

Farewell address  
of  
James Hartness  
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**Farewell Address**

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

One of the momentous events in the history of our State government is the convening of the people's representatives in Legislative session.

Today we have the newly elected Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Senators, Representatives and State Officers.

In one sense it may seem to be a new body, but it is not new. It is rejuvenated by the induction of new members. This change does not disrupt. It carries forward according to customs and traditions the processes of our plan of government and progress.

One of the features of this occasion is the courteous custom that provides for an address by the retiring governor. This implies, and rightly so, a spirit of continuity of purpose of each succeeding administration.

It is with great pleasure I give my testimony of the courtesies extended to me by my able predecessor, Governor Percival W. Clement, and of my present desire in delivering this message, to render my best services to the continued progress of the state under the leadership of Governor Redfield Proctor.

My knowledge of the excellent work of my predecessors and of the high promise of equally great service of my successor leaves to me the treatment of only certain particular phases of state government. I shall endeavor to be constructive in formulating general principles without encroaching in the prerogatives of my thoroughly well qualified successor.

But before entering on the discussion of the various problems I desire, in the interest of the high purpose of stability, continuity and orderly progress of our government, to pay tribute to my predecessors in office who have served so well and true to these principles through all these years, and I know you will all join me in special tribute to the memory of the two noble souls who have passed to the Great Beyond during the administration that is now drawing to its close. I refer to the Honorable Samuel E. Pingree, governor from 1884 to 1886, and the Honorable Allen M. Fletcher, governor from 1912 to 1915.

I now present for your consideration what may be considered a national subject, but its bearing on our Vermont problems is of supreme importance. The affairs of Vermont as a state, and of Vermonters as individuals are closely interwoven with national affairs. We cannot govern our state irrespective of the outer world. Vermont's life, health and welfare are dependent upon the life, health and welfare of the nation, therefore it is eminently fitting that we give first consideration to a subject that is of paramount importance to all; namely, political and social unrest.

If political and social unrest of a few habitually discontented men and false propaganda it could be kept in check, but many people who are normally contented have become restless under the influence of unfair practices by which they have suffered many injustices.

My own training and experience leads me to take up the phase which relates broadly to the economics of statecrafts. To approach this problem it is necessary to realize that modern economics is an immensely complicated problem, particularly if we attempt in any way to enter into a detailed analysis of the various operations in the millions of departments. It is enough for us to know that there has been an exceedingly rapid growth of our ways and means for employing our energies and resources. With this rapid growth and intricacy there has been developed certain unfair practices, the correction of which should be given our prime consideration.

As we go forward with this subject, its direct bearing on the governmental affairs of our state will be apparent. It not only applies directly to the affairs of our state, but in the most vital sense it is of significance to the life and progress of the individual.

Coincident with the marvelous discoveries of science and the practical application of these discoveries, there has been created a gigantic and at the same time delicate system embracing all of our activities.

Our success in the creation of all those things – things that make up our present day world – is the result of the combined work of millions of men and women. The brainwork, skill, art, industry and unity of action have created a wonderful system of commerce, manufacturing and transportation.

This grand structure consists of the most intricate and powerful mechanisms and devices of science. It has been created and is now being used by millions of people. In fact the people form a vital part of the structure, so that the whole structure may be considered a mighty engine endowed with intelligence, skill and human purpose. This part of the gigantic engine that consists of men and women is something more than flesh and blood. It cannot be controlled as beasts of burden are controlled. It carries millions of hearts and minds and these must be satisfied.

We have met with wonderful success in creating the material part of this structure, but we have lamentably failed to make due allowance for the hearts and minds of the people who form the vital part.

The difficulty in our present situation lies in the fact that we are now vitally dependent on the continued functioning of these systems.

Our task is to study the problem with a double view of protecting the beneficial features and at the same time eliminating the harmful features.

Our progress thus far has been made with only a slight degree of governmental regulation. We have had governmental regulations that have affected our interstate commerce, and, during the war, many of the branches of business were controlled. But, in general, the greatest growth seems to have been the result of the unhampered functioning of human initiative and private enterprise.

One of the features of the development of the last hundred years and particularly of the recent decades, has been the loss of much of the original free and independent action of each family in providing for itself the necessities of life. This individual independence has almost wholly disappeared. We have in its place a most complete system of inter-dependence. By the new system great advance has been made in providing not only the simple necessities of life, but a vast number of other things that have greatly enhanced our general welfare.

The inter-functioning of the various elements in each of the great systems, and the cooperation of all the systems have thus far been evolved through actual working conditions.

Attempts to regulate by governmental authority have in many cases been handicapping. This has probably been due to the fact that our scheme of regulation has run contrary to natural law. Our regulations have been restrictive and not helpful. They have applied the brake, shut off the power or placed obstacles in the way.

It is for us to protest the continued functioning of these great economic systems on which life of family and nation now depends, but we must do more than merely protect the existing order. We must take up with a determined purpose the task of clearing the systems of harmful features, but this must be done without involving disastrous interruption. If we do not eliminate some of the unfair practices by orderly methods we will see the continued growth of the political and social unrest.

The problem of government is a human problem. The problem of governmental economics is a problem of human economics. If we know how the human being functions most effectively, we know how the government and the people of the government can work most effectively.

Men work most effectively when they are pleased with their work and their pay in money and esteem, and they become depressed and inefficient, and in some cases anarchistic, when they are dissatisfied.

This element of satisfactory and just compensation becomes a basic element of good government. It affects the lives, not only of the manual worker, but all people in our country. The lack of such compensation is the basic reason for the internal strife that threatens the entire structure. This dissatisfaction is just as harmful whether it is based on a false or a true premise. Therefore, we must not only endeavor to remove harmful causes, but also get rid of the false conceptions.

Regarding the problem of what is a fair and just pay, we can find no more equitable scheme of solution than arbitration based on a code that fits economic laws. The common sense point of view shows that we must establish such a basis before we can estimate what is a fair apportionment to each one.

In the formulation of the basis for such adjustment, it will not be necessary for us to leave the common sense scheme of procedure, but we must not expect to achieve this result in one week or in one year. A year's work of a national commission of competent men should produce a code that would be better for labor, capital and the general public, than the present wasteful plan of strike and coercion.

Under the present methods force is used to gain a pay that is claimed to be just by workers. It is a faulty plan because it is unwise and substitutes strikes and coercion for a rational arbitration. It depends on fighting strength and not on justice. If capital is the stronger, it wins; if labor is the stronger, it wins; but, in either case the strife has reduced the earning and paying power and has not been conducted on a just basis.

We must devise a basis for an economically sound compensation for both labor and capital. The plan must be one that does not reduce the spirit of enterprise. It must stimulate the spirit of industry and provide adequate reward for initiative, effective organizing ability and all those prime elements that are essential to greatest beneficial results.

We must not reduce the opportunities of advance for the workers and others, regardless of their starting point in life. We must, however, put a positive barrier in the way of the man or men who try to gain wealth and power by ways and means that are injurious to the general welfare. We must see that not only the worker, but the capitalist as well, uses his energies in a way beneficial to the public interest. The code should easily embrace the full scope of the use of all energies and all resources.

Such a plan demands the minimum interruption of our activities in producing and distributing our product. It dictates this because we know that the wages of capital and all kinds of labor – professional as well as manual – depend on the amount of value produced; that the largest value will be produced by a combination of best methods and a continuity of operation. Anything that reduces these essentials reduces the value produced.

Therefore, one of the big facts for us to grasp is that we must eliminate the waste and ultimate loss due to either the interruption of work or the use of inefficient methods and implements. We must also eliminate, as far as possible, every agency that tends to lower the spirit of the workers.

Another essential fact is, that we must make it clear to everyone that our present order, with its good and bad features, must not be interrupted. In order to allay the unrest we must show a determined purpose to greatly improve the existing conditions.

In the formulation of a code we must indicate the ways and means for making the best use of our resources of labor and capital. Since it is the human element that must be considered when we are trying to find the most effective ways of management, we must go back to the study of the nature of the individual. When we get a fair understanding of the individual, our next step is to study the group. In all this study, let us keep in mind that our problem is to reduce the discontent. We must create conditions that make the work more congenial, easier and better paying. This object must be attained if we are to prevent a breakdown of the great economic structure of industry.

If our government of the people, by the people and for the people is to endure, we must maintain the conditions by which the groups of men work most efficiently, and this scheme of continuity of functioning of the group is one of the fundamentals that must be grasped. It is one of the conditions under which we have grown, and it is one of the conditions that must be maintained if our government is to survive, and it is the condition on which our present and future welfare depends. Anything that reduces the degree of efficiency of the group, reduces the value produced and consequently not only reduces the power to pay the various workers, but also reduces the strength of the nation, and here comes in our big national menace.

Mention has been made of the destructive effect of strikes, but it is not the strike that constitutes the most serious menace. The greatest menace is the existence of serious inequalities, that our present regulations fail to

correct, and the fact that false leadership and false propaganda will continue the spread of disaffection if we do not correct both of these menaces.

Back of all harmful causes we find a lack of knowledge of the fundamental principles on which our economic and general welfare depends.

The task that is ours today is to set forth the plain facts regarding these principles, so that all people may understand.

In order to get a better comprehension of our present condition, let us glance over the changes that have taken place. At the time of the founding of our country, our scheme of life was of a simpler nature and each man could work out his own destiny. Today we have a system of work that demands the most complete team work of the whole nation. By the new system a man can produce a hundred to a thousand times the value he could under the old order of things, and the adoption of this new system has made it possible not only to supply the primitive needs of food, raiment and shelter such as we had one hundred and fifty years ago, but we are now able to produce millions of accessories that go to make a man's work still more efficient and at the same time enhance his general welfare.

In creating this new order of things we have used the best energies of mind and body under conditions by which they function most effectively.

Each one of the thousand divisions of the greater problems has been worked out and solved by a group of men who have concentrated all of their energies on that one purpose. We must now give thought to protecting the coordination of those elements, and this becomes a supreme problem in statecraft.

Some one nation will go ahead, and that nation will be the one that makes the best use of its energies. To that nation other nations will pay tribute in the market where the products are exchanged. That nation, with hostile purpose could subjugate all others. It will be invincible in war.

From every angle of view there is just one course to pursue, and that is forward. Our trend forward, however, under our form of government, can only be maintained when a strong majority of the people is so inclined, hence our strength in relation to other countries will depend on the relative spirit of the people of each country. We must see to it that discontent is eliminated as much as possible, and that we energize our people to the greatest extent in serving effectively.

In order to do this we must clarify the subject by setting forth the fact that certain conditions are necessary for progress. We must be prepared to find a continuation of inequalities due to transitional conditions brought about by progress, but these inequalities must be considered from a rational standpoint. There must be a constructive attempt to change these objectionable conditions as fast as the general welfare of the organization will permit.

The highest functioning of this economic structure is dependent therefore upon the highest spirit of the group. In each of the millions of positions in the great structure, certain conditions are necessary to protect that spirit. The functioning of this structure in normal times has resulted in America's leadership in providing, for the larger part of our people, those things that make for progress, comfort and happiness.

It is not surprising to find that we have many discontented people in our country. Such people may be found in any nation. In this discontented group, however, we have now many of high mentality and noble purpose, who believe the world would be made better by some one of the many schemes that have been devised that run contrary to the laws of our land and contrary to the natural law of human economics of today.

The purpose of the code should be to establish conditions that will be acceptable to labor, capital and to the general public. We must outline policies that will increase the total earning power of all our resources and services, so that the power to pay for the services of labor and capital is brought up to the highest standard that such policies can establish.

The increase of the paying power is one of the strategic points in reaching a result that will be acceptable to all. It would by no means be tied to an increase in all directions, for that would merely maintain the present

inequality, but it would reach in a most effective and popular way a host of those who are justly entitled to higher pay.

In order to increase the earning power, we must not only eliminate waste of material and energy, and build up organizations in which the material ways and means are most effective, but we must eliminate as much as possible that enormous waste due to dissention, and replace it with a high spirit of interest in the work, and a confidence of all that there is now to be set in motion an effective means for a more just pay for services rendered.

All people are not antagonistic to unionized labor or manufacturing organizations. Even in the extreme groups there are many men who wish to serve effectively and receive a fair pay and serve in peace. These men and the great mass of thinking voters can see the justice of an attempt to arrive at an equitable basis of compensation of all services. They can see that the crooked purposes will be fully shown up as we proceed with this plan of selecting policies for an industrial code. They know that the policies that fit our economic laws and our human needs are unlike the policies of unfair dealing.

These men still remember that we have been in a war. They still hold in highest esteem our flag and our homes, and they now see the hand writing on the wall. It is these people who constitute the great mass of thinking voters who will recognize the need of a common sense plan that will bring an adjustment through orderly processes.

They know that the continuation of strife lowers the individual efficiency, the values produced, the steadiness of employment, and, last but not least, it weakens our nation both in conquest of peace and in the conquest of war.

Those who still long for a chance to improve the conditions of their families and homes, and who will vote for and live for high standards, are the ones who will stabilize our government by opposing disruptive anarchy, providing they see a rational and unprejudiced plan that can accomplish this purpose by orderly methods.

They know that the essential elements of an industrial spirit is the spirit of work, and work is the farthest removed from crookedness of purpose.

They know a straightforward purpose is the natural purpose of a worker – that if he has any other purpose it has been forced into his mind by someone who is not a natural worker.

They know that men who have accomplished the most for the workers in cooperation and planning the ways and means of working have not functioned to their highest efficiency with mercenary motives.

They know that our form of government is not a failure – that it can provide orderly ways and means to correct our existing abuses – that, although we have been very remiss and tardy in action, there is now a definite warning that we must act according to a rational plan.

The importance of the broad view of Human Economics in the industries lies in the fact that it is basically the determining factor in the wage and capital contest.

With a true basic starting point we will arrive with less conflict to a general understanding regarding rate of wages for labor of all kinds and capital.

I realize fully the disturbing nature of even the suggestion of determining the value of capital's service and the thought of the possibility that any one should have the hardihood to suggest such an adjustment, but a code that truly fits our economic laws will not lessen the highest rewards of capital that have been justly attained in the past, but it will put a definite barrier in the way of high finance schemes of robbery of the public and labor. It's actual effect should be to increase the earning power of capital by eliminating the uneconomic practices.

We are hearing much talk about dehydrating our heavily watered stocks. It is stimulated by the knowledge that watered corporation stock has been the basis of capital's claims for exemption under excess profits tax, as well as an excuse to take off unfair profits.

We must discuss this problem frankly and openly. It must be understood by the general public. It can be expressed in words that all will understand and on a basis that will continue the beneficial results of the past and eliminate or greatly reduce the harmful results.

To meet this general proposition in a way that will benefit labor and the public it is necessary to set forth the basic principles of Industrial and Human Economics.

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ECONOMY IN STATE MANAGEMENT  
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The subject of economy is one that has always been of great importance in every home, business, state and nation. Today, as never before, this subject stands preeminent. It is the core of statecraft, and every expression that rings true to the higher forms of statecraft is fundamentally in tune with the science of economy.

Economy in the broadest sense embraces frugality, thrift, conservation, enterprise and all those things that relate to the most effective use of all our resources. It is not for us to take our talents or resources and bury them in the ground if by the most effective use of all of our energies of mind and body we can increase their value two fold.

By nature we are frugal, thrifty and conservative, and these characteristics should be held undiminished. They should be maintained as we consider the new ways and means that fit the new world in which we find ourselves. If we take up the phases of state economy, in which the greatest results can be achieved, we will go directly to the general aspect of the state's management of its business affairs.

During the last year much attention was given to the discussion of state expenses, particularly the subject of cost of our many departments. There seemed to be a general trend of opinion toward certain consolidations of our state departments.

True economy tells us that the waste is not primarily in the multiplicity of officers or offices, nor in the amounts paid in salaries – that it is not in the number of specialists in the various departments nor in the total cost of this overhead at the capital, nor is it in the overhead expense that is scattered throughout the state. The practice of true economy goes to the root of the matter and asks, first: what can we afford, and second: what will make the best use of our available resources of money and energy.

Fundamentally the management of our business affairs must be of the most effective kind. It must obtain the best results for the people of the state.

We know that the most effective type of private management places the responsibility on a board of directors and that board functions through a business manager. Whether the total business is under one manager or under several departmental managers, is a matter to be decided on the basis of relative efficiency.

An economical management does something more than handle the business in a routine manner. It does not blindly follow the rules of yesterday. It does not trail behind. It leads in the best use of its money, energy and other resources.

The general problem of consolidation resolves itself into the question “Shall we continue our present independence of action of each department, or shall we put many of our department chiefs under the authority of one head?”

Under a consolidation each one of these heads would function under a higher authority. There would undoubtedly be a saving in salaries by this move, but the greatest saving would be the result of a more business like administration. It is not likely that this would greatly reduce the number of chiefs, because some of the present divisions require the undivided attention of a specialist who has had long experience in directing such work.

The real big difference and big change for the reduction of cost of state work would be achieved by the existence of a business executive whose duties would be similar to the duties of a business manager of a private corporation.

At the present time the Budget Committee and the Board of Control are supposed to serve as such a head, but as a matter of practice both of these bodies merely trim down requests of the department heads.

Of course we know that the Budget Committee may in emergencies increase the appropriation for any purpose or department, and it might appear that it could even stop the unnecessary expenditure of some wasteful practices, but these wasteful practices must be corrected from day to day as the work proceeds. It cannot be done as efficiently by a control that functions one in two years like our legislature nor by monthly or weekly or even daily meetings of a board of directors or a Committee of Budget or a Board of Control. *It is in the actual work that the true growth and economies are achieved.*

A board of directors is a necessary element, but its principal work would be to select a competent manager and then work through him by giving him the wide range of control that is possessed by a responsible manager in our most economical organizations.

The amount of money available for a department may be still be determined by legislature, but with a proper method of management it might be possible to save from one-fourth to three-quarters of the money appropriated, or there might be achieved from two to four times the value in return for the expenditure.

In practice the Board of Control and the Budget Committee deal almost wholly with figures irrespective of values. These bodies should not be blamed for not knowing the values, for the value of services for which money is expended can only be known by actual contact with the work all day long and every day.

The one essential in the practice of economy is to see that we use our money and energies frugally and effectively. To do this we must scrutinize methods in the actual work. Then with a real knowledge of the work being done a study of the figures may be beneficial, but figures, for figures' sake, produce endless discussion. The high purpose of comparing expenditures in various departments by years has an important bearing when we are bringing the total amount of our expenditures within the bounds of our resources, but true economy does not stop at setting a high limit. It goes directly to getting a just return for money spent. It claims that a just return is not less than the highest that can be attained by the best use of our money.

This high purpose can be achieved by a change in the system. It does not necessarily go all the way toward a business manager for all of the business affairs, but a start can be made in that direction by a reasonable consolidation that places a few business groups under a single business head. This head should be responsible to a board that works like a board of directors in a private corporation.

Such an arrangement would not make its savings wholly in salaries or in any of the other minor items, it would go directly to the big economies.

Regarding the general problem of a business manager I quote an editorial that appeared in the Bristol Herald last spring:

“If large municipalities can successfully operate under a business manager empowered to select his assistants and at such salaries as he deems proper to pay it might be worth the time of the next legislature to consider the feasibility of the plan for the State of Vermont. This may sound a bit revolutionary – it may be revolutionary in the extreme – but it is a business proposition. \* \* \* \* \*

“The greatest corporations of the country, the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Company, the Harvester Company, do a yearly business probably hundreds of millions of dollars in excess of the overturn in money by the State of Vermont, and general managers direct such stupendous activities. Such general managers to be sure, have a check upon them in the form of boards of directors, and a business manager for Vermont would have a similar check. \* \* \* \* \*

“The state press is continually advocating less commissions in our state government, and the business manager plan would eliminate such governmental bureaus. Most of the commissions that have a part in the



state government are creatures of necessity which had their birth because of such necessity. They came into being as a part of legislation enacted to provide places for deserving politicians. Probably there is not a single instance where the duties imposed upon members of any commission could not have been assumed by existing state departments. There is no need for a single commission in Vermont. The state is too small to require assistants to departments in the form of commissions.

“Hire the general manager from one of the biggest corporations in the country, tell him exactly how much money he can spend, ask him to present his budget at the opening of a legislature and vote to appropriate the amount he says will be necessary. Empower the administrative head of the business and of the state government to hire and fire whomever he wishes and whenever he believes it to be for the good of the service. If such an official prefers to hire only residents of Montpelier, North Hero, Brookline or Burlington, give him that authority.

“The Herald has no idea of how much salary should be paid such an official as it would like to see at the head of the business department of the State of Vermont, but, offhand, would suggest that at \$25,000 a year man would be a mighty cheap investment for the state. About all the governmental machinery needed outside of the general manager’s office, would be found in the offices of the Secretary of State, State Auditor, State Treasurer and State Board of Health.”

The general proposition of consolidation is one that will doubtless be given most careful consideration by this General Assembly. A reduction of the number of departments is a move in the direction that might ultimately lead to the creation of an office of State Manager for the strictly business and engineering affairs of the state.

On this general subject of business management I addressed a letter to the Budget Committee last May. In that letter I stated that our methods of conducting business were about 50% efficient – that the taxpayers were paying twice as much as necessary to get a given result, or to state in another way, we should be receiving twice the value we are now receiving for our present tax.

In order to take up this subject as it is seen and felt by those who labor and scrimp to pay this tax bill, just let us try to forget that we are here in this great gathering; let us try to remember what that tax money represents in the family. To establish this point my letter to the Budget Committee included the following paragraph:

“The people of the state are entitled to a much better use of the state’s money. The money that is paid in taxes by the people is taken from the funds needed in the home. The sacrifices of family comforts are made to gain better roads, better educational facilities, better general conditions for living and working in Vermont. The voting for and payment of high tax clearly indicates the readiness of our people to contribute most generously for progress, particularly for progress for the children and for the betterment of home conditions. It is an evidence of thrift, frugality and hard work in the homes and in the field. It does not, however, indicate the approval of our people of extravagant, wasteful and inefficient of expenditure.”

In my letter I suggest that the committee could see the difference between governmental management and the efficient type by observing the workings of two kinds of offices – governmental offices and offices of highly developed private organizations. It stated that a few days devoted to such observations would reveal a marked opportunity to make a great improvement in our business methods.

It does not take the housewife long to estimate the efficiency of another housewife when she has an opportunity to look into the home. The same is true of managers of business of all kinds, including engineering undertakings. For instance, if an engineer entering an engineering office sees an alert group of interested men working according to intelligent plans, he receives one impression; but if he finds the opposite condition, he not only knows that the cost of the work of the office itself is much too high for the work turned out, but that there is a serious question regarding the character of the office work and its effect on the actual construction work outside. The planning and direction of the office should be of highest character in order to insure the best use of our working forces and the best value produced in construction.

The inefficient condition should not be charged up to the personnel of the offices in the state capitol. We should blame ourselves for the results. This condition is not peculiar to Vermont. It is to be found in nearly all government offices. The general character of our entire personnel is exceptionally high, but the fact remains that our plan is wrong.

The legislature determines the character of our scheme of business management of the state's affairs and then proceeds to make appropriations to be administered by this inefficient scheme. The people who execute these orders in office and field must labor with the handicap that we have established.

We may appoint investigating committees from now 'till doomsday without getting this evil corrected. The fault lies in our wasteful plan of selecting business executives from this or that county or state, not for their special fitness, but to fit our plan of government that was never intended for administering great engineering and business undertakings.

But this is only one-half of the mistake. By frequent changes made in our personnel we prevent the natural evolution of an efficient organization.

Nominally the governor is chief executive, but after all he has little to say regarding methods of executing our business affairs, and even if he were given absolute authority and came into office well qualified by experience and record to manage such affairs, he could accomplish only a little in the brief term of two or four or even six years. It takes time and long continued effort, as well as wisely directed energies to bring up the efficiency on par with the best practice of our private organizations of similar character.

The scheme of management that fits our need today is well known to men who have lived and served in efficiently conducted business of similar character.

The proposition to turn over all business affairs of the state to a state manager is the most direct way to gain a high efficiency. The next scheme is to reduce the number of department heads. But, whichever way we turn we must recognize that it is experience that counts and that the experienced executive or executives must be free to work according to knowledge gained by experience.

Economy is a science that does not concern itself necessarily with titles.

To meet this long established custom, it may be best to let the titled drift along as heretofore and hope to produce a change in actual working that will more nearly fit true economy.

Whatever plan of organization is adopted the work must be done in keeping with the laws of economy. These laws are laws of nature that cannot be amended nor abolished by legislative action. No matter what may be the nominal character of our organization we must conform to the inexorable laws of nature.

We cannot dodge the issue of inefficiency of our present standards of state business management. By some method we must come to the plain common sense fact that the business must be managed by men who are the best fitted for that particular business.

We should select the best man available for each important division.

We should search the whole country, including our own state, to find him.

We should not dole out these positions for political reasons. We should give prime consideration to the thousand times greater number of our people who pay the taxes and suffer from the present inefficient system of management.

In this connection it is well for us to face the fact that inefficient management has a far reaching effect. It goes beyond the pain and fatigue of earning the money to pay the tax. It is a direct blow at our attempts to develop the state into a place where boys and girls can grow up and prosper.

The home angle of view must be kept in mind. If we could only portray the aching hearts of the Vermont mothers when their boys and girls are forced to leave home in order to find their best opportunity for success, there would be a more general demand for a scheme of management that would give Vermont a better chance to

progress in a way that would fit economics of today. Our state management of business should be an inspiring example of correct and efficient administration.

Next to the selection of the best man for each place we must continue his term of office year after year instead of making frequent changes in order to “pass around” these offices.

We need a high order of civil service reform that will select and maintain in office all workers from the chief down. The appointment and retention in office of the best available man as chief will insure the best available people for each part of the work.

A disruption by change of chiefs or personnel of the group is the real big cause of our low grade of efficiency. We could get along on a 75% efficiency with mediocre chiefs if we could obtain and keep a good personnel for the working outfit, but I see no justification for the selection of anything less than the best chiefs. The continuity of service of chief and staff must be conditioned only by the satisfactory action – not satisfactory from the political standpoint, but satisfactory from a high code of business principles.

It will probably be difficult to bring about any radical change of business management at any one session of legislature. In fact, the stability of our government is of more value in the long run than the facility to quickly change our plan. But, a change must come. We must be true to our principles of thrift, frugality and the effective use of our energies and resources.

To this end I believe we will ultimately bring our practice and laws into perfect harmony with the laws of nature in the realm of economy.

Quoting again from my letter to the Budget Committee:

“It is not difficult for us to accept a general proposition of a business management of our affairs, but when we discover that it details a continuing personnel of chiefs of divisions and general staff, we object strenuously and say that it is not in keeping with our plan of government. Notwithstanding this attitude, I believe we can find a scheme that will fit our governmental notions and at the same time one that will give us a continuing personnel. It does not necessarily carry with it a longer service of a governor, but it does embrace a continuing force of business executives and chiefs of departments. It would make it possible for all to hold their positions on a basis of value of their service to the state rather than political affiliations. In a certain degree we have a continuing personnel at the present time, but it is far from sufficient to bring up our efficient use of funds. We must choose between the old way, that spends five million dollars for two and a half million dollars’ worth of work, and a modern way that will get the same work for half the money.

“This is a very simple proposition. It does not involve great technical details. It deals only with plain facts. Let us go into this problem free from all entanglements, handicaps and precedents that relate to an old economic world that has passed out of existence.

“By making our standard of measure *real service to Vermont homes and better opportunities*, rather than considering the political significance of this or that policy of management, we will greatly enhance the welfare of our people and state and simplify your problems of state economy.

“In taking up this problem it is well, too, for us to realize that our inefficiency of management is not due to failure of our predecessors in office, nor is it due to lack of vision of our founders. The present inefficiency has been caused by our inability to adapt our ideals to the rapid development of the science of management. This has resulted in our having many elements in our scheme of management that are definite misfits. Our terms of political officers are necessarily short. I would not suggest a change in these periods of services of men selected by popular ballot, but I would urge the appointment and maintenance in office of all those connected with our business managements, and that we turn over to a business man or men the business of the state.”

This would leave the elected officers free to function as contemplated by our founders, but would protect the state’s interest by preventing the disruption of the growth of an efficient organization of management.

The natural action of the Budget Committee at a meeting called to consider this matter was to appoint sub-committees to investigate the various departments in conformity with the statutes. Such investigation has borne some fruit, but it was not my purpose to limit the action of the committee to such investigation.

In order to differentiate my proposition from one that would result in an investigation of details I stated:

“We must look for the big elements and cut off the confusion of discussing details. In other words, we must not fix our attention so exclusively on the waste of a leaking spigot when the old barrel is being drained through the bunghole.

“In view of the fact of the serious handicap under which our departments are functioning, we should carry our investigation far enough to make certain definite recommendations for change of methods of management that will ultimately bring our efficiency on par with high grade private business organization. To this end I wish to present for your consideration some of the elements of the present economic conditions existing when our state was founded. The rapid changes of even the last few decades have produced changes of far reaching significance. Today we are facing problems of government that are distinctly business problems.

“It will not be necessary to go into all the elements that have led up to creating the great change in the scheme of life.

“Briefly outlined, as individuals and communities we have left the old scheme of producing our food, raiment and shelter and we now have become specialists, producing a very narrow range of things and depending on trading with others to obtain the things we ourselves do not produce.

“The great extension of the use of machinery as an aid in production and transportation has made possible this more efficient way of using human energies. A day’s work, aided by machinery, in some instances, produces a value a hundred or a thousand times the value produced by a day’s work of a man fifty years ago. This change involves a high degree of administrative ability that all states have been slow to realize. So highly absorbed have our people become in the development of details of the systems of work that the method of government has received insufficient study.

“Along with the development of the intricacies of machinery and the great complexity of all forms of business – producing, transporting and exchanging – the human race has had a one-sided development. We have achieved great things in the field of science and by the aid of these discoveries we have built up wonderful systems in which millions of workers have their energies coordinated. While the steps have been taken in a rational manner and have changed the habit of work of millions of people, the fact remains that our habits of government persist beyond the period for which they were established.

“Psychologists and biologists agree that we are largely creatures of habit and that our reason has only a secondary influence. On account of this fact we have seen so many failures in national government. It is the dominance of the primitive habit that inclines an important part of Europe to anarchy in its various forms. There is a desire for independent action and an inborn objection to centralized planning that is necessary in this day of modern intricacy.

“In the world of industry, commerce, finance and general business there has been forced a high degree of coordination, otherwise we would still have been making our own wagons; there would be no automobiles, no watches and very few of the many things that now contribute to the essentials of our daily life.

“It would be futile to suggest an important change in our scheme of management of the state if we did not have in our possession this one great economic fact, that the method of highly developed private corporations applied to our state work would effect an enormous saving, and would establish conditions by which the workers in office and every other branch of the work would have the pleasure and satisfaction of working in efficient units, and would be able to go out from such a working force and join another with an ability to hold their own in competition with others.

“Still another reason for changing the spirit of our state organizations is the indirect effect on the private organizations in the state, for there are many private organizations in which the spirit of work is of a kind that does not make for progress and could not compete with live competitors.

“I believe we can go into this matter with full confidence of its meeting popular approval. We know of course that we must deal with the habit of thought of men who have played an important part in shaping our laws and perhaps a few of those who are still aspiring for office, but we have reached a time when the drift of public opinion is not in the control of the few men aspiring to public office.

“I believe this proposition will be greatly acceptable to the thousand times greater number of our people who have taken no part in the management of our state, but who have played a very hard part in scrimping to set aside a certain portion of the earnings for the payment of taxes. To these people, most of whom are the women who in the homes have borne the brunt of saving to pay the tax, this proposition will be most acceptable.

“The habit of thought that carries a small part of our people in a political groove, does not affect the vast majority of our voters. Hence the probability of making a radical change is greater than it might seem to the few people who have been engaged in state work.

“The powerful effect of habit-functioning applies to our proposition from two different angles. It represents the drag on one hand that prevents progress, and on the other it shows us the absolute need of selection of men who have acquired the habit of progressive thought and action in highly specialized organizations.

“Our general expression for this is ‘experience’, and we universally admit that experience in swimming, in typewriting, in stenography, in surgery and in all higher functioning, is absolutely essential. Our experience in state work is essential if we wish to continue the old methods. It is right at this point where the higher form of mentation plays its most important part and gives us a strong inclination to continue going along in the same old way. We can read and study and talk until doomsday, but the rational process fails to get us out of the groove of habit unless there is something in what we learn by words that stirs us deeply and forces us out of the habit groove.

“In view of the absolute need of long actual experience in practical management of highly successful organizations of similar magnitude, our directing forces of the state must be selected from a field in which they can be most easily found. There must be no restriction to county or state boundary. Men of these high qualifications are not easily found, and we should not hesitate to go into the fields in which that experience is gained. Those fields will be in the highly developed industrial states.

“This fundamental fact clearly indicates that these managers must be selected and appointed, but there must be an obligation imposed that the appointive power will select the ablest available men – men with right personalities, natural aptitude, education, special fitness and a successful business record in the management of similar affairs. The man meeting those qualifications should have strong ability in the selection and the co-ordination of workers. He should be imbued with the right spirit and be able to impart that spirit to his organization so as to get a high degree of interest and co-operation of the entire force. Such a chief would tie together the plans and the work. He would see to it that the money paid for overhead was well warranted by being expended for plans, direction, supervision and general management that would make most effective the use of the energies of the workers, accomplishing the greatest amount for a given expenditure of money. He would so apportion the funds for overhead and actual labor that the sum of both overhead and labor would produce the largest value; and, last but not least, he would be the farthest removed from the type of slave drivers that are sometimes found in the business world.

“This brings us to the inevitable statement that we must build up a continuing organization having the finest personnel and the finest purpose, not handicapped in the least by any political consideration.

“From the foregoing it is apparent that the governor elected by our present system for a brief period, should not be expected to adequately meet the requirements of a business executive. The ample duties of the governor could be exercised without encroaching on the functioning of the real business administration of our business affairs.

“The governor, with the approval of the budget committee, or some other continuing board, could be authorized to make a six-year contract with a business executive, under conditions that would make the selection of a man of highest qualifications, to whom would be given the manager’s power of administration of all the business departments. The well organized departments would require the minimum of his attention. A man of the right type would never be a disturber of things that are functioning properly. He should be absolutely free from political interference.

“If these conditions are not acceptable, then let us recognize the plain fact that we will continue paying half our tax money to please a few of the people, and at the expense of the workers in our homes who scrimp and economize to pay this extra tax cost.”

As previously stated, the meeting of the Budget Committee following my letter resulted in the appointment of sub-committees made up of members of the Budget Committee to investigate the various departments. This was to carry out the provision of the statute, but failed to meet the major conditions set forth in my letter.

The recommendations of these sub-committees I know will have your most careful consideration, but I wish to make it clear that in looking for details we frequently overlook major problems. My letter dealt with major problems. The details of management are best known by the men in the work, providing the men are competent to handle the work.

An ordinary investigation by those who are not intimately familiar with the work is generally of a disturbing character and frequently reduces the efficiency more than it increases it.

One of the great misfortunes of this country is the typical investigation of a business by outside experts. We have experts of all kinds and taken as a class they are the highest type of workers, but each one has his special field, and in the general field of management there are many subdivisions. There is nothing so disturbing to a working organization as average investigations by experts, for the general effect of such investigations disrupts and disorganizes, and it endeavors to substitute detail directions of work for *habit action* and *experience*. We cannot make our best progress in that way. We must not disorganize our present working forces. We must build on what we have and gradually change it over, and that is the difference between the right approach to such problems and the typical approach recommended by the average investigator.

Plans after plans have been devised by theorists, but it is not plans or words or diagrams that we need. We need in the first place *experienced business management*. The exact character of this title is not important, but the nature of his experience and ability as an actual manager is absolutely necessary.

From the foregoing statement you will see my reason for placing very small value on a formal investigation, and why I wish to emphasize the need of adopting the direct method of putting in experienced practical business managers.

The simplest way to state it is that we need to have all these business affairs guided by men who have had experience in management of things of similar magnitude and complexity, for it is the actual experience that counts. I have used the examples of skill and ability that demonstrate the supreme need of experience of the right kind, in order to build up an efficiently functioning business world. We can discuss this subject as long as we wish, but we will never find a substitute for an actual experience in a highly organized institution.

A business management would see where the dollar went and would start into action means for getting one hundred cents worth of value for each dollar expended.

The statement has been made that municipal managers have not always been successful, that in some cases the city manager has been short lived. The failure may have been due to the type of manager selected, lack of support and backing, or the failure to allow sufficient time to get results of a good management. These elements are of great significance. Regarding the length of time for accomplishing results we know that in apple culture it takes five or more years after an orchard is set out for it to reach the bearing period. In handling management problems we must know that it takes fully the same length of time to transform an old inefficient organization even after having selected a high type of individual works; for a long period is required to build up the working spirit and organization.

A new manager even unhampered by misfit laws cannot quickly change over the entire organization left by the previous management. Changes of an inefficient management must be carefully made. The element of time is of supreme importance. One of the fundamentals of managements is that an inefficient management is better than none. Changes must be gradually made. Two or four years cannot get rid of the deadwood or the inefficient habits of previous years.

Our program should provide experience business executives and give them the same freedom or action that has been found necessary in highly organized modern businesses, and at least six years' time in which to create an economic co-ordination of our business forces.

Regarding the general problem of expenses of supervision or overhead, as represented in the expense of a central office, outside inspectors, supervisors, district commissioners, etc., let us take for example the management of the highway department. It would not be difficult for us to eliminate all of the overhead. We could close the office at Montpelier and cut off all the salaries of inspectors, engineers and other officials paid by towns and state, and even dispense with the services of a local foreman.

Such an absence of organization no one would tolerate. On the other hand a plan that fills the office with men under the political system should be equally unacceptable to the taxpayer and all those dependent on the state's welfare. But every voter and taxpayer should endorse an efficient organization made up, as nearly as may be, along the lines of our best organizations in the country.

The extent to which we would go in supervision would be determined by the result in the largest returns for all the money expended.

In such an organization, with the work scattered over thousands of miles, the intelligent direction and supervision, as well as the inspection of work for which the state pays, is of highest importance.

The process of creating an efficient organization of that kind is a slow process. It calls not only for appointment of the best men, but for that continuity of their services that is essential to the gradual development of the whole organization. Such an organization we already have in the making.

There has been gradually evolving in the last twenty year an organization of high efficiency. During the war, the scarcity of labor, as well as the high cost, retarded the natural rate of growth. Since then we have been doing more road work each succeeding year – improving the drainage, the road bed, grades and surfaces.

Driving through the country and observing the workings of the road gangs, each succeeding year has shown less idleness of the workers and better results generally, but there is still a chance to make a marked improvement in our scheme of supervision and inspection.

The whole process of road building calls for a scrutiny by the paying party all the way along.

The inspectors, the town representatives, and all interested parties should be thoroughly alive to the needs of well directed work, faithfully and industriously performed. Mixing cement for bridges as well as making the base and top surface of our roads must be faithfully done.

Our inspecting engineers, especially on larger projects, must be competent and dependable.

The foregoing is merely an example that may be broadly applied to all of our work.

The essential thing is to have the ablest man at the head of each division and then see to it that his department is not handicapped by political influence.

The lowering of our efficiency to fifty per cent or the doubling of our cost lies directly at the door of our scheme of management of state affairs.

We have succeeded in getting the Board of Education free from political disturbance. The highway department is on the way. The other departments, if gradually merged into fewer departments, will bring a little higher degree of efficiency, and this will be one of the natural steps toward the ultimate goal of a state Manager for state's business.

## PUBLICITY

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The purpose of publicity should be to promote the interests of the people of the state. The money expended should be used according to the most effective methods.

The publication of statistics of the fertility of our soil and the volume of our products is doubtless of some value, but the publicity that inspires action that is beneficial to our people and state should stand as our chief aim, second only to education, if indeed second to any. It should be directed primarily in the interest of our youth and younger women and men. It must be of a character that indicates the opportunities in a few branches of work.

We should not scatter our publicity energy over a wide range of subjects.

There is no service the state can render to the people that is equal to that of energizing and directing a wholesome and desirable spirit of work.

The preparation of such material requires special talent and an intimate working knowledge of the subject treated.

It cannot be handled in an academic faction, and it must reach the minds of those who find their greatest happiness in doing things. Many of our people possess, in a high degree, a nature that longs to express itself in performing an essential and paying work.

We can publish a million times the number of copies of the volumes of statistics that we have already put out and yet fall short of stimulating a single soul to activity. It is not statistics of our natural resources. It is not the fertility of our soil. It is not our proximity to market. The thing that counts is the stimulation of enterprise in our young people in the field of useful and effective work.

The whole problem of publicity is fundamentally a part of the modern problem of statecraft. It must be considered in the same way. It must fit today. We must recognize that great things can be achieved by publicity if we work in harmony with the laws of nature that govern the interest and action of our people.

A congenial work is one of the best things in the world. A work may be changed from congenial to distasteful by the slur of a constitutional assassin of good purposes. A diseased body and mind produces pessimists and pessimism is contagious.

Plenty of wholesome publicity will let light into the depressed souls and light is an antidote for pessimism.

The whole subject to trend of public opinion and its effect on our development is of most vital interest to all well wishers of our state.

It will not be possible to wholly eliminate the constitutional fault finder, but we can keep the news avenues so full of sound, sane and beneficial information that there will be as sturdy growth of constructive optimism.

The prospects for a prosperous and happy existence of our young people are enhanced by publicity that awakens their interest in modern effective ways of working.

To you, the members of the General Assembly of 1923 and 4, comes this opportunity to establish a plan of constructive publicity.



Our statute providing for the expenditure of funds for publicity was remodeled at the last session of legislature with a view of making it possible to put out a more beneficial type of publicity – one that would develop our greatest of all resources: the human spirit of industry.

The amount to be expended was increased from ten to thirty thousand dollars per year, in order to provide, at my request, funds for promoting industrial development. It was not possible to get the wording of this statute sufficiently definite to cover the publicity for developing our human resources. The publicity work, however, was started, but before the initial publication was ready for distribution a question was raised as to the legality of the use of the funds for such publication. In order to eliminate this discussion the publication was issued without expense to the state, but the “follow up” material was not issued.

The subject matter of the book, which was entitled “Industrial Progress and Human Economics,” appears as a part of this message. It should be used as a basis for pamphlets prepared by inspiring writers who have something more than a word knowledge of the work.

Men competent to carry on publicity of the kind we need are not easily found; they are mostly of the high powered publicity writers, equipped with self-starters. The services of such men should be enlisted to prepare, not only follow up material based on industrial opportunities, but any other of a few branches of work the state would find advisable to push in the interests: of the people.

The publication should be put out in brief attractive pamphlets of larger readable type and short paragraphs, appealing the spirit of our young people.

I emphasize the need of approaching the young people because I consider it the most effective way to use our state’s fund for publicity. A young man twenty-five years of age can be effectively impressed with one-tenth the publicity energy that would be required to make an equal impression on a man of fifty. Hence, in the interest of progress and economy, the publications must be prepared for the younger people. This does not rob it of interest to others, for nearly all of our older group have a keen interest in the progress of the younger members of the family and state.

The scheme of publicity should not be one that would increase the office work at Montpelier. The publication should be sent out without waiting for requests. The method of distraction should be the one that would accomplish the purpose most effectively.

The size of the editions of these pamphlets should depend on the character of the text. The first few editions doubtless would run over one hundred thousand copies each.

The pamphlets should be supplemented by a reasonable amount of paid for space in our state papers, but the ratio of pamphlet to press expense should be determined in the interest of the people.

#### AIR TRANSPORTATION

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History has shown that with the growth of each new means of transportation came the necessity to establish certain rules and regulations to protect the general public. In the sea, lake and river traffic, codes have been established. The same is true of the steam and electric railways and automobile transportation.

We are now confronted with the need of establishing regulations for navigation of the air.

The problem of regulating air navigation in some respects is unlike any of the transportation problems we have had to solve in the past. Aside from “taking off” and “landing” a plane is out of reach of the officers of the law. After leaving the ground the aviator may travel in any direction and has a great range of choice of altitude.

The velocity of airplanes has steadily crept up until recently we have established a record of speed that would cross Vermont east and west through Montpelier in sixteen minutes, and north and south in forty minutes, and would carry a plane around the earth in four days; making the trip, for instance, between the north and south pole in two days.

These figures relate to speed attained for a few miles, but there is every reason to believe that enormous velocities will be possible for transcontinental, as well as intercontinental, travel.

These facts make it apparent that the regulations must be almost wholly of interstate character, or national character, and ultimately of an international character. With every prospect that the great need of such interstate regulation will result in early congressional action, our wisest course will be to confine our attention to establishing regulations for purely state need.

We should establish regulations that would prevent certain kinds of stunt flying, overloading of planes, use of defective or unfit planes, operation of planes by unlicensed pilots, taking off from small fields by planes that require large fields, excepting under conditions of weather that will favor such planes, and a regulation of the surface condition of fields designated as landing fields.

On account of the complex nature, the whole problem of flying, including as it does a structure every member of which functions under very high stress, it will be impossible at the present time to devise specific regulations, but undoubtedly some regulations can be established and others left to some board of authority to formulate as the art advances. This board need not add additional salaries or expenses. Ultimately it will probably come under a highway board.

Vermont can easily be made a comparatively desirable flying area. Aviators who have flown over adjoining state are relieved when they come to the open pasture lands of Vermont. In emergencies the expert flyers, especially of the slow landing speed machines, do not hesitate to land, even on a side hill of moderate grade.

We have many fields that could be converted by a slight amount of work into desirable landing fields that would be of great benefit to the state as well as to the local community.

The interest of the state in developing such fields is of great importance. In nearly all cases, however, the towns or villages or individuals would be disposed to set aside such fields, and perhaps pay a reasonable amount towards making necessary changes.

A small amount set aside for state aid in this scheme of transportation would hasten the coming of Vermont's occupying a strategic position on the air map. Its real value will be in its furnishing a quick and direct communication across our own mountains and bringing our whole area within two or three hours of all of New England, northern New Jersey and a large part of New York State. While the prime value would be its service in the business of transporting passengers and goods, it also would put Vermont in commuting distance of our largest cities for summer and winter pleasure travel.

Another angle of this subject of providing landing fields is the humanitarian need of providing harbors of safety for distressed aircraft passing over our state. Our coast is lined with light houses, buoys and beacons. We have provided many safeguards for the other means of transportation. We have made the roadbeds as safe as possible for the automobile, and we have furnished regulations, for licensing operators and specified certain fitness of a machine to travel on the road.

The last year, in which we had three preventable accidents with the lamentable toll of seven lives, emphasizes the need of state regulations prohibiting certain practices.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC

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Laws are rules of conduct prescribed by the people, for their governance through their legislative or representative assembly. They are enacted after due consideration of the special conditions which call for them, and after careful scrutiny of their reasonableness. When adopted, they are the expression of the will of the citizens of a sovereign state. Obedience to law means preservation of order and a due protection of all the rights of the people. When a law has been adopted, our duty in respect to it is clear. Our love for and loyalty to our government and all the higher ideals of citizenship call upon us to obey it. It is the special duty of all law enforcement officers to see that it is obeyed. Respect for and obedience to law makes the state strong and is an evidence of virile citizenship.

Our laws should be respected and obeyed. When not obeyed, or when treated lightly, respect for them and for the government is lost; people become lawless; self-respect is lost; the people lose their sense of responsibility; a lower morale results; it is but a step from such a condition to one of anarchy.

It is our duty to maintain the pride of our people, their love of ordered liberty, their respect for the best conditions of the state that has always stood for the highest ideals of citizenship.

It is apparent that some of the laws of our state are not enforced as they should be. This is a condition that must be remedied. It is of the first importance that our people maintain their self-respect. They cannot do this if they do not stand for law enforcement.

I call attention to the grave dangers attending this loss of respect for law and order. I urge the necessity for strong enforcement of all rules of conduct which have been made by the people for their governance.

The constitution of the state – the document upon which the framers rested the security of the future – provides that governor shall “take care that the laws are faithfully executed.” In the spirit of the provision of the fundamental of law of the state, I urge the hearty cooperation of each and every citizen so that there may be no let down in law enforcement. Every act of the legislature and of congress is entitled to respect because it is the law. There must be on the part of our people a strong abiding faith on all our institutions. All law enforcement officers must be earnestly active in breaking up all violations of our laws. Inattention to these duties is a violation of oath of office and they by such violation become enemies to the people instead of their servants.

One of the big problems of the present time is the enforcement of the laws relating to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

This problem is greatly complicated by the vast sums of money that were spent in days before the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, sale of intoxicants are now exceedingly active in trying to break down public sentiment in the hope to re-establish their old profitable business.

The present effect of such influence has lessened the respect for laws and landed many violators behind prison walls.

They were lured by the high profits of prohibited sales and the impression that certain talk of laxity of law enforcement actually granted immunity for offenders.

The statement that in one of our cities there exists as many secret bars as there were open bars in the days of local option seems to imply a sale of liquor in quantities equal to that of local option days. As a matter of fact, notwithstanding a few isolated examples to the contrary, prohibition is gaining steadily and we shall ultimately have a practical immunity from the dire effect of intoxicating beverages.

The 18<sup>th</sup> amendment will stand as long as the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment and that will stand for all time.

The highly organized illicit trade must be matched by equally active law enforcement, and this effect will land some of the many chief conspirators, as well as the bootleggers, in prison.

It is due our people to know that prohibition is gaining and that a more stringent enforcement is due to follow a full realization on the part of our people, that lax and indifferent enforcement officers only lead to abrupt changes that will deliver many offenders within the grasp of the law.

We have always known that intoxicating beverages have been very destructive of many of the best interests of the home, but now we have discovered that there is an economic side that alone is of sufficient weight to make prohibition a great boon to all other branches of trade and business.

Therefore, this general assembly has both the home and the business interest of the state to conserve when any subject of concurrent legislation comes up for consideration.

The Governor, having concluded the reading of his message, was escorted to the Executive chamber by the committee appointed by the Chair, and the Joint Assembly dissolved.

MILLARD C. TAFT  
*Secretary of State, Clerk.*