SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE

VOL. LXXX SEPTEMBER, 1926 NO. 3

A Personal Portrait of Governor Al Smith

BY JAMES KERNEY

Author of "The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson"; Editor of *The Trenton (N. J.) Times*

Y idea of a first-class thrill is to watch five thousand well-dressed Americans working their enthusiasm to the limit on some great occasion. Such an event occurred in the Metropolitan Opera House the evening of March 4, 1919. Woodrow Wilson, at the pinnacle of his power, was sailing back to France to pursue his flaming ideal of peace on earth.

The flower of New York culture and fashion crowded into the spacious theatre to encourage him on. William Howard Taft, Kent Professor of Law at Yale, sometime President of the United States, and the then foremost Republican supporter of the Fourteen Points, had come to sound a solemn warning to his party friends. Caruso was on hand to sing and lead the singing. Cleveland H. Dodge, Princeton, '79, classmate and lifelong affectionate friend of Wilson, was cheerleader. Everybody in the front row seemed to belong there. As a spectacle-drama it was perfect.

When the preliminary acclaim had run its course, Alfred Emanuel Smith, Governor of New York, stepped forward to present the speakers. Favored with a seat in one of the proscenium boxes, I was getting my first look at the rough-hewn and supposedly unpolished lad who, through the agony and the glory of American opportunity, had battered his way up from the sidewalks of New York. Clean-cut and confident, he looked a mere youth among the elder statesmen and intellectuals. His reputation as a convincing debater and an all-round stump-speaker was firmly established. But what would be his fate in such fast company? Could he make the grade with the scholars?

Unruffled, he faced the radiant gathering, and in language eloquent in its simplicity presented President Wilson as the "world leader of to-day." He did not gush; he used no artificialities of phrase; just straightforward, understandable English:

"Whatever may be the cross-fire of opinion," he said, "there is one thing that we are all agreed upon, and that is that America will not have completed her part in the great world conflict until she has done everything possible to prevent the recurrence of the death, the misery, the suffering, the waste, and the devastation that from time immemorial has followed in the wake of war. At the Peace Conference to that task our President is applying his wonderful talents. . . . He told the mothers of our country that they were giving up their sons not only that the world might be made safe for democracy, but that there would never be another war. To the fulfilment of that promise he has dedicated himself with all his heart and all his soul and all his strength and all his great ability. . . ."

As the applause died out, a well-meaning lady in an adjoining box exclaimed: "What a giant Al Smith would be if he only had a college education!" Where-

upon I recalled that line of Arthur Brisbane's: "Think of what four years at Harvard might have done to Abraham Lincoln."

Quaint fictions are built around men who grip the public imagination. One of the persistent legends about Smith is that he has never read a book. The story doubtless grew out of his humorous reply to a young lady, of quite superior pose, who asked if he had read a certain book: "My dear young lady," said Smith without batting a lash, "the only book I ever read through was 'The Life and Battles of John L. Sullivan.' "

Smith is not a student of literature. Like Lincoln, he has read the Bible and remembered what he read. In his youthful days he was the leading amateur actor of the East Side, and was an ardent follower of Shakespeare. Aside from Holy Writ and the Bard of Avon, most of his reading has been about government. His friends say that legislative and public documents furnish him with all the intellectual and heart interest of the best literature.

An important Tammany district leader and lifelong friend of Smith was named by Mayor Hylan to one of the biggest jobs in the government of Greater New York. When Hylan was passing out of the political picture, this powerful leader sought to regain for him the friendship of Smith. Hylan's sponsor, William R. Hearst, had become the sworn enemy of the governor. Other pleas having failed, Al's old friend sought to appeal to his human kindliness. "Mayor Hylan gave me this great job; I doubt if even you would have done that for me," said the leader. "You need have no doubt about it," answered Al; "I'm your friend, but I certainly would not have named you because I know you are not fit for the job."

That is the Smith way of handling public business. He is never afraid to be progressive, not even in his theories of party management. He started out as governor with the theory that his appointees must be fit for their jobs. This is a difficult view-point for any executive to maintain, least of all one trained by Tammany Hall. But Smith has carried his point. He would tell a party leader that a certain job was available and could go to his district, but the applicant must meet requirements which he specified. If the right man was offered, he got the appointment. If not, Smith chose his own man.

His most revolutionary effort was the removal of the highway department from politics. He placed an expert engineer at its head, gave him full control, supported his policies, and let the politicians rage. They tore about for some time, just as he expected they would, and now are ready to admit that highways free from political jobbery are a valuable asset to the Democratic party. Only recently he told the assembled party leaders that destruction overtakes a party "when that party thinks of nothing but organization, and by that I mean organization as against the best interests of all the people of the State." Examination of his staff appointments discloses many promotions for merit. His personal secretary is a Republican, a thirty-third-degree Mason who had served over thirty years in the executive chamber. The State commissioner of health served many years as deputy in that department, and his commissioner of public works is a Virginia Democrat trained in engineering, and presides over the largest patronage department in the State. Those are a few examples. The list shows his liberality throughout. Fitness to do the job he insists upon.

When the unterrified Democracy foregathered on Manhattan Island in 1924 to ease the way for Calvin Coolidge, I got frequent close-ups of the many-sided and fascinating Al. Throughout those hectic days his continuous good humor and personal charm, his utter lack of rancor were in striking contrast with the ill-tempered conduct of some other historic figures. An incident of the closing hours seems worth the telling. My friend, Governor George S. Silzer, of New Jersey, had been one of the "favorite son" candidates for the presidential nomination, and I had been patiently standing guard hoping the lightning might strike when the sectarian tornado had swept by.

The nerve-racked and shell-shocked convention, however, was glad to flock to John W. Davis immediately Smith and McAdoo withdrew from the hopeless

deadlock. The delegates were weary and anxious to get away. When the armistice had finally come and former political friends had ceased firing on each other, the casualties numbered many soreheads, as well as a lot of sore hearts and sore feet. It had been no pink-tea affair. Savage hatreds had been stirred. The weather was sweltering. The sidewalks of New York and the good old summer-time may be all right as topics for jazz songs, but they are not the happiest combination for an outsider to live with.

I was glad it was over and was heading for home in the early evening when Mayor Frank Hague, of Jersey City, vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee and overlord of the New Jersey Democracy, happened along and suggested that I hunt up Frank L. Polk, under-secretary of state in the Wilson administration and law partner of John W. Davis.

"Al thinks George Silzer should be named for Vice-President if the ticket is to do anything in the Eastern country, and Frank Polk must get us to Davis at once," was the laconic observation of Hague.

Polk had been in charge of the Davis boom. When I found him he told me that he had already heard from Al—everybody calls the governor Al—and that if I brought Hague over to the Manhattan Club, he would see that we were given the first chance to talk with Davis, then on his way down-town to address the convention that had nominated him for President.

Immediately Davis reached the club Polk made good his promise. When Hague and I had finished, Davis expressed strong personal admiration for Silzer, whom he had long known, but deferred committing himself until he heard from George Brennan and other party chieftains.

We promptly made our way to the Smith headquarters on an upper floor of the club-house. Al, "the happy warrior," apparently undisturbed at the thought that his dream of the presidency had gone aglimmering, and equally oblivious to the fact that the convention was restlessly awaiting his appearance for a speech, was the most cheerful spirit in the group. Coatless and with the inevitable big black cigar gripped in one hand, he was regaling himself, between stories, with a huge glass of—say it softly—ice-water.

Many fanciful tales concerning the drinking habits of statesmen gain currency in this land of the brave. George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Warren G. Harding have all been pictured by detractors as ardent devotees of the cup that gladdens. It is certain that Woodrow Wilson's views on prohibition were not unlike those of Al Smith, although their personal tastes varied slightly. Wilson liked good Scotch; Smith prefers good beer. No statesman can use either to excess and last. And among the people who know him best—his New York neighbors, regardless of party affiliation—there is a wide-spread hope that Al Smith will keep right on serving them to the end of his days.

Upon learning the outcome of our talk with the presidential candidate, Al at once donned his coat and proceeded to find Davis. As he started from the room, an attaché presented a little up-State chap who had been acting as messenger at the headquarters and who didn't want to go home without the governor's name in his autograph album.

"Sure," said Al, reaching for a pen. The signature finished, Al pulled a roll of money from his pocket. Slipping two twenty-dollar bills to the astonished youngster he shook hands, remarking:

"You have been a faithful servant and you ought to have a vacation; come around again when we run for President."

And we proceeded to the room of Davis, where Smith emphasized his belief that if the tattered Democracy was to be pulled together it was imperative that the second place on the ticket should go to a man who would appeal to the liberal electorate of New York and New Jersey and other Eastern States, and who might have an outside chance in the great industrial States like Ohio and Illinois. Silzer was such a man. He carried no church handicap. Davis was ready if Brennan said the word.

"Let's get George Brennan," said Al. Meanwhile the surging crowd in Madison Square Garden eagerly awaited the coming of Davis and Smith, who were to speak the magic words that would restore

party morale. We hurried across to the Garden, but instead of mounting the rostrum the governor got Brennan into an anteroom and forcefully urged the cause of Silzer. Brennan had a candidate of his own in the person of Mayor Dever, but Al was so insistent that Brennan agreed to go along. That job finished, Smith was ready to speak. And he made a speech that brought tears to many eyes, the kind of speech that helps explain why he is idolized by the powerful and the humble, the great and ungreat among his home folks. But that's another story.

When he had finished he returned to the Manhattan Club to meet with Davis and Brennan and others high in the party councils with a view of completing the ticket. The conference went smoothly enough and the word was about to be passed on to the convention when Tom Taggart, resourceful Indiana politician, blurted out: "You are murdering this man (pointing to Davis) by putting a Jerseyman on the ticket with him."

It was idle to argue that Davis was not a New Yorker; he confessed that he had moved his voting residence from West Virginia to Long Island. In Taggart's home sector of Indiana the drys and the hundred-per-centers are legion. Taggart's position, in view of the circumstances, appeared sound enough. After a great deal of rather melancholy talk the conference decided to appease William Jennings Bryan once more, and named his brother. It was a forlorn hope. As seasoned veterans quit that gathering they knew the jig was up.

At the Gridiron dinner, immediately after the Coolidge landslide, Al occupied a seat on the dais with the President, and they made speeches that were filled with pleasant allusions. They both frankly like public life. That is equally true of most men. The Washington newspaper correspondents are the pick of the land, and their dinners are not the softest spots in the lives of the speakers. It is no place to pull a bloomer. Senator Butler, of Massachusetts, manager of the Coolidge campaign, had attempted a shrewd New England shaft of humor. He said that one of the biggest contributions to the Republican victory was the Madison Square Garden convention of the Democrats. Then came a clever skit by members depicting Al's rise, followed by the singing of "The Sidewalks of New York," and Smith was presented to the diners.

"It is interesting to hear from the Republican national chairman that the Democrats had such a leading part in the recent election of the President, and it seems only fair that they should share in the rewards," was the opening remark of the governor of New York. "I shall be glad to send Mr. Butler a list of names of deserving Democrats who are sadly in need of offices just now." The shot told, and Al was given a mighty salvo of applause.

"This is my first Gridiron dinner, and I am mighty glad to be seated up here at the head table," he went on. "I remember when I first went up to Albany and the newspaper boys had their legislative dinner, I managed to get myself invited through a friend. But I had a seat on the outskirts, under the gallery. Pretty soon Governor Odell came in, accompanied by several soldiers, all plumed in gold lace, and while the band played 'Hail to the Chief' he was ceremoniously ushered up to the place of honor. 'That's the way to come to these dinners,' I told my friend." And with a smiling glance toward President Coolidge, he added: "And there's the way to attend a Gridiron dinner."

There was more good-natured fun and then Al paid a gracious compliment to the fine patriotism of the President, saying, among other things, that once the American people had rendered their verdict the State of New York stood ever ready to give the utmost loyalty to the head of the government. In his speech President Coolidge replied that, out of a rather sad experience, he had always felt a deep sympathy for governors, but there was one governor who never needed any sympathy, and that was the governor of New York. "He always seems to know the right thing to do and how to do it," was the President's testimonial.

There are many points of similarity between Abe Lincoln and Al Smith. One came out of the hardships of city poverty, the other knew the deprivation and rigors of rural poverty. Irreproachable per-

sonal character and unyielding fidelity to public service are the marks of both men. In their mastery of government, in their philosophic humor, in their understanding of humanity, in their square dealing, in their love of righteousness, they are essentially alike.

Al Smith once humorously conferred upon himself the degree of F.F.M., which he explained stood for Fulton Fish Market, the first school in which he began to receive his higher education of hard experience. His father, Alfred Emanuel Smith, a native New Yorker and a truckman, died when the son was thirteen. His mother, also born in New York, was forced to go back to work in a shop, and young Al began his career as a helper in the fish-market, remaining there for seven years. Then he got a political job, serving as clerk to the commissioner of jurors for eight years.

It was the subsequent twelve years in the assembly at Albany that gave him his real chance. That was the turning-point in his career. He worked day and night, mastered all the arts of government, became his party leader on the floor and speaker of the house. His achievements and his rectitude won him a place in the affections of the Democrats, and caused large numbers of Republicans and independents to trust him implicitly.

"Of all men in the convention Alfred E. Smith is the best informed on the business of the State of New York," was the admiring tribute of Elihu Root, master scholar and statesman. The time was 1915 and the best minds had been holding a constitutional convention, with a view of meeting the changing industrial and social needs of the people of the Empire State. Root, distinguished for his service as secretary of state and secretary of war, as well as in the United States Senate, was the presiding officer. George W. Wickersham, attorney general under President Taft, who was the Republican floor leader, characterized Smith as "the most useful man in the convention." Smith had participated in nearly every important debate, displaying a knowledge of State administration and legislative procedure that astonished the mighty assemblage of veteran judges, politicians, students of government.

From his intimate contacts with the struggling under side of the human heap he naturally fought for a living wage for women and children. Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, intellectuals and aristocrats by birth, became progressives by absorbing the ideas of others; Al Smith was born a progressive. It was not necessary for him to unlearn any pet theories. He is not a fiery crusader like Bryan or La Follette bent on speedily readjusting all human affairs. His was not the "triumph of hope over experience." He had not read much history; he had lived history.

At the end of his twelve years' service in the unlucrative job of assemblyman he was nominated for the well-paid office of sheriff of the county of New York. Republicans and independents alike hailed the promotion with enthusiasm. The stalwart New York *Tribune* declared that there had not been any other legislator, Republican, Progressive, or Democrat, in the preceding ten years who had rendered such useful service to New York; and the Citizens' Union, ever an anti-Tammany organization, urged his election. At the end of his term as sheriff he was elected president of the Board of Aldermen, which place he held until his election as governor in 1918. In the Harding Republican landslide of 1920 he was defeated, only to be returned to the governorship in 1922, and again in 1924, when the Republicans carried the State for Coolidge by 870,000 and Smith won on the Democratic ticket by more than 100,000. Coolidge carried Greater New York by 137,000 and Smith carried it, in the same election, by 519,000.

In his inaugural speech, when he took the oath of office in the assembly chamber for the sixteenth time and the oath of governor for the third time, he said:

"The assembly chamber was my education, my high school, my college, and virtually my all. In it I have learned practically everything of State government which I know to-day."

Last June Columbia University conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws, and another eminent Republican of international fame, Doctor Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the university, on that occasion pointed out that Al had

been "trained in the hard school of the many-sided and cosmopolitan life" of Manhattan Island, and that since manhood he had been "a constant and eager public servant in posts of steadily growing importance and authority" where he had been "alert, effective, public-spirited, and courageous, constantly speaking the true voice of the people."

Reading and studying the bills that came before him as assemblyman and especially digesting every item in the huge appropriation bills have made Smith the formidable debater that he is. He has often said that his legislative experience saved him at least a year in the office of governor. During his first year of office, when he said, "I have just completed the study of the appropriation bills and I can truthfully and thankfully say there isn't a single item in them in which I have a personal interest," he knew better than any one else how easily something might have been slipped over on him. It is this expert knowledge of the details of government that has made him such a terror to finance committees of the legislature and the man from the backwoods district who wants a bridge or two across the home-town creeks.

This interest in government led naturally to his programme of administrative reforms. Building on his experience in the constitutional convention, he instructed the reconstruction commission, which he appointed in his first month as governor, that if they wanted the State to enter on social-welfare activities they must find financial resources to make it possible. When they presented their plan of reorganization and consolidation of the State government, which they had adopted as the soundest plan for fundamental economy, he astounded a roomful of keen lawyers, business men, and political-science experts when the chart of the proposed reorganization was first shown to him. It covered then one hundred and eighty-seven bureaus, commissions, departments, and miscellaneous agencies. The paper on which it was drawn was measured in feet, not inches. For four hours, scarcely looking at the paper, he inquired about agency after agency. He recited the histories and political purposes of many of the commissions and often quoted the legislative debates that led to their establishment. He knew also which agencies ought to be abolished and which ought to be consolidated into some department. He was unerring in his judgment of where each one belonged. That was the beginning of a seven years' battle. He was as strong in fighting for it while out of office for two years as he was while in. Loss of party patronage could not deter him. If it was right to get rid of or to consolidate a commission or a bureau, he was unyielding.

A friend once made a disparaging remark about experts who have theories about government which look fine on paper but do not always work practically in administration. "I like to have those fellows around," Smith said. "I like to hear them talk. They often give you an idea. It may not be usable in the way they put it, but it sets you thinking and you work it out." That has been one of the reasons for his success as a legislator and as an executive. He knows how to utilize the expert without letting him run away with an idea. He is always willing to listen to everybody. Even the people he calls "crackpots" can get a hearing. His theory is: "You never know where your help is coming from."

From reorganizing the government of the State to a revision of its business methods was a short step for Smith, having at his finger-tips, as he does, every detail of the financial needs of the State, its roads, its parks, the institutions and public buildings that make up the commonwealth. He took hold of these problems as a business man would, and it seems to those who know him that his two years out of office in contact with business men and business problems rounded out his equipment for dealing with the State's millions. But the interesting thing is that bond issues for State objects have always a human side for Al Smith. He wants $300,000,000 to eliminate grade-crossings because he wants to save human life, and $50,000,000 for State hospitals for the insane in order that patients may have decent accommodations and care. Fifteen millions of dollars for parks to him means releasing millions of human beings from those same sidewalks he knows only too well. When he adopts a proposal to

rehabilitate New York's tenement areas, he speaks of it with the feeling born of living in the rooms they contain.

He has a deep conviction about democratic government. He believes intensely in letting the people determine for themselves and has an unalterable faith that they will make the right decisions. This is at the bottom of his discontent with the Eighteenth Amendment. Less than any man does he want to see the return of the saloon. He knows what it meant to the mothers and children of the district from which he came. But he feels deeply that the people of his own State never had a chance to register their opinions about the adoption of the amendment. In his first message, which was before the adoption of the amendment, he urged the legislature to submit the question of ratification to a popular referendum before taking action themselves. That explains his reason for signing the bill which provides for a referendum opinion on the subject this year.

This same trait accounts for his readiness to debate a question at issue. He keenly enjoyed the series of public debates he had with Governor Miller and Congressman Mills in the fall of 1925 on the proposals to amend the constitution to permit the issuance of bonds for a public-improvement programme to extend over the next ten years.

In debate or in presentation of a complicated question of administrative method, Smith is clear and direct. He uses simple language and homely illustration. Once before a joint committee of the legislature he wanted to clarify an engineering question. It concerned the differences between two proposals for rerouting the railroad freight lines entering the metropolis. He traced on a huge map a "carload of cabbages" coming in one way, a short route proposed by the Port of New York Authority, of which he was then a member, and then showed the roundabout course of the other method. "How do you think those cabbages would taste, after all that, to the fellow on the East Side that was having them for his dinner some night?" The audience roared and understood. He is hailed by critical writers as a master of the use of words.

Recently when he was to address an audience in Philadelphia, on the subject of bonding the State of Pennsylvania for its public institutions as New York had, he literally searched the Scriptures all one afternoon to find a quotation that would carry his point. After an hour and a half of reasoning with his chilly audience, made up of Pennsylvania's most exclusive Republican society, he swept them to their feet wildly cheering after a moment of tense silence. He quoted the Gospel according to Saint Matthew and told the story of the Master, who said: "When I was sick you visited me" and "Inasmuch as you have done it for these, the poorest of my people, you have done it unto me." Then, said Smith: "Therefore do I say to the people of Pennsylvania that this is a great opportunity for thanksgiving for the blessings that have flowed down from heaven upon this great State. It is opportunity for every man and woman in Pennsylvania to be able to say to the Ruler of the universe himself: 'Inasmuch as the poor, the weak, the sick, and the afflicted were the special charges of thy divine Son during his life on earth, their care, their proper and adequate care, will be given by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.' "

With this strong love for democracy he has been a jealous guardian of the rights of the minority. When the assembly, during his first term as governor, expelled five regularly elected Socialists he called a special election in those districts in time for an extraordinary session of the legislature, which was to consider housing relief, because, he said: "On so important a question these very districts, among the most congested in the State, should not be left unrepresented on a question that concerns them so deeply." He fought every form of restriction of freedom of speech and brought about repeal of laws which threatened to impose a system of espionage upon the State. He has consistently fought all forms of censorship.

Of course, he is a keen politician and a well-trained one. That is what makes him so feared by his political adversaries. He knows only too well when they are playing politics, because he knows the tricks of the trade. For that very reason he can usually think and do something

just a little quicker than they can and outguess and outwit them at every point. His political acumen leads him to know when to appeal to the people, and he never hesitates to do so—by radio, by newspaper statement, by published correspondence, as in the series of letters exchanged with Congressman Mills, Senator Fess, and others. His defeat of the Republican legislature in 1925 amounted finally to almost a leadership of both parties. Many a Republican leader has consulted him, and received a warning or a bit of sound advice that might have saved his party from humiliation had he heeded it.

Any mere chronicle of his achievements would seem unbelievable were it not for his cheerful persistence that overlooks temporary defeat and can see an undertaking pursued to success over a long period of years. When advocates of some measure grow impatient and ask him how he manages to endure the political obstacles and delay, he says: "Every great reform has taken a long time. Look at the history of workmen's compensation or child-welfare laws in this State. It took ten years to get the one and nearly as long to get the other." So six years to get the State government reorganized looks short to him.

Tax reduction, first accomplished before the federal government could rub its eyes, and carried to thirty million dollars this year, sound financing, good roads, public health, education and welfare legislation, a progressive and public-spirited solution of the development of the State's water-power resources, have all been achieved without abating a jot that lovable simplicity and human understanding that make the crowd love him.

He went to buy a hat at a Fifth Avenue hatter's one day and soon the police were clearing the crowd in front of the door, "obstructing traffic." Al came out in all the glory of a new pale-gray Fedora hat. The crowd cheered. He raised his hat toward them, grinned, and said: "Like it?" Of course they did.

But he enjoyed at least as much the discomfiture of a clerk, in a little shop where he went to buy a watch for one of his boys, who said to him: "Did any one ever tell you that you look like Al Smith?" "No," he answered. "No one ever told me I looked like him." The clerk called an associate and they reached a quick decision.

Al Smith is never too busy to help solve some individual tangle, never too up-stage to remember an old friend and help him if he can. There is an impression in some quarters that the Executive Department of the State of New York is a sort of continuous comic opera with "The Sidewalks of New York" as the prevailing theme. Nothing is farther from the truth. Genial, fun-loving, witty, and easy-going, Al Smith is every inch the governor. He has a deep respect for the office he holds and a profound sense of the obligations it imposes. Dignity and responsibility never leave him. He never forgets he is governor and has a sensitive appreciation of what is fitting for him to do or not to do. In office he has grown not only in wisdom but in personal popularity.

The business man knows that Governor Smith will protect him as far as justice and the good of the State will allow, and the men, women, and children of the State know he cares for even the least of them and that for their sakes he wants to make good his ambition to show that an East Side boy can be an intelligent and a good governor. "I'll put all the strength, all the ability, all the power I possess into that." And he has so successfully accomplished this that America is watching his every act, deciding how much farther a struggling boy, trained and developed as he has been, can go in managing the affairs of government.

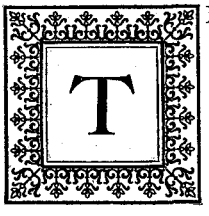
The life situation demands standing and marching in lines.—Page 258.

"Train Up a Child . . ."

BY HARLAN C. HINES
Author of "The Mysterious I. Q.," etc.

SKETCHES BY RUTH ANN WILBUR HINES

I



THE citizen who at the present time does his reading running not only must perspire but must be perplexed. The head-lines, particularly those in the morning papers, are giving him a set of nerves. If he is at all impressionable, a glance at the scare-heads will utterly ruin what otherwise might have been a highly successful day. Of course, if he had all the real facts concerning the prevalence and relative importance of law violation this might not be so, but, unfortunately, the statistics we have are inaccurate.

That there has been a remarkable increase in the variety and complexity of crimes, however, and a growing disrespect for law cannot successfully be denied. These conditions have been discussed fully and freely, even to a defense of the publication of crime news in the daily papers, and what has been said need not be reiterated here. But attention should be turned to the repeated accusation that *the schools*, in which all of us are more or less interested and with which most of us have some direct or indirect connection, *are largely responsible for crime*. To get proper light on this accusation one must see clearly the mission of the modern school, what it is trying to accomplish in the training of the present school generation, how it has been influenced by psychological method, and to what limits it may be held accountable for the tendencies of modern youth.

II

THE real purpose and aim of the modern school is to train children gradually to