. In the

wilderness of all the books which have been written, the perplexed reader must always be grateful for friendly and competent guidance. The Harvard Classics furnish such guidance.

President Garfield gave his idea of a good college in the often quoted phrase—a log with a student at one end and Dr. Mark Hopkins at the other. "The Outlook" characterized The Harvard Classics as "a very extensive university extension system." So we might define University Extension as a reader on one side of a fireplace and Dr. Eliot's "Five-Foot Shelf of Books" on the other.

Education liberalizes or frees a man by giving him added power, so that he is better able to obtain what he wants from life, molding circumstances more nearly to his will. No man who has profited by the higher education would forego the advantages and the inward wealth it has brought him, or exchange them for any material possession. He is invested with the freedom of a citizenship such as no temporal power could bestow. He has resources of peace, happiness, and serenity such as the uneducated can never command. He shares the conversation, the thoughts, the experiences, the aspirations of the great ones of the earth.

An Impressive Presentation

THE HARVARD CLASSICS are, as regards texts, notes, typography, paper, binding, etc., entirely worthy of their title, and thus are qualified to occupy, in relation to literature and education in America, a position similar to that held by the Oxford texts in England.

Only Complete Works Included

In his first announcement, Dr. Eliot stated that, as a rule, only complete works would be included. This plan has been adhered to. The Harvard Classics should not be confused with those collections of literary fragments that serve no really useful purpose and are a constant source of irritation to the lover of literature by reason of their incompleteness.

Historical Sites and Objects

The photogravures of historical sites and objects will still further increase the reader's interest. Such subjects as Milton's Cottage at Chalfont St. Giles, Emerson's Library in which he wrote his "Essays," and the printing press at which Franklin worked while in London take us into the daily life of the author as no description could.

The list is a long one, and includes celebrated paintings of Samuel Johnson at the house of Lord Chesterfield, Louis XIV and Molière at Versailles, Louis XIII and Cornielle by Jean Léon Gérôme, and portraits of the actors of "Hardcastle," "Tony Lumpkin," and "Mrs. Hardcastle" in the original cast of "She Stoops to Conquer."

There are reproductions of paintings on Greek vases, showing some of the earliest illustrations (in color) of Homer's "Odyssey"; a drawing of the ruins of a Greek theater, showing the seats cut in the side of a hill; and a drawing of the recently discovered site of Pliny's villa (hitherto unpub-

lished), referred to in the letters of Pliny the Younger. One of the photogravures shows the fireplace in Burns's cottage, the room in Carlyle's house in Cheyne Row, with the fireplace in front of which he and his old friends used to sit and talk.

Exclusive Features

The Eliot Edition of The Harvard Classics is now practically completed. The paper on which the books are printed has been chosen carefully with the object of securing a maximum of legibility in the printed page. It has been especially manufactured by S. D. Warren & Co. of Boston for use in this edition, and has the word "Eliot" as a watermark in every page.

Photogravure Frontispieces

The frontispiece to each volume is a photogravure portrait surrounded by a beautiful design especially made by Maxfield Parrish, N.A., in accordance with the traditions of the best eighteenth-century frontispieces. It is believed that these will constitute a very popular and treasured feature of The Harvard Classics, and give them something of that intimate personal relation between the reader and the author that goes so far to promote a friendship for books.

Facsimiles of Famous Manuscripts

The facsimiles of manuscripts are exclusive features, and as such are of very great importance, since they are now published for the first time. By courtesy of J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq., we are enabled to publish the hitherto unpublished facsimiles of the manuscripts of Milton's "Paradise Lost," Burns's celebrated poem "The Cotter's Saturday Night," Keats's "Endymion," "The Last Will and Testament of William Penn," and the warrant for the arrest of John Bunyan, author of "Pilgrim's Progress," all of which

form part of his priceless collection of manuscripts that was recently exhibited at Columbia University.

Among the other facsimiles should be mentioned that of an unpublished poem by Milton in the possession of the New York Public Library; a letter of Bacon, author of the "Essays," in the possession of the British Museum; letters by Adam Smith, author of "The Wealth of Nations"; Voltaire, Rousseau, etc.

An impressive illustration is a facsimile of a proclamation by the Duke of Alva, who ordered the execution of Count Egmont in the revolt against Spanish tyranny, the subject-matter of Goethe's celebrated drama, "Egmont." The original is one of the treasured items in Harvard University Library.

There is the facsimile of a page from one of Darwin's note-books, a reproduction of a page of Emerson's manuscript, a facsimile of the first page of Manzoni's "I Promessi Sposi," and of a sonnet describing himself, by the same author, and many others of a similar character.

Interpretative Value of the Footnotes

Especial attention is directed to a very valuable feature of The Harvard Classics, the explanatory and interpretative value of the footnotes. While the value of these notes may not be readily apparent to the casual observer, the reader and student will quickly recognize how much they add to his understanding, and consequently to his appreciation of expressions which, in previous generations, had a different meaning than in our own time. A comparison between other texts of the "Essays of Francis Bacon" and that of The Harvard Classics, for example, will show what pains have been taken in the editing to make these books the interesting and enjoyable companions that Dr. Eliot and the publishers wish them to be.

P. F. COLLIER & SON, 416 West Thirteenth Street, New York

"It is my belief that the faithful and considerate reading of these books, with such rereadings and memorizings as individual taste may prescribe, will give any man the essentials of a liberal education, even if he can devote to them but fifteen minutes a day."—CHARLES W. ELIOT.

"My long acquaintance with, personal interest in, and of the highest type of culture, his wide acquaintance his spiritual quality, commended the series to me by say that the first ten volumes confirm all my best as it possible to place in the private libraries of the land

Dr. Eliot's Five-Foot Shelf

A Personal Definitive

SOME years ago in a speech before an educational gathering I chanced to say that a three-foot shelf would hold good books enough to give a liberal education to anyone who would read them with devotion, even if he could give but ten minutes a day to the task. This remark brought me a considerable number of letters, demanding a list of those books. I made several efforts to make the list, but soon discovered that it was a serious undertaking, and that I had no time for it. Subsequently I saw reason to lengthen the shelf to five feet, but made very little progress toward a definite selection.

Early in January last I received through Mr. Norman Hapgood a proposal from the firm of P. F. Collier & Son that I undertake to make a selection of fifty volumes, of from four hundred to four hundred and fifty pages each, which would fill my five-foot shelf and be well adapted to accomplish the educational object I had in mind. I was invited to assume the entire responsibility of the selection as regards both inclusion and exclusion, and I was to be provided with a competent assistant of my own choice. It was further proposed that the set should be called *The Harvard Library* or *The Harvard Classics*. In view of this proposed name for the set, and of the fact that I had been President of Harvard University for nearly forty years, I asked the President and Fellows of Harvard College if they saw any objection, from the point of view of the University, to my accepting the proposal of P. F. Collier & Son. The Board replied unanimously that they saw no objection, and that, in their judgment, the undertaking, if well carried out, would prove a useful one from the educational point of view. In February I accepted the proposals of the publishers, and secured the services of Dr. William A. Neilson, Professor of English in Harvard University, as my assistant.

The work immediately proved to be very interesting, but also to present a large number of unexpected difficulties, some of which, though almost

mechanical, were insurmountable. The Bible could not be included because it was too long, and, since it was in possession of nearly everyone, no special considerations excluded it. Shakespeare, however, has been possible, but only a few selected books from the Shakespearean canon. Many fine books have to be excluded because they have been taken a disproportionate share of the shelf. The works of living authors have been excluded as a whole because of their bulk, and partly because they are not accessible and the reading is not a pleasure. On the other hand, to include an adequate representation of the thought of the nineteenth century has proved to be difficult, and scientific thought has not been included in any form. Since the series is for American readers, it was necessary to include a somewhat disproportionate amount of American literature, and also of American social and political thought.

My aim was not to include more than a hundred books in the set, and to keep the total number of pages or the progress of the human race as far as that progress can be measured.

Liberal education produces a liberal frame of mind, studious and reflective, and a stream of the world's thoughts, the infinitely varied production. It was my hope that a good reading might accustom the mind to intelligent, ambitious, and his early opportunities for



On December 16, 1909, Justice Samuel Seabury of the New York State Supreme Court issued an injunction against the Circle Publishing Company and the University Library Extension, restraining them from further proceeding with the publishing and editing of a set of books which has been extensively advertised as the "Doctor Eliot's Five-Foot Shelf of Books." P. F. Collier & Son intend to prosecute this infringement, and any others which may crop up, with the utmost diligence

reverence for President Eliot as a man of integrity and the world of literature, and my personal knowledge of I had seen even a specimen volume, and I am glad to vations. I congratulate you on the scheme which makes vast world of literature."—Bishop JOHN H. VINCENT.

"I believe that every book contained in the series is of high permanent value in the history of the world, as representing the noblest thoughts which have been cast into literary form."
—President DAVID STARR JORDAN, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Not Shelf of Books

Statement from the Editor

table. Thus, the English l as a whole, first, because lly, because it was already very household. Similar akespeare as a whole. It e to include in the series ole and selected plays from us books proved too long that is, they would have mber of the fifty volumes. rs were excluded, because d world has not yet been nd, finally, modern fiction partly because of its great the good fiction is easily of it seldom requires stimnd, it was clearly desirable resentation of the scientific h century; but this task ecause much of the best ; yet been given a literary is intended primarily for ; natural to select for it a e amount of English and l of documents and discus- . history and to the develop- and political ideas. lect the best fifty, or best orld, but to give in twenty- ereabouts a picture of the e within historical times, so e depicted through books. omplishes two objects. It of mind, and it makes the eipient acquainted with the ight and feeling, and with acts of the human imagina- d belief that fifty volumes of plish this result for any in- e persistent reader, whether e education had been large or

small. Such was the educational purpose with which I undertook to edit The Harvard Classics, and I believe that a similar educational purpose actuated the publishers.

My participation in the project is not merely a nominal one. I have given it much time and thought, and as I have gone on in the work my appreciation of the novelty and interest of the undertaking has steadily risen.

To Professor Neilson has fallen the responsibility for all the introductions and notes, and for the choice among different editions of the same work. He has also offered many suggestions concerning available material. Both of us have obtained much valuable advice from scholarly friends and neighbors who are specialists each in some portion of the field we have been examining. Thus, we are under obligations to more than fifty Harvard professors and instructors, whose valuable advice was obtained on questions connected with their several specialties. It would have been impossible to perform our task if the treasures of the general library of Harvard University and of its department libraries had not been at our disposal. If our work proves to have been well done, the use of the title "The Harvard Classics" will be justified.

Harvard University has no pecuniary interest whatever in this undertaking. I received a modest retainer when I began the work, and shall receive a like sum when it is finished. If the publishers desire further responsible work from me in the way of revision or extension of the set, I shall be paid in like manner for that labor. I am not to receive any royalty, and I have no interest whatever in the amount of the sales. I regarded the undertaking as a useful extension of my educational work, and I cherish the hope that, when the work is finished, the educated public will so regard it.

Charles W. Eliot



On December 17, 1909, Dr. Eliot instituted actions in the New York State Supreme Court against the same publishers for injunctions restraining them from using his name or portrait in connection with any set of books which they may be getting out. In no other way can he prevent the public from being deceived

A Partial Analysis of The Harvard Classics

By Subjects and Authors

AMERICAN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

THIS volume is unique. It might be called a Documental History of the United States from the earliest times to the Convention for the building of the Panama Canal, told in the exact words of the original documents.

Their interest and value come so straight home to the heart of every one who loves his country that we find ourselves wondering how we have ever gotten along without such a book. "History by those who made it" will immediately become of great value to good Americans in every walk of life.

There are a number of facsimile reproductions from the originals of some of these famous documents, all especially made for this occasion.

Voyages to Vinland, 1000	Acquisition of Florida
Letter of Columbus, 1493	Monroe Doctrine, 1823
Vespucci's Account, 1497	Jefferson on same
Voyages of Cabot, 1497	Webster-Ashburton Treaty
1st Charter, Virginia, 1606	Treaty with Mexico
Mayflower Compact, 1620	Fugitive Slave Act
Mass. Body of Liberties	Lincoln's 1st Inaugural
Elliot's Narrative	Confederate Constitution
Declaration of Rights	Haskell's Account, Gettysburg
Mecklenburg Declaration	Emancipation Proclamation
Declaration of Independence	Lincoln's Gettysburg Address
Articles of Confederation	Proclamation of Amnesty
Surrender of Cornwallis	Terms at Appomattox
Treaty with Great Britain	Lee to His Army
United States Constitution	Lincoln's Letter to Mrs. Bixby
The Federalist, 1787	Lincoln's 2nd Inaugural
Washington's 1st Inaugural	Alaska Purchase, 1867
Treaty with Six Nations	Alabama Claims, 1871
Washington's Farewell	Hawaiian Annexation
Louisiana Purchase, 1803	Independence of Cuba
Ending War of 1812	Acquisition of Philippines
Marshall's Opinion	Convention with Panama
	Etc., etc.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

NO class of writers has done greater service to the world than that to which Plato and Descartes and Kant belong. They were, to quote what Matthew Arnold said of Emerson, "friends of those who would live in the Spirit."

Plato	Bacon, Francis	Luther, Martin
Cicero	Caryle, Thomas	Kempis, Thomas à
Aurelius, Marcus	Hume, David	Renan, Ernest
Epictetus	Burke, Edmund	Bunyan, John
Descartes	Kant, Immanuel	Browne, Sir Thomas
Voltaire	Lessing	Penn, William
Rousseau, J. J.	Schiller	Augustine, Saint
	Emerson	

Documents from the Sacred Books of

Judaism	Mohammedanism	Brahmanism
Christianity	Buddhism	Confucianism
	Famous Hymns	

SCIENCE

IN the realm of science the mind of man is busily engaged, as never before, discovering or applying new laws that are destined eventually to modify the life of every human being.

The age of Pericles was the time when the fine arts were developed in their highest perfection. The Middle Ages may be called preeminently the age of faith; the Twentieth Century will probably be known as the age of science.

The work of Helmholtz, Faraday, and Lord Kelvin in physics; of Darwin and Huxley in biology; of Jenner,

Holmes, and Lister in medicine, has put us in possession of immense new dominions of mind.

Bacon, Francis	Geikie, Sir A.	Voltaire
Newton, Sir Isaac	Huxley, T. H.	Holmes, O. W.
Darwin, Charles	Faraday, Michael	Newcomb, Simon
Kelvin, Lord	Jenner, Edward	Hippocrates
Helmholtz	Harvey, William	Copernicus
Lister, Sir Joseph	Paré, Ambroise	

HISTORY

MODERN criticism demands not merely a record of "the dates of wars and deaths of kings," but an intimate picture of the life of our ancestors—their dress, their food, their habits, their amusements, their homes, as well as their religion and their laws. Such portraiture is best obtained from contemporary sources—from letter-writers like Pliny, biographers like Plutarch, and chroniclers like Froissart and Holinshed.

Herodotus	Froissart	Voltaire
Tacitus	Holinshed	Thackeray, W. M.
Plutarch	Raleigh, Sir Walter	Freeman, E. A.
Pliny the Younger	Burke, Edmund	

ESSAYS

THE essayists are those delightful informal philosophers who discourse genially upon life, who exhort without preaching, instruct without pedantry, and moralize without offense. They are among the most brilliant and winning of all the craft. They may have the shrewd wisdom of Bacon and Montaigne, the smiling good-humor of Lamb and Stevenson, the high seriousness of Milton and Newman, the caustic penetration of Voltaire, the insight of Arnold and Sainte-Beuve, the eloquence of Ruskin and Macaulay, the erudition of Renan, the fierce conviction of Carlyle, or the serene confidence of Emerson.

Dryden, John	Quincey, Thos. De
Bacon, Francis	Macaulay, T. B.
Emerson, R. W.	Sidney, Sir Phillip
Caryle, Thomas	Jonson, Ben
Burke, Edmund	Addison, Joseph
Milton, John	Cicero
Voltaire	Swift, Jonathan
Sainte-Beuve	Defoe, Daniel
Renan, Ernest	Hume, David
Lessing	Smith, Sydney
Schiller	Coleridge, S. T.
Mazzini	Hazlitt, William
Hunt, Leigh	Hunt, Leigh
Lamb, Charles	Ruskin, John
Shelley, Percy B.	Channing
	Taine, H. A.
	Johnson, Samuel
	Mill, John Stuart

BIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS

OUR modern love of realism is indisputable. We want facts, actualities, human documents. To read the letters of Pliny or Cicero is to know the daily life and thoughts of a Roman gentleman two thousand years ago. In the autobiographies of Franklin and Cellini, and in the "Lives" of Plutarch, Walton, or Johnson, we may walk side by side with worthies of other ages in stimulating and charming friendship.

Augustine, Saint	Walton, Izaak	Burke, Edmund
Plutarch	Johnson, Samuel	Cellini, Benvenuto
Aurelius, Marcus	Mill, John Stuart	Carlyle, Thomas
Cicero	Franklin, Benjamin	Stevenson, R. L.
Pliny the Younger	Woolman, John	

FAMOUS PREFACES

THE art of writing prefaces may be almost called a "lost art." The present volume is believed to be the only volume of memorable prefaces in the English language, and therefore unique. The preface used to be a heart-to-heart talk from the author, an essay explaining his work, and often revealed him in a most engaging aspect.

Caxton, William	Bacon, Francis	Johnson, Samuel
Spenser, Edmund	Heminge and	Wordsworth, W.
Calvin, John	Condell	Berners, Lord
Copernicus, N.	Dryden, John	Hugo, Victor
Knoox, John	Fielding, Henry	Newton, Sir Isaac
	Goethe	

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

A LOVE of freedom and a spirit of adventure have been one of the main springs of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Herodotus was the first traveler who carried a note-book, and the Greeks had a colonizing and inquiring strain much like our own. The great voyagers of the globe were those intrepid sailors, Columbus and Cabot, Raleigh and Drake and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who put a cable round the earth and began to squeeze it to the comfortable dimensions of a habitable world.

Herodotus	Vespucci, Amerigo	Darwin, Charles
Tacitus	Raleigh, Sir W.	Paré, Ambroise
Columbus, C.	Drake, Sir F.	Dana, R. H., Jr.
Cabot, Sebastian	Gilbert, Sir H.	Emerson, R. W.

EDUCATION

IT is interesting to see what works on education seem of most importance to one who is himself an acknowledged master of the subject. Particularly significant is the presence of great writers who were deemed revolu-

tionary in their own day—radicals like Milton, Lessing, Mill, Channing, Huxley, and Carlyle—while the more conservative authorities like Newman are not overlooked.

Milton, John	Defoe, Daniel	Newman, Cardinal
Lessing	Huxley, T. H.	Ruskin, John
Schiller	Caryle, Thomas	Montaigne
Mill, John Stuart	Channing	

PROSE FICTION

MALORY'S "Morte D'Arthur" may be called the Epic of Chivalry, and "Paradise Lost" the Epic of Puritanism. "Don Quixote" is a portrait of the whole Spanish nation, and Manzoni accomplished in "I Promessi Sposi" a like task for Italy. All of Norse heroism is gathered in the "Volsunga Saga," and the "Arabian Nights" unlocked for us the doors of Oriental literature.

Cervantes, M. de	Grimm, Wilhelm	Grimm, Jacob
Manzoni, A.	Bunyan, John	Volsunga Saga
Andersen, H. C.	Malory, Sir T.	Arabian Nights
	Esop	

DRAMA

IN the golden age of Greece, in the gorgeous age of Elizabeth, poetry found its chief mode of expression in the drama. It was the form used, too, by the supreme poets of Germany and France. We should be proud indeed if all the characters who throng the pages of the dramatists in such a motley pageant from Æschylus to Browning were blotted from our memory, and all their wisdom and merriment were forgotten.

Marlowe, Christopher	Sheridan, R. B.	Aristophanes
Shakespeare, William	Goldsmith, Oliver	Lessing
Jonson, Ben	Byron, Lord	Schiller
Dekker, Thomas	Shelley, Percy Bysshe	Goethe
Beaumont & Fletcher	Browning, Robert	Cornelle
Webster, John	Æschylus	Racine
Masinger, Philip	Sophocles	Molière
Dryden, John	Euripides	Calderon

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

IN a nation based on free institutions, that stakes its present prosperity and future happiness on a belief in democracy, a widespread understanding of the rights and obligations of government and the sources of prosperity can scarcely be overvalued.

Machiavelli	Rousseau, J. J.	Lowell, Jas. Russell
More, Sir Thomas	Mill, John Stuart	Defoe, Daniel
Milton, John	Burke, Edmund	Bacon, Francis
	Smith, Adam	

LYRIC POETRY

IN addition to the complete works of John Milton and Robert Burns, there is an Anthology of English Poetry in three volumes, making something over 1,300 pages, representing the work of between 250 and 300 authors. It is our belief that this will become the standard Anthology of poetry in all libraries, both public and private.

Alexander, W.	Drayton, Michael	Marlowe, C.
Allingham, W.	Drummond, W.	Marvell, Andrew
Arnold, Matthew	Dryden, John	Meredith, George
Barbauld, A. L.	Elliott, Jane	Mickle, W. J.
Barnesfield, R. L.	Ferguson, Sir S.	Milnes, R. M.
Beaumont, F.	Fletcher, John	Milton, John
Bronte, Emily	Gay, John	Moore, Thomas
Browning, R.	Goldsmith, Oliver	Morris, William
Burns, Robert	Graham, Robert	Nairne, Carolina
Byron, Lord	Gray, Thomas	Nash, Thomas
Campbell, Thomas	Greene, Robert	Norris, John
Carew, Thomas	Habington, W.	O'Reilly, J. B.
Cibber, Colley	Henley, W. E.	O'Shaughnessy, A.
Clough, A. H.	Herbert, George	Patmore, C.
Coleridge, Hartley	Herrick, Robert	Phillips, Ambrose
Collins, John	Heywood, Thomas	Pope, Alexander
Collins, William	Hood, Thomas	Prior, Matthew
Cowley, Abraham	Jonson, Ben	Quarles, Francis
Cowper, William	Keats, John	Rogers, Samuel
Crashaw, Richard	Kingsley, C.	Rossetti, C.
Cunningham, Allan	Lamb, Mary	Rossetti, D. G.
Daniel, Samuel	Lamb, Charles	Scott, Walter
Dekker, Thomas	Lindsay, Anne	Sedley, Charles
Devereux, Robert	Lodge, Thomas	Shakespeare, W.
Donne, John	Logan, John	Shelley, Percy B.
Doyle, R.	Lovelace, Richard	Shirley, James
	Lytel, John	Sidney, Philip
	Lyric, Henry F.	Sirburne, A. C.
	Macdonald, G.	Tennyson, A.
	Mangan, C.	Etc., etc.

EPIC AND NARRATIVE POEMS

IN Homer and Virgil and Dante the whole genius of Greece and Rome and Medieval Christendom is concentrated. "The Odyssey" is the voice of a people, "The Divine Comedy" is the epitome of an age.

Homer	Burns, Robert	Ballads Traditional
Virgil	Byron, Lord	Longfellow, H. W.
Dante	Coleridge, S. T.	Chanson de Roland
Milton, John	Goethe	Beowulf

INDEX VOLUME

THIS volume is the key to the whole series. It will contain, first, Dr. Eliot's Introduction to The Harvard Classics; second, a carefully prepared Reading Course, showing how the books may be read to the best advantage; and, third, a comprehensive index, prepared by experts, to occupy something like 300 pages.

P. F. COLLIER & SON
416 W. 13th St.
New York

For further details fill in this

COUPON

and mail to-day

DEAR SIRS:
Without obligation of any sort on my part, I shall be pleased to see the official Prospectus of Dr. Eliot's Harvard Classics.

Name _____

Address _____

State _____

The House of Governors

*Some Estimates of the New Experiment in American Government That
is to be Tried in Washington This Month*

Without Legal Authority

By AUGUSTUS E. WILLSON
Governor of Kentucky

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT held two conferences of Governors, and as a member of a committee chosen to do so, I have invited the Governors of all of the States and Territories to meet at the White House in Washington, January 18, 19, and 20.

The conference has no legal authority of any kind. At the previous conferences, the conservation subject was the one chiefly thought of, and it will be brought up in the next conference. The question of what the Governors will recommend on the income-tax constitutional amendment may come up. The matter of handling extradition papers is important. Uniform State laws on matters of universal interest, school laws, road laws, tax laws, commercial paper, warehouse receipts, bills of lading, etc.; the control of corporations, of which taxation is one branch; the action of the States in regard to water-powers within the States; marriage, divorce, wills, schools, roads, are all within the range of this conference, and the agreement of all of the Governors on some of these subjects, and by many of them on any, would be of useful influence.

The meeting has further interest and importance in being for two days in touch with the National Civic Federation, which will afford all of the Governors a chance to learn what that association of many of the most prominent men of this country is doing, and get the benefit of its discussions and the pleasure of being acquainted with many leaders of thought and action in the country who will attend its sessions.

I am sure that I speak the sentiment of all of the Governors that they do not wish any legal power or any authority except that of the weight of their opinion as chosen State officers. They only wish the benefit of discussion of important subjects interesting to all of the States, and to establish kindly and mutually helpful relations between the Governors and the Governments of the States.

A School of Legislation

By EBEN S. DRAPER
Governor of Massachusetts

IBELIEVE that a meeting of Governors may accomplish much good for every section of the country. They naturally can not legislate, nor should they attempt to. They can discuss and can learn many things which are now controlled by law in different States and which would be improvements to the laws of their own States; and they can recommend to the Legislatures of their own States the enactment of laws which will bring about these improvements.

These Governors will be the forty-six representative units of the States of this great nation. By coming together they will be more than ever convinced that they are integral parts of one nation, and I believe their meeting will tend to remove all notions of sectionalism and will help the patriotism and solidarity of the country.

Will Benefit Industrial Legislation

By CHARLES S. DENEEN
Governor of Illinois

THE conservation of natural resources often necessitates the cooperation of neighboring States. In such cases, the discussion of proposed conservation work by the representatives of the States concerned is of great importance. It brings to the consideration of these subjects the views and opinions of those most interested and best informed in regard to the questions involved.

The same is true in relation to many subjects of State legislation in which uniformity is desirable. This is especially the case with regard to industrial legislation. The great volume of domestic business is interstate, and the industrial legislation of one State frequently affects, and sometimes fixes, industrial conditions elsewhere. An example of the advantage of cooperation of States in the amendment and revision of laws affecting industry is seen in the agreement by the commissions recently appointed by New York, Wisconsin, and Minnesota to investigate the subjects of employers' liability and workmen's compensation to meet for the joint discussion of these matters. The General Assembly of Illinois is now convened in extraordinary session, and has under consideration the appoint-

ment of a similar commission in order that it may meet and cooperate with the commissions of the States named.

Along these and other similar lines it seems to me that the meeting of Governors would be of practical advantage in the beneficial influence it would exert in the promotion of joint action where that is necessary to secure desired ends.

Will Help the "Vacation" State

By HENRY B. QUINBY
Governor of New Hampshire

THIS convention, as I understand it, is entirely altruistic and not authorized by law. The Governors meet as executives of their several States to confer together concerning matters common to all the States, and to ascertain what they can properly recommend to their constituencies in the way of legislation which will tend to uniformity in laws.

The only purpose of the conference is to benefit the people by interchange of views. In my own State we are especially interested, and vitally so, in the bill creating a forest reservation of our White Mountain region, and this should concern all sections as well as it is a resort for citizens from all parts of our Union during the vacation season, and much of its attractiveness is derived from its beautifully wooded mountains and valleys.

To Promote State Conservation

By JAMES H. BRADY
Governor of Idaho

THE meeting of the House of Governors will be of much importance to the people of the nation, and especially to the people of the Western Slope, who do not have the opportunity of coming in close contact with the administrative departments of our country. The people of our country have at last awakened to the fact that our natural resources must be conserved and protected if we expect to maintain our proper position among the nations of the world. The greatest significance of this meeting rests in the fact that every State in the nation gladly responds to the call, which indicates an awakening of the people at this late hour to the fact that many of our great natural resources have been wasted and monopolized in such a manner that if the people and the men chosen to represent them do not act with united and persistent effort to conserve our resources their opportunity will be lost, and that this nation will do as the nations of Europe have done before us—drift into a country of the masses against the classes. We of the West believe that these natural resources should be conserved for the benefit of the States in which the Creator has placed them. We maintain that the Eastern States have developed all of their water-powers and coal-mines and phosphate beds, which belonged to the nation, and have permitted them to go into the hands of private individuals and corporations, and that they have devastated the forests for private gain and converted them into farms, and that it is unfair for them at this late day to say that we must conserve our resources and divide the revenue derived from the same with the people of the East, who have recklessly parted with theirs. We intend to, and will, conserve our natural resources, but it is unfair to divide all the revenue which should accrue to the State with people who have parted with theirs and have secured the benefit for the same, and shall endeavor to the best of our ability to show to the members of the House of Governors that this position is fair and equitable and just. This could be done in no other way except in just such a meeting as President Taft has called.

Conservation Proves Its Worth

By FRANK W. BENSON
Governor of Oregon

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT rendered the American people a great service when he invited the Governors of the various States to a conference at the White House in 1908. The subject of conservation of our natural resources received such attention from the assembled Governors that the conservation movement has spread to all parts of the country, and has gained such headway that it will be of lasting benefit to our people. This one circumstance alone proves the wisdom of the conference of Governors, and it is my earnest hope that the organization be made permanent, with annual meet-

ings at our national capital. Such meetings can not help but have a broadening effect upon our State executives, for, by interchanging ideas and by learning how the governments of other States are conducted, our Governors will gain experience which ought to prove of great benefit, not only to themselves, but to the commonwealths which they represent. Matters pertaining to interstate relations, taxation, education, conservation, irrigation, waterways, uniform legislation, and the management of State institutions are among the subjects that the conference of Governors will do well to discuss; and such discussions will prove of inestimable value, not only to the people of our different States, but to our country as a whole. The West is in the front rank of all progressive movements and welcomes the conference of Governors as a step in the right direction.

Like a Christmas Tree

By ALBERT W. GILCHRIST
Governor of Florida

ICAN only estimate the significance and importance of this conference of Governors by my experience from such a conference in the past.

It was my good fortune to be for a week last October on the steamer excursion down the Mississippi River. The Governors held daily conferences. Several elucidated the manner in which some particular governmental problems were solved in their respective States, all of which was more or less interesting. Of the several Federal matters discussed, it was especially interesting to me to hear the various Republican Governors discussing State rights, disputing the right of interference of the General Government on such lines. It "kinder" made me smile. In formal discussions of such matters in public, in Washington, it is probable that such expressions would not be made.

The result of this conference made me feel as if I knew the Governors and the people of the various States therein represented far better than I had before. Such discussions, with the attending personal intercourse, naturally tend to give those participating in them a broader nationality.

The House of Governors will convene; there will be many pleasant social functions and many pleasant associations will be formed. Some of the Governors will speak; all of them will resolve. They will behold evidences of the greatness of our common country and the evidence of the greatness of our public men, as displayed in the rollicking debates of the House and the "knot on the log" discussions of the Senate. Everything will be as lovely as a Christmas tree. The House will then adjourn.

Congress Behind Public Sentiment

By HERBERT S. HADLEY
Governor of Missouri

DURING recent years, the development of the National idea has carried with it a marked tendency on the part of the people to look to the National Government for the correction of all evils and abuses existing in commercial, industrial, and political affairs. The importance of the State Governments in the solution of such questions has been minimized, and, in some cases, entirely overlooked, although Congress has been behind, rather than in advance of, public sentiment upon many questions of national importance. The Congressmen are elected by the people of the different Congressional Districts, and regard their most important duty as looking after the interests of their respective districts. The United States Senators are elected by the Legislatures of the several States, and do not feel that sense of responsibility to the people that is incident to an election by the people. The Governors of the various States are elected by all of the people of the State, and they are more directly "tribunes of the people" than any other officials, either in our National or State Governments. These officers will thus give a correct expression of the sentiment of the people of the States upon public questions. While these expressions of opinion will naturally vary according to the sentiments and opinions of the people of the various States represented, yet, on the whole, they will represent more of progress and more of actual contact with present-day problems than could be secured from any similar number of public officials. And the addresses and discussions will also tend to mold the opinions of the people and have a marked influence not only upon State, but also upon National legislation.