

contain few things for children; and a man trying to do Christmas shopping by himself is a rather helpless creature; but I finally succeeded in getting each of them a trifling gift—an Indian-made bangle, of hairs from an elephant's tail, one with a tiny lion dangling from it, while the other had a tiny elephant.

A week before Christmas we said good-bye, with real regret, to all our Nairobi friends and started for Uganda. We crossed Lake Victoria Nyanza and began our march to Lake Albert Nyanza. Uganda is a beautiful, fertile land, with the true tropical climate; it is not a healthy country for white men, even in those parts which are free from sleeping-sickness.

Day after day we marched along, sometimes through seas of elephant grass twice the height of a man, sometimes through patches of tropical forest, sometimes through marshes or along plains where the natives tended their plantations of yams and bananas. Kermit and I, who were in excellent health, tried to keep the party in fresh meat. On Christmas Day we marched as usual, under the dazzling glare of the equatorial sun; Kermit shot a hartebeest for our Christmas dinner—although we would have preferred something else, as hartebeest venison is not very good. When we halted, the black-bearded elephant hunter who was with us—and no better man was to be found in Africa—came into my tent and handed me a little parcel, saying, "Here's a Christmas present which I was told not to give you until Christmas." It was from my two little friends in Nairobi; and on opening it I found some peppermint candy, and a shoe-bag which they had worked for me—and accompanying the latter a note which ran: "We have made this for you ourselves. It is meant for a shoe-bag; but you can use it for anything you wish." So I had my Christmas party, after all; and I do not think any boy or girl in America appreciated his or her presents more than I did mine, or was more touched and pleased to get them. The peppermint candy was a main feature of dinner that evening; and the shoe-bag journeyed all the way home with me.

By the way, though we only got a hartebeest for our main course on Christ-

mas Day, we fared well during Christmas week. Almost every day we got game—usually reed-buck, bush-buck, and guinea-fowl; and Kermit and I killed a big bull elephant. His heart was good when roasted; and from his trunk we made first-rate soup; while his huge body furnished a feast for the entire *safari*.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE PROPOSAL TO INCREASE POSTAGE RATES

In his first annual Message to Congress President Taft stated that the cost of transporting and delivering second-class mail, made up of newspapers and all other periodicals, was nine cents a pound, while the revenue from this class of mail was only one cent a pound. In view of this state of things, he spoke of the postage rate as a subsidy to publishers, and recommended an increase of the rate on second-class postage. At that time The Outlook pointed out that the first-class railway fare over the Erie Railway from New York to Chicago was eighteen dollars, which is exactly nine cents a pound for conveying a man weighing two hundred pounds, in a first-class car with all comforts, a distance of one thousand miles, and that, if the statement of the President was correct, the first duty of the Government, through its Post-Office Department, was to adjust its method of doing business so as to bring the cost of handling newspapers and periodicals down more nearly to the cost incurred by the express companies, for instance, or any other privately managed organization.

There was an extended hearing before the Postal Committee of the House of Representatives, but no action was taken, and, indeed, no bill for increasing postage on second-class matter was even presented.

In his second Message to Congress President Taft takes up the subject of second-class postage again, and approves the plan for an increase in rates as proposed by Postmaster-General Hitchcock. We quote Mr. Hitchcock's recommendation:

In the last annual report of the Department special attention was directed to the enor-

mous loss the Government sustains in the handling and transportation of second-class mail. Owing to the rapid increase in the volume of such mail, the loss is constantly growing. A remedy should be promptly applied by charging more postage. In providing for the higher rates it is believed that a distinction should be made between advertising matter and what is termed legitimate reading matter. Under present conditions an increase in the postage on reading matter is not recommended. Such an increase would place a special burden on a large number of second-class publications, including educational and religious periodicals, that derive little or no profit from advertising. It is the circulation of this type of publications, which aid so effectively in the educational and moral advancement of the people, that the Government can best afford to encourage. For these publications, and also for any other legitimate reading matter in periodical form, the Department favors a continuation of the present low postage rate of one cent a pound, and recommends that the proposed increase in rate be applied only to magazine advertising matter. This plan would be in full accord with the statute governing second-class mail, a law that never justified the inclusion under second-class rates of the vast amounts of advertising now transported by the Government at a tremendous loss.

Newspapers are not included in the plan for a higher rate on advertising matter, because, being chiefly of local distribution, they do not burden the mails to any such extent as the widely circulating magazines.

Under the system proposed it will be possible, without increasing the expenditure of public funds, to utilize for the benefit of the entire people that considerable portion of the postal revenues now expended to meet the cost of a special privilege enjoyed by certain publishers.

In view of the vanishing postal deficit it is believed that if the magazines could be required to pay what it costs the Government to carry their advertising pages, the Department's revenues would eventually grow large enough to warrant one-cent postage on first-class mail.

Experiments made by the Department show that the relative weights of the advertising matter and the legitimate reading matter in magazines can be readily determined, making it quite feasible to put into successful operation the plan outlined. Under that plan each magazine publisher will be required to certify to the local postmaster, in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the Department, the facts necessary to determine the proper postage charges. The method of procedure will be worked out in such manner as to insure the despatching of the mails as expeditiously as at present.

It should be remembered that there has been no change in conditions since the President's first Message *except* that

the postal deficit has been reduced during the year from seventeen million dollars to a little over six million dollars, and this with an extension of the very costly rural free delivery service and with no increase whatever in any rate of postage. It is clear that better and more businesslike methods have been introduced by the Postmaster-General, and that, if he is permitted to continue the improvement of methods, he will speedily be able not only to obliterate the deficit but to make the Department show a handsome credit balance.

It is difficult, therefore, to understand the course of reasoning which has changed the recommendations of the President and the Postmaster-General from an increase in the rate of postage on all newspapers and periodicals to an increase of postage on the advertising sections only of a small group of National periodicals which are called magazines. The revenue to be derived from such an increase must inevitably be very moderate, since the class of periodicals to be affected is strangely limited, and it is proposed to tax (or increase the postage rate on) only that portion of the magazines which is devoted to advertisements. Under the proposed new law the twenty thousand and more local newspapers in the United States will still be carried in the mails to any point within the county of publication *free of all charge*; other newspapers, daily and weekly, with their tons of advertising matter, and all other periodicals, except those which by some yet unannounced process of selection are to be regarded as magazines, are to be mailed at the present rate, which, according to the President in his first Message, involves an average loss of eight cents a pound.

The "magazines" are to bear the whole weight of this new tax, and it is naively suggested that the increased revenue thus derived will, or may be, used to bring about one-cent letter postage—for which no real demand has yet made itself heard—and the introduction of the parcels post, which ought to be a profitable branch of mail-carrying from the moment of its long-delayed introduction.

We see two grave objections to the Postmaster-General's plan. First, it requires a censorship to determine what

periodicals are "magazines," whose advertising pages are to be taxed, and what are the educational and religious periodicals which are to continue to enjoy what the President calls a "subsidy." Such a censorship would be a new feature in postal administration, and it would seem to be a thing very difficult to work out on any fair basis. Second, the proposal to hamper advertising in periodicals by taxing it is to hamper an important agency in the creation of letter postage, which is very profitable to the Government.

Of course the ultimate consumer—that is, the person who wishes to read the magazines—will in the end pay the postage, as he has done from the beginning. Forty years ago he paid the postage on all his periodicals directly, at the post-office when he received them. A later law provided that the postage should be paid in advance by the publisher, but the amount of postage was still an element of cost to be included in the revenue necessary for the safe conduct of any publishing business. It will always be so, and if the people wish to add to the cost of their magazines by imposing a tax through the Post-Office Department on the advertising pages or columns, they will in the end pay the bill. The proposed legislation is therefore of interest to all readers of magazines as well as to publishers, who would of course first feel the burden and the confusion incident to a radical increase in the cost of their several publications.

We should be glad to believe that all public officials and all members of Congress are free from any but patriotic motives in their recommendations and actions. But it cannot be denied that among the legislators at Washington and in official circles there is at present current a clearly expressed feeling that the magazines of the country have been for the past few years the most independent and relentless critics of public affairs and of public servants, and that any inconvenience or loss which they might suffer as the result of an increase of postage along the lines suggested would be a not inappropriate punishment for what, by some politicians, is regarded as pernicious activity. It may be only a coincidence that the "magazines" which the President and the Postmaster-General propose as the only

periodicals to be affected by the change in postage include the rather limited group which has been most outspoken in criticism.

The Outlook repeats what it said a year ago, that the Department's first duty is to continue the work of placing the Post-Office on a thoroughgoing business basis along the lines so well marked out by the Carter Reorganization Bill of the last session of Congress, and then—when the cost of handling second-class matter is really known, as it certainly is not now—to take up the whole question of postal rates and settle it on a basis that is fair to readers, publishers, and taxpayers alike.

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SHALL WE RESTRICT IMMIGRATION?

In 1863 Abraham Lincoln urged upon Congress the adoption of measures to promote immigration into the United States. In 1907 Congress created a Commission to inquire into the subject of immigration for the purpose of considering what restrictions are advisable. The contrast is significant. The significance is indicated in the following quotations from the Report of the Commission:

"From 1819 to 1883 more than ninety-five per cent of the total immigration from Europe originated in the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland. . . . In recent years more than seventy per cent of the movement has originated in southern and eastern Europe. . . . The old immigration movement was essentially one of permanent settlers. The new immigration is very largely one of individuals, a considerable proportion of whom have apparently no intention of permanently changing their residence, their only purpose in coming to America being to temporarily take advantage of the greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country. . . . The old immigration came to the United States during a period of general development, and was an important factor in that development, while the new immigration has come during a period of great industrial expansion and has furnished a practically unlimited supply of labor to that expansion." This means, as interpreted by Mr. James Bryce in the new edition of his "American Commonwealth,"