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# The American Turner

A MONTHLY  
DEVOTED TO THE  
INTEREST OF PHYS-  
ICAL, MENTAL AND  
MORAL TRAINING

FEBRUARY  
NINETEEN • HUNDRED • SIXTEEN

# The American Turner

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# The American Turner

MARTIN L. D. BUNGE, EDITOR

VOL. 4

FEBRUARY, 1916

NO. 44

## CHRISTIANITY OR NATURAL LAW.

By Harry Wintermute

(Concluded.)



THE most common source of false conclusions is not in reasoning but in the premises. For nearly 2,000 years after the time of Aristotle there was no method of establishing those generalities which were the foundation of knowledge. True various church councils voted what should be accepted as the truth, but there was no method known admitting of verification by all mankind. Some 400 years ago the idea made its appearance that these might be established by observation and experiment, and gradually the method known as the inductive method of reasoning gained recognition. As has been said, the foundation of deductive reasoning is the datum, "Whatever is true of a class is true of all that can be brought within that class." The foundation of the inductive method is "Whatever is invariably found true in particular cases is true of a class of cases and a law of Nature." If in boiling water at the sea level it boiled once at 40 and again at 100 degrees temperature, nothing could be deduced, but if we find a firm and unalterable experience, although we can never try all cases by the process termed an induction, we include the untried cases along with the tried ones and assume the uniform fact observed as the law of Nature. Says Prof. Huxley, "What we call the laws of Nature is the record of the uniform experience of mankind." Unless there is a uniform experience, there are no laws of Nature. A miracle is a violation of Nature's law, and the entire Christian theology is a species of miracle. Therefore untrue.

The Christian Bible contains scores of truths in harmony with natural law, scores of rational, moral, and ethical maxims. These are the common property of mankind. They constitute no part of the Christian religion. No one truth, not one thing in harmony with natural law or reason has ever been incorporated in a religious creed.

Wolf, Ilose Family Papers 1878-1917 and undated

One of the most universally recognized of all truths is this, that Nature's laws acts uniformly toward all, irrespective of what we think, believe or desire. Christianity teaches that by exercising faith, a mere mental act, that the ordinary course of nature can be changed, that a mountain could be cast in the sea, and upon this false idea bases the salvation of the world. Many times I have heard ministers in endeavoring to show that their plan of salvation was a reasonable one, say, "If we violate Nature's laws, the fact that we may have done so ignorantly in no wise excuses us from suffering the consequences," implying that Nature acts uniformly upon all. They will then tell us that God's laws and Nature's laws are the same. Ah, yes! But the minister's plan happens to be different, depending upon what we believe. The fact that Nature acts uniformly upon all irresistibly points to the conclusion that irrespective of what we think or believe, one fate awaits the entire human race.

The beliefs that we should not steal, that we should not lie, and that we should respect human life are religious only when we base morality upon the supernatural instead of natural law. It is impossible to have the idea of property without also having the idea that stealing is wrong. Morality is but that which brings happiness to the human race. Why should we account for a thing in a supernatural way when it can be accounted for in a simple and natural one.

Conscience, "The still small voice," is but a habit of thought, born of education. All sorts of sheer superstitions, such as those concerning the number thirteen, commencing work on Friday, etc., trouble people's conscience. It is apt to be as wrong as right, merely in a mechanical way, indicating what we have been taught to believe right.

In the nature of things it is impossible to entirely eliminate evil from life. The most fundamental fact of life appearing in every possible thought is this that we think of nothing except as we think of it as related to something else. We are conscious of pleasure because of another thing, pain. To beings constituted as ourselves, there could not be such a state as the Christian heaven—a state free from sorrow, want and care, would be one also free from joy and contentment.

There are not two mighty forces of darkness and light, of good and bad, of God and devil existing objectively to us. Just as there is no green in grass but only that which is the cause of producing the phenomena of green in us, there is that which produces feeling in its modes, pleasure and pain. Good and bad, from which are necessarily derived our idea of good and bad Gods, have no existence at all, except as states of consciousness, of a sentient being.

In the final analysis, man knows nothing whatever. The ignorance and sorrow of mankind are the opportunity of the priest. Com-

mon sense should teach us that it is not that sense in which nothing is known but the sense in which things are understood that concerns us in life.

To me the true philosophy of life is that we have confidence in that existence that is around about us in which we live and move and have our being. Confidence that the universe is a righteous one, confidence that the truth is the best thing for us, that right makes might, confidence in the natural order of nature, confidence in humanity, in the future of our race, confidence in equal liberty, in justice, in the freedom of thought; confidence that it is worth while to put forth some little effort to make life more worth being lived. It is confidence in the natural order of Nature that lends serenity to life, confidence in our ability to help the world that is, that lends to life its true significance. This confidence seems to me one of the grandest inheritances possible to a member of the human race.

#### NEWS AND NOTES.

In European physical training journals we read of many interesting incidents. A recent issue of "Koerperliche Erziehung," Vienna, speaks of an athletic meet held by Austrian soldiers near a fortress. Some Russian prisoners interned there graded the field. The commander and other officers paid the running expenses, while the commander's wife was patroness of the meet. The events consisted of running, jumping, pole vaulting and the throwing of hand-grenades. While the distance these grenades were thrown was not given, it was stated that the instructions issued when the grenades were introduced said that seventy-five paces was a good throw.

In another issue we read of a soccer match between teams composed of Austrians and of Hungarians. The latter won the match.

Back of the German front many gymnastic and athletic meets are held. The athletic work consists of the standard events, while for some of the gymnastic work apparatus reminding one of the time of Jahn was improvised.

Regarding wounded soldiers, one reads of many well-formulated measures to re-habilitate these. Bulletins of the army bureau in all countries call attention to the valuable aid that gymnastics and selected games give in bringing the wounded back to health in a short time. Illustrations show how crippled soldiers are given gymnastic lessons so as to bring into greater use the remaining arm or leg. Those who have lost their right hands are being taught to use the left more effectively. One gets the impression that this work of reconstruction is organized as effectively as that of destruction.

In the last issue of "Koerper und Geist" we read that the city of Koblenz, Germany, just has decided to adopt plans prepared by architect Seiffert of Berlin (who designed the stadium) and to build a large athletic field consisting \$150,000. It is this preparation for a healthy outdoor life for the masses that strikes one most when reading these journals. Every issue has two or three articles on outdoor life for the boys and girls. The endeavor to increase the vitality of the youth of the land is apparent everywhere.

A French school inspector named Foriant reports on the installation of a school for 1,000 children in the bomb proof vaults of the champagne manufactures in Rheims. The natural warmth of the cellars makes heating unnecessary. Sufficient illumination has been installed. Classrooms are partitioned off by means of boards or wine casks.

#### A NEED IN ATHLETIC SUPERVISION SUPPLIED.

The athletic problem in the public schools of this country is rapidly becoming the most important phase of twentieth century athletics. It is interesting to contrast the present situation with that of twenty-five years ago.

In the old days athletics were largely conducted by a few athletic clubs and similar institutions with voluminous regulations concerning professionalism. Today the ideas in reference to professionalism are undergoing a radical revision. Furthermore, the schools are rapidly assuming control of the athletic situation in connection with recognized physical training. Schoolmen are beginning to look at the athletic problem in an entirely different light. They find the old "cut and dried" methods for individual competition and spectacular plays not suited to their needs; and yet so far very little has been presented to take their place.

This past month we are glad to note a marked change in this procedure which we learn is the development of the past three years' work by a committee appointed by the Philadelphia Board of Public Education to regulate the athletics of its public schools. These men, all of years of experience, and all schoolmen employed by the Board of Education, have compiled a Rule Book of athletic activities and standard games adapted to school children of all ages. (See book review in this issue.) There is much valuable thought and many common sense restrictions which we should like to see adopted by every school in this country. Surely less harm would be done and less criticism of athletics could be made if such were the case.

This new procedure, the first complete rule book for schools, we believe to be the dividing line between the old methods and the new. It gives tangible evidence that schoolmen realize the importance of

athletics to the immature boy and girl. It shows that some school systems are not willing to copy the methods of colleges and universities. Perhaps it may be the means of establishing a national rules book for American schools. This some will say, might be Eutopia, but we can think of no more desirable accomplishment in athletic supervision of which this little book of the Philadelphia schools may be the precursor.—G. B. M.

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NORMAL COLLEGE N. A. G. U., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Instead of track and field work, which was conducted mainly on Butler field, we are now taking up apparatus work and games, among them captainball, basketball, and indoor-baseball. Teams have been formed for the various games and great interest is being shown.

The out-of-town members of the Board of Trustees paid us a visit on November 27th, to inspect our work. They come at least once a year. Those present were: Mr. Henry Suder of Chicago, Mr. A. E. Kindervater of St. Louis, Mr. W. A. Stecher of Philadelphia, and Dr. A. A. Knoch of Cincinnati. The students were privileged to listen to lectures by three of these gentlemen; Mr. Stecher spoke on "Fundamental Considerations," Mr. Kindervater on "Gymnastics and Ethics," and Dr. Knoch on "Necessary Means for the Prolongation of Life."

The members of the State Board of Education have not visited us as yet this year, although we are usually honored by at least one visit from them.

Observation of work and practice teaching in the public schools is well under way now and we find this work very interesting and enjoyable.

With all our school work, the social side is not being neglected. On January 15th the ladies of the college gave a leap-year dance.

FRANCES STARCK, Recorder.

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LA CROSSE NORMAL SCHOOL.

The last Physical Education Club meeting was an excellent one. Mr. Coleman of the freshman class gave a talk of Fletcherism. The school will hold a basket ball tournament for high schools in this district on March 9, 10 and 11. The tournament will be the largest ever held in this part of the state. The annual gymnastic exhibition is close at hand and the usual high interest in it is shown. Each class in the school and the school of Physical Education will contribute numbers to the exhibit. Helen Keller, the wonderful blind

pianist, will come to the normal school Friday, Jan. 21, under the auspices of the Normal Lecture Course Society.

Herbert E. Vollmer of the N. Y. A. C. recently broke the 100-yd. metropolitan swimming record by 2 3-5 sec. The new record now stands at 55 1-5.

#### NEWARK 'STADIUM' FOR 1916 FINISHED.

The cinder path at Weequahic Park, Newark, which will be the scene of the next outdoor track and field national championships of the A. A. U., is completed. Newark now has one of the finest athletic fields in the world. From the grandstand a spectator has a full view of the field. The track is a quarter of a mile in length and twenty-four feet wide. It has a 220 straightaway. The quarter-mile can be raced with either one or two turns.

Alma Richards, who gained international fame by winning the high jump at the 1912 Olympic games, was declared ineligible to compete in meets of the Central District A. A. U. His legal residence when he took part in the meet in Chicago last July was at Provo, Utah, not Chicago, as noted on his entry blank.

The board of managers ruled that Richards must give back the medals he won in the July meet. Competing for the Illinois A. C., he took first place in the 56-pound weight event, second in the high jump and third in the discus and javelin throws.

Many interesting details in connection with the professional baseball season of 1915, which, for many reasons, was non-productive of financial benefit to those most closely identified with the national game, were included in the annual report of Secretary John H. Farrell, which he presented at the annual meeting of the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues.

A resume of the business transacted by the National Association during the year showed that forty minor league organizations, embracing 262 cities and towns in the United States and Canada, qualified for membership in 1915 as compared with forty-four leagues representing 300 towns and cities in 1914. (This is 38 cities and 4 leagues less). Ten of these leagues did not begin the season of 1915, and five of the thirty which started failed to complete their season's schedules. One of these was disqualified and the other four dropped out, 'their failure to continue being attributed mainly to the unusually adverse weather conditions which prevailed. In one league 105 games were postponed on account of rain in a four-months' playing season.

Five thousand four hundred and seventy-two players' contracts were received, recorded, and promulgated by the association during the year.

Out of \$72,800 received by the association for drafted players the American League contributed \$23,400 and the National League \$21,950. In all \$129,557 passed through the office of the National Association during the current year for drafted players, optional agreement players, and others released by purchase.

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### NOTES OF ATHLETIC CONVENTIONS

HELD IN NEW YORK DURING THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

Faculty control of athletics and the many evils that beset the college student were discussed at the tenth annual convention of the National Collegiate Athletic Association at the Hotel Astor, when more than 100 delegates representing 158 universities and schools took part in the effort to solve the knotty problems which the association has endeavored to overcome during the ten years of its existence.

Many of the sports recognized by colleges in this country were subjected to a severe grueling, and methods for eradicating the many evils of athletic life were suggested, although the part played by the association in national collegiate sports came in for its fair share of commendation, particularly for its efforts in advocating purity in athletics.

A plea for a system of collegiate athletics in which every student would have a chance to participate was made by Dr. Harry A. Garfield, President of Williams College. Dr. Garfield pointed out that many students were barred from active participation in college athletics because of their inability to make the first team in the sport in which they are interested, and an effort should be made to encourage these men. Among the other things suggested was the organization of additional teams.

Dean Howard McClenahan of Princeton University spoke on athletic standards and approved of the Faculty's controlling all athletic activities in the colleges. The reason that the Faculty should control athletics, he said, is because its members are better equipped than students or graduates to uphold a certain standard which is essential in athletics.

Dean McClenahan said the athletic atmosphere of Yale, Harvard, and Princeton has been clarified by the recent athletic meeting held by these universities. Discussing Faculty control, he said that unless the Faculties take over the running of college athletics, the dif-

difficulties which beset the path of the average college organization will never be overcome. Control of athletics should be in the hands of older and experienced men, he said. Undergraduates are not sufficiently efficient or experienced and are likely to show favoritism for their friends. The logical body to rule athletics, therefore, seems to be the Faculty. They are in close touch with the athletic situation at all times and are free from prejudice.

Professor Albert Le Fevre of the University of Virginia, speaking on schedule making and institutional responsibility, declared against itinerant coaches and the playing of games with other institutions playing ineligible. There is an increasing appreciation of the desirability of eliminating the itinerant coach, he said. "No matter how loud the popular clamor, how spectacular and profitable the contest, nor how acute or chronic the partisanship, it is wrong to schedule a game which has not the essence of pure rivalry, but is on the contrary pulsating with an animus which at times culminates in hatred. Such contests lead to internal dissension, institutional hostility, and public wrangling, the futile sources of backbiting and distrust," concluded Professor Le Fevre. After the opening address by Dean Le Baron R. Briggs, President of the association, in which he pointed out the evils of intercollegiate athletics and the possibilities of remedying many of the evils, he explained to the delegates the objects of the association, which were not to abolish college athletics, but to make them better. He made a strong plea for courtesy and common sense, and said that if the colleges keep at the head of their athletics men who try to be honest, let those men trust each other, and half of the evils of intercollegiate athletics will die a natural death.

Professor Robert N. Corwin of Yale spoke on college ideals and athletics, and in conclusion said he believed that athletics should become an important feature in university education and that they should therefore be more closely associated with the intra-curriculum aims. He also asserted that wiser guidance and a more constructive policy would eliminate those features which are distinctly non-educational and which now hold faculty and students apart, and encourage distrust between universities.

Summer baseball, which has been the cause of more agitation against professionalism than any sport in recent years, in the opinion of many sports leaders, again proved the stumbling block of the amateur leaders. Efforts to force through the ratification of a rule which would prohibit the association of an amateur with a professional or semi-professional athletic team, which was directed primarily against summer baseball, failed through the objections of the representatives of the National College Athletic Association, William L. Garcelon and Dr. J. E. Raycroft.

## THE NEW AMATEUR CODE.

*An Amateur.* An amateur sportsman is one who engages in sport solely for the pleasure and physical, mental, moral or social benefits he derives therefrom and to whom sport is nothing more than an avocation.

*Acts of Disbarment.* A person shall cease to be an amateur by committing any of the following acts:

*Fraud.* A—By competing or giving an exhibition in any athletic sport under an assumed name, or by being guilty of any fraud or other grossly unsportsmanlike conduct in connection therewith.

*Competing for Money.* B—By directly or indirectly receiving pay or financial benefits in consideration of or as a reward for participating in any public athletic competition or exhibition, or by disposing of prizes for personal gain.

*Coaching for Money.* C—By directly or indirectly receiving pay or financial benefits in consideration of or as a reward for instructing or preparing any person in or for any athletic competition, exhibition or exercise, except where such act was merely as an incident to his main vocation or employment, such exceptions to be determined by the governing bodies of the various sports.

*Capitalization of Athletic Fame.* D—By granting or sanctioning the use of one's name to advertise or promote the sale of, or to act as the personal solicitor for the sale, or as the actual salesman of, sporting goods, prizes, trophies or other commodities for use chiefly in or in connection with athletic games or exhibitions; or

By engaging for pay or financial benefit in any occupation or business transaction wherein his usefulness or value arises chiefly from the publicity given or to be given to the reputation or fame which he has secured from his ability to perform the usual and natural acts and duties incident to such occupation or transaction.

*Application.* These rules shall not apply to bowling or shooting either with revolver, rifle or shotgun.

*Pardoning Power.* Any organization governing a sport shall have the power to relieve an athlete of the effect of his commission of any of the acts by which he would otherwise have lost his amateur status when it is shown to its satisfaction that such act was committed through ignorance, inadvertence or excusable error; or where the act was committed in a sport in which there was at that time no general competition by amateurs; or, where the act was made obligatory by a governmental order.

*Penalties.* The effect of having committed any of the acts whereby an athlete's amateur status is affected:

*Penalty for Fraud.* AA—One who has committed an act set down in Clause A shall never thereafter be permitted to compete or exhibit as an amateur in any sport.

*Penalties for Competing for Money.* BB—One who has committed an act set down in Clause B is subject to the following penalties or disabilities:

He shall never thereafter be permitted to compete or exhibit as an amateur in the sport or sports in which such act was committed.

After a period of five years has elapsed since the commission of any such act he shall be privileged to apply to the governing body of any sport other than that in which such act was committed for permission to compete as an amateur in that sport, and such body or bodies, upon assurances being given by the applicant that he will refrain in future from the commission of any act which would disbar him from competition as an amateur, shall be privileged to permit such applicant to compete as an amateur in the sport over which it has control.

*Penalties for Coaching for Money.* CC—One who has committed an act set down in Clause C is subject to the following penalties or disabilities:

He shall not be permitted during the period of his coaching or training to take part in any amateur competition.

On his ceasing to be such coach or trainer he shall be privileged to apply to the governing body of any sport other than that in which such act of coaching or training was committed for permission to compete as an amateur in that sport, and such body or bodies, upon assurances being given by the applicant that he will refrain in future from the commission of any act which would disbar him from competition as an amateur, shall be privileged to permit such applicant to compete as an amateur in the sport over which it has control.

After a period of five years has elapsed since the commission of any such act he shall be privileged to apply to the governing body of the sport in which such act was committed for permission to compete as an amateur in that sport, and such body or bodies, upon assurances being given by the applicant of no future violation of any act which would disbar him from competition as an amateur, shall be privileged to permit such applicant to compete as an amateur in the sport over which it has control.

*Penalty for Capitalization of Athletic Fame.* DD—One who has committed an act set down in Clause D is subject to the following penalties or disabilities:

He shall not be permitted to compete or exhibit as an amateur during the period of such use of his name or of the enjoyment of any return therefrom, or during the period of his employment as such a salesman, or of his enjoyment of the return therefrom, or during the period of the publicity given to his name, or of the enjoyment of the financial benefit or reward therefor.

On his ceasing to permit his athletic name or fame to be capitalized in the manner set forth in Clause D and to receive no financial benefit or return therefrom, he shall be privileged to apply to the governing body of any sport for permission to compete as an amateur in that sport, and such body or bodies, upon assurances being given by the applicant that he will refrain from the commission of any act which would disbar him from competition as an amateur, shall be privileged to permit such applicant to compete as an amateur in the sport over which it has control.

*All-Amateur Team Against a Professional Team Permitted.*— Nothing contained in the provisions as to acts whereby an athlete loses his amateur status is such as to prevent a team of amateurs representing a well-established organization from participating in a public competition or exhibition against a team composed of professionals, and it should be noted that under Clause E of acts whereby an athlete's amateur status is lost a single professional player on a team makes the team a professional one.

By a team is meant not only such a team as one in which all the members thereof enter into the contest simultaneously, as a group like football, but also where the members of the team compete separately, as in track and field athletics, such competitions, however, to consist of the regular series of standard events, and not merely one or more special contests.

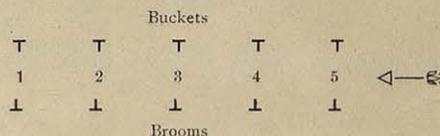
### HOUSEWIFE'S DRILL

By IDA HOLZBAUER, Philadelphia, Penn.

*Music:* Any good one-step.

*Costume:* Long gingham aprons and gingham dust caps to match; one file carries brooms, the other carries buckets.

*Enter* in couples, lady on left carrying broom (with straw up, in position of wand at left shoulder); lady on right carrying bucket. Couples march in, arm in arm. When places are reached, couples face each other, then march four steps backward.



After getting in position, carrying buckets in right hand, carry broom at right shoulder, with bottom (straw) of broom up.

## EXERCISE I—(16 counts.)

	COUNTS
All step sideward to left with left foot (1); cross right foot behind left and bend knees (2); step sideward to right with right foot (3); cross left foot behind right and bend knees (4) .....	4
Bend knees (1 and 2); straighten knees (3 and 4).....	4
Step sideward to left with left foot (1); cross right foot behind left and bend knees (2); step sideward to right with right foot (3); cross left foot behind right and bend knees (4).....	4
Nod head to partner (1-2); raise head (3-4).....	4

## EXERCISE II—(16 counts.)

All step forward with left foot (1); step forward with right foot (2); step forward with left foot (3); point right foot forward (4) .....	4
Step backward with right foot (1); step backward with left foot (2); step backward with right foot (3); point left foot forward (4) .....	4
Repeat all.....	8

## EXERCISE III—(32 counts.)

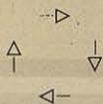
Couples 1, 3, 5, (the odd numbers), advance 2 steps, to centre, stand face to face.....	4
Stand and talk—the gossip effect should be made very decided. (Those remaining in place look about them, surprised at gossip of others) (Fig. 1.).....	4



Fig. 1.

UNTS  
 4 Walk backward 3 steps to place..... 4  
 4 Broom 1 nod to broom 2, 3 and 4, bucket 1 nod to bucket 2, 3  
 and 4 (1); raise head (2); broom 2 nod to broom 3, 4 and  
 5, bucket 2 nod to bucket 3, 4 and 5 (3); raise head (4)..... 4  
 Couples 2, 4, 6, repeat all..... 16

EXERCISE IV—(32 counts.)



4 All four steps forward..... 4  
 4 Link arms with partner and walk with 4 steps forward half way  
 around in place ..... 4  
 4 Turn about in place with 4 steps..... 4  
 4 Repeat all..... 16  
 On the last count place buckets on floor in front, place brooms  
 with straws on floor, in front.

EXERCISE V—(32 counts.)

8 *Buckets*—Stoop and pick up bucket in right hand (1 and 2);  
 swing around head in circle to the left (3 and 4) (Fig. 2).. 4



Fig. 2.

4 Place bucket on floor (5 and 6); arms akimbc and look at part-  
 ner (7 and 8)..... 4  
 4 *Brooms*—Stride left forward and rest right elbow on left hand,  
 chin in the right hand (1 and 2); hold this position (3  
 and 4, 5 and 6); return to position (7 and 8).

Repeat all 3 times, brooms alternating left and right..... 24  
 On last count, buckets take handle of bucket in left hand, bottom  
 of bucket in right hand.

EXERCISE VI—(32 counts.)

*Buckets*—Stride right backward, bend right knees and carry  
 bucket backward to the right side (1 and 2); change the  
 knee-bend, and swing bucket forward, as if slinging water  
 (3 and 4) (Fig. 3)..... 4



Fig. 3.

Change knee-bend and carry bucket backward (5 and 6); return  
 to position (7 and 8)..... 4

*Brooms*—Stride left backward and carry broom backward  
 to left on floor (1 and 2); sweep broom forward (3 and  
 4); sweep broom backward (5 and 6); return to position  
 (7 and 8).

Repeat all 3 times, brooms alternating left and right..... 24

On last count, all buckets join by grasping neighbor's bucket  
 with left hand. All brooms join by grasping straws of  
 neighbor's broom with left hand. (Fig. 4).

EXERCISE VII—(16 counts.)

All step sideward to right with right foot and draw left foot  
 to right (1); repeat (2); step sideward to right with  
 right foot (3); point left foot forward (4)..... 4

Step sideward to left with left foot and draw right foot to left  
 (1); repeat (2); step sideward to left with left foot (3);  
 point right foot forward (4)..... 4

Repeat all..... 8  
 On last count, *buckets* place handle of bucket in left hand, hold bottom of bucket in right hand; *brooms* hold own broom horizontally in both hands.

EXERCISE VIII—(16 counts.)

All step sideward to left with left foot, raise arms forward (1); cross right foot over left, and turn around in place, arms overhead (pirouette) (2); step sideward with left foot, lower arms forward (3); close right foot to left and lower arms (4) ..... 4  
 Repeat to left ..... 4  
 Repeat all to right ..... 8

EXERCISE IX—(32 counts.)

Repeat all of VII and VIII.



Fig. 4.

COUPLE DANCE

Arranged by GEO. N. BAER, Meriden, Conn.

Waltz Time. Position of couples:—Both facing forward. The partner on the right has her right hand over her right shoulder. This hand is grasped with the right hand of the left partner in rear; the left hands are grasped in front (skaters' position). Begin the dance with the left foot.

## PART I.

	MEASURES
a. Three slow steps forward (one measure to each step) and point forward right.....	4
b. Four waltz balance steps sideward right, left, right, left.....	4
c. Like a.....	4
d. Like b.....	4
Total .....	16

## PART II.

a. Three quick steps forward, beginning left and point forward right .....	2
b. Like a beginning right.....	2
c. Four step-hops beginning left.....	4
d. Repeat a. b. c. of part II.....	8
Total .....	16

## PART III.

Without releasing the position of the hands, both partners face right and extend arms sideward.

a. Two glides left sideward and a step courtesy left.....	4
b. Two glides right sideward and a step courtesy right.....	4
c. Three-step left sideward (crossing in rear) and point right forward .....	2
d. Three-step right sideward (crossing in rear) and point left forward .....	2
e. Face left and take original position. The right partner takes three steps obliquely forward left, crossing in front of the left partner, and (reverse) while the left partner executes four waltz balance steps left, right, left and right.....	4
Total .....	16

## PART IV.

a. Three steps forward, $\frac{1}{2}$ turn left on the third step and courtesy backward left.....	4
b. Three steps forward, $\frac{1}{2}$ turn right on the third step and courtesy backward right .....	4
c. Step courtesy left, right, left and right.....	4
d. Four alternate step-hops forward.....	4
Total .....	16

Remarks:—In executing the three steps with  $\frac{1}{2}$  turn, the arm or hand position is reversed.



**MALES HAVE LESS VITALITY THAN FEMALES.\***

Next to the economic evil of our falling birthrate is the great excess of females over males in the grown-up population.

The facts are strange and almost inexplicable. More boys than girls are born in this country every year, but from the very beginning of their existence boys die in greater numbers than girls, and this continues all through the span of life with the exception of a short period in early childhood. The result is that the female population of England and Wales exceeds the male by 1,205,311.

That grown men, exposed to greater hardship and risk than women should die in larger numbers is perfectly intelligible; but why does this greater mortality commence in the first days of infancy? Several more or less plausible reasons have been given, but none is entirely satisfactory, and we have to fall back on the explanation that nature, in accordance with some inscrutable design, prescribes a preponderance of women. Let us first look at the facts as they are revealed in the report of the Registrar-General.

The standardized mortality of males in 1913, he says, exceeded that of females by 23 per cent. Up to the year 1860 the excess was only 9 per cent. For the last fifteen years it has averaged 20 per cent. And now it is higher than ever.

\* \* \*

The excess of male mortality exists at all age-periods except in childhood—that is, between the year ages of five and fifteen years. It is large in the first year, reaches a maximum in middle life, and then declines towards old age. The following table shows the course of this excess through life:

NUMBER OF MALE TO FEMALE DEATHS.					
Age in years.	Males	Females.	Age in years.	Males.	Females.
0—5	122	100	35—45	123	100
5—10	100	100	45—55	130	100
10—15	95	100	55—65	133	100
15—20	108	100	65—75	126	100
20—25	117	100	75—85	119	100
25—35	121	100	85 upwds.	111	100

\* Daily Mail, London, Dec. 29th, 1915.

These figures show that a serious drain on the male population is caused by the hard and dangerous work of adult life. And they also show the mysterious fact referred to, that even in infancy, when the conditions are equal for both sexes, boys are carried off in far greater number than girls. If we take the deaths among one thousand infants under one year old of each sex it will be seen that whereas the number of girls who die at this early age is only 96, the number of boys is 120.

It is well known to mothers that boys are more difficult to rear than girls, the fact being generally ascribed to the greater amount of "original sin" inherent in the male. But probably it is not realized that no fewer than four boys die to each three girls who succumb to the adverse conditions of life during the first three months. This is the startling fact which the figures of the Registrar-General bring out. We can find only one sufficient explanation for it—namely, that girls are born with more vitality, that boys are less resistant to disease.

The male mortality excess begins at the moment of birth. About 180 boys die as a consequence of premature birth, as compared with 145 girls. Then inborn physical defects seem to be more prevalent among boys, for seven deaths among boys are ascribed to this cause, as compared with six among girls. And boys do not thrive as well as girls, for the wasting diseases of early infancy (atrophy, debility and marasmus) carry off 50 boys for every 41 girls.

As soon as the infectious diseases begin their attacks boys yield to them far more readily than girls, with the single exception of whooping cough. Even when chloroform or ether is given for the purposes of an operation it kills more boys than girls.

All through life the death-rate from nearly every disease is greater among males than among females—no fewer than 15 men die of tuberculous diseases to 11 women, 12 from pneumonia to 8 women, 5 from typhoid fever to 3 women, 8 from appendicitis to 6 women, and so on. Here, as was said, we have a reasonable explanation. Men are more exposed to cold and wet, and so suffer more from pneumonia and bronchitis, and then the greater consumption of alcohol by men plays a very important part in the causation and the mortality of disease.

But why do baby boys die in larger numbers than baby girls? First, there seems undoubtedly to be less vitality in boys, less power to battle against disease, and, indeed, it is well known that grown women usually fight a better battle than men. Secondly, boys, even in infancy, are more active and also less tractable than girl babies; they give a mother more trouble and probably get less careful treatment in consequence. Thirdly, boys have larger bodies to feed, and they get less nourishment from their mothers proportionately to their

size. Lastly, the birth of the larger boy is more difficult than that of the smaller girl.

Mothers must realize that their boy children require more careful rearing than the girls. If the death rate is to be equalized between boys and girls, the former must, if anything, be somewhat better fed, more warmly clothed, more carefully protected from draughts and better guarded against infection.

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### PHYSICAL CULTURE IN INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE

By LEONHARD FELIX FULD, LL. M., Ph. D., Assistant Chief Examiner,  
Municipal Civil Service Commission, New York, Member American  
Academy Physical Education.

A large corporation employing many women engaged in sedentary pursuits recently called upon a specialist in industrial hygiene to plan for its employes activities and instruction which would tend to improve their physical well-being.

Among the activities which were organized and successfully carried on by this expert for the benefit of these women employes were classes in folk-dancing in winter, classes in swimming in summer and a walking club throughout the year, the members of which took carefully graduated hikes at the end of the day's work. These hikes were at first only half a mile in length and their length was gradually increased until at the end of the year the women walked three miles each day at the end of their day's work.

The physical instruction which was given to the employes was comprehended under three heads: the application of gymnastic instruction to the every day activities of the young women, instruction in physiology designed to interest these women in the hygiene of the most common physiological functions and instruction in first aid to the injured.

The paper entitled: "Putting on Shoes" illustrates the practical application of the instruction in gymnastics. By utilizing the movements which every person performs daily in putting on shoes and by demonstrating how these movements may be utilized so that a person may derive the maximum physical benefit therefrom this expert gave these women an opportunity to secure the benefits accruing from systematic physical training by the proper performance of routine daily activities.

The paper entitled "Sleep" illustrates the instruction in physiology which was also extremely practical in character. Only the commonest physiological functions were studied and in connection with each function studied the women were given suggestions of hygienic value and also questions designed to emphasize and co-relate the prin-

ciples of the lesson with their individual needs. The answers to these questions were submitted to the teacher unsigned in a sealed envelope and were discussed in class whenever the instructor believed it desirable to do so.

The paper entitled "Bleeding" shows the general character of the instruction given the employes in the control of emergencies caused by accident or disease. The illustrations used in this instruction in first aid were prepared by the expert especially for this work and each of the fifty photographs was carefully explained to the young women and formed the basis of a lecture, a practical demonstration and a quiz.

The introduction of this physical instruction has been of distinct practical value in reducing the sick and absence record of the employes and in increasing the quantity and quality of work and in improving the general efficiency of the employes while engaged in the performance of their duties. Its cost has been small. There have been practically no expenses except the fee paid to the expert. None of these activities and none of this instruction was given on the company's time; all these activities were confined to the hour following the close of the day's business.

#### PUTTING ON SHOES.

The movement of putting on shoes is ordinarily performed in a position in which the double curve of the back is converted into an ugly, unhealthy, outward curve and the chest is cramped to such an extent that its very existence seems to be threatened. This movement may, however, be made one of considerable value. Balancing exercises are excellent for the development of the legs and for the maintenance of a proper and attractive carriage. Few persons have an opportunity to practice these exercises during the day.

While putting on your shoes stand in an upright position in your stocking feet on the carpet of your room. Raise the left foot, balancing your body on the right leg and slip the left shoe on your foot while in this position. Repeat the movement with the right foot. Untrained persons sometimes find balancing exercises somewhat difficult of execution. The skill required for their performance is quickly acquired by anyone, however, and these balancing exercises then have a fascination which few other routine exercises possess.

The buttoning or lacing of the shoes presents additional opportunities for physical training and development. Ordinarily this movement is performed in the cramped position which is best described as the one in which a person with legs crossed, seeks to bring his eyes as close as possible to his toes. For the performance of this movement it may be necessary to bring the eyes close to the feet in order that a person may be enabled to observe the details of the buttoning or lacing. Most must exercise this close supervision of the move-

ment, although many are able to perform it almost as a reflex movement without conscious supervision.

Even if it must be consciously supervised, this supervision need not necessarily involve the usual cramping and distorting of the body. The crossing of the legs does not assist the movement or its supervision in any manner. It is a habit the development of which should be avoided. It impedes circulation and frequently causes muscle cramp.

Physical benefit may be derived from this movement of buttoning or lacing shoes when it is performed in the following manner: Take a standing position. Bend the knees and lower the trunk as if you intended to sit on your heels. Bend your knees until your body almost touches your heels, being careful not to disturb the normal position of the spine. Then move the right leg backward. Kneel on the right knee and lace or button the left shoe. Repeat the movement, kneeling on the left knee and lacing or buttoning the right shoe. This movement develops the muscles of the abdomen, the thighs and the calves, preserves the double curve of the spine and substitutes a graceful and beneficial posture in your daily routine for one which is conceded by all to be ugly and harmful.

#### SLEEP.

In studying the subject of sleep with a view to applying the results of your study to your own needs, the subject may be considered under three heads: amount of sleep, manner of sleeping and means of inducing sleep. Eight hours' sleep is considered the normal amount. Young men and women under twenty-one should endeavor to obtain nine hours' sleep and those above twenty-one frequently find seven hours sufficient for their needs. Sleep lost on one day by reason of an unforeseen emergency should be made up on the succeeding night.

It is best to sleep on a hair mattress in a room the windows of which have been lowered from the top to admit fresh air. Everyone should strive to acquire the habit of breathing through the nose while sleeping and of sleeping while lying on the right side.

Brain workers who experience difficulty in falling asleep when retiring may overcome this difficulty by any action on their part which tends to withdraw the blood from the brain before going to bed. Everyone should refrain from mental work requiring mental concentration or close application during the hour before retiring.

A hot foot bath before retiring will tend to draw the blood from the head to the feet. A hot drink before retiring will tend to draw the blood from the head to the stomach. Slow leg exercises such as rising on toes or deep knee bending will not only draw the blood from the head to the legs, but will also stimulate the circulation in the legs so as to overcome any tendency to cold feet in bed, a condition which seriously interferes with sound and refreshing sleep.

## QUESTIONS.

1. A. How many hours do you sleep each night?  
 B. On which days of this month did you not go to bed at your regular hour?  
 C. What was the cause of each of these shorter nights of sleep?  
 D. Did you make up the loss of sleep on the following night in each case?
2. Describe the room in which you sleep, with particular reference to the following:
  - A. Kind of bed and mattress.
  - B. Position of bed with reference to window.
3. A. Do you sleep while lying on your right side, left side or back?  
 B. Do you breathe through your nose or your mouth while sleeping?  
 C. Have you a parched or sour feeling in the mouth upon arising?
4. A. On how many nights during the month did you experience difficulty in falling asleep?

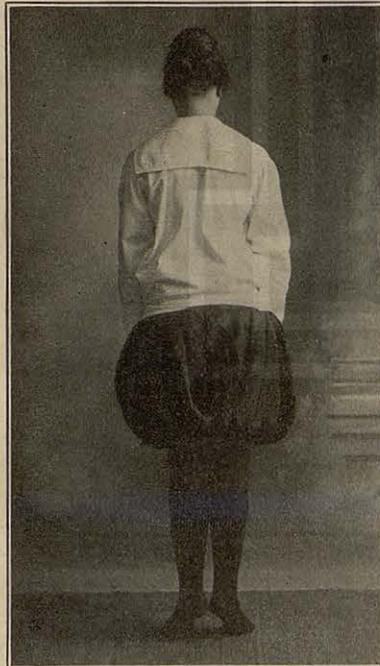


Fig. 1



Fig. 2.

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- B. What did you do during the hour before you went to bed on each of these nights?
5. Have you tried any of the following means of overcoming sleeplessness, and if so, describe your experience in each case.
- A. A hot foot bath.
  - B. A hot drink.
  - C. Rising on toes. (See fig. 1.)
  - D. Deep knee bending. (See fig. 2.)

## FIRST AID TO INJURED.

Profuse bleeding on the upper leg above the knee occurs generally only in the case of very deep or extensive wounds on the leg because the larger blood vessels are deeply buried in the upper leg, which is plentifully supplied with flesh and fat. No tourniquet can be applied to check bleeding in the upper leg. The main artery supplying this part of the body approaches the surface of the body at the inside of the groin and by the exercise of pressure by means of the fingers on the artery at this point the flow of blood may be retarded or checked pending the arrival of a physician who should be immediately summoned.

## BLEEDING.

*Introduction*.—Most wounds cause bleeding. When the capillaries which are the small blood vessels near the surface of the body, are torn, the blood oozes from the wound and is easily checked. When a larger blood vessel is ruptured the bleeding is profuse and requires more attention. The larger blood vessels are of two kinds: arteries, which carry the blood from the heart, which is the central pumping station of the body; and veins, which carry the blood to the heart. If an artery is torn the blood spurts from the wound and is of a bright red color. If a vein is torn the blood is of a dark red or purple color and flows slowly and smoothly from the wound. As the arteries and the veins usually lie side by side, arteries and veins are frequently torn by the same wound and the resulting mixed bleeding makes it extremely difficult to determine its nature from its appearance.

In all cases of bleeding the flow of blood should be quickly checked. First seek to compress the blood vessel by the pressure of your thumb in the wound and by binding a tight bandage over the wound. If the bleeding still continues apply a tourniquet between the wound and the heart. Such a tourniquet may be made out of a



Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

handkerchief tied around the limb. (See fig. 3 and 4.) A stone or other hard substance in the handkerchief may be used as a compress and a stick passed through a loop of the handkerchief may be used to tighten it and increase the pressure upon the blood vessel.

A bleeding vein in a limb may be controlled by laying the patient at full length and raising the limb. Bleeding in the chest or the abdomen must be cared for by laying the patient at full length with the head slightly raised, removing the clothing from the wound, cleansing the wound and seeking to check the bleeding by placing the fingers directly over the bleeding point with firm and continued pressure. When the bleeding cannot be checked by the pressure in this way a piece of ice, very cold water or water as hot as it can be borne may be used to contract the blood vessels. Warm water must never be used under any circumstances as it tends to expand the blood vessels and increase the bleeding.

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*Morbid Introspection.*—The movements of the body machinery do not often rise into the consciousness of the normal man, but are a continuous moving picture show to the neurasthenic. — *Monthly Health Letter.*

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Vol. III, No. 12 [Two Dollars a Year] September 17, 1921

File for Reference

News Letter  
*of the*  
Friends of Irish Freedom  
National Bureau of Information  
Washington, D. C.

IRELAND'S WILL TO PEACE

Occasionally a journalist in or near Ireland reports with the air of one making a discovery that the Irish people really want peace. A whole series of English journalists, cartoonists, would-be historians and men of letters have attempted to create the impression abroad that the Irish love violence for its own sake. Observers who profess themselves surprised to find that Irishmen today want peace have been taken in by this English-made myth. Otherwise they would know that violence in Ireland has had only one cause—the effort to suppress the will of the Irish people, either by the English military occupation of Ireland as a whole or by the specialized English economic occupation in a part of Ulster. Those who are not blinded by English myth know that Ireland's struggle for the recognition of her independent, republican Government has always been a struggle toward peace and toward a peace that has an even larger application than to the two islands most deeply concerned. The compromise which Lloyd George has offered is the very negation of the kind of peace toward which Ireland moves and will continue to move ineluctably. The so-called peace which Lloyd George would force on Ireland would mean that Ireland would become a part of the imperial machine which is always maintaining war against some subject people in some part of the world. The will to peace in Ireland is not to be satisfied by a half-peace which will associate Ireland with future wars on other unfortunate peoples.

The Bureau, while not requiring it, will appreciate credit mention to the News Letter when quotations and references are made.

Published Weekly at the Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Read this Sunday

Thomas Jefferson recognized that England's war against independence in America was not all an open fight in the field. He wrote to Madame de Staël that: "England has misrepresented to all Europe the ground of the war." Today England's fight against independence in Ireland profits by all the elaborations of English propaganda methods since 1776.

Certain editors of American newspapers continue to suggest editorially that the Republican leaders in Ireland are either stupid or criminal to have hesitated even for a moment to accept Lloyd George's "generous" terms. It is clear that these editors wilfully blind themselves or at least wilfully attempt to blind their readers to the essential character of the Republican movement in Ireland. They insist upon treating the negotiations between the English Ministers and the representatives of the Irish people as if they were merely the squabbles between two groups of politicians, each working to secure nothing more than a popular advantage in a coming election. In the course of an article which shows a keen understanding of the Sinn Fein point of view *The Freeman* (New York) for September 7 says that "most people tacitly accept compromise as of the essence of all politics." Those who see no more in the sacrifice of such men as Terence MacSwiney than the efforts of a group of place hunters may well wonder at the fidelity to a principle which has characterized the struggle of Irish men and women.

If, instead of contenting themselves with Lloyd George's irrelevant misquotations of Lincoln, American editors who regard the Irish leaders as intransigent would take the trouble to turn to the writings of the Irish Republicans themselves they would find the differences between English politicians and Irish patriots not far to seek. Writing in *Old Ireland* for August 27, Proinnsias Ó Gallchobhair says: "Among the innumerable meanings which the word 'Independence' has for us are two which stand out clearly in the mind. We can never admit British authority in any form over the Irish people; we can never connive at, or acquiesce in, the imperial policy which has sought to compass our subjection. The first of these contains our attitude in relation to our own people; the second, our attitude to other peoples. Now, Dominion Home Rule, let it be the fullest that the ingenuity of statesmen can devise, involves both an admission of British authority over this nation and an acquiescence on our part in the policy of empire. No words, however eloquent, however subtle, can rob Dominion status of these implications."

That is the situation—and it has nothing to do with party politics. In fact it can have nothing to do with party politics since no person or party can alter those two meanings of independence or compromise the right of the Irish people to enjoy all that they imply. In another place Proinnsias Ó Gallchobhair writes: "True, this generation may not suffer greatly if we are to 'enjoy a settlement' [on a Dominion plan,] but what of the generations which follow ours? In fifteen years, in twenty years, in fifty years, if there be a compromise now and the fates have mercy upon us, then another Pearse will arise and call to his people, and his people may hear his voice, and the tragedy of yesterday will become the tragedy of tomorrow and tomorrow's tomorrow, until a leader finds a people ready to endure the sacrifice of breaking their bonds in their own day."

"Dominion status—Terence MacSwiney. We can be true to one or to the other, but not to both."—Proinnsias Ó Gallchobhair.

This prophecy, the plausibility of which is attested by the history of Ireland during the last 750 years, is the best possible answer to those "moderates" on both sides of the Atlantic who continue to urge compromise on the Irish people. It is true, as The Freeman points out that compromise exercises "an unhealthy fascination" on the minds of so-called moderates, who always think so much can be done with compromise, "although really nothing is ever done with it." The Irish struggle, since it is essentially a struggle for a principle, cannot be ended by compromise. The most "advantageous compromise" could only postpone the struggle.

In its issue of September 3 the NEWS LETTER reminded American readers of the fact which Lloyd George so conveniently overlooks when he cries that Ulster must not be coerced, that at least two counties with Republican majorities have been forced against their recorded will into the petty Parliament area. In this connection we reprinted a resolution adopted by the Tyrone Council reaffirming the "determined opposition" of the majority of the people of Tyrone already "expressed at each of the elections held in 1918, 1920 and 1921" to the so-called Northern Parliament. The Corporation of the city of Londonderry in the county of that name has now joined its protest to that of the Tyrone County Council.

The Manchester Guardian for August 26 reported: "Londonderry Corporation yesterday adopted a resolution refusing to recognize the authority of the Northern Parliament and pledging themselves to endeavor to nullify it. Alderman Bradley said partition would not bring peace. The Mayor said he told Mr. De Valera and Dáil Eireann that they would not have partition. There must be a dominant Parliament in Dublin and, if necessary, a subordinate Parliament, not for the six counties but for all Ulster."

At the last public session of Dáil Eireann the Chairmen of the County Councils of Tyrone and Fermanagh, accompanied by a delegation of elected local officials attended and entered a protest against these two counties being included in Lloyd George's artificial "Ulster" and announced that they would not recognize or take any part in the sham "Government" he had set up under the premiership of Sir James Craig. In introducing the delegation, John MacNeill, Speaker of the Dáil, exposed Lloyd George's attempt to partition Ireland and the fact that he had supplied the Carsonites with the arms they are now using to slaughter the Nationalists of the Northern Province.

The New York World of September 9 printed this dispatch from Dublin: "Following the example of Fermanagh and Tyrone, County Down has sent a deputation to the Dáil Eireann to protest against partition and the inclusion of the county in area of the Ulster Parliament. De Valera, who is himself a representative of County Down, said full importance would be attached to the county's case in its relation to the general Irish situation."

When the Partition Act, setting up the petty Parliament in part of Ulster, was first published by the English Government, Sir Hamar Greenwood, at some expense to the English taxpayers, caused a propaganda pamphlet to be circulated with the official copy of the Act, in an effort to gloss over its impudent uselessness. Lloyd George, whose hand at that game has superior cunning, has secured the services of General Smuts, who, even after his departure from England, continues to be the Prime Minister's chief propagandist for his "terms."

Hugh Martin, writing of conditions in northeast Ulster to the London Daily News on September 1, said: "No 'plea' of provocation is put forward. The cold fact is that Orange lodges have decided that the right moment has arrived for another scrap, and a repetition, perhaps on a larger scale, of the Catholic pogrom which I witnessed and recorded last autumn." Ulster has always regarded itself as enabled, by the support of the British ascendancy, to bully and intimidate the rest of Ireland. It has always relied on violence, and it is relying on it still; but, if British military support were removed, this terrorism by an un-Irish minority would automatically cease.

An Englishman who signed himself "D. S. M." said recently, in a letter to the press: "It is often said to the Irish in Britain: 'If you think so much of Ireland, why not go back and stay there?' Might not a similar query be put to Messrs. Craig and Co.? 'If you think so much of Britain, why not go back and stay there?' \* \* \* Or, to take it another way, if Messrs. Craig and Co., in a moment of righteous wrath, packed up their Orange boxes and went, en masse, to some port town in France, Italy, or elsewhere, would that country be justified in allocating a portion of its territory and providing special legislation for these new inhabitants?"

Says a recent editorial in the London Daily Herald: "The so-called 'loyalist' gunmen have been out murdering those who belong to that part of the Irish nation which desires freedom; and the alleged Ulster Government has proved quite incompetent to restrain them. Sir James Craig's Government has been set up by the decision of England, and the Parliament which supports it was elected under circumstances of terrorism. It stands self-condemned by what is going on in its own area; and the claim advanced by political 'Ulster' to hold up the self-government of Ireland is, in the circumstances, the most monstrous that recent history has to show."

Le Journal de Paris is convinced that "Mr. Lloyd George is bent on maintaining Ulster's privileges and in this fact may be seen the purely fictitious character of the concessions which he offers." The NEWS LETTER is glad to see that this Parisian daily clearly understands the character of the English-maintained bridgehead in northeast Ulster. Le Journal sees that all Lloyd George's so-called peace plans are "subordinated to the recognition of the special status of 'Ulster' " populated by enjoyers of English privilege "imported to break the resistance" of Irish Ireland.

An English press dispatch dated Belfast, September 1, says: "Efforts of the Northern Cabinet and the Lord Mayor to claim credit for the introduction of the troops and the ending of the riots are countered by a startling statement made to me tonight by Commandant O'Duffy, the Sinn Fein liaison officer for Ulster, who says it was the action of the I. R. A. that saved the city from more bloodshed. He says: 'I ordered the I. R. A. to take action to protect our people, as it was quite patent that the police were conniving with the Orange mob. The men were placed at vantage points, and in a few hours, made their presence felt. Immediately it went abroad that the I. R. A. men were in action the military came out. I have now ordered our troops to cease fire, and they will not again go into action until it is absolutely necessary, for the protection of our people.' "

We do not feel that the attention of American readers can be called too often to the amazing spectacle of the Ministries of the Irish Republican Government engaged in constructive work for the national welfare while the imperial Occupation in Ireland was shocking the world by the brutality of its oppression. Dáil Eireann's Ministers worked under manifold difficulties, but they faced their respective problems in the serious, constructive spirit which may well, as the Dublin Leader suggests, denote "the true Irishman—the reincarnation of the genuine Irishman" who "is a product of the Irish-Ireland movement." During the most turbulent days of Lloyd George's war on the Irish people, this constructive work for the nation was never abandoned. If Ministers were in jail their work was carried on by deputies. If they were "on the run" they had to do their work as best they could in secret. But, persecuted as they were, the truce has given an opportunity for an estimate of their work under these difficulties which must finally dissipate the age-old English attempt to degrade the Irish character—the utterly false idea of the Irishman as an unreliable and incompetent person, which England has fostered as an excuse for her exploitation of the Irish people.

Even in the days of bitter warfare, the Irish Republican Government was not content with establishing a system of civil and criminal justice to take the place of the broken-down English machinery or with encouraging commercial activity at home. The NEWS LETTER has already shown the success which Republican courts achieved and the important work already accomplished by the Commission of Inquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland. In June, 1919, it was agreed by the Ministry of Dáil Eireann that the functions exercisable by a Department of Industries should be taken over by the Department of Trade which was under the direction of Ernest Blythe. The Sinn Fein policy, already in existence, of appointing Consuls to various foreign countries, in order to care for Irish commercial interests, was approved by the Ministry of the Dáil which voted a sum of money for the establishment of a consular service to be organized by the Department of Trade.

"In view of the costliness of a consular service," says the Irish Bulletin, "and of the difficulties caused by the British military occupation, it has been considered advisable to proceed slowly with the opening of consulates, but a scheme for the representation of Irish trade interests in all parts of the world will be put into operation at the first opportunity." The consulates already established include those at New York, Berne (Switzerland), Antwerp (Belgium), Genoa (Italy), Paris (France), and the most recently opened one at Rotterdam (Holland).

The Irish Bulletin says: "Many tributes have been paid to the efficiency of the various consulates, but those most valued have come from firms controlled by Irish Unionists, who have not only communicated with the Irish consuls direct, but have consulted the Department of Trade on questions of foreign commerce and the opportunities of developing their own export business."

In an interview with Simone Téry, published in L'Oeuvre of Paris for August 21, Erskine Childers says: "None could desire peace more ardently than we do. We demand only to be left in peace. What we want is our liberty. Liberty is not a question of much or little, it is something, like death, which either is or is not. If one tries to make reservations in it, it is no longer liberty. We shall continue to fight until liberty is accorded to us."

So many and so important have been the developments in the relations between the English and the Irish nations since the beginning of the truce, so complete has been the virtual recognition, not only by Lloyd George, but by the world at large, that there is in Ireland today a responsible and duly functioning Government capable of negotiating with the Government of the neighboring island and of fulfilling its undertakings, that the efficiency and reliability of the Irish Republican Army have begun to be taken for granted. This is itself a remarkable triumph for the Irish people. But it is well to point out again, as the NEWS LETTER did at the beginning of the truce, that that Irish Army which English imperialists attempted to make it the fashion to call a murder gang has continued to show itself an efficient force for the maintenance of law and order.

It is remarkable that, during the period of the truce, it has been the Irish Republican Army and not that of the English Occupation which has carried out the necessary policing of the country. It is common knowledge that the truce has been well observed on both sides. But the details of what infringements there have been offer food for thought. The only infringement by the Irish reported in the press occurred in Belfast on August 6, when an I. R. A. patrol carrying arms without authority fired upon and wounded a constable. The matter was immediately taken up by the chief Republican Liaison Officer for the district and proper disciplinary actions executed. On the other hand, the Republican Liaison Officer for the martial law districts reported in the press on August 4 a series of nine infringements by the British forces in his area.

From the following report in the Manchester Guardian of August 25, it will be seen that the Irish Republican Army, besides maintaining order in the civil population in Ireland, is actually policing the English Military Occupation: "In connection with the kidnapping of two policemen at Bandon, county Cork, the following statement was made at the Irish Republican Army Liaison Offices at Cork yesterday: 'Both constables were placed under arrest yesterday evening by the I. R. A. and are being held in custody in regard to the taking of a motor-car from the I. R. A. The full circumstances of the case are as follows: Two motor-cars, the property of the I. R. A. working in concert with the Cork Liaison Offices, were taken in the city on July 30 by the R. I. C., and a third motor-car on August 8 by the R. I. C. The truce had thus been broken in the first instance by the R. I. C. On August 18 the motor-car was taken from the R. I. C., Bandon, by the I. R. A. Following this a member of the I. R. A. was arrested at Bandon by the police and charged before a court-martial in Cork on August 22. The case was adjourned, the prisoner being detained in custody. Last evening, August 23, two constables of the R. I. C. of Bandon were consequently arrested by the I. R. A. The whole matter has been referred to General Headquarters at Dublin.'"

"When the Government states," says a recent editorial in the London Daily Herald, "that 'even in quarters which have shown a sympathy with the most extreme of Irish claims, they [Lloyd George's terms] are regarded as the utmost which the Empire can reasonably offer or Ireland reasonably accept,' it is simply speaking falsehood. We ourselves have stated that this was the best offer yet made to Ireland by Great Britain. That is very far from saying that it is the best offer possible, or even a good offer."

If one reads the notorious Daily Chronicle of London (the same paper which not long ago thought the protests against the burning of Irish homes by the Black and Tans exaggerated since the houses burned were mostly little ones), one may find a suggestion of where our Anglophile editors in the United States get their point of view on the Anglo-Irish negotiations. A recent issue of the Daily Chronicle says in all seriousness: "Mr. de Valera says that his countrymen 'long to end the conflict between Great Britain and Ireland.' Can we not make him and his fellow-councillors understand that that is precisely what we also long for, and that it is because we long for it so earnestly that we have put aside our arms, released those who struggled against us, and have made them this offer of full self-government." As a matter of fact there are some thousands of Irish men and women still held in English internment camps and jails—most of them uncharged and untried. Every Irishman knows that England has not put away her arms even during the truce. Every American newspaper reader knows what English arms and ammunition are doing in the Belfast area even during the truce. And besides Lloyd George, General Smuts is the only person who thinks Ireland has been offered "full self-government."

An editorial note in a recent issue of the "XX Century" of Brussels—a journal not renowned for its friendliness towards Ireland—helps to expose the trickery of the English Press: "The dispatches which we have received from Ireland and England in these hours of tension," says the editor, "all bear the mark of the official censor. They are distorted and represent the situation as favorable to Lloyd George, but it is not difficult to discern in the text the passages by which the [British] Government wishes in making suggestions to the friends of Ireland and by inciting them to throw their weight into the deliberations, to push Dáil Eireann to a compromise. \* \* \* England prepared the way for her negotiations with Ireland by an insidious Press offensive. By suggestion and inuendo it was sought to weaken the position of President de Valera. Moderate and extreme parties were invented in the heart of An Dáil, but the wish was father to the thought. The unanimity of its decision and the dignity of its language shows it to the world today as an institution which is capable of furnishing an example to older and more historic assemblies."

M. E. Carteron, writing in a recent issue of the French journal, *Le Soir*, says: "When the United States revolted against England, and when France recognized their independence in 1782, the English House of Lords met and discussed the line of conduct they should adopt to the new state. Pitt rose up and, pointing to his crutch, stated that they could no more triumph over America than he could hunt them from the room with his stick. This is exactly what an intelligent Englishman would say now in his place when speaking of Ireland. But Pitt and Vergennes are dead, and we have Lloyd George and Clemenceau. Ireland cannot accept the status of a Dominion, by forming two distinct dominions, and we believe that General Smuts, who directs Imperial policy, cannot accept such a thesis. The independence of Ireland under a Dominion régime would be only a precarious independence. The real independence of the British Dominions is due to their distance from the Metropolis. Ireland is quite close to England and is less populous. Under these conditions Dominion régime would be nothing less than a deception. In addition it must be admitted that England has no serious motive for refusing her full liberty to Ireland. Has it ever been admitted that one may dispute the liberty of others? And since the war of right and justice, has not it been widely proclaimed that peoples should be permitted to determine their own destinies?"

The New Haven (Connecticut) Union records the progress of an open mind on Ireland in a recent editorial which the NEWS LETTER would like to commend to some of our other American dailies. Says the Union: "Our opinion on the Irish question has been a progressive evolution from favoring Home Rule for Ireland within the British Empire, thence to a belief in a complete dominion status for Ireland and finally to a sincere advocacy of her complete freedom and independence. We have come to favor this final solution of the question because it has become increasingly evident to us that this is what the overwhelming majority of the Irish people want, and because no other solution of the matter in our judgment can secure an enduring peace or do complete justice to all parties concerned."

Le Charivari (Paris) has been considering the report of the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland, and it is moved to say: "The most ignoble crimes against individuals and property have been committed and a campaign of calumny has been pursued, in order to transform into bandits the Irish Republicans. On which side are the bandits? The American report proves that the forces of the Crown were often recruited from ex-convicts and it explains how the latter employed various disguises when about to commit assassinations and destructions. What a shameful folly to have thus trailed in the mud the victorious emblems of the British nation! Verily Lloyd George has a terrible account to render to British honor. \* \* \* We cannot understand how any military chief could be willing to associate himself with this campaign of terror in waging war on women and children and in shielding those guilty of abominable murders. \* \* \* She (England) must look forward to the day when she too will be arraigned before the bar of justice."

Speaking of Ireland under the Union, Mrs. Alice Stopford Green well says: "The doom of an exhausting poverty was laid on Ireland by a rich and extravagant partner, who fixed the expenses for English purposes, called for the money, and kept the books." The London Statist estimates that the total revenue collected from Ireland in 1919-20, by the British government, was considerably more than fifty million pounds. Only a portion of this revenue is expended in Ireland itself, the amount in 1919-20 falling considerably under thirty million pounds. The balance, equivalent to about one hundred million dollars in American currency, is a net contribution to the Imperial treasury.

The French journal, L'Ere Nouvelle, says: "The question of Ulster is only of recent growth and is principally due to the immigration of Englishmen and Scotchmen. That, certainly, is no reason why the most ancient and most clearly defined nationality of Europe should be dissected."

We have seen it remarked by American editors who should be more familiar with American history, that, had America been offered the measure of autonomy which Lloyd George now "offers" Ireland, the Revolutionary War would never have been fought. Five minutes' reading in American history should disabuse the minds of such writers. But, off hand, we might call to their memory the fact that the plan to help pay for England's last previous war by a colonial tax on tea was one of the causes of American Revolution whereas Lloyd George's "peace offer" to Ireland contains a proposal that Ireland help pay for England's last war.

Don't Throw This Away. Pass it Along to a Friend.

# The Origin of Great Private Fortunes

— OR —

How Did Our Plutocrats Really  
Get Their Wealth?

By GUSTAVUS MYERS

*Author of*

"History of the Great American Fortunes," etc.

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#### PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

The authorities for all the statements made in this pamphlet are to be found in the author's work entitled "History of the Great American Fortunes." In these three volumes, the result of many years of painstaking research, the author relates the facts in full, with ample evidence from indisputable official records.

Volume I, now in its second edition, tells of the economic conditions in the colonial period of the United States, and of the origin of the great land fortunes, notably those held by the Astor family.

Volume II, also in its second edition, began the story of the great railroad fortunes, most of its space being devoted to the Vanderbilts and Goulds.

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### The Origin of Great Private Fortunes

How did they do it? This, in plain terms, is the question. By what means did our multi-millionaires acquire their enormous wealth? What is the secret of the huge accumulations of the Astors, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, Russell Sage, Stephen B. Elkins, James J. Hill, J. Pierpont Morgan and others of their class? The solution vitally interests all of us, for such men own the wealth and resources of the nation. And it goes without contradiction that they who own the means by which the people must live, own the people.

Many fanciful descriptions have been written of the origin of these great fortunes. Usually these narratives are so much alike, so consistent in their alluring and gorgeous coloring, that the suspicion naturally occurs that well-regulated press agencies are doing their effective work. Always it is skilfully explained how these great magnates amassed their immense fortunes by industry, thrift and ability. It is further glibly explained how they created wealth and were, therefore, signal benefactors of the human race. If, incidentally, some hundreds of millions of dollars adhered to their hands, that was only the just reward of their prodigious labors.

Flowery phrases, of course, explain nothing. It is facts that count, and facts alone; and somehow it is to be invariably noted that facts are lacking in these seductive eulogies. No explanation is ever offered as to how the magnates got their first millions. After a man gets a few millions, it is comparatively easy, as the present system goes, to get more. But—and this is the crucial point—how does he contrive to gather in his first millions? It does not suffice, also, to say airily that on such and such a date he acquired this railroad or that plant. What we want to know is how he obtained the resources with which to do it, and what methods he used. None of the eulogies tell us this.

To indulge in glittering statements is easy, but they leave us no more informed than we were before. They simply inebriate us with words, while all the time we are hungering for the actual facts.

If we stop to reason a moment it becomes evident that the exercise of industry, thrift and ability does not produce fortunes of hundreds of millions of dollars. Tens of millions of people work very hard, save money (when they can) and lead temperate and useful lives. But they have no fortune, except bad fortune. Vast numbers literally live from hand to mouth; they begin life in poverty, and after a lifetime of toil, end it in poverty. Others manage to acquire a little competence which is always precariously threatened by being out of work, sickness or business disaster. Obviously, if industry, thrift

and ability produced great wealth, America's working people would all have multimillionaire fortunes.

This explanation, it is clear, does not hold, and cannot, for a second, stand the test of reason and experience.

Even, however, if one does not give serious thought to the matter, a striking circumstance is of itself sufficient to make him suspicious of the usual run of explanations. If our magnates are so honest and honorable and such pure and lofty patriots and philanthropists, why should they be so sensitive to criticism? Why should they be so eager to purchase eulogy by contributions to charities and colleges and universities, and by owning or subsidizing so many newspapers, periodicals and magazines?

The reason is that the facts tell a very different story from the sweet fairy tales which the magnates would have the people believe as gospel. In turn there is a powerful reason for this. If the tradition can be strongly rooted in the popular mind that the great fortunes have come from upright and beneficial methods, then the people will accept the private possession of huge fortunes as a proper, righteous condition which should not be interfered with. But if it should be conclusively demonstrated that all of those fortunes are the result of fraud and robbery, then uncontrollable discontent will ensue. An overpowering movement will spring up demanding the restoration of that wealth to the people from whom it was stolen, and insist-

ing upon a complete change of the system allowing such colossal thefts.

The sole question is, What are the facts?

To get the authentic facts, the writer has spent many years of arduous research; he has read and digested thousands of Government, legislative, municipal and court records; and the results of his work may be found in full in the volumes he has written upon the subject, with all of the citations from incontestable official records.

Let us consider briefly a few of these fortunes.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE ASTOR FORTUNE.

Did the huge Astor fortune, for example, come from the exercise of that trinity of qualities—industry, thrift and ability? The Astors own vast areas of land and buildings in New York City and elsewhere. The palaces in which they live in magnificence cover whole blocks, while not far away as many as from 3,000 to 6,000 poor human beings are herded in a single block. The Astors are also large stockholders in many capitalist "enterprises." They have an annual income about five hundred times greater than the salary paid to the President of the United States. Droning in idleness and luxury, their income more than equals what 41,000 workingmen, getting an average of \$600 a year, receive for a year of ceaseless toil.

The story told in Government and court doc-

uments of the origin of this fortune is very different from the stereotyped accounts of the eulogists.

The founder of the Astor fortune was John Jacob Astor, a German immigrant who came to the United States in 1783 with five pounds in money. He died in 1848 leaving a fortune of \$20,000,000—then the greatest in America. How did he get it?

The records show that he became a fur trader, and swindled the Indians by first getting them drunk. After he organized the American Fur Company in 1810 he shipped enormous quantities of whisky out among the Indian tribes. To sell liquor to an Indian was a serious crime in law. But Astor purchased immunity by bribing public officials. On one occasion (in 1817) he gave Lewis Cass a bribe of \$35,000. Who was Cass? The Governor of Michigan Territory in which Astor had one of his principal trading posts, and he (Cass) later became Secretary of War—the very official who then had supreme jurisdiction over Indian affairs.

Astor charged the Indians *from \$25 to \$50 a gallon* for whisky, payable in furs. The records show that the Indians were never allowed to trade while in a sober state. After debauching them Astor would take further advantage of them by exchanging cheap merchandise, at exorbitant prices, for their furs. He charged, for example, a dollar and a half for a brass tumbler; eighteen dollars for a pound of tobacco; \$30 for an eleven-dollar rifle; \$4 for powder which cost him 20 cents a pound, etc., etc.

Debauched and swindled, and driven to debt and destitution, the Indians were forced to resort to the only means of redress open to them. They could not sue in court either civilly or criminally, because *it was considered illegal to accept the testimony of an Indian*. Consequently, they had recourse to primitive force; they often rose in retaliation, and massacred whites and murdered Astor's traders. Then, in turn, the Government would hurry out troops and shoot them down and burn their villages.

It was a long chapter of horrors. But Astor was safe in New York, pulling in his millions. True, more than one hundred and fifty white traders were murdered by Indians, but Astor's fortune kept increasing with murder and massacre. He was an astute capitalist who hired men to do his sinister work and brave death, while he was secure more than a thousand miles away and reaped all of the profit. The Government records show that he received an income of \$500,000 a year from this traffic—a tremendous sum for that time.

This is how he obtained the money to invest in New York City land and in bank and other stocks. But, at the same time that he was debauching and swindling Indian tribes in the West, he was corrupting New York City officials to grant him land. This land was part of the large area that New York City then municipally owned. Its value then was not great, although its potential value was. At present it is worth hundred of millions of dollars. Astor's imme-

diat descendants continued the process. They bribed common councils and legislatures, evaded taxation, and reaped millions in rent not only from business buildings, but from vile tenements unfit for human habitation. Generation after generation, millions of people in New York have worked only (among other things) to add enormously to the value of the Astor real estate holdings, without the necessity of the Astors moving a finger.

Less than a century after John Jacob Astor was directing a continuing campaign of debauching, swindling, bribing and murder, his descendants have chains of regal palaces, and sit high and mighty as haughty aristocrats, far superior to the common mass. One of the Astors, William Waldorf Astor, has shown his contempt for the country from which his wealth comes, by renouncing American citizenship and becoming a British subject.

These are but a very few of the immense mass of facts set forth in "The History of The Great American Fortunes," regarding the origin and growth of the Astor fortune.

#### THE SOURCES OF THE VANDERBILT FORTUNE.

The astonished reader who has been trained by capitalist teachings to look up reverently to the masters of the wealth of the country will no doubt be shocked by these terrible details, dug up from indisputable public records. "But," he

may say, "that is only one instance. You cannot say that the Vanderbilt fortune is the product of fraud. Commodore Vanderbilt was a great patriotic constructive genius who did much to build up the country, and his descendants are able, public-spirited and philanthropic. Their fortune surely came from legitimate sources."

Did it? Hundreds of rhetorical writers have said that same thing, adroitly disseminating a myth which large numbers of people believe; but obviously neither sweeping statement nor rhetoric is fact. Government, legislative and court records are doubtless dry enough documents, yet they at least give authentic facts. It is disagreeable, no doubt, to spoil a pleasant fiction, but facts are facts.

Without question, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, the founder of the great Vanderbilt fortune, was an exceedingly able man—in his way. Beginning with nothing, he left a fortune of \$105,000,000. How did he get it?

His first millions, the records show, he obtained by blackmail. Unquestionably, he was the biggest and most daring commercial blackmailer of his day, and possibly of any time.

Very simple were his methods. Originally he ran steamships. When gold was discovered in California in 1847 there were no overland railroad lines. Two steamship lines, the United States Mail Steamship Company and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, bribed Congress to award them a total mail subsidy amounting for years to \$900,000 a year.

Vanderbilt succeeded in compelling the owners of those lines to hand over to him at first \$480,000 a year of that \$900,000, and later \$612,000 a year. This was an astounding transaction; how did he manage it? He blackmailed the two lines by the effective expedient of running a competitive line, compelling them to reduce their passenger and freight rates to a lower point, and threatening their mail-subsidy operations with exposure. He compelled them to come to terms. After they had yielded to his blackmailing demands, he withdrew his ships, and the two subsidized lines which had bought him off raised their rates to nearly four times what they were before. For years, Vanderbilt received this \$612,000 a year in blackmail; he leisurely sat back in his chair and had to do nothing more than receive the blackmail millions and bank or invest them.

Not until 1858 was Vanderbilt's blackmailing transaction exposed in Congress; in both houses honest men denounced him as an archplunderer and made public the details of his huge blackmailing operations. Two years later, in 1860, Congress appointed an investigating committee to probe into the matter. One official after another of the blackmailed steamship lines was summoned to testify. And one after another testified that Vanderbilt had blackmailed them of immense sums; the word blackmail occurs over and over again in their testimony.

A glorious patriot, Commodore Vanderbilt was. When the Civil War broke out, the Government needed vessels for transport service badly. Despite

his record, Vanderbilt contrived to be appointed the Government agent to buy or lease vessels. Presently there was a great scandal. Vessels that Vanderbilt had bought or leased for the Government were found to be so worthless or rotten that the lives of the soldiers were imperiled. Congress appointed an investigating committee. The testimony disclosed many horrors. It showed that Vanderbilt, through a go-between, one T. J. Southard, bought any old vessel offered, provided the owner paid Southard a certain sum.

The full specific facts, all cited from the public records, as to these transactions and others are related at length in "The History of the Great American Fortunes." There, in many chapters, the further story is told how Commodore Vanderbilt and his son, William H. Vanderbilt, with the plunder thus amassed, went into the railroad business; how they bribed legislatures and common councils, either for public franchises, special laws and other extraordinary privileges as to prevent the passage of laws interfering with their loot. All of this is described, as well as the methods of their descendants in continuing those activities down to the very present.

Now that they have their hundreds of millions of dollars intact, the Vanderbilts are, of course, supremely respectable. And they enjoy high caste; they are allied with European titled nobility.

One of the Vanderbilt girls became the

Duchess of Marlborough—a fitting alliance, by which the great granddaughter of a monumental blackmailer shared the title of a man descended from Jack Churchill, who obtained his title by methods which propriety forbids mentioning here. Another Vanderbilt bud has become a Hungarian Countess. It was easy to purchase these titles with a few of the hundreds of millions plundered from the American people. The prisons, as we all know, are always full of petty criminals. But the Vanderbilts are of the cream of American aristocracy; they have magnificent places; and, what is more to the point, own a considerable part of the railroad systems of the United States.

#### HOW THE GOULD FORTUNE ORIGINATED.

The Goulds, also, have bought European titles, and live in great splendor. They, too, are among the oligarchy of families ruling the United States. Whence came their wealth?

It was founded by Jay Gould. In his own generation Jay Gould had a black reputation among the people. But the younger generation knows little of this. In fact, however, Jay Gould was not a whit worse than Astor, Vanderbilt or the other founders of great fortunes. The difference was that others somehow managed to get the *appearance* of respectability; they posed as patriots and church-goers, and gave money to charities, churches and libraries. Jay

Gould was not hypocritical. He gave away nothing, and didn't care what people thought of him, so long as he was allowed to keep and increase his loot.

Jay Gould started without a dollar; when he died in 1892 he left a fortune of \$77,000,000. Possibly, if the full truth were known, it far exceeded \$100,000,000. Since then, the Gould fortune has increased to many hundreds of millions of dollars.

How did this fortune originate? The first glimpse of Gould is as a mouse-trap peddler, then as a surveyor. He was an extraordinarily plausible young sprig, with all the assurance of the most experienced confidence man. Persuading Congressman Pratt to go into the leather business with him, he cheated Pratt, and Pratt was glad enough to retire. Then Gould inveigled Charles M. Leupp, a prominent New York City leather merchant, into turning funds over to him. Leupp was also cheated, and committed suicide in the panic of 1857. With the proceeds from these transactions Gould bought railroad stocks and bonds, and started on his railroad career.

The records further show how he stole—literally stole—\$12,000,000 in his looting and manipulation of the Erie Railroad, and how in one year alone, not to mention other years, he corrupted the New York legislature with \$500,000 in cash to pass a bill legalizing an enormous fraudulent issue of Erie stock he had made. This was in 1868, when he was on the point of going

to prison, and only escaped by bribing that act through into law.

With that \$12,000,000 of plunder, and more millions gathered in by stock manipulation, he bought other railroads and engineered his famous or infamous "Black Friday" conspiracy. In this latter operation he aimed to corner the gold supply of the United States. He bribed public officials, and caused hundreds of failures and dozens of suicides.

Had not the Government turned against him at the crucial moment he would have succeeded in his corner. But he quickly found a way out. Purchasing Tweed ring Supreme Court Judges, he caused injunction after injunction to be issued forbidding any settlements of contracts to be enforced against him. Thus he finally escaped having to disgorge. Not only that, but he came out of the affair with a clear haul of between \$11,000,000 and \$12,000,000. He then quickly got control of the Union Pacific Railroad and did not let go until he had looted it of \$40,000,000.

These are but a few suggestions of the many chapters of facts on the Gould fortune in "The History of The Great American Fortunes." Surely if one is ambitious to have palaces and sway great wealth he must take care to have a great robber as an immediate ancestor. Count de Castellane, that noble, sporty youth, must have realized this when he exchanged his title for Anna Gould's millions. Dirty dollars are just as good as clean dollars; and Castellane joyously

proceeded to squander about ten millions of the dollars which the Goulds had transferred to themselves from the sweat of the producers of America. Divorce put a stop to his lavish antics, but he has a successor in the noble person of Prince de Sagan.

#### WHERE RUSSELL SAGE'S FORTUNE CAME FROM.

When Russell Sage died, several years ago, leaving a fortune of approximately \$100,000,000, scores of newspaper editorials praised his career. No doubt, they admitted, he was parsimonious to the point almost of miserliness. But (so they averred) not a dollar of his fortune had been extracted by fraud or graft; no, indeed, Sage was a very honest man; unpopular, perhaps, yet a man of fine integrity.

Here we have more mere statements, not only unsupported by fact, but flatly contradicted by the facts. The myth falls to pieces when confronted with the actual facts.

Sage began his career as a young clerk in Troy, New York. How he got the money with which to go into the wholesale grocery business in Troy later we do not know. But one thing is very clear from the records of the Supreme Court of the United States. After he had formed the firm of Wheeler, Sage and Slocum, he swindled his two partners. Sage did it in this way: A creditor of theirs, one Alanson Sweet, in Milwaukee, had gone bankrupt in 1854. Sage

concocted a scheme with his partners by which Sweet's other creditors were to be cheated. To bring this about, Sage was authorized by his two partners to buy off Sweet's lawyer, Alexander Mitchell, with \$10,000. The three partners agreed that each would pay his share of the \$10,000 bribe. But Sage, the court proceedings showed, made an underhand arrangement with Mr. Mitchell by which he, Sage, was to hoodwink and cheat his own partners out of their share of the spoils.

Very surprised and indignant men were the partners when they discovered that they had been buncoed at their own game, and that Sage had pocketed the booty. One of the partners, Wheeler, sued for his share, and carried his case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The virtuous judges of this court, in a memorable decision, denounced all three partners as frauds, and threw the case out of court on the ground that as all of them had been engaged in a notoriously fraudulent transaction none of them had any standing in a court of law. The practical effect of this decision, of course, was to leave Sage in complete possession of the full proceeds of the swindle.

Like many another renowned financier, Sage knew how to combine business and politics. As one of Troy's aldermen, he was a municipal director of the Troy and Schenectady Railroad. This road had been built at a public expense of \$750,000, and was owned and operated by the city of Troy. A crowd of capitalists, in 1851,

were organizing the New York Central Railroad, and wanted to include the Troy and Schenectady Railroad.

Sage undertook to deliver it. He did. He manipulated matters so that many citizens became disgusted with the management and losses of the road. Petitions were concocted urging the city to sell it. Evidently, however, many of the Aldermen saw through the scheme, for the proposition to sell was carried in 1855 by a majority of only one vote. It was Sage's vote which decided. The terms of sale as put through by Sage were that the road was to be sold for \$200,000, of which \$50,000 was to be paid down, the remainder in fourteen years.

Who bought the railroad? A company, of which Sage was president! Then Sage sold it to the New York Central combination, holding them up for a profit of nearly a million dollars. That road is now part of the New York Central Railroad.

This, to be sure, was malfeasance in office, and Sage, under ordinary law, could have been convicted and sentenced to prison for it. But according to capitalist standards it was a very "smart" and legitimate transaction, and proved that Sage had all of the makings of a great financier.

He further proved what a masterly financier he was when he obtained control of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad. This railroad company bribed the Wisconsin legislature, in 1856, with bribes amounting to \$800,000, to pass

an act giving the railroad a land grant worth nearly \$18,000,000. How Sage further plundered the stockholders of this railroad and other railroads; how he became president of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at the identical time, in 1872, when it bribed Congress with a million dollars in bribes, to pass an act giving it an additional mail subsidy of \$5,000,000—all of these facts are described in detail in "The History of The Great American Fortunes." And there will be further found the story of Russell Sage's confederacy with Jay Gould in many of Gould's great frauds and thefts.

It is part of this fortune, thus acquired, that Sage's widow has given to create "The Russell Sage Endowment," which is designed to investigate the causes of poverty and "ameliorate conditions." Stolen from the people of several generations, this fortune is now employed in mock charity to find out why poverty exists! Behold and wonder.

#### THE GREAT MR. HILL'S BEGINNINGS.

Surely, if ever a great magnate lived, it is James J. Hill, the railroad autocrat of the Northwest. So capitalist writers say, as they tell of his list of virtues. But one thing that they do not explain is just how he managed to get his hundreds of millions of dollars. This is a sad omission, for it is precisely what people would most like to know. If, however, his praise-bearers do not tell it, court records do, to a considerable extent.

One of the railroads that Russell Sage had plundered was the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad, later called the St. Paul and Pacific, and now part of the Great Northern system. This company had obtained an enormous land grant from the Government by bribery. After Sage had squeezed out of it all that he could, he dropped it when it was in bankruptcy.

The United States courts appointed a receiver, one Jesse P. Farley. Although the courts estimated the value of the railroad to be then at least \$20,000,000, it was sold in 1879 to Hill, George Stephen, Donald A. Smith and Norman W. Kittson for \$6,780,000. But were Hill and his associates required to pay this sum in money? Not at all. They were conveniently allowed to turn in receiver's debentures and bonds as the payment price—mere paper that cost them no more than the charge of printing, and the value of which could be made up by extortions after they had obtained the railroad.

This was a singular transaction. How did it come about? Court proceedings soon showed.

Farley brought several suits against Hill and Company, asserting that Hill and the others had conspired with him to betray the railroad property over to them. By this secret and criminal agreement, Farley swore, he (Farley) was to get a certain share of the spoils, to-wit: One-fifth of the capital stock of the railroad, and one-fifth of all of the other securities and property acquired by the Hill clique as a result of his collusion. Farley claimed that he had been ab-

solutely cheated of his share; hence he brought suit to recover.

Was ever such a remarkable action witnessed in any court? Here was a United States receiver suing to get the rewards of his own betrayal of duty. Even the judges commented upon the extraordinary nature of the suit.

For thirteen years Farley prosecuted his suits, carrying them twice to the Supreme Court of the United States. But although court after court practically confirmed his charges of collusion, yet he lost his case on the ground that he could produce no proofs in the form of a written agreement.

This is only the outline of the extended facts of Hill's career as described in "The History of The Great American Fortunes." Mr. Hill is now, as every one knows, one of the lords of the land, and delights in delivering homilies on honesty, thrift and ability as the sure means to success. And what of Stephen and Smith? Both remaining Canadians, Stephen rose to the exalted dignity of being created Lord Mount Stephen, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, etc., etc., and Smith became the eminent Lord Strathcona, Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, etc.

Who can say that scrupulous honesty does not pay?

## THE SUBLIME J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

Of all our galaxy of magnates, J. Pierpont Morgan has been endlessly praised to the high heavens as an incomparable financier, a lofty patriot and a noble philanthropist. He controls twelve billion dollars. Not a dollar of his fortune is "tainted," no, not a solitary dollar.

Such is the fiction. What are the facts?

One of Morgan's transactions, at the beginning of his career, will seem to show the high quality of his superb patriotism, and the fine integrity of his business faculties.

When the Civil War broke out, Morgan was twenty-four years old, a robust young man, well qualified for military service. The Union needed soldiers badly, but Morgan, like most others of his class, not only showed his great heroism by staying at home, but profited from selling condemned rifles to the Union army.

This was in 1861. A batch of five thousand condemned carbines lay in the Government arsenal in New York City. They were the remainder of a large consignment that the Government officials had condemned in 1857 as being so bad that they would shoot off the thumbs of the very soldiers who used them.

One Arthur M. Eastman of Manchester, New Hampshire, offered the Government \$3 apiece for those 5,000 condemned rifles. They were sold to him for \$3.50 each. But Eastman didn't have the money, and one Simon Stevens, a corrupt Tammany politician, appeared on the

scene, agreeing to back Eastman to the extent of \$20,000. This sum was to be applied for payment for the rifles; as collateral security, Stevens took a lien upon the rifles. The official and legal records show that Stevens obtained the funds from J. Pierpont Morgan.

By telegraph, the 5,000 condemned rifles were then sold to General Fremont, commanding at St. Louis, for \$22 each, upon the representation that they were good, new rifles. This \$22 was demanded and agreed upon, notwithstanding the fact that the Government was then paying \$17.50 for rifles of the very best pattern. The matter made a great scandal, and Secretary of War Stanton appointed a commission in 1862, which completely exposed it, and which showed that despite the rifles being utterly unfit for service, they had been bought one day from the Government for \$3.50 and unloaded the next day upon the army for \$22 each. Of course, as the commission showed, the money with which the Government was paid was a part of the Government's own money. "The Government," reported the Commission, "not only sold one day for \$17,486 arms which it had agreed the day before to repurchase for \$109,912—making a loss to the United States of \$92,426—but virtually furnished the money to pay itself the \$17,466 it received."

The government refused to pay Morgan, and he sued it. The case of J. Pierpont Morgan vs. The United States Government may be found in the Commission's report as case No. 97. The Commission, however, decided that Morgan had

a legal claim upon the Government arising from the fact that the arms, technically at least, had passed into the army service. The Commission agreed to pay \$13.31 a carbine. This offer was not satisfactory to the claimants, and Stevens brought a suit for the full amount in the Court of Claims at Washington. In his decision, in 1867, Judge Peck described the arrangement between Stevens and Morgan, and concluded by deciding against the Government upon the strict construction that a contract was a contract.

The full facts as to this transaction and many other events of Morgan's career may be found in "The History of The Great American Fortunes." For every statement there made, references to, and criticisms from, the official documents are given. Such was the first business transaction of the famous J. Pierpont Morgan, the pious and patriotic Morgan; and by it you may be able to judge the methods of his later and larger dealings.

These are a few of the many fortunes described in the writer's three volumes. But these magnates were not exceptions, as is there abundantly shown. All capitalist society, from great magnate to petty dealer, have, according to degree and ability, used fraud and profited from fraud. The difference has been simply one of degree. And the cause has been the capitalist system which subsists by fraud and exploitation, and which will continue to drive and keep the great mass of people in poverty until that system is abolished.

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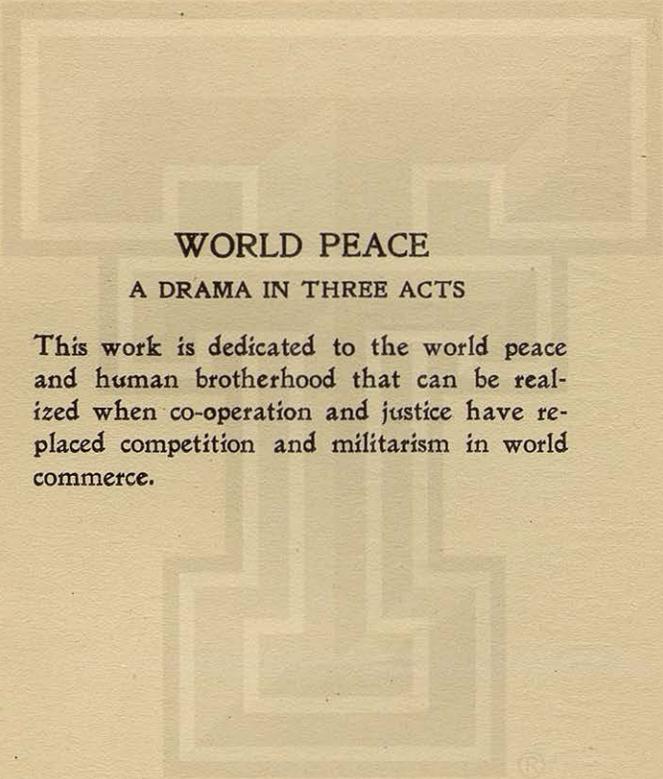
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44

## PERSONS OF THE PLAY

PEACE.  
DEMOCRACY.  
HISTORY.  
WORLD FEDERATION.  
AMERICA.  
COLUMBIA.  
AMERICAN BANKER  
AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN  
AMERICAN SPECULATOR  
DRUMMER  
MEDICAL SCIENCE.  
CHARITY.  
RELIGION.  
RED CROSS.

THE KAISER  
GERMAN STATESMAN  
GERMAN BANKER  
GERMAN BUSINESSMAN  
THE KING OF ENGLAND  
ENGLISH STATESMAN  
ENGLISH BANKER  
ENGLISH BUSINESSMAN  
THE CZAR  
RUSSIAN STATESMAN  
RUSSIAN BANKER  
RUSSIAN BUSINESSMAN  
THE EMPEROR OF  
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.  
AUSTRIAN ARCH-DUKE  
THE KING OF BELGIUM.  
THE KING OF SERVIA.  
THE PRESIDENT  
OF FRANCE.  
THE KING OF ITALY.  
THE SULTAN.

ARMAMENT MAKER  
A CLERGYMAN

(The following characters  
are all individuals from the  
peasant and working class  
groups)

MESSENGER  
BELGIAN MOTHER  
BELGIAN CHILD  
BELGIAN BOY  
IRISHMAN (Fiddler)  
IRISH MOTHER  
IRISH CHILD  
GERMAN WORKMAN  
GERMAN WOMAN  
GERMAN YOUTH  
GERMAN BOY  
FRENCH WORKMAN  
FRENCH WOMAN  
FRENCH BOY  
FRENCH GIRL  
RUSSIAN WORKMAN  
RUSSIAN WOMAN  
RUSSIAN GIRL  
RUSSIAN LITTLE GIRL  
ENGLISH WORKMAN  
ENGLISH WOMAN  
ENGLISH LITTLE GIRL  
SERVIAN WOMAN  
SERVIAN BOY  
AUSTRIAN WOMAN  
AUSTRIAN YOUTH  
SCOTCHMAN (with bagpipe)  
SCOTCH LITTLE GIRL  
HUNGARIAN VIOLINIST  
HUNGARIAN LITTLE GIRL

(Continued)

PERSONS OF THE PLAY (Continued)

BRITISH, GERMAN, AUSTRIAN, HUNGARIAN, RUSSIAN,  
SERVIAN, POLISH, BELGIAN, FRENCH, AND TURKISH  
GROUPS OF PEASANTS AND WORKING PEOPLE, CON-  
SISTING OF FATHERS, MOTHERS, OLDER AND YOUNGER  
CHILDREN.

NORWEGIAN, SWEDISH, DUTCH, SPANISH, PORTU-  
GUESE, ITALIAN, GREEK, DANISH, ROUMANIAN, BUL-  
GARIAN AND SWISS GROUPS, CONSISTING OF FATHERS,  
MOTHERS, OLDER AND YOUNGER CHILDREN.

PORTERS AND WORKINGMEN.

## ACT I

**RIGHT STAGE.** This part of the stage is set with tables, around which are peasant groups of various European nations. Each group contains fathers, mothers, children, young men and maidens. Fathers smoking, mothers knitting, embroidering, crocheting and fondling children. The men exchange newspapers, discuss politics, pass cigars and cigarettes from table to table, light each other's pipes and clink wine glass with stein, all in peace and good will. Mothers display their work, show each other stitches and compare children.

Young men and maidens nod and smile to each other. Some pair off, a German youth and a French girl—a Russian girl and an Austrian youth, etc. Mild flirtations and innocent love-making.

The children play tag, ball, and marbles between the tables. A Belgian boy draws a long string of wiener-wursts from his pocket; A little English girl snatches a handful of crackers from a table and they feed each other with much laughter. A French boy makes friendly advances to a little Russian girl,

exhibiting a long stick of candy. The little Russian girl accepts the proffered friendship and they eat the candy, taking alternate bites. A little Hungarian girl and a Servian boy share their bread and cheese. A German boy creeps up and snatches a handful of pretzels from a table; his mother laughingly strikes at him over the table with a long stocking she is knitting and he runs off to share his pretzels with a little Scotch girl.

During this scene characteristic national folk music is heard from the various groups. A German workman plays a yellow clarinet; a Scotchman plays the Highland Fling on a bagpipe; an Irishman plays an Irish jig; a Russian workman plays a ballalaika; a Hungarian violin is heard. Snatches of folk songs of various nations are heard now and then from the various groups. All applaud the contributions to the gayety of the occasion and express enjoyment.

A French workingman looks up from the newspaper he is reading and addresses a German workingman.

FRENCH WORKINGMAN. The jingoes are working overtime; here is a fool pencil pusher who insists that in order to display our culture and patriotism we must all go to war.

GERMAN WORKINGMAN. Fools! All mouth and no brains. If the jingoes want war let them do the fighting. You and I have no stomach to cut each other's throats and I would rather drink a good draught of Muenchener than my brother's blood. [raises stein and drinks] I drink to peace and forswear war.

RUSSIAN WORKINGMAN. Hear! Hear! Let fools

rant and jingoes rave—it shall not disturb us. The Balkan situation did look somewhat alarming but that is all over now. I have here the agenda for the International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna soon. It is full of good meat for our souls and when the workers of every nation on earth meet in that Congress of Labor we will sign and seal the pact of the International solidarity of labor. Then fool pencil pushers and jingoistic howlers will lose their occupation, and war will go out of business.

ENGLISH WORKINGMAN. You are right brother! We organized workers have found that business is international and does not concern itself with flags or countries but takes the toll of profits under any flag. Shall we be less wise, we workers? I trust not.. If business interests are international, so shall be the organization of the workers and we do not love the Fatherland less because we love the human race more. To be loyal, patriotic citizens of any nation we need not hate and distrust the men of other nations.

I propose a toast to peace, the international solidarity of labor and world-wide brotherhood. Who will drink with me?

**All workingmen spring to their feet and drink to the toast.**

LEFT STAGE. Screened from the groups on the right, but in sight of the audience, a group of the European bankers, business men and the armament maker is seated at a table. On the back wall is hung an immense map of Europe.

Enter (left) the Kaiser and the Emperor of

**Austria-Hungary arm in arm. Business men, bankers and armament maker rise and step aside. The King of England enters (left) just behind them. The Kaiser greets the King of England effusively, kissing him on both cheeks.**

KAISER. Here is my beloved kinsman! I trust that all is well with you, Georgie?

KING OF ENGLAND. Greetings most beloved cousin. All is well with me and my family; I trust God's choicest blessing rests on you and yours.

**The Emperor of Austria-Hungary steps forward and greets the King of England.**

EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. I greet you and pray that a thousand blessings rest on you and yours.

KING OF ENGLAND. I thank you from my heart and wish ten thousand choicest blessings for you and your family and nation.

**The Czar and the President of France enter (left) arm in arm, followed by the Sultan.**

KAISER. Behold what happiness is ours! Here is my dear cousin Nicky [kisses the Czar effusively]. How goes the world with you my cousin? And greetings to you, Mr. President [shakes hands with President of France] even though you are the one Republican sheep in the flock. [All laugh] and the "Sick Man"! [The Kaiser shakes hands with the Sultan].

CZAR. Thank you, dear kinsman. My darling Crown Prince is less robust than I could wish and a few troublesome Republicans who must have imbibed their ideas of my French friend's nation, annoy me somewhat but in the main we feel ourselves in the hollow of God's hand.

Enter (left) the King of Servia, the King of Italy and the King of Belgium arm in arm. All turn to greet them.

KAISER [To the King of Servia]. A hearty welcome, most beloved kinsman. You bring a welcome breath of sunny Southern skies and olive groves. God's blessing be with you and yours. [Shakes hands with the Kings of Italy and Belgium.]

KING OF SERVIA. A thousand thanks for your good wishes and we return them to you a hundredfold.

While the greetings of royalty have been taking place the business men, bankers and armament maker gather in front of the map consulting and pointing to the map to illustrate their arguments. German, French, Russian and English statesmen enter (left) and join business men, bankers and armament maker in front of the map. An English business man steps a little aside and calls an English banker who in turn calls the armament maker.

ENGLISH BUSINESS MAN. [Aside to the English statesman] The pressure of the competition of German trade is becoming unendurable; the trade supremacy of England threatens to slip from our grasp and leave us a second-rate commercial power. You must do something in this grave crisis.

ENGLISH STATESMAN. Quite true. We must find some way to strengthen our hold on the world commerce. Possibly our friend the banker, may suggest some plan, since we all know him to be such a practical man?

ARMAMENT MAKER. [Interrupting] There is but one way to maintain commercial supremacy: keep your army and navy up to the highest point of efficiency and

readiness for duty. Cannons are the "last words of Kings" and the safeguard of national commercial supremacy. Your only hope is in increased armament.

ENGLISH BANKER. I concur in the position of our friend and I stand ready to furnish the funds for increased armament. I feel it my patriotic duty to subscribe liberally to any loan our royal master may decide in his wisdom necessary.

[The English statesman calls the King of England aside to confer with him and the English banker while the armament maker passes over to engage the Kaiser, the German statesman and the German business man in conversation.]

ENGLISH STATESMAN. [To the King of England] Your Royal Highness, we have decided that the safety of English commerce demands an increase in armament and the immediate raising of our army and navy to the highest point of efficiency and readiness for action. A German war cloud is hovering over Europe and our only hope of maintaining peace is in preparedness for war. A most liberal military appropriation will be necessary. The loyalty and patriotism of our great financiers have already been sounded and they stand ready to subscribe fully a generous loan.

KING OF ENGLAND. [With sadness and indecision] But there are already snarls and mutters of discontent among the common people. They declare our taxes a grievous burden; I dread to rouse their anger and resentment. Increased armament means heavier taxes; heavier taxes may provoke a social revolution.

ENGLISH STATESMAN. [In shocked horror] Your Royal Highness, it grieves me to the heart to hear you

voice such forebodings. I pray you do not give heed to the vapping of certain Labor M. P.'s who have wormed their way into Parliament by playing on the envy of the discontented members of the working class. The men of Old England are loyal sons and I assure you their patriotism will rise above the sordid counting of a few pennies in taxes when you make it clear that our world commerce is at stake.

**KING OF ENGLAND.** Perhaps you are in closer touch with my subjects than I am and I can but trust to your wisdom and loyalty. Kindly convey to my parliament at once my wish that the necessary loan should be arranged and bid our Minister for War make every preparation to strengthen our land and naval forces.

**The Kaiser, the German business man, the German banker and the armament maker observe the action of the English statesman and the King of England with keen interest. The German group moves near to and in front of the map.**

**ARMAMENT MAKER.** [To the Kaiser] Observe, your Royal Highness, the King of England is a shrewd and farseeing ruler. He grasps the mighty truth that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and I chance to know that the message he has just dispatched is to his parliament demanding still larger military and naval expenditures and through secret channels of information I know he has heavily increased his armament. I understand the friendly relations existing between your countries, but it is always well to be in readiness for an emergency. The only way to enforce peace is to be well prepared for war.

**GERMAN BUSINESS MAN.** [Addressing the German

group] I fear we face an industrial crisis. English guns control every gateway for our foreign trade. Consider our geographical position: hemmed in on every side, with every path blocked by England. [Points to map] The Straits of Dover, Gibraltar, Suez—all English—again, we have a well organized working class demanding an ever higher standard of living. Thus we compete with English business at a frightful disadvantage. We must have free access to the sea; we must have more coal and iron mines and we must occupy the minds of our working people with something else than trades unions and socialism. I seriously fear that England already has her eye on our sister nation, Belgium; she has long coveted the rich mineral wealth of that little nation and it behooves us to warn our royal master that danger threatens from that direction. It might be well to sound our bankers in regard to their loyalty in subscribing to a heavy loan to increase our navy and to strengthen our Belgian frontier.

GERMAN STATESMAN. It shall be done immediately.

The German group moves away from the map, accompanied by the armament maker, and draw closer together. The King of England, the King of Belgium and the President of France confer in whispers (left). The Czar, the Russian business man and the Russian statesman gather before the map and confer earnestly, but in words too low to be heard. The King of Servia and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary eye each other suspiciously and try to hear what is being said by the Russian group. The King of Italy and the Sultan, left alone, glance first at one group, then another, look much perplexed and finally light cigarettes and sit down to await developments.

GERMAN STATESMAN. [To the Kaiser, indicating the conference of the King of England, the King of Belgium and the President of France] That seems to hold a sinister threat for our nation, Your Royal Highness.

GERMAN BANKER. [To the Kaiser] If there is any question of our preparedness to meet whatever may arise, my loyalty to the Kaiser and the Fatherland demands that I subscribe fully any loan necessary for our protection.

ARMAMENT MAKER. [To the Kaiser's group] My factories are equipped and my loyal workingmen are waiting to supply the armament needed to protect the Fatherland.

KAISER. [To the group around him] I am a man of peace, but it is God's will that I should expend every force to protect our foreign commerce and guard our Empire from invasion. [Turns to the armament maker] I am ready to sign the order that will give you the task of doubling my armament, but it is wise to keep this fact a secret for a time. Those troublesome and ungodly Socialists in my Reichstag will raise a mighty clatter. Their heads are full of a senseless creed of anti-militarism, internationalism and the solidarity of labor. Their ranting is most distressing to my ears.

GERMAN STATESMAN: True, Your Royal Highness! They are a troublesome lot, but we have the support of press and pulpit and when the day of action comes you will find that well-garnished words of patriotism will sway the masses.

The Kaiser signs the armament maker's order book, and the armament maker passes over to where

the Czar, the Russian business man, the Russian banker and the Russian statesman stand before the map of Europe. The King of Servia and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary glare at each other with increasing anger and watch the actions of the Russian group with breathless interest.]

RUSSIAN BUSINESS MAN. We face a crisis that means life and death to the Russian nation. With an Empire greater than all of South America, rich but undeveloped, and a vigorous working class, we are hampered commercially. The business interests of a nation fatten not on what that nation can produce, but what it can sell to other nations. Whilst we conquered the Tartar hordes other nations captured the commerce of the world and have built national barriers that surround us on every side. The wares that we would sell and the goods that we would buy from other nations must all pass under the hostile cannons of a single nation, Germany and her allies. England, France, Belgium and North America would all be glad to trade with us, but the cursed German greed dams the flow of trade; and we, the greatest nation on earth, with the largest territory and most numerous population, are reduced to the shameful position of being imprisoned like a felon in a cell and exploited for the commercial glory of the German nation.

If we would live we must have access to the open sea. [He turns and points to the map] We have four navies on four seas, all isolated from each other. Here to the Northwest there are not only natural barriers, but our shipping must pass under the cannons of Germany. Here to the Southwest our only pathway is closed by Austria, and to the South the Dardanelles, under German influ-

ence, block us. We must cut a road to the Mediterranean Sea, that our shipping may reach the ocean roads of commerce unharassed by German influences. The question is: How shall it be done?

ARMAMENT MAKER. There is but one way. The tools I forge are the only ones that will cleave the path your soul desires. The ruler to the West [**pointing to the Kaiser**] already knows that you want that free pathway to the sea and he has just strengthened the armament of his nation to shut you out. It behooves you to plow it with my cannons, and do it soon, ere the strength of the Kaiser's arm becomes too great for you.

RUSSIAN STATESMAN. He is right. And I chance to know through the secret channels of diplomacy that Servia will be glad to join with us; she fears her ancient enemy, Austria-Hungary. Turkey is a weak and senile nation. Bulgaria is worn by war and Montenegro is but a dainty morsel for our appetite. Now is the time to strike. If the honor and glory of Russia is to grow we must sell the very coats from off our backs if necessary to buy the armament we need for this bold stroke for freedom.

RUSSIAN BANKER. It is not necessary. My loyalty to the Czar and Fatherland makes it my patriotic duty to subscribe fully any loan that may be necessary to protect and enhance our national honor.

KING OF ENGLAND. [**To his group**] God! This weight of militarism is a heavy burden to carry; sometimes I feel it will crush us utterly.

ENGLISH BANKER. True, Your Royal Highness, but the military insanity of the Kaiser makes it necessary.

KAISER. [To his group] The clatter of those ungodly Socialists and the clamor of discontent among my working people almost deafen me. Gathering military taxes when there is no war is a thankless job.

GERMAN STATESMAN. [To the Kaiser.] True, Your Royal Highness, "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," but divine wisdom made you king and the greed and avarice of England make it necessary for the Fatherland to bear a heavy burden of military cost.

CZAR. [To his group] Siberia and salt mine, dungeon and prison cell, knout and bayonet do not still the snarls of discontent among the rabble against the military tax. I am sick at soul of it all.

RUSSIAN BANKER. True, Most Noble Czar, but you were ordained of God to rule the rabble, and their sordid minds cannot comprehend that the greed and lust for conquest of the Kaiser makes the heavy burden necessary.

EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. [Speaking to the King of Servia] Why do you eye me with so much bitterness and suspicion? I am your most loyal friend. I trust you fully, for I have just sent my young prince on a friendly visit to your capital.

KING OF SERVIA. You misjudge me; I have no anger or suspicion in my heart, only love and veneration for you and your long and glorious reign.

**The Austrian Archduke staggers in [left], stumbles across the stage to the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. The Emperor clasps him in his arms and eases his body into a chair near a table.**

AUSTRIAN ARCHDUKE. A Servian hireling has mortally stricken me. [Falls forward on table, dead.]

EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY. [Turning to King

**of Servia]** I know the blackness of your heart. You have not deceived me. I know that you have plotted with the brutal Czar to tear a pathway through my nation to the sea; you would have dismembered my country like a joint upon a butcher's block. Not satisfied with such black-hearted treachery, your hirelings have murdered my prince. I swear that you shall pay for this; I shall appeal to the Kaiser, and we will tear your country into shreds.

**KING OF SERVIA.** And I shall appeal to the Czar and we will crush you both.

**Emperor of Austria-Hungary turns to the Kaiser.**  
**EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.** I must avenge the death of my prince, but fear Russia.

**KAISER.** I will protect you. [**Steps close to Emperor of Austria-Hungary**]

**KING OF SERVIA.** [**Moves to the Czar's side**] Nicholas, I need your aid.

**CZAR.** The ties of blood bind us together.

**The other rulers listen with apprehension; France and England move to the Russian and Servian group. The Kings of Belgium and Italy and the Sultan of Turkey stand indecisive.**

**KAISER.** I have feared this. Russia and France are even now marching across my frontiers. I shall hurl an army through Belgium at once. It is the only way.

**KING OF BELGIUM.** But we are neutral—our treaty—

**KAISER.** A scrap of paper cannot stand in the way of German safety.

**KING OF ENGLAND.** Germany violates Belgium neutrality! [**Turns to France**] England must protect the

integrity of smaller nations—we join with you and the Czar.

CZAR. I thank you both for your aid in this war of freedom.

**King of Belgium joins the English and French groups.**

PRESIDENT OF FRANCE. God and humanity call us to take this step. France will answer to a man, for the bitter score of 1870 is still unpaid and Germany still holds my Alsace and Lorraine.

The orchestra breaks into a clamor of discordant sounds which sound louder and louder. The involved rulers rush to the center of the stage, each shouting to their respective people, "The Fatherland is attacked, rush to the defense."

The King of Italy stands undecided by his chair as the clamor breaks—shrugs his shoulders, tosses aside his cigarette.

KING OF ITALY. [To the Sultan] I don't need any more seaports; neither do I seem to possess any commerce that anyone wants to take away from me, and I am somewhat at loss to know just what I should do. Of course, a treaty is a treaty and should be kept, but with war abroad and my Parliament full of Socialists at home I think neutrality is best for me. [Leisurely lights another cigarette, ponders and walks slowly off stage [left], followed by Sultan.]

With the appearance of their rulers, and as the crash of the impending war is heard, the peasants spring to their feet in astonishment and fear. Each national group huddles together, mothers frantically gather their children into their arms and

women and children cling terror-stricken to the men.

KAISER. [To his people] The unspeakable Slav, supported by the French, has invaded the sacred, blood-bought soil of the Fatherland from both frontiers. Your God and Kaiser calls you to the defense. To arms! To arms, noble sons.

PRESIDENT OF FRANCE. [To his people] The haughty Teuton marches on us and would grind France beneath his mailed heel. Arise, ye sons of France, and drive the invader into the sea, and God shall be your ally.

CZAR. [To his people] The German hordes swarm over the borderland and would subject Russia to humiliation and wipe our glorious name from the map of Europe. God and the Czar call you to the battle line.

KING OF ENGLAND. [To his people] The German barbarians would drive Britannia from the seas and wrest from us our heritage of glory and supremacy. They have violated the neutrality of the peaceful and inoffensive Belgians. England, the protector of all weaker sister nations, calls you to arms! My faithful sons, humble the Prussian despot, sustain the honor of old England and protect the neutrality of weaker nations. Your God and King calls you to wage this holy war of liberty.

ALL RULERS IN UNISON. [To their respective people] It is a war for freedom and against invasion. Your God and your country call you to the battle line to repel the invaders.

GERMAN, FRENCH, ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN WORKINGMEN. [Crying in chorus] We will not go to war, those men across the line are our brothers and we will not murder them.

RULERS. [Answer in Chorus] Already we are invaded and those brother workingmen of yours are arming to murder you.

WORKINGMEN. [Each turning to his own group] Great God! What treachery. We must kill or be killed.

An Irishman stands his little daughter on a chair and clasps her and his wife in his arms. The mother weeps bitterly.

IRISH CHILD. Mammy, why does daddy look so sad and why does mammy cry?

IRISH MOTHER. The king has called daddy to go to war and fight for him.

IRISH CHILD. The English king?

IRISH MOTHER. Yes, darling.

IRISH CHILD. But, mammy, the English king has treated the Irish people bitter hard for so many years; why should daddy fight for him?

IRISH MOTHER. My God! child, you can't understand; it's war.

IRISH CHILD. What is war?

IRISH MOTHER. War is where men go to kill their enemies.

IRISH CHILD. Who are enemies?

IRISH MOTHER. Men of other nations, darling.

IRISH CHILD. Are they other little girls' daddies?

IRISH MOTHER. Yes, child.

IRISH CHILD. Daddy, are you going to kill some other little girl's daddy? Don't she love her daddy and won't she cry?

Fathers embrace wives and children, brothers embrace sisters, and lovers sweethearts.

WORLD PEACE

25

**Clergyman [enters left] walks to center of stage  
and addresses people.**

CLERGYMAN. God and king have called each man to his colors to wage this holy war. In every war some men must fall. Your nation has need of sons, so tarry at my altar ere ye answer the bugle call and I will wed ye to the woman of your choice. God and your king command that ye breed before ye die.

CURTAIN.

## ACT II

[LEFT STAGE] The peasant women of the warring nations are grouped in a semi-circle, each national group huddled together and seated on low stools. Their children are crouching at their feet and hiding behind their skirts. The neutrals are grouped together at the extreme left and slightly behind the warring nations. The women of the warring nations are anguish-stricken and weeping, and the people of the neutral nations seem frightened and anxious. The noise and turmoil of war is heard in the distance and with each fresh outbreak the people of the neutral nations grow more agitated.

[RIGHT STAGE] America and Columbia are seated on a flag-draped dais. The American business man, American banker, American speculator and the "drummer" are grouped near. They listen to the thunder of war and gaze on the terror-stricken women and children with pity.

COLUMBIA. Great God! How frightful. It makes my senses reel and my soul sick to think of such horrors. How can such things be in a world of culture and civiliza-

tion? Has the world gone stark, raving mad with the lust for blood?

AMERICA. Not at all. This war is but the outcome of civilized industrial life. It is distressing, it is true, but you should not allow sentiment to overshadow your practical common sense. Just think what a wonderful opportunity for business. [Columbia shudders and hides her eyes from the appalling scene.]

COLUMBIA. How terrible to think of business, when millions of human lives are lost, culture and art trampled into the dust, and civilization dragged back into savagery.

AMERICA. Quite true, but it is business that rules the world to-day and not sentiment.

**A continuous stream of porters, carrying shoes, harness, saddles, clothing, bags of wheat, guns and boxes of ammunition, enter [right], cross in front of the weeping women and pass on their way to the battlefield.**

AMERICA. There! Observe how foolish your objections. A stream of wealth is pouring from our shores to the warring nations and a stream of good European gold will come back to us.

COLUMBIA. But the gold is all stained with human blood, and our own working people are starving for the food we send to feed this war.

AMERICA. Mere Socialistic cant! The priests, bishops and church dignitaries have all expressed their opinion that it is a holy war. I have questioned my statesmen and they declare that it is being conducted according to the rules of world diplomacy; I have received advice from our great captains of finance and they declare the

war good for business. God ordained these wise men to guide our destinies. Be content woman, be content!

**Peasant women rise one by one and cluster in center of stage for conference. They appeal to a Hungarian woman to carry a message to America pleading for intercession.**

**GERMAN WOMAN.** Go, sister, to the great land across the sea and beg mighty America to stop this slaughter.

**FRENCH WOMAN.** Hurry, sister, ere it is too late. The great Napoleon once said that armies travel on their stomachs, and the granaries of Europe are bare of food. If America will sell our war lords no more food, the war must cease. We may starve, but better far to die of hunger than to be maimed with shot and torn with shell.

**AUSTRIAN WOMAN.** America is tender of heart and mighty in power; go tell how bitter are our sufferings, that her mighty strength may bring us peace.

**RUSSIAN WOMAN.** Go, tell the generous America that the arms she sends across the sea but prolong this hell of war. Every bullet may make a widow, every shrapnel a dozen orphans, and the dum-dum kills not alone the body of the man on the firing line but the heart and soul of the woman left behind.

**ENGLISH WOMAN.** Go, sister, and voice the cry of the harried, war-stricken women of Europe, and surely the great, tender heart of America will heed our cry and send us help.

**SERVIAN WOMAN.** America is called "The Home of the Brave and the Land of the Free." God grant that the "free" may hear the cry of the slaves of the war gods and make of our bravery our salvation.

**MESSENGER.** I will be your messenger.

ALL WOMEN. [In unison) God speed you on your way. God send us peace.

The Messenger crosses stage and kneels before America to make her plea.

MESSENGER. Oh! Great and powerful nation, I come as the living voice of all the war-cursed women of Europe. I kneel at your feet and supplicate for the strength of your might and the humanity of your heart that alone can save the continent of Europe from utter ruin and despair. Europe to-day is one vast charnel house, her highways are shambles, her farms are graveyards, her fields are quagmires soaked in human blood and polluted with rotting human flesh. Our factories, mills, mines and workshops are idle while the workingmen fight, die and rot in the trenches. Already the pick and flower of European young manhood have been transformed into bloated corpses whose stench pollutes the air, while famine and pestilence hover like vultures over every nation.

AMERICA. True, my dear madam! You have my heartfelt sympathy. I will call my people to gather in the churches and hold a day of prayer.

MESSENGER. A most pious thing to do, no doubt, but long and bitter experience has taught us that God is always on the side of the army with the best guns, and since there are guns enough in Europe and being manufactured in your armament factories to shoot the happiness of the women of Europe into fragments we are loath to wait until the guns decide whom God shall help. If agonized prayers could have brought us peace we would not have appealed to you. From a million agonized souls in Europe prayers are ascending at this moment.

AMERICA. My heart is with you, but, of course, I can take no official notice of your plea. Home is the place for women; men must settle the quarrels of nations in the manly way. Go home to your children and in God's good time the war will end.

MESSENGER. But listen, O! great nation, we have no homes. Millions of our men have been taken from us. How many are slain we do not know, but we do know that every time the sun passes from east to west thousands die. Our homes have been destroyed and more crumble every time a cannon roars or a shrapnel falls. Our protectors are gone and thousands of women in Europe bear beneath their anguished hearts the little lives that have been conceived in force, that will be nurtured in blazing hate and that will be born to deeds of violence and insanity. In a few weeks the Belgian women will give life to the hated offspring of the German invaders; the outraged Polish women will bear the fruit of the hellish lust of the Russian soldiers, and so the cruel, brutal story runs, involving every warring nation and bearing in its train horrors too frightful for human mind to grasp.

AMERICA. Madam, what would you have me do?

MESSENGER. I would have you order back into the harbor every ship loaded with food, either for sale or to be given in charity. Every pound of food you send the warring nations but helps the war lords to continue the slaughter. I would have you forbid the exportation of arms and ammunition. But for the armament you make and sell the warring nations, the murder must cease. In the name of womanhood, childhood and humanity, I demand that you stop the sale of war supplies and proffer mediation to the warring nations.

AMERICA. But, Madam, why do you come to me? I am only one nation and have problems enough at home without interfering in your European war.

MESSENGER. True you are only one nation, but you are the dominant nation of the Western world. You set the precedent of dictation of European politics when by your Monroe Doctrine you said no king or emperor should come to the Western world and extend his dominions. You have enforced that edict, not with battleship and cannon, but with moral power, and because of it two great continents are made up of sister republics who live in peace and harmony. Two score of republics stretch from pole to pole and their thousands of miles of boundary lines are unprotected by forts or soldiers, and these two-score governments are free from the curse of militarism. America is the mother of republics, and when you speak it will not be for one nation, but for the twenty that occupy the Western continent. Every ruler of the Western world will join in the proffer of mediation, but you must lead the way in this, as in the building of republics.

The neutral nations of Europe are only waiting for your leadership. They hate this war, but are powerless to act lest they be crushed.

The common people of the warring nations have no quarrel with each other and loathe the part they play in the orgy of murder, but they, too, are helpless victims. The power to stop not only this war, but cast the War-God chained into the pit, and to rescue all mankind from his domination, is yours. Have you the courage to act?

AMERICA. Great God! How I long to take the step, but I am bound by unseen bonds—the domination of business interests—and Europe will not listen.

MESSENGER. Warfare is to business what drunkenness is to a weary man; false strength, false power that must be paid for in deadly reaction. And Europe will be glad to listen.

The porters continue to carry their wares across the stage.

America calls the American banker, speculator and business man for consultation.

AMERICA. [Pointing to messenger] You have heard the woman's plea. What is your answer?

AMERICAN BANKER. Preposterous! What insolence and presumption. Pray tell me what do women know of war or finance!

SPECULATOR. Impracticable! We have no call to interfere.

DRUMMER. [Elbowing his way to the front] Say, Sam, take it from me, if you let women butt in on this proposition hell will be popping. They don't give a damn for business; they are sentimentalists. Duck the petticoats, old man, or we are in for trouble.

AMERICAN BANKER. My friend is a little crude in his manner of expression, but quite sound as to logic. Allow me to donate half a million dollars to a fund to send doctors and nurses to Europe. It has always been the duty of womankind to bind up the wounds of the fallen, and if we can fix the minds of women on the noble work of nursing, they will not trouble us about an embargo or mediation.

DRUMMER. Good. I'll help in that. [Hastily draws a roll of bills from his pocket and tosses it to banker.]

America turns and pats the Messenger on the head with a fatherly air.

AMERICA. Madam, my heart bleeds for you and the women of your unhappy continent. I shall send Medical Science, one of God's best gifts to man, and Red Cross, the concrete expression of tender womanhood, to aid you in your day of sorrow.

America beckons and Medical Science, a young man physician, and Red Cross, a young woman nurse, enter [right]. America gives each an emergency case and they pass over to the weeping women, who view them without interest, and the pair pass on to the battlefield. [Leave stage left,]

MESSENGER. [To America] Believe me, I am grateful for your tenderness of heart and for your desire to succor us in our day of need, but I am not satisfied. Of what value to us will it be to have Medical Science and Red Cross bind up the wounds and heal the hurts of our loved ones, if, when they are healed, they must again go back to murder and be murdered?

Red Cross or Medical Science can bring no happiness to the hearts or ease to the souls of the women and children of war-cursed Europe.

AMERICA. Ah! Quite true, Madam, I understand. We must care for the women and children also. I will call my faithful aids, who have always been able to comfort my working people when strikes and lockouts, gunmen and Cossacks have brought death and suffering to their humble homes. I shall call Charity and Religion to you. [America beckons, and Charity, a young woman dressed in black, and Religion, a young clergyman, enter right. They stand before America, who hands to Charity a basket of bread and to Religion a Bible. [Charity and Religion start to go.]

[The drummer, suitcase in hand, is starting for Europe. He bumps into Religion accidentally and almost topples him over.]

DRUMMER. Beg your pardon, parson! I have to hustle to keep up with my job these days; business is simply humming.

RELIGION. I am happy to hear you say so, brother, for I am on my way to carry the consolation of religion to the unhappy continent of Europe and I trust you will contribute liberally.

DRUMMER. Sure! Just hold this stuff while I write a check. [Thrusts his sample case, order book and grip on Religion, who stands and holds them awkwardly. The drummer writes a check, speaking as he writes.] Well, take it from me, parson, the poor ginks need all the consolation they can get over there. That country is sure messed up something fierce.

RELIGION. I am happy to perceive that you have a tender heart and a realization of your Christian duty.

DRUMMER. Sure, Mike!

RELIGION. I am happy to have been chosen to carry the message of Christ to our unhappy brothers and sisters.

DRUMMER. What! Carry the message of Christ? Say, do you think I am going to put up my good money to have you spilling that "Peace on earth, good will to men" bunk around over Europe now? I should say not! Peace on earth! Nix! Not when our factories are running twenty-four hours a day, not when we are getting a hundred per cent advance on our shoes, not when unemployment here in the United States makes it possible for us to work our employes twelve hours a day and cut

wages to the bone. Say, we can get a full grown man for nine dollars a week, a peach of a girl for four and kids! Pshaw! They are so cheap we buy them by the carload.

RELIGION. Brother, I rejoice in your prosperity, but is there not serious danger of undermining the morals of your females by compelling them to work for so inadequate a wage as four dollars per week?

DRUMMER. Morals! What in hell has morals got to do with making shoes? I don't suppose it is particularly moral for us to send our shoes over there so the poor boobs can wade through the snow to shoot each others' head off, but it's darn good business. See, here, parson, if you haven't a better line on morals and business than that, I don't think I can trust you to spend my money. [Starts to put the check back in his pocket.]

RELIGION. [In agitation] You misunderstood me quite, brother! I see your viewpoint clearly. It is the message of Paul I wish to carry.

DRUMMER. Sure! Paul was all right! He was a good old scout. You just throw that stuff of Paul's about "servants, obey your masters," and "women, if you want to know anything, ask the old man at home" around in good big chunks and send me a bill for the chunks. So long! I got to keep moving. [Drummer thrusts check in Religion's hand, snatches his sample case and rushes away.] [Exit left.]

Religion and Charity pass over to the weeping women, who dumbly accept their offerings, impatiently reject them, or sadly turn away.

RELIGION [Stoops and speaks to a Belgian child] Here, my dear little child, is a tract and a nice bun this good, sweet lady and I have brought you. You must pray

God every night to bless the kind gentleman in America who sent us.

BELGIAN CHILD. I don't want no bun. I don't want no tract. I want my father. I want to go home. My grandpa is shot and my auntie is lying in the ditch all bloody. I don't like tracts and buns and war. I want to go home.

RELIGION. What shocking manners.

BELGIAN MOTHER. Leave the child alone. He had better starve than to grow up to be cannon meat.

**Religion and Charity pass down the lines of women and children, meeting with indifference or rebuffs. They pause near left exit.**

RELIGION. [Speaks with deep sadness] Sister, it is very evident that this is no place for us. These people are stiff of neck, hard of heart and adamant to the gentle voice of piety. Let us retire to some quiet spot and meditate and pray for their conversion. [Both leave left.]

MESSENGER. [To America] Bear with me, O! mighty nation, if I still plead. My sisters in yonder unhappy land are in desperate plight and you are our only hope. Do not think us ungrateful for all your charity. We know the heart of America is tender and the sympathy of America is universal, but every loaf of bread you send across the water but leaves another penny in the war lord's chest with which to wage the war.

AMERICA. Oh! Begone, woman. Begone! You drive me mad with your insistence. Governments do not take into account womankind. There is no place in our world diplomacy for the voice of woman. Leave me in peace that I may consult with those to whom I must account

for my every official act for the furtherance of the business interests and the material prosperity of my nation. [America turns from the woman and consults with bankers and business men who stand grouped near the dais.]

**The messenger rises and passes over to Columbia and starts to kneel. Columbia hastily raises her to her feet and places an arm about her shoulder.**

COLUMBIA. Do not kneel to me, sister. To-day it is your sons who fall in battle, to-morrow it may be mine. In the travail of giving life to sons we have been initiated into the holy sisterhood of mothers. The blood seal of giving life has sealed us unto a sisterhood that shall withstand the assault of creed and race, hate and war, death and the grave. Like you, I now have no voice in political government. The time has come for united woman-kind to declare that if we bear the sons, we, too, shall have a voice in the parliaments that send them forth to murder and be murdered. [Addressing herself to America] I array myself beside this woman. I am in accord with her demands that the exportation of foodstuffs and munitions of war shall stop and that America shall demand and secure mediation.

AMERICA. For God's sake, be quiet. Do not interfere with mighty problems that you do not understand. I have consulted with my advisers and they refuse the woman's plea. What can I do?

**The drummer re-enters [right] and stands near America, looking on.**

AMERICAN BANKER. It would be contrary to all the rules of world diplomacy.

AMERICAN BUSINESS MAN. It would interfere with business.

COLUMBIA. Diplomacy! Business! I care as little for these as you care for the millions of human lives that have been sacrificed upon the altar of greed. Such gods may satisfy men who never gave life to a child, but to us women who have paid the price for a human life they are but trash.

AMERICA. Be reasonable, woman! Be reasonable! We must be content with watchful waiting.

COLUMBIA. Watchful waiting! Yes, no doubt, that is sufficient for you men, but we women want quick and decisive action.

AMERICA. [In desperation] Ye gods! These women!

DRUMMER. Sam, I told you that if ever you let the petticoats get a look-in they would play the devil with things!

COLUMBIA. Are our children to blush for us in everlasting shame because of your inaction now? In all the history of the world no nation ever faced so sublime an opportunity to serve mankind as we; no ruler ever grasped so god-like a power; but once in the lifetime of the race does such an opportunity come, and all the future ages will loathe and despise us if we fail humanity in this crisis. From the crash and roar of war that grips the world to-day we are free; while the nations of Europe writhe in a death struggle like wild beasts in a jungle fight, we are at peace. The only powerful nation not hopelessly embroiled, we hold the confidence of all nations and the power to arrest carnage, to still the roar of war, to dam the rivers of blood and to bring peace to nations unable to secure peace for themselves. Like Jesus, who stood by the wind-tossed waves of Gall-

lee, we have the power to say to the war-tossed nations of Europe, "Peace, be still," and no matter how strong the surge of hate, no matter how blind the passion, no matter how deep the hold of the war demon—if we but speak, war will cease.

AMERICA. In God's name! Will you never cease your importunities? This is not our war. Militarism is to blame; Kaiser, King, Emperor and Czar are responsible; we must maintain our neutrality.

COLUMBIA. How Christlike! Militarism—that word seems to have a familiar sound. It has been a wonderfully convenient scapegoat for truckling politicians, but we women know that it is but another name for greed and profits. Kaiser, Emperor, King and Czar! Yes! they started the war, but we are going to end it. Neutrality—certainly the neutrality of hell—the money changer's pact with death—a bloody bargain with the war lords; peace with damnation, that the profits of these speculators may be protected. How shameful that we must admit that no patriotic passions sway us, no religious frenzy blinds our reason. We are not honest enough to espouse the cause of the nation we think most justified in this murderfest, Germany or England, France or Russia; the blood-stained gold of any nation is acceptable to us. We will furnish the machines of murder to any nation, to kill the people of any nation, if they but bring us "thirty pieces of silver."

AMERICA. In the name of God, woman, have you no mercy! Why press the white-hot brand of my own soul's condemnation into my heart? Am I not human like yourself, have I not eyes to see and ears to hear and reason that cannot be smothered; have I not a soul that sees and

feels and knows the cursed needlessness of the sufferings of mankind? Why add your scorn to my shame, humiliation and self-contempt? The golden chains of international finances and business make me a galley slave. I am helpless!

COLUMBIA. Forgive the bitter words. My love is far deeper than my scorn. You have at last had one truth seared into your brain—a government, like a home, must have both a father and a mother to be complete. I will call the allies of womanhood and they shall free you from your golden chains of slavery and act as messengers to carry the message of our nation to the world. [Columbia beckons to Peace, a young woman in white, and Democracy, a young man.] [Enter right.]

PEACE. The world is sick unto death of war and hate, bloodshed and murder, and demands peace. Peace asks of you, the only nation strong enough to make your will law, an official demand for mediation.

AMERICA. How can I give it, when the industrial situation of my nation forbids such action on my part?

DEMOCRACY. The industrial masters of the nation are industrial masters because "THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE" has allowed them mastery. But if our industrial masters insist on deluging the earth with blood in a competitive struggle to fertilize their money crop, the "WILL OF THE PEOPLE" can take from them their power to make wars, or to so order affairs that wars are inevitable. Shorn of this power, the war lords become powerless to wield their despotism and must perforce become peaceful-minded citizens.

The banker, speculator and business man standing near dais listen intently. With the statement of

Democracy they burst into a volley of objections, shouting "impracticable," "folly," "socialism," and "utopianism."

The Drummer elbows his way to front of group and addresses America.

DRUMMER. Confound it, Sam! I knew there was trouble ahead when I saw the women getting busy. We can shout "folly", "socialism" and "utopianism" until we are black in the face and it won't touch them. If they want mediation and peace, for God's sake give it to them, or they will be taking our shoe factories next. For, take it from me, they will get what they go after.

DEMOCRACY. Remember, this is a republic. When the people speak it is in the voice of command. The people are demanding that motherhood, as well as fatherhood, shall share the responsibilities of government; that differences between nations shall be settled by mediation, and that war shall be driven off the earth. Declare an embargo on the exportation of war munitions; issue an official demand for mediation and, like dew from Heaven, peace shall bless the earth.

AMERICA. I consent; I shall send a message to the warring nations. In the name of humanity and civilization I shall demand that this war and all future differences between nations shall be settled by Mediation, and the decree of our nation is that peace shall be the price that every king and emperor shall pay for our commodities, and in the future no son of ours shall damn his eternal soul making munitions of war.

COLUMBIA, PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND MESSENGER. [Cry in unison] Glorious! Flash this message to all the world—this manifesto of the American nation.

DRUMMER. Gee whiz! War sure got a knockout punch that time, but no use to cry over spilled milk—people will still wear shoes, so I must hustle and get to the next move.

American business man, banker and speculator quietly leave the stage. [Exit right.]

The Messenger, escorted by Peace and Democracy, goes back to her place among the European women. During the entire scene the orchestra has maintained the muffled sounds of distant warfare. As Peace and Democracy start on their mission the sound of warfare dies away and the orchestra plays "Lead, Kindly Light."

Peace and Democracy go to the weeping women, lifting the draperies of mourning and dropping them at their feet. The European women, half-blinded by weeping and stupefied by sorrow, try to show their gratitude. Some cross themselves, some fall on their knees, and others cluster about Peace, kissing her hands and garments. The children spring to their feet, shouting in chorus.

IRISH CHILD. The war is done, Peace has come, daddy is coming back to us, and we will all go home.

The Pilgrim's Chorus is heard afar off, and slowly a pitiful, tattered portion of the men who went to war creep back into view [enter left]. Some are maimed and crippled, some are carried on stretchers. The women and children fall upon their knees beside the stretchers that hold their men, others embrace the cripples, and the women who have received the "Death Letter" gather their children in their arms, crushed by their sorrow. The Belgian

mother, who has received a "Death Letter," straightens her shoulders, wipes the tears from her eyes and, leading her son of twelve by the hand, steps forward and speaks.

BELGIAN MOTHER. Long and black has been our night of sorrow, flame scorched has been the hell we've trod, desolate is the heritage the war gods have left us but our children must live. Someone must smooth down the graves and replant the vines and wheat, someone must rebuild the ruined homes and shell-swept cities, someone must make our blood-soaked continent habitable. The war lords have killed our men, and we women folks must shoulder the burden of rebuilding civilization. An ocean of tears cannot wash away the stains of blood, a lifetime of repining cannot bring back the life of a single man. We must bury our sorrow with the rotting bones of our husbands and make a new earth for the children they have left behind.

Red Cross and Medical Science busily care for the wounded. Charity and Religion offer the gladly welcomed bread, workmen enter slowly with tools of rehabilitation, hammers, spades and trowels. America gazes upon the scene, then turns to Columbia.

AMERICA. You are right. The blood-stained gold of war is not good business.

CURTAIN.

## ACT III

The stage is set to represent a great council chamber. About the walls are hung the flags of all nations and on the back wall hangs a great map of Europe all splashed with blood.

[LEFT] Seated in ornate chairs are the King of England, the King of Belgium, the King of Serbia, the King of Italy, the Czar of Russia and the President of France; the Kaiser, the Emperor of Austria-Hungary and the Sultan. The European statesmen, bankers, business men and the armament maker are standing just behind the rulers.

[CENTER] Seated about a long table are the Mediators—America, Columbia, Peace, History and Democracy. Standing just behind them are Medical Science, Red Cross, Charity, Religion and Messenger, American banker, business man and speculator, and the "drummer".

[RIGHT] The common people of all nations.

The King of England steps forward and addresses the mediators.

**THE KING OF ENGLAND.** Most honored mediators: We are gathered here to discuss the terms upon which peace may be declared and this sad war ended. The long and glorious history of my nation needs no repetition. The honored folds of England's banner have ever been thrown in protection about each weaker nation that needed our protection. Britannia, Queen of Commerce, Mistress of the Seas, Protector of the Weak, and Defender of the Faith, could do nothing less than rush to the defense of our shamelessly invaded sister nation, Belgium. I pledge you upon the sacred honor of my nation that our royal skirts are clean of human blood. England has always tried to maintain the balance of world power so that no weaker nation should be oppressed, and our great navy has been the international policeman of the world, safeguarding the rights of all. England demands that the German despot shall at once evacuate Belgium and make suitable recompense to that nation for all the wrongs and crimes so far wrought. We demand that there shall be no German interference in our hold of the balance of world power, that weaker nations may not be oppressed; and we insist that our navy shall continue to be the international police force of the world to protect each nation in its sacred rights.

**The King of England retires and the Czar of Russia steps forward and addresses the mediators.**

**CZAR.** Most honored mediators: It is with perfect assurance that I address you, for I know that all just judges must declare that I represent the true culture, the sacred democracy and the Christian spirit of modern civilization. The tender care of the "Little Father" for his children is known the whole world round. Free-

dom, love, paternal care, peace and plenty has been the portion of the people of Russia. Mine is a nation that loves peace and I hold every drop of Russian blood sacred—far too sacred to be spilled in any but a holy war of freedom. Russia was suddenly attacked by Germany and forced into this war against the will of my people. Before I heed your cry of peace, you must assure me that my demands shall be met. For my nation I demand that Austria, who so wantonly attacked Servia, shall make full reparation to that brave nation; that Germany shall indemnify us for all losses suffered by us in Russian territory, and that an open gateway from the Baltic shall be forever guaranteed our commerce. We also demand an open pathway from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean; that the fortifications that have menaced our shipping be razed; that the portions of Poland and Galicia now occupied by the Russian forces be ceded to the Russian Empire, and that Germany, Austria and Turkey jointly indemnify my empire for all the costs of this war of defense. [Retires.]

**President of France rises and steps forward to address the mediators.**

**PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.** The attack upon our nation by Germany was uncalled for and came upon us without warning and at a time when France was engaged in the vocations of peace and had no thought of the possibility of war. Our choicest men have been killed, our fields ruined, our cities razed and millions of francs in property destroyed by the invaders. For this destructive attack France demands an indemnity from Germany and the return of Alsace and Lorraine. We feel that we are justified in asking this reparation, for we

did not wage a war of aggression, but of defense—defense not alone of ourselves, but of Belgium. We declare our skirts are clean of the blood that has been shed.

**The President of France retires and the Kaiser advances and addresses the mediators.**

KAISER. The facts show that Austria, justly reprimanding Serbia for the wanton murder of the Archduke, was confronted by an attack from Russia, who, under a pretext of friendship for Serbia, seized the long-hoped-for opportunity of destroying Austria-Hungary, that Russia might win the mastery of the Balkans and the Slavic nations, and thus win through to the Mediterranean. Russia, with her ally, France, had perfected a conspiracy to attack and overwhelm Germany as a necessity if Austria were to be dismembered. We struck and struck first through the traitor-nation, Belgium, but we struck for the very life of the Fatherland. We have suffered in silence for many years, but at last the pressure became too great to bear. When the hour came that the life of the Fatherland was at stake our workmen laid down their tools and took up their guns, and they will stand by those guns until we can convince an envious world that our rights must be protected. We welcome the thought of peace, but that peace can only come when the paths of commerce that lead through Gibraltar, Dover and Suez are unblocked by British cannons. By "the Divine Right" of kings I rule my wide domain. I was ordained of God to rule my people for their own salvation, with an iron hand if necessary. If blood has flowed it is because God, the Kaiser, or the Fatherland, was attacked, and with the power of God to strengthen my iron might I have smitten the enemies of God and Kaiser.

If necessary, I will wage this war until every man is dead. The lives of my people are mine, and if my "divine right" to rule is questioned I will use them all.

**The Emperor of Austria-Hungary steps forward and addresses the mediators.**

**EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.** There can be no question of my right to rebuke the treachery of Serbia and resist the aggression of Russia. Unless I would submit to seeing my nation torn into shreds no other course than that I took was possible. I desire peace, but demand that Serbia shall do homage to the majesty of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: that Russia shall evacuate Galicia and that a suitable indemnity be paid to us.  
**[Retires.]**

**HISTORY.** In this world war that involves all nations, I see none to praise and none to blame. Standing apart and viewing the struggles of mankind from afar off, none has the right to judge between the nations. Each has battled in accordance with its own vision; each has been compelled to do what it has done by elemental conditions that could only have been overcome by wiser and stronger men than the race has evolved.

**PEACE. [To History]** Are you, then, in accord with the church dignitaries who declare this to be a holy war?

**HISTORY.** Not at all; I simply declare that the great empires of to-day are the few survivors of the countless bloody struggles in which countless nations have perished and been absorbed by the conquerors. Yet we know that within each of these empires there is the largest measure of social peace ever known to suffering mankind, and this social peace covering broad areas is the result of previous wars of aggression and exploitation. America, England,

France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Austria, all empires and nations, have their title deeds written in blood.

PEACE. But my prophets have lived in every age and sought to win a stubborn race to my banner. Isaiah, Jesus, Buddha, all have spoken in my name.

HISTORY. Yes, and found many disciples. In every age an ever-growing portion of mankind has revolted against war, but their hour had not come. Like the voice of John crying in the wilderness, they foretold the day that shall dawn with the passing of this black night of world war.

PEACE. [Speaks to the rulers] You all say that you desire peace, but you make your terms on such a basis that only armed respite from war can ensue. The great underlying cause for war will remain to produce still greater outbreaks in the future. Your competitive struggle for world commerce; your efforts to hamper each other's freedom of international intercourse, leave you all animated by jealousy and hate, envy and suspicion. Some proposal must be made that, when accepted, will make this world war the last of wars. Some plan must be proposed that will enable the interdependent nations of Europe to disarm and live in peace and co-operation while future history unrolls the scroll.

**Messenger steps forward and addresses mediators and rulers.**

MESSENGER. It is God's truth that Peace has spoken. It is not an armed truce we women want, but lasting peace. By suffering and anguish, blood and death we have learned the bitter lesson that all the trappings of war cannot bring that peace. Not even if we spend one-half of all of our wealth for armament and

give the best years of the lives of all of our sons to soldiering can ponderous forts and thundering cannons and swaggering soldiers bring peace. [Turns to the rulers] You kings, emperors and presidents have all asked for indemnities, for gold to pay you for the loss of cities, fields, factories and commerce. I ask you what king or ruler will, or can, pay us women for our dead men, for our helpless cripples, for our outraged women and for our tragic sufferings? Who can pay! who will pay us women for OUR losses in this war? When you have given back every dead man to our arms, when the violated bodies of our daughters are uncontaminated, and the little lives conceived in lust are sent back to their fathers' loins; when our homes have been replaced as they were and the hellish memory of this cursed year is wiped from our minds, then it is time for you to talk of damages, indemnities and payments!

**A banker springs to his feet and appeals to the mediators.**

BANKER. I protest against this woman's taking part in these deliberations; the things we are here to discuss are not within woman's realm; they belong to the world of men. I represent the financial interests of the world. King, emperor, president and czar, I am the friend of each and the supporter of all. I do not care for the form of government, republic, kingdom or empire, all must come to me for gold. For even the democratically expressed will of men I have no fear, for men are so imbued with the doctrine of the sacred rights of property that they will vote for the protection of my interests. But woman's advent into the field of political action chills me with dread and foreboding. Women, emo-

tional and sentimental, will only consider human life and will jeopardize my interests when in the course of natural events it becomes necessary to sacrifice a thousand or a million lives to protect the business interests of a nation. You may re-make the map of the world, topple thrones, dethrone kings and melt crowns for baby rattles, and I will not suffer. But I warn you with all earnestness that if you open the door of political recognition to women the very foundations of our civilization will crumble. [Retires]

HISTORY. But women are the creators of civilization—they made the first tools, developed the arts, builded the first homes, tamed the first animals, broke the first furrow and reaped the first harvests, while men were busy with arms and slaughter and exploit! And that free, emancipated German woman of the olden day! Are not all ye fair-haired Northern people from her womb, and great because ye inherit her greatness?

MESSSENGER. [To the Banker] Well we know that kings, emperors and presidents are but pawns with which you play the game of finance. To the bitterness of our souls we know that back of every king stands the banker who reaps the golden harvest when nations go to war. O God! We know that every modern war that has raged, that every drop of spilled blood, every whitening bone and rotting carcass is the price we women pay for your profits.

HISTORY. But we also know that back of the banker and his profits is the changeless law of progress. The all-important law of life is—to live. To live, mankind must eat, drink, find shelter and raiment—love and propagate the race. All life has been a struggle to live—

the strong to live upon the labor of the weak and the weak to live at any price. Slave-master, feudal lord and profit monger have all waged wars for the same purpose—to enhance their power to live more luxuriously upon the labor of slave, serf and wage-worker. While the masters struggle for power and profits the workers struggle for life more abundant and out of your brute struggle for profits and the blind struggle of the workers for life has come this world war. From this world war alone can come world peace.

PEACE. Great God! Are we to understand that History sanctions war?

HISTORY. History sanctions nothing, opposes nothing, advocates nothing; history records. Act by act, scene by scene I have recorded the endless drama played by humanity upon the world stage. Ever enlarging have been the activities, the vices and the virtues of mankind. Briefly, the drama of mankind since the days of Cain has been played in aggression. In their little narrow world man fought against man, then clan against clan, then tribe against tribe and city against city and ever as they fought their horizon grew broader, their numbers greater and their sense of co-operation stronger. At last I wrote the story of a nation at peace within itself because of past tribal wars and now I write the story not only of nation at war with nation, but of the nations that make up half a continent fighting side by side, the largest instance of co-operation that has ever been written on the scroll of life.

DEMOCRACY. In the crucible of this world war the workers of all nations have been fused; in the flames of this world war the petty powers of kings and money

changers have been consumed. A united, chastened race shall arise from the ashes of war-scorched Europe and build a world kingdom on the broader wisdom of the right of every human being to live. To live, not upon the weakness of his brother, but by paying the debt of useful labor and helpful service for the rich gifts of nature. The price of a world war is too heavy for mankind to pay for the privilege of the few to live upon the labor of the many. There is but one more great field of unity for mankind to occupy—a world united in a war, not to conquer men but the hostile forces of nature.

MEDICAL SCIENCE. Too long has my strength and the loving service of my helpmate Red Cross been absorbed in patching up the men maimed in man's bloody wars. If Democracy has spoken truly and this world war has slain the war god because mankind has found his price to great to pay, then I and all my brother Sciences rejoice. Inventive science shall serve the arts of peace and not of war and I, freed from the shambles of war's slaughter house, shall turn to the mighty task of conquering nature. Some glimmer of the mighty gifts I hold for mankind already shines from Havana, Manila and the Panama. Hasten to find that path to world peace and free me to wage my war. I long to be at work. My weapon shall be a microscope, my enemy a microbe, my battlefield the world and my conquest the gift of health to all mankind, the whole world habitable.

AMERICA. [With great sadness] Humanity writhes in a hell of our making. The scorching flames of this world-war have burned away the false foundations and gaudy trappings of military glory that have hidden our sordid greed, and the rivers of blood that we have shed

have washed the ashes away into the sea. The time has come for every ruler to face the brutal fact and speak the shameful truth that profits have been our aim and might has been our law. That portion of the earth that each one of us holds, we took by force of sword and cannon. We have paid for it in blood and bleaching bones and if we maintain such hold, it must be by making all mankind slaves to the war god and paying his ever-growing tribute in the wealth the workers create and in the lives of our children.

You have each declared you were invaded—that is impossible. You have each declared your garments clean of human blood—before God we know we are all equally bespattered with the blood we have shed enforcing our brutal law of MIGHT. In this bitter hour when we are all proven equally guilty, let us find the courage to be men; let us not accuse each other; let us leave behind us the role of lying rulers who vainly try to hide the hellish form of war beneath the trappings of glory and still the cries of our victims with the blatant shouts of patriotism. When lies and shams are dropped, none of us can feel just pride in our rule of our portion of the earth; each spot reeks with the smell of blood and death. There must be some nobler, more Christlike form of government than kings, emperors and presidents have evolved. Let us hear the voice of the common people and perchance it may be the voice of God.

**The Drummer springs forward to speak to the mediators.**

**DRUMMER.** Here is the place for "Buttinski" to get busy. I've listened to your highbrow talk until my ear aches. For God's sake! Let's drop the "bull" and get

down to "brass tacks". We all know that what we have always fought for has been this [draws a handful of bills and silver from his pocket and throws it on the table] the "long green", the "iron men", the "mazuma." We've togged War out in all sorts of "glad rags" and tried to give him "highfalutin" principles but it was the "jitneys" we were after. But we had just as well get next to this—the game is played out boys—we got to start a new deal. I'll fight as long as I got a fighting chance, but I am no hog for punishment and I know when I got enough. God knows you all got enough now, but you don't know how to yell "quit", so I got to do it for you.

Fighting don't make any money, it just lets a few buzzards hog it all and leaves every one else dog poor. If you want to see the wheels begin to hum and the working class get into the collar to make coin for you, drop your guns like sensible men, shake hands and don't pout and snivel like white livered kids—be game. You can never pile up any bank accounts blowing each other's heads off—war is a damned costly game to play at.

Over in little old U. S. A. we got forty-eight countries as big and just as important as many of yours. We don't spill any good money fighting each other, neither do we let any state hog the seaports. We extend the glad hand over the state line, every state uses our harbors and then we come over here and clean out your piles because you are always fighting among yourselves. That ain't all either—there are twenty republics on that Western Continent and we don't blow any money on forts or make gouging each other's eyes out our national pastimes. Your twaddle about racial differences is all bunk, there is no

more difference in men or business interests between Spain and Sweden than between a Texas cowman and a Connecticut Yankee. We business men used to fight over in U. S. A. just like you kings do until we found out it was a fool thing to do. We learned that there was no money to make cutting each other's throats, so we organized to help each other instead of slitting gullets—now we got things coming our way. Use your forts for granaries, melt your cannons down for carwheels, set your soldiers to work building railroads and planting crops and then watch the coin come rolling in.

What's the fun in being a king anyway when you got to fight all the time for a chance to pose like a cigar store Indian with a crown tipped over one eye? Gee! I wouldn't trade a seat in the bleachers with another good, live shoeman for a pal watching the Browns pound the stuffin' out of the White Sox for any worm-eaten throne in Europe. Forget it boys! Get down and be real, live human beings and you will lose your appetite for war. [Drummer retires].

**A workman steps forward and addresses the mediators.**

WORKMAN. O! mediators we are not glib of tongue or learned in the use of words; only in the simple language of common people can we present our plea. In all the wars History has recorded we were the victims, and all struggles have ever been waged over the fruits of our labor. Slave master, feudal lord and profit monger have since the dawn of civilization worked us, robbed us, armed us and bade us kill ourselves and our brothers to enlarge their territories or to enhance their wealth. Foolish we have been to fight the petty quarrels of our

masters. Misled by our masters' press, mistaught by our masters' school, betrayed by our masters' clergy we have been. Yet stirring within each heart there has lived the dim consciousness of the common brotherhood of man, the solidarity of those who labor. Our rebellions in the past were mercilessly crushed by our masters, even their annals have been torn from the pages of the histories their hirelings have written; but a new pen helps write history to-day; it is wielded by woman and all the gold of the master class is not enough to prostitute her. Our hour has come. We have fought our last battle for the master class; we have taken up their swords for the last time; we swear that millions shall no longer slaughter each other at the behest of king, emperor or money changer. Our demands must go in this protocol and what we ask we shall take as our right. We ask but to live—to love—to reproduce our kind—to labor and enjoy the fruits thereof, unrobbed by idlers and unharrassed by wars. We shall be free from brutal exploitation; democracy shall give us a voice in the governments of earth for ourselves, and for the women who gave us life and who will give life to our children. We demand that the roar of war shall be stilled and the grip of the exploiters broken. We would be free to feed, clothe, shelter and comfort the world. We ask that every seaport shall be an open door where our brawny-armed brothers may guide into the harbors the ships we have built and filled with our contributions to the welfare of mankind. When the petty quarrels of kings for territories, and the greed of profit mongers for profits are powerless to provoke war, we shall hide the cruel scars that they have made by planting

wheat and vines above the graves of our fallen brothers.

**Workman retires and Democracy steps forward  
and addresses the mediators.**

DEMOCRACY. This war came against my protest. The rulers and corrupt press stilled the voice of protest from the people, and by compulsion and brutal falsehood set the workers at each other's throats. The people feel that they have been betrayed. For the sake of markets that the masters might profit, the people have laid down their lives, butchered their fellowmen and been turned into beasts in an orgy of savagery. In all the proposals of the monarchs I fail to see one guard against another deluge of blood. Democracy demands that the power to declare war shall rest with the people, the whole people, women as well as men. Again mankind cannot consent to any plan that does not give to any nation and any part of a nation the right to live under the national flag and form of government that gives them the fullest freedom and happiness. In the past my realm was confined to the village, the city, the choosing of petty officials, while kings, emperors and changers of blood-stained money have ruled the greater world. My hour has come—my people—the great common people of all nations demand the right to control their own lives.

AMERICA. [Turning to the mediators] This is a fateful hour, pregnant with hope for the human race. We have heard the plea of kings, emperors and money changers; we have listened to the voice of History and Democracy; we have heard the demands of the common people. What shall be our judgement?

**World Federation, a beautiful young woman  
bearing an empty flag staff enters (left).**

WORLD FEDERATION. I am World Federation and I come in answer to the need of all mankind. You are all soul sick with lies and shams, bloodshed and murder; you all want peace and human brotherhood. A World Federation of all the nations on earth alone will solve your mighty problem. The great United States of America has blazed the path and pointed out the way. There forty-eight sovereign states live in peace and harmony with one central capital where the representatives of all states gather for deliberation. If forty-eight states can live in that Western Continent peacefully in a federation, why cannot all the nations of Europe federate? Why not open every seaport to every ship that plows the sea; why not make the railways the common highways of commerce for mankind? Why not build a capital for this World Federation on the seven hills of Rome, or beside the Rhine, or amid the Alps, or upon the shores of the Mississippi, or on the banks of the Thames? Why not solve there by arbitration all questions of national rights and grievances, and abolish secret diplomacy?

There can be but one judgement possible. Let this go forth to all the world as our desire—the world shall be our nation, each country a state, humanity our race, brotherhood our creed, democracy our form of government and none to share the gifts of God and man but those who serve or labor.

MEDIATORS [in chorus] Hear! Hear! World Federation is the next historic step in the onward march of human progress. What say you all?

[The rulers look at each other doubtfully. Silently a woman from each national group steps to the flag of her nation, takes a strip of red from her

national flag and carries it to World Federation who fastens the strips together into a great banner. As World Federation shakes out the folds of the crimson banner all rise with arms outstretched towards the flag of Brotherhood and the orchestra breaks forth into the strains of the Battle Hymn of the Republic.]

CURTAIN.



## WORKS BY KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

Church and the Social Problem, 32 pages, postpaid, 10c  
Law and the White Slaver, 32 pages, postpaid, 10c  
Common Sense and the Liquor Question, 32 pages,  
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The Sorrows of Cupid, 267 pages, silk cloth,  
postpaid, \$1.00  
20,000 copies already sold.

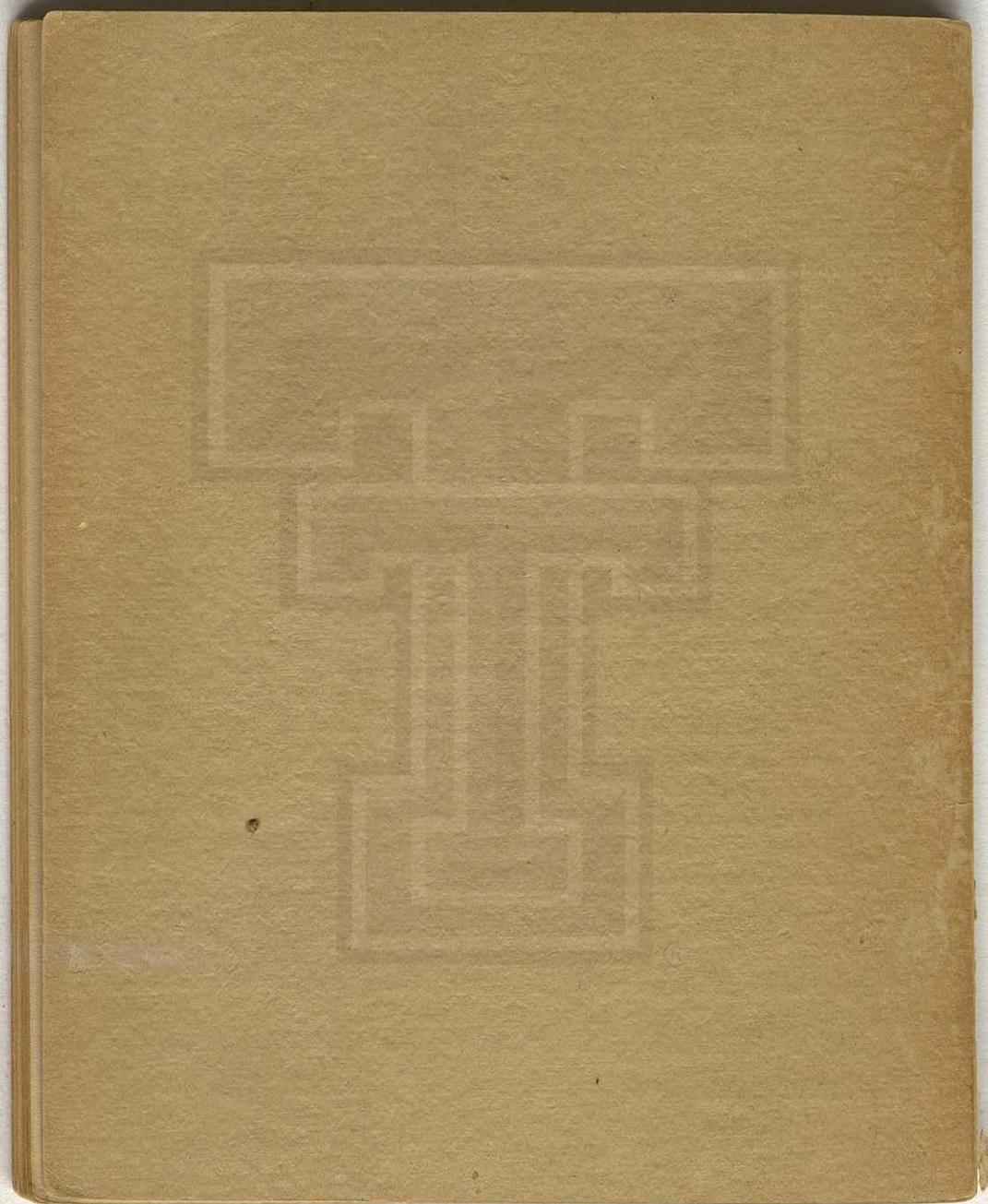
"The Sorrows of Cupid" is a work of 36 chapters, constituting a study of economic and social conditions of the nation, particularly in regard to home life, child and woman labor, divorce, race suicide, unemployment, etc., with an adequate program of political and economic change to rectify the curable evils of society.

PUBLISHED BY

**The National Rip-Saw Publishing Co.**

PONTIAC BUILDING

ST. LOUIS, MO.



ommendation of our geologists and is considered among the most desirable wild-cat acreage in the state.

#### OTHER HOLDINGS

We own 5 acres on the T. O. Friday tract, 2½ miles north of Desdemona, surrounded by flowing wells, upon which the drill is below the 2,000 foot level at this writing with the well expected in not later than April 1st.

We have 12 acres on the famous J. M. Ellison tract between Gorman and Desdemona. This tract is surrounded by such gushers as the Magnolia Carruth (4,200 barrels), the Meirs (2,000 barrels) and the Lewis wells.

We have five acres in Sipe Springs, where a big boom is now on, which is regarded as a continuation of the Desdemona field, and is thoroughly proven both in shallow and deep production.

We have ten acres between Desdemona and Sipe Springs.

Altogether we have nine proven tracts in Eastland, Comanche and Erath counties.

We have twelve acres in the proven fields of Harris county.

We have fifteen acres in the proven fields near Gorman, known as the Henderson tract.

We have 1,000 acres in Lampasas in the center of which we are drilling a deep test well that is now down 2,200 feet.

We have besides this 1,500 more acres in Lampasas, around which four deep test wells are going down.

We have acreage in Limestone, Jones, Live Oak, Hood, Somerville, Yoakum, Mills, Smith, Harris and Stonewall counties; our total acreage being 22,000 and our entire holdings are 48 in number.

#### WONDERFUL POSSIBILITIES FOR BIG DIVIDENDS

The careful reader of the above will notice that this is not a verbose or wordy document. It is a plain statement of facts. We have the acreage and the absolutely proven fields. The gushers are coming in all around us. We have but to drill to get results that will repay us ten-fold and maybe 100-fold for our investment.

\$100 invested in Thrift No. 2 paid \$1,800.

\$100 invested with the Burk-Waggoner Oil Company paid \$3,300.

\$100 invested with Fowler Farm, Burkburnett, paid \$13,750.

\$100 invested with Hog Creek Oil Company paid \$10,000.

The last mentioned was a Desdemona concern. Our holdings now are far stronger and better proven than was the Hog Creek when it was our age. Consequently, we are in a position to assure you that there is not a better investment in the oil fields today than that which we are offering you now.

#### CHARACTER ABOVE MONEY

We wish to say that each one of us has been up against the rough edges of life and far more than any money that we might make in the oil industry is the preservation of our good names. If we can produce a company that will richly reward our stockholders and ourselves, we will regard the success of our stockholders even more than the profits that will accrue to ourselves. Do not be afraid to go the limit on the NATIONAL WORKERS DRILLING AND PRODUCTION COMPANY and you will never have cause to regret the step you have taken.

#### IN CONCLUSION

The trustees of this company honestly believe that the possibilities are unlimited and feel fully convinced that no power on earth can stand between us and tremendous success. When we say this is positively the last opportunity you will have to secure stock at par, it is not a promotion bluff in any sense, but a literal statement of fact.

The people who get this folder should purchase a sufficient amount of stock to make it pay. Ten Dollars will be accepted—no less—but we recommend that you secure at least \$100.00 worth and \$500.00 if you can spare the money at this time.

Remittances may be made by P. O. Money Order, Draft or Personal Check. Liberty Bonds will be accepted at face value. Use self-addressed envelope and enclosed blank application.

The Company reserves the right to withdraw this offer at any time.

#### National Workers Drilling & Production Co.

Oil News Building  
DESDEMONA, TEXAS

# National Workers Drilling & Production Co.

CAPITALIZED AT ONE MILLION DOLLARS  
SHARES ONE DOLLAR, PAR VALUE  
NON-ASSESSABLE

Operating Under Declaration of Trust According to the Laws of Texas

#### TRUSTEES

W. H. FLOWERS.....President  
T. A. HICKEY.....Vice-President  
H. W. ELLIOTT.....Secretary-Treasurer  
GEORGE D. BREWER.....Special Fiscal Agent

The Company has acquired holdings in Texas which total 22,000 acres of oil lands. Among these vast holdings is valuable acreage in the proven fields of Desdemona, Sipe Springs and the famous Goose Creek field in Harris county.

The wild-cat and semi-wild-cat acreage is scattered in almost every section of the state. Seven thousand acres in Stonewall county in West Texas. Ten thousand acres in Smith and Lampasas counties in the eastern and southern section of the state. These tracts are considered by the best geologists as among the most promising acreage in the state and dozens of test wells are being put down in the immediate vicinity of our holdings by some of the largest companies in the oil business. A strike on any of them, aside from our own tests and drillings in proven and wild-cat territory, means millions for the stockholders in the National Workers Drilling and Production Company.

Your Last Opportunity to Purchase Stock at Par Value of One Dollar.

Address all remittances to:

National Workers Drilling & Production Co.  
Oil News Building                      Desdemona, Texas

## THE NATIONAL WORKERS DRILLING AND PRODUCTION COMPANY

Was organized and is controlled by men who, though widely known as idealists, are still practical oil and business men who understand that business in a business world is business.

W. H. FLOWERS, President, was for years a buyer of wholesale fruit and vegetables, with headquarters at Tyler, Texas. He enjoyed the reputation among his patrons and the public as being honest in his dealings and square at all times with his patrons. His business ability enabled him single-handed to build up the great Man to Man Oil Co., recently consolidated with the National Workers.

T. A. HICKEY, Vice-President, is probably as well known in Texas for his constant and fearless fight for the rights of the people, both as an editor and lecturer, as any man in the state or the great Southwest.

H. W. ELLIOTT, Secretary-Treasurer, was elected for his important position because of his sterling integrity and keen business judgment. An indication of his standing and popularity among those who know him best, is found in the fact that Desdemona, an unincorporated town of less than fifty inhabitants a year ago, now a hustling boom city of more than TEN THOUSAND, elected Mr. Elliott, March 1st, to the position of FIRST MAYOR OF THE NEWLY INCORPORATED CITY, by an overwhelming majority.

GEORGE D. BREWER, the fourth trustee, and special fiscal agent for the company, was recently chosen by the original trustees for the reason that he is known in every state in the Union and bears a reputation for persistence and rugged honesty that has never been questioned by even his most bitter political enemies. He served in the Kansas Legislature and has lectured extensively from coast to coast, devoting the past three years to lecture work in Minnesota and North Dakota as a national lecturer for the Non-partisan League.

CHAS. and IRVIN BUSHNELL, Geologists, are men who stand at the top in their profession. They have been in the oil business for the past twenty years and have located some of the greatest producing wells in California. So expert have they become that their percentage of dry holes has been reduced to practically a minimum. Their success in locating big producers has become so commonplace that the name Bushnell,

in sections where they are known, is almost synonymous with OIL. They are exclusively a part of the National Workers Drilling and Production Company.

### CO-OPERATIVE IDEAL

The National Workers Drilling and Production Co. is organized with a co-operative ideal as the inspiration behind its activity. Not in the common understanding of a co-operative institution, but in the sense of co-partnership among those included in its circle of stockholders. NO OFFICIAL OF THE COMPANY will realize a DOLLAR of profit except as they make profit in proportion to the amount invested FOR EVERY STOCKHOLDER. No one connected with the company draws a dollar out of its treasury except for actual services rendered.

### CONFIDENCE

As an illustration of the confidence and faith of the persons connected with the National Workers Drilling and Production Co., note: Not an employee of the company but invests every dollar of surplus savings, which they feel they can afford, in stock at par value. The Field Superintendent has been, upon his own request, taking half of his salary in stock.

The geologists, Messrs. Charles and Irvin Bushnell, of San Luis Obispo, Calif., recognized as among the highest class in America, with a reputation for locating more gushers and paying producers than any geologists in that great oil state, accept no fee from the company in cash. They take their fees in stock at par value and small royalties on producing wells they locate.

The attorneys for the company are paid in stock. The secretary-treasurer's wife, Mrs. H. W. Elliott, induced her own mother to purchase \$500 worth of stock. Numerous other instances among the stenographers and employees could be cited. No one connected with the company BUT BELIEVES IN IT and not only invests their own surplus in stock, but urge their friends and relatives to do likewise.

### ABSOLUTELY THE LAST

The block of stock now being offered at par, \$1.00 per share, is absolutely the last to be offered at the price. The only reason any stock is offered at this time is for the purpose of securing funds quick with which to complete extensive developments now under way. Developments which, when complete, if only partially successful, will put this company OVER THE TOP, financially and free of the necessity of ever selling more stock under the present capitalization.

No oil company has ever been in a position to offer more or better opportunity to prospective purchasers of stock than the National Workers is offering now.

### CAPITALIZED AT \$1,000,000

The company is capitalized at \$1,000,000.00, with only half of the stock sold, but with holdings, royalties and tools which could be sold on the market for at least One Million Dollars. This means that persons who take advantage of this offer will be getting stock at One Dollar (\$1.00) per share, which in reality is worth at least \$2.00, and could be sold for \$2.00 if we had the time to properly advertise and promote the sales. Development on a big scale—the bringing in of gushers, with possible millions in hand—is more important just at this time, even at a sacrifice on stock sales, than the necessary delay that would occur in marketing \$2.00 shares.

### 22,000 ACRES IN OIL LANDS

The National Workers Drilling and Production Company has TWENTY-TWO (22,000) THOUSAND ACRES of Oil property, scattered in almost every prospective field in Texas, with some of its acreage located in three of the most famous proven fields in this vast empire, ninety per cent of which it is claimed by geologists is underlaid with OIL.

Three wells are now being drilled, one on the T. O. Friday tract, in the heart of the Desdemona proven field, which at this writing is below the 2,000-foot level, and two in most favorably reported wild-cat territory. Any one of these three wells, that may come in any day now, will instantly supply the company with abundant funds with which to conduct its development in other fields, and stock will at once advance to at least \$2.00 per share and perhaps \$5.00, if not taken off the market altogether.

### THE STONEWALL TRACT

We have SEVEN THOUSAND (7000) ACRES on the famous Baldwin ranch in Stonewall county, which our geologists positively assert covers a veritable lake of oil. At this writing the derrick is up and the drill ready to spud in and begin the pounding of its way downward. A strike on this tract literally means MILLIONS!

### THE SMITH COUNTY TRACT

Two tracts of 5,000 acres each have been secured in Smith county and drilling contracts let. This acreage was secured upon the urgent rec-

## How to Finance the Great War

War is ever the great calamity.

The most righteous war is no exception.

It is still a calamity that nations should have to suffer to get rights that should flow freely to them merely because they are rights.

We hear nobody say otherwise.

Nobody in America has the gall publicly to declare that war is, in itself, a good thing.

Instead, the word "sacrifice" is on everybody's lips.

We hear of the "great sacrifice" meaning thereby the loss that the soldier sustains when his life trickles out on the battlefield.

We hear of the millions of lesser sacrifices that are daily made here at home when the people accept one hardship after another that the war may be won.

Ten million times a day and more we read in our newspapers the word "sacrifice" and wherever we read it, it means the same thing.

Everywhere and always "sacrifice" means to give up something for the public good—to yield this or that that yes-

terday made life a little more pleasant, or perhaps to yield life itself.

Let us now try out this principle of "yielding something" and see where it leads.

Let us try it out upon a certain class of gentlemen who have begun sharply to criticise the government's financial conduct of the war.

Certain gentlemen are beginning to be very much put out.

They do not like the war revenue bill that Congress passed and the President signed.

They say that Congress and the President have put a tax upon business that business cannot bear and they are already moving to bring pressure upon Congress to lighten the tax this winter.

Mr. Fred I. Kent, Vice President of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York, had quite a bit to say about this matter at the meeting of the Cotton Conference of the Southern Commercial Congress in New York in October.

Mr. Kent, according to the New York Times, referred to the war revenue law as "destructive taxation" that had "so shocked those in this country responsible to millions of stockholders and

bondholders that they are at actual loss to know how to proceed."

Mr. Kent said the war revenue law not only threatened the success of bond issues, but that it might cause the prolongation of the war.

Indeed, "our very success in the war" is threatened by the war revenue law, according to Mr. Kent.

"Because their hearts are right," said the speaker, "the gentlemen who constitute the business interests have the will to do their part, but great accomplishment," he added, "requires inspiration as well as will, and inspiration is being killed."

Inspiration is being killed! Solemn words!

Let us therefore inquire into this matter of business inspiration. Let us find out what it is and learn the degree of sacrifice that is killing it.

Business inspiration, we may well assume is profit. In war as in peace, it is "money that makes the mare go."

Put yourselves in the places of these business men who are complaining that the war revenue law is killing their inspiration.

Should you farmers feel that your inspiration were being killed if you were

now making more money than you had ever before made in your lives?

If millions were rolling in upon you as they have never rolled in before, should you feel that another year or two of that sort of thing might drive you out of business?

If the government were letting you retain all of your peace profits and half of your additional profits due to the war, should you feel that the government was thereby prolonging the war?

Should you feel that the government's attitude toward you was indeed endangering the outcome of the war?

Probably you would think none of these things. Then why do some business men complain of the present war taxes?

It is difficult to understand why some business men complain.

The official reports of American business interests for 1916 show unparalleled profits, and while the figures for 1917 are not yet available, it is known that American participation in the war has created a greater demand than ever for all kinds of goods.

Put yourself in the place of the American Sugar Company, for instance.

The average annual net profits of this company for the three years preceding

the outbreak of the European War were \$6,181,641.

The net profits of the Sugar Trust for 1916 were \$11,455,107.

In other words, the war helped the sugar business in a single year to the extent of \$5,273,466.

How long do you believe you could stand that sort of thing before your business inspiration would be dead?

The average annual profits of the Central Leather Company for the three-year period preceding the war were \$3,472,804.

The net profits of this corporation, for 1916, according to its own reports, were \$15,489,201.

In other words, war increased the profits of this concern in a single year to the extent of \$12,016,397—an increase of more than 300 per cent.

War increased the profits of the General Chemical Company from \$2,593,301 to \$12,286,826. Steel Trust profits jumped from \$63,585,777 to \$271,531,730.

The General Motors Company made but \$4,890,672 before the war, but in 1916 it made net profits of \$28,789,560.

The United States Rubber Company went from \$5,731,677 to \$11,226,208.

The profits of Mr. Schwab's Bethlehem Steel Company which, for the three-year period before the war, averaged only \$3,075,108, mounted in 1916 to \$43,593,968.

So one might go on through almost an endless list of corporation profits increased by the war.

Mr. Amos Pinchot of New York compiled a list of 48 American corporations whose net profits in 1916 were \$640,083,669 more than they were before the war.

Mr. Pinchot says that a conservative estimate of the increased profits of these corporations in 1917 is ONE BILLION, TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS.

Mind you, he does not say that their profits in 1917 will be merely one billion, two hundred millions—he says their profits will be one billion, two hundred millions **more** than their average annual profits for the three-year period preceding the war.

Nor is that all of the story.

The 48 corporations that Mr. Pinchot considered are by no means all of the great corporations in the United States that are profiting as a result of the war.

Mr. Pinchot says that a conservative estimate of the increased profits in 1917 of all the great corporations that are

profiting from the war is **THREE BILLIONS, SIX HUNDRED MILLIONS!**

In other words, these corporations this year will make all of their usual peace profits and three billions, six hundred millions **BESIDES!**

Mr. Pinchot is himself a New York millionaire. He is in a position to discuss big business both with knowledge and with understanding.

And Mr. Pinchot estimates that, owing to the war, the profits of big business in this country will be increased this year by a greater sum than the **entire financial cost of the Civil War.**

We now come to the other side of this story.

The government is doing something to interfere with these tremendous profits.

On one hand it is depressing the prices of certain commodities that enter largely into the conduct of the war, and upon the other it is increasing the taxes upon big incomes.

The government, for instance, has recently forced a reduction in steel plates from \$100 to \$50 a ton, as against \$33.60 in 1913.

But the Steel Trust makes many other articles besides plates and the reduc-

tions on most of its products are not as much as the reduction on plates.

But the government has made a start in price reductions and may go further.

The government is also taxing corporations and taxing the individual incomes of stockholders and bondholders, along with all other incomes of more than \$2,000 a year.

The taxes upon corporations take the form, for the most part, of taxes upon excess profits due to the war.

In the words, the corporation is permitted to retain all of its peace profits that it would be permitted to retain in peace.

It is also permitted to retain most of its war profits.

Then when the corporation's profits are distributed to its stockholders, they, in turn, are compelled to pay a tax upon their incomes.

The highest tax of 50 per cent is levied upon incomes of a million dollars a year or more.

**And this is what some of the gentlemen concerned call the "killing of business inspiration!"**

Having grabbed a million or more in a year, it is doubtless sad to be com-

pelled to give up half of it, but it can hardly be called a sacrifice.

"Sacrifice" means more than that.

It means more than a dent put in one's greed—it means a dent put into one's stomach, a bullet put in his head or a crack made in his heart.

Yet we are told again and again that each of us must sacrifice something to win the war.

When is big business going to begin really to sacrifice?

It cannot begin in any real sense of the word until it gives up **all** of its war profits and **some** of its peace profits.

When big business can truthfully say that it is worse off than it was before the war, then and not until then, will it be sacrificing anything as a result of the war.

Everybody else is worse off as a result of the war—why should big business be better off?

Why should most of the people be compelled to regard war as a curse while big business has reason to regard it financially as a blessing?

Why should big business in America be permitted to escape with approximately half of its war profits while Eng-

land places a tax of 80 per cent upon the war profits of Englishmen?

The answer is, of course, that American big business should not be permitted to escape heavy taxation.

The President and Congress have done well to lay the war taxes that they have laid.

There is no reason whatever for the whining and the sniveling of the gentlemen who are complaining about the "killing" of their business inspiration.

Yet the grief of these "patriots" is very real and some of them are going to do their best to cause Congress, at the next session, to reduce the war taxes upon big business.

Mr. Kent of the Bankers' Congress asked Southern business men in convention in New York to return to their homes and work upon their congressmen to bring about the reduction.

Nothing is more certain than that an attempt will be made this winter to revise the war revenue act for the benefit of big business.

If such a revision should take place, remember that every dollar of taxation of which big business may be relieved will be taken out of the farmers and wage-workers of this country.

**There is no other place from which it can come!**

This is the most expensive war the world ever saw, and if the money to fight it cannot be obtained in large part from the interests that are profiting from it, it will all have to come from the poor people of the present day or of some future day.

Chairman Fitzgerald of the House Committee on Appropriations, in a recent newspaper interview, said that it would be impossible to load a large part of the debt upon future generations by financing a great part of the war with bonds.

Chairman Fitzgerald said that to pursue such a course would leave to posterity a heritage of debt that would crush it.

He said the country must therefore prepare to shoulder "undreamt of" taxes—and still more taxes.

He intimated that these taxes—or at any rate some of them—would be imposed by Congress this winter.

Do you believe they should be imposed upon the people, in the form of higher taxes upon the necessities of life?

Do you believe that the burdens of the rich should be made lighter while the burdens of the poor are made heavier?

Does it not seem to you that since "sacrifice" is the watchword of this war that if anybody is to do any sacrificing everybody should do some?

The soldier who yields his life makes the supreme sacrifice; the parent who loses a son makes almost as much; everybody who, because of high prices and the scarcity of commodities, is compelled to live more poorly—he too sacrifices something to win the war.

But what sacrifices does a multi-millionaire make when he gives up some of the profits that he expected to get, but still has millions upon millions, with his comfortable home, his army of servants, his automobiles, his bank accounts and his bonds?

What sacrifice is he making that is worthy of the name?

Is a man's money worth more than his life?

Perhaps nobody ever thought so except the mythical Irishman who, when confronted by highwaymen demanding his money or his life, replied: "Take

me life then; I am saving me money for me ould age."

Then why not conscript money on a big scale as well as men on a big scale?

Rich men shy at the expression "conscription of wealth."

They term it "Anarchism" and in other ways try to give it a bad name.

They are wrong. Every tax is a conscription of wealth. This republic, from its first day, has conscripted wealth. Every nation on earth, in peace as in war, conscripts wealth.

The conscription of wealth means nothing more than the arbitrary act of government in forcing those who have money to give up some of it for the public good.

In the matter of money, as in the matter of men, it is the element of force that makes conscription.

When the government asks for men as soldiers it asks for volunteers, and the men may go or not as they please, but when the government conscripts men to serve as soldiers, it tells them that they **must** go.

When the government asks citizens to turn over some of their money for public purposes it tries to sell bonds, offers

to return the money with interest and leaves it to the people to decide whether they shall let the government have their money.

But when the government conscripts wealth it lays an arbitrary tax upon something that you have (it may be only your head, as is the case with the poll tax) and says: "Whether you want to or not you must pay over to the government before a certain day a certain amount of money. If you do not do this before the expiration of the time limit, you will be forced to do it."

That is what sheriffs' sales are sometimes for—to compel men to submit to conscription of wealth in the form of taxes.

Moreover, there is the very highest American authority for the conscription of wealth.

We have the authority of Benjamin Franklin.

Against the cries of the whining gentlemen who berate President Wilson and Congress for the imposition of taxes that threaten to "kill" their inspiration, we who now live may well ponder over certain words uttered by Franklin in 1776.

Speaking before a convention called to draft a new constitution for the

state of Pennsylvania, Franklin said:

"Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree to form a civil society.

"Each individual would bring into the society little more property than his gun and his blanket, for at present he has no other.

"We know that when one of them has attempted to keep a few swine he has not been able to maintain a property in them, his neighbors thinking they have a right to kill and eat them whenever they want provision, it being one of the maxims that hunting is free for all.

"The accumulation of property, therefore, in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society, must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society in the execution of its laws.

"Private property, therefore, is a creature of society, **and is subject to the calls of that society, whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing.**"

So you see, Franklin was not mealy-mouthed about the conscription of wealth. He not only defended it, but said that if occasion should arise, it might reasonably go the limit.

If the present be not an occasion for conscripting wealth in something like the real fashion that men are conscripted, it would be difficult to imagine when such emergency will arise or what it will be.

England is thinking of it, according to reports from London.

Newspaper dispatches declare that the British government is considering the advisability of "levying upon wealth," which can mean nothing else than arbitrarily confiscating for the public good a considerable percentage of each private fortune.

English business is already much more heavily taxed than American business, yet English statesmen are talking now, not of taxing the profits of business, but of confiscating a certain part of the capital invested.

If necessary, why should not levies be made upon American wealth?

The government needs money.

Tremendous sums must come from somewhere.

A small part of the people own most of the wealth.

The great masses who own little or nothing can, it is true, be still further taxed upon their earnings, but every

particle of such taxation can mean nothing but increased misery.

Probably there will have to be more misery, but why should not this misery among the millions be accompanied by some real sacrifice among the wealthy few?

Suppose, for instance, the government were to confiscate a part of every fortune in excess of \$10,000 and take everything in excess of a million.

Or, if so much money is not needed, suppose the government were to take less from each fortune.

Would there be anything wrong in either of these measures?

We have the word of Franklin for it that without the government that all of us have maintained, these gentlemen could no more have accumulated their fortunes than the Pennsylvania Indians could have kept their pigs.

If Rockefeller and all the other multimillionaires were trimmed down to a single million each, they would be incomparably better off than most persons are or ever expect to be.

They would never lack a meal or be compelled to sleep in fence corners, but nevertheless they would be sacrificing something for the public good.

Why should not these gentlemen sacrifice something.

Is it enough that the rich should be able to say: "I made a million last year and expected to make three millions this year, but owing to war taxes I shall make only two millions, and therefore I have sacrificed a million dollars this year to win the war?"

Enough of such sacrifice as that would make a man a billionaire if he could live a sufficient number of years.

The only financial sacrifice that counts is the kind that leaves one less well off than he was before.

It is not contended here that all of Rockefeller's fortune except a million dollars should be confiscated, though it is difficult to see what real harm such a step could do him.

We wish only to make the point that there is plenty of money in America, that some of it is already being conscripted and that the nation, if occasion should arise, would be morally justified in conscripting all of it.

The poor should pay their part for conducting the war, but the rich should also pay their part.

We call attention to the tremendous fact that the rich are not yet paying their part.

As a class, they are still making money out of the war.

They are going to continue to make money out of it if they can, and nobody can stop them but the people of the United States.

You farmers, in many states, who read this pamphlet, can make the rich pay their share of the war taxes if you go intelligently about it to do so.

The intelligent way to go about it is not to boil with rage within yourself, but to join with millions of others and make Congress boil.

Take a lesson from the rich—they get together in organizations.

The best organization in which farmers can get together is the Nonpartisan League.

The League, which swept North Dakota at its first trial of strength, is now sweeping over ten other states like a prairie fire—and in a little while it will sweep over all of them.

Its membership is rapidly increasing.

And remember this: The height of its membership is the expressed measure of the desire of the farmers for a new deal—a square deal.

No desire does any good so long as it is not expressed.

A farmer may be as mad as blazes, but if he keeps it to himself nobody knows it, and if he talks only to his neighbors they alone know it.

But when a farmer joins the Nonpartisan League he serves notice upon the government and the whole country, not only that he wants something, but that he knows how to get it.

When the farmers of North Dakota went about it the right way to take over the state government, they did not have to try but once to get it.

If there is one word in this world that today means more than another it is "Organization."

Whether in war or in politics, it is organization that counts.

So far as the government is concerned, nothing can be obtained except through politics.

Every political party is more or less highly organized, but organization is an injury instead of a benefit if it is controlled by the other fellow.

The Nonpartisan League is a political organization controlled by farmers.

It stands for the best there is in all parties and fights the worst there is in every party.

The first time the League figured in a Congressional election, it elected a Con-

ADDRESS of  
A. C. TOWNLEY  
President of the  
National Non-par-  
tisan League ~ ~ ~

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At the FARMERS and  
WORKERS CONFER-  
ENCE held at ST. PAUL,  
SEPT. 18, 19, and 20, 1917

ADDRESS OF  
A. C. TOWNLEY  
TO THE  
FARMERS AND WORKERS  
CONFERENCE.

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I most heartily appreciate all the complimentary things said about me by the governor of the State of North Dakota, and I am advised that the temporary chairman this morning said most complimentary things. I was not here to hear them, but I am undecided for just what purpose they said those things. I suppose they said them to lead you to expect more than you are going to get and put me in a hole. (Laughter.)

And I was a little bit alarmed a minute ago when a brother back here, half way back in the audience, got up and asked the governor to talk louder. If you cannot hear him you had better come up here on the platform because that is the only way you can hear me.

I am not used to the business of addressing public meetings. I have only had a very little experience and practice and am

neither trained in mind or voice to do this work, and it is very difficult. But it is just as necessary as it is difficult, so we have got to do the best we can. (Applause.)

Some of the very able—some of the most able speakers of the United States—in the state of North Dakota and the state of Minnesota have left some of the best things unsaid and we will try to make up in as much as we can for our lack of oratorical ability by some of the things we SAY. (Applause.)

Now—I have got a cold. I made a talk to some North Dakota farmers in Fargo yesterday and this is the way I always sound after I talk to North Dakota farmers. (Laughter.) In just a few minutes we will get going and we will get along all right.

We live in a democracy or a republic. In a democracy the rule of the land—the law of the land—is the will of the majority of the citizens of the country. (Applause.)

In an autocracy the law of the land is the will of ONE citizen of that country; and we are opposed to that kind of government. (Applause.)

Democracy comes from the Greek word meaning the rule of the people. Republic is taken from the Latin word meaning rule of the people. In a democracy where the will of the majority is recognized as the law of the land it is the duty of every citizen to abide by the will of the majority. (Applause.)

After the majority have spoken, after

the majority have made a law, or when the men placed in a position of authority by the majority have made a law, whether in my mind that law is right or wrong, as an American citizen my first duty is to obey that law. (Applause.) That is what I understand to be the duty of an American citizen; and I want to say to you for myself and I think I can say it for pretty nearly all the people of this nation that I will go just as far as the majority of my fellow citizens want me to go. (Applause.) Conditions sometimes may be very unsatisfactory and we may live in misery and want because the majority have agreed to conditions or laws that are not working right; and we may suffer because of that. But there is only one thing that is worse than that, that can happen to an American citizen and it is this, that he be so low down in the scale of life that he will refuse to abide by the will of a majority of his fellow citizens.

So I say I am going with the majority of the American people, wherever they want to go—I AM GOING TO TALK TO THEM ON THE WAY. (Applause.)

Just as it is my duty to abide by the will of the majority, just as it is my duty to abide by the decision of the majority, it is just so far also MY DUTY TO HELP MOLD THE DECISION OF THE MAJORITY SO THAT IT WILL BE RIGHT! (Applause.)

But while it is the duty of every American citizen to abide by the law of the land, which is the will of the majority, it is by the same rule just as much the duty

of those in authority to seek out the will of the majority and abide by THAT. (Applause.)

In this national crisis, and in all times, it is my duty and it is YOUR duty to stand by the head of this nation. (Applause.)

And it is the duty of the head of the nation to seek out and stand by the will of the majority of the citizens of this nation. (Applause.)

Now this, gentlemen, is what I understand a democracy to BE notwithstanding some of the press reports that have led some very good people to believe otherwise. Men placed in power, no matter how well qualified they may be, how thoroughly unswerving in their purpose to serve the will of the majority, are not able to serve the will of the majority UNLESS the majority keep themselves in touch with those in power.

Today the halls of congress swarm with men who go there to represent—the will of the majority? Not altogether. Today the halls of congress swarm with men who go there to represent SPECIAL PRIVILEGE. (Applause.)

I refer to the paid lobbyists of those who are making a tremendous profit out of war.

Today in the halls of congress, are not very many men lobbying to represent 10 million farmers in the United States. In ordinary times that might not be so bad, but today in this world crisis you are criminally negligent of your duty if you fail to keep yourself in touch with those you have sent to serve. You make it im-

possible for them to serve you if you leave them alone with those who are there to see that they do not serve you.

And the purpose of this convention so far from being called to protest against the program of the government is called to SUPPORT the program of the government, in its purpose to serve the majority of the citizens of these United States.

I want to talk a little while as I sometimes talk to North Dakota farmers—for here in this audience are farmers from North Dakota, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Idaho, Wisconsin, Colorado, and several other states. This is a DELEGATE convention representing some two or three million voters in this nation. And you are going back home to tell them what you saw and heard. And I want to give you a little story to take back home.

Some of you are wondering why, when the workers on the farm and in the factory make up about 9-10 of the population of this nation, some of you are wondering why we don't have things as they want them. I am going to show you why. I am not going to TELL you why. I am going to SHOW you. You know that is the way you get a Non-Partisan League member. You have to SHOW him.

Once in a while you can find a man that will give you \$16.00 because you tell him to. But they are not very numerous (laughter), and our business has been to SHOW you.

I want to say that the only reason that I can see why farmers and workers in the

...y don't run the world for the producers, is because they have not discovered that they have got initiative and backbone enough to do it. They don't know what that strong right arm of theirs can do in the way of government. Here's hoping they learn.

We have a phrase in North Dakota, and I have been told that they use the same phrase in other states, where men speak of "Farmers and Business Men."

Now, we have discontinued the use of that phrase in North Dakota. We don't like it.

If I call up my friend up here on the platform, and I say, here is Bill Jones, he is SOBER today. That means that Bill Jones might have been drunk yesterday. (Laughter.)

And when I speak of "Farmers and Business Men," that would indicate that farmers are not business men. I want to correct that (as I did yesterday)—with the farmers from other states. Because it is my purpose to put backbone—or to show you that you have GOT a back-bone. I want to show you what kind of people you are. I want to give you a picture of yourselves. Let us examine the way the farmer makes his living and the way the business men make their living.

The average business man or merchant—and I am not criticising the merchant; I am simply talking about farmers and the merchant. The merchant is living by buying his goods at wholesale and selling them at retail. He buys a sack of sugar for so much, adds a profit and sells the

sack of sugar at a profit that enables him to pay the cost of running a store and feed his family. He buys a broom for 25 cents, adds a profit and sells the broom, and upon the profit he receives pays his expenses.

Now, anybody can live if they can buy enough goods at wholesale and sell them at retail at a price high enough, if they use their lead pencil a little bit. It doesn't require the highest degree of business ability to pay 25 cents for a broom and sell it for half a dollar. I say it doesn't require the highest degree of business ability. It does not require the highest degree of ability to buy at wholesale and sell at retail and live upon the profit.

But let us see how the wage worker in the city and the farmer in the country, do business. If you will look carefully at the way they do business, you will notice that they all **buy at retail and sell at wholesale.**

And they still stay in business!

Now, there is not a merchant in the State of Minnesota that can buy at retail and sell at wholesale and stay in business, unless he has a rich father-in-law to keep him in business, and it would be but a short time before he would break the old man at that.

No man can buy at retail and sell at wholesale and stay in business without a reserve from which to draw—some father-in-law somewhere to furnish him the difference.

And the farmers of the Northwest could not stay in business, buying at retail and

selling at wholesale, if they did not have some reservoir to draw from to make up the difference. I am going to point out to you that reservoir. First: It is in the fertility of the soil. The farmers of the Northwest, especially those that raise wheat, are mining the fertility of the soil. It costs this year an average of \$24.00 to raise an acre of wheat in the Northwest. Farmers are getting an average of less than \$17.00 or \$18.00. They take it out of the soil, if the soil will stand it. In some places where the deep, black loam goes eight or ten feet down in the ground, the farmers are pretty well to do, pretty fairly prosperous. That reservoir in the soil enables them to build good barns and houses; and once in a while one can send his boy to college; but a little farther west where the black soil is not so deep, they cannot get enough out of the soil to make up the difference. Then they start in on another reservoir. All over the Northwest, insofar as the farmers cannot get enough out of the ground to make up the difference, they begin and take the rest out of their own hides.

Now, if you could stand where I am standing and look at the hides of these farmers present, you would know that that was so. Did you ever notice the difference between a farmer's hide and the hide of a profiteer, for instance? Do you know I could put three or four of these farmers inside of some profiteers that I know—you have taken so much out of your hides that that is about all that you have got left, and that is not very thick

any more. When you cannot get enough out of the soil and your hides, then you begin upon the lives of the women you married and promised to take care of, but don't. You work the mothers of your boys and girls too long hours in both the country and the city.

And when that won't make up the difference, then you begin on the lives of the boys and girls; you keep them out of school and work them to death, too. I see that you KNOW that this is so.

Then there is another item upon which he draws, that is as fast as the value of the land increases he increases the size of the mortgage, then after a while the price of the land quits going up, and the mortgage gets in its work and we have another tenant instead of home owner. The farm is gone along with the life and health and work of the farmer and his family.

We are going to correct these conditions, and we are going to do it by having a little more to say about the RULES of the farming game.

Do you know what is the most important part of any business? The farmers of the Northwest have learned that the most important part of the farming business is **the business of fixing the price of wheat**, and the rules that govern the grading of wheat. The most important part of the business of banking is the part that fixes the law which fixes the rate of interest and how much it costs to foreclose on the farmers.

The most important part of the railroad business is the fixing of railroad rates—

passenger rates. The most important part of the labor organization's business is the business of fixing the number of hours and the number of dollars they shall get for those hours.

Now we are going to have something more to say, we hope, about fixing the rules of the farming game than we have had. I want to show just how important that is, and what part you farmers play in this matter of fixing rules.

If there is any farmer here that has anything to say about the price of what he sells or the price of what he buys, I would like to have him stand up here and tell the audience what he has to say about it.

Mr. Chairman, isn't there anybody here who has anything to say about those prices?

What a ridiculous proposition—but—I will tell you the rest later, when I get the ground better laid.

I had a man one time stand up in the audience and say, "I had something to say one time about the price of a steer I sold."

I said, brother, you are the first man I ever heard of who did. What did you say? Well, he said, I would not dare to repeat it here in this audience. (Laughter.)

At this point a man in the audience made a remark and was requested by others in the audience to speak louder.

Mr. Townley: Well, I will tell you what he said. He says that he was offered \$1.75 for shelled corn raised about 100 miles from here, and that the price here

was \$2.20. That makes 25c and 20c for hauling it up here. The freight is pretty high! (Laughter and applause.)

To show you what part my friend back here, who has corn to sell, plays in fixing the price of corn, I am going to play a little game of poker. I play this game every day. (Laughter.)

I have not made a dollar yet. I am going to play with my friend here. I am going to assume my friend here, who is a newspaper man, is a farmer, and he is one of those farmers who do not believe in organizing, who do not believe in having anything to say about the rules of the farming game.

He agrees to play poker with me and let me fix the rules of the game.

We start to play. Everything goes all right for a while.

I keep talking to him about the money he is making all the time, but I discover that he is making more than I am making, so I say to him: There is a new law going into effect next month. I have got it here. A ruling from the attorney general which says that after the first of next month you get five cards and I get seven. And I go on playing. I continue to get his money. But not fast enough to suit me. And so I decide that another change is necessary; and I say to him: Brother, after 7 o'clock tomorrow night there is going to be another change in the rules. After 7 tomorrow night I am going to **look at all of your cards.**

Now, if he is a good, substantial citizen and a contented sort of fellow like some

of the boys that we have not been able to organize, he will agree to that. He will say, if the attorney general says it is necessary and the supreme court is back of the attorney general, why it must be all right; especially if all the lawyers and politicians say the same thing. And so we go on playing poker.

Now, that is not overdrawn at all.

I see his hand. He don't see mine. When you go to town to buy that broom next time, after you get home, take a good look at it. Look for some marks upon the broom. You will find some marks running about like this. I don't know what brooms sell for now, but we will say 40 cents, and then above that there will be some Chinese language you can't understand. Now, that mark below, that 40 cent mark, is YOUR hand. The other mark is the other fellow's hand.

It runs the same way through pretty nearly everything else you buy. You don't know what it costs to deliver coal at your door; what it costs to make a pair of shoes; what it actually costs to transport freight. No, you don't! You don't even know, most of you, what it costs for raising wheat. You have been working so hard, that when we asked you to figure up the cost of raising wheat, you forgot to put in there the interest on the mortgage.

Well, my friend and I continue to play poker. We keep going, and if I figure that he will stand for it, why I begin changing the rules again, pretty soon. If he is sufficiently contented and there are not any League Organizers around, I will

change the rules again. Pretty soon I will say to him, "The legislature has passed a new ruling upon this poker game. From now on whenever you take a trick you get 25 cents, and when I take a trick I get \$25.00."

Oh, that is not so bad. It is not overdrawn. In the year 1912, when I was farming at Beach, the farmer sold his wheat at 65 cents a bushel.

A voice from the audience: Sixty-three cents.

Another voice: Sixty-four cents.

Mr. Townley: Sixty-three cents and 64 cents they say—because that year North Dakota produced the biggest crop it had ever had in its history. And the farmers got less for the big crops of 1912 than they got for the small crop of 1911!

That is, they THOUGHT they were taking a trick, but they didn't take it. When they came to buy seed last spring, the other fellow took a trick and they paid \$3.50 a bushel.

Some poker game! Now, if I wanted to make myself absolutely sure, I could fix it like this: That if by any chance he should get all my money he could be compelled to give it back! I probably would not go that far, because he might not stand for it.

Well, now, supposing while we were playing, somebody comes along and says to him, say Mr. Smith. We will say an organizer comes along now and he says to him, "Aren't you rather foolish? Don't you know that fellow is going to skin you alive? Don't you know he is getting

everything you have got?" Smith would say, "Well, I don't know. I am getting along pretty well. I have been here 40 years playing poker. They have not driven me away yet. I guess I don't need to be organized."

Or he might listen a little bit to the organizer; and if he did, you know what I would do. I would go to Smith and say, "Smith, I understand there was a suspicious character around to see you the other day."

I would say, "Smith, you don't know him at all. He is a stranger to you. But Smith, you know me, don't you? Haven't you known me all my life? Haven't I been your friend all your life? Didn't I loan you 25 cents to ante when you didn't have anything at all? And when you didn't have anything to eat, didn't I tell you where you could chase jack rabbits and catch them to eat?"

And I would say, "Smith, you be careful of that fellow. You be careful of him. He is a dangerous citizen. I have made it my particular business to find out who this fellow was, who was talking to you, and Smith, I have learned that he is one of the chief spirits among the I. W. W.'s." Or, I might say, "Smith, he is a freeloader. He does not take any interest in you at all. He is after your wife." Or, if I were one of those gentlemen who are making some billions of dollars of war profits out of this world crisis, and did not want this organizer to talk to Smith about the price I was charging him for shoes and farm machinery, do you know what I would say

to Smith? I would say, "Smith"—with the flag waving above me, I would say, "Smith, look out for that fellow. He is **pro-German**. (Great applause, whistling and laughter.) And if I could make Smith believe it, I could go on playing poker with Smith till he died.

And I could continue to pile billions and billions and billions, wrung from the misery and the sweat and the toil of these American people, into my pockets—if I could make Smith believe it.

You may think that is theory. It is not. In today's paper (after holding the paper up before the audience, Mr. Townley read therefrom as follows):

**"OFFICIAL EYE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL NON-PARTISANS' OPENING TODAY.**

"Although officials of the league protest that nothing seditious would be tolerated, patriotic citizens of St. Paul, and representatives of the Department of Justice expected to watch the entire proceedings critically, prepared to act if necessary."

Citizens of the Department of Justice are very, very welcome here today. We are not ashamed of our particular brand of patriotism. We would suggest to the gentlemen who are doing their duty representing the Department of Justice by being here today, that there is a great deal being said about the patriotism of the farmers of the Northwest, that may not be quite so.

You know we have been charged—the

farmers of the Northwest—with holding our wheat, refusing to put it on the market, because we were not satisfied with the prices, and the rules of dockage. Because we would not turn it over—because they SAID we would not turn it over, at the prices fixed and by the rules of grading—we have been charged with being pro-German.

I am not criticizing men who are paid by this government to represent the majority of the people of these United States for being here today to see whether that is so or not. That is their duty. BUT I read yesterday at Fargo, a little article which I clipped out of the Daily News two or three days ago, which stated that the storage warehouses containing leather rawhides in the East, were packed to the roof.

And yesterday in the city of Fargo, I met a friend of mine who had been for 15 years working among the farmers, buying hides, who had been discharged because they had no more use for the hides.

Meanwhile, the American people are paying anywhere from \$1.00 to \$4.00 a pair more for shoes. And while we welcome here today, most fully, representatives of the Department of Justice, whose duty it is to take a look at the hides we wear, and by a study of what we say, learn whether we are pro-German or not—I would suggest to them that it may also be their duty to go East where our hides are piled to the roof, and see whether there is any injustice there.

One man cannot play poker alone.  
This is a two-handed game.

We are here today to lay our cards flat on the table.

We have not got anything to hide. If you want to ask us any questions today, we will answer them gladly. But I hope that as soon as you get through with US you will go and see the fellows holding the other hand. We are not afraid of impartial inspection. We don't however, want to be inspected and have the decision rendered by fellows in the employ of those who have our hides stacked to the roof. We want to show our cards to a Department of Justice that represents the WILL of the MAJORITY of the PEOPLE.

Gentlemen, there is no use of offering to show our cards to those representing the Leather Trust, the Steel Trust and the Grain Trust, because they see our cards EVERY DAY!

Now, gentlemen, and you representatives of the press—I don't want you to interpret anything that I say this afternoon as criticizing or condemning the good intentions of those in the government who are sincerely working to represent the will of the people.

Any injustice that we may suffer from, we suffer from because we have neglected to reinforce those who do serve us in the national congress.

We have made every effort to get the representatives of the administration; especially the HEAD of the Price Fixing Board—or the HEAD of the Food Board, here to meet these farmer delegates today.

We have been charged with being unpatriotic, and pro-German, not because WE said this meeting was going to be a protest against the price of wheat, but because our enemies said it was going to be a protest against the price of wheat. We have been charged with being unpatriotic, and disloyal, and PRO-GERMAN, because of the prospect that we are coming here to protest against the price of wheat.

We are doing nothing of the kind.

The GRAIN GAMBLERS, grain dealers, or by whatever name you are most familiar with them, have been getting along up to this time with a commission of one cent a bushel. After they had paid their membership fees over here in Minneapolis, they got together here one day and arbitrarily raised it to two cents a bushel. I suppose to protect themselves against the government.

You see they are taking more chances this year when they buy wheat and turn it over to the government than when they buy without the price fixed; and so they arbitrarily fix the commission at one per cent, which is about two cents a bushel. We invited Mr. Hoover to be with us to meet this delegation of farmers. We invited Mr. Barnes to be with us to meet this delegation of farmers. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO GET THEM TO COME.

But TODAY representatives of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Duluth Board of Trade, and Kansas City, and all the rest, are gathered in Chicago TO PROTEST AGAINST THE GOVERN-

MENT'S DEMAND THAT THEY CUT DOWN THAT COMMISSION, AND HOOVER'S REPRESENTATIVE IS THERE TO MEET THEM!

Mr. Hoover has so far been led to believe that it is not his duty to meet US, in OUR program, which is not to protest, BUT TO CONTINUE AND CARRY OUT THE PROGRAM OF PRICE FIXING THAT HE HAS STARTED. I do not charge Mr. Hoover, or anyone else, with willfully neglecting an opportunity here today to find out what IS the will of the majority—but I CHARGE YOU with having neglected to keep Mr. Hoover sufficiently posted upon what WAS THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

I want to say that when you have an organization as strong as the organization of grain buyers, who are able to keep men right at Hoover's elbow all the time, he will see things as YOU see them and not as THEY see them, then you will have Mr. Hoover at your conference, too.

I believe that Hoover is trying to do his duty as he sees it. He has a **tremendous** responsibility. And I say you criminally neglect your duty, unless you aid him all the time to see things as the majority sees them. (Applause.)

I may talk a little long this afternoon, but to a man from the country, you know, who is used to speaking in school houses, this seems like a good opportunity. This is the biggest terminal elevator I ever saw. And it is about as close as the farmers of North Dakota have gotten to one, so far.

We are inclined to stick around awhile and take a look at the building.

I have given you some idea, comparatively, of the business ability of the farmers and merchants; and I think I have done the farmer credit. Before I get through, I am going to show you the difference between the patriotism of those profiteers who make four billion dollars a year, and the patriotism of those who sweat that they may MAKE the four billion dollars a year. If I can make that as clear to you as it is to me, and the representatives of the press here get it as clearly as we get it, and tell the rest of the people of these United States the truth about it, there won't be any misunderstanding about the patriotism of the farmers of the Northwest from now on. I would warn you, however, not to expect too much of the newspaper boys here because this is their first lesson, maybe; and they may not get it all today—though they are a good, bright looking bunch of fellows.

The farmers and the workers of this nation have not been doing much of anything lately. All they have been doing is working at the business of producing corn, wheat, barley, oats, flax, rye, potatoes, mustard, custard, steel, coal, iron, shoes, clothing, guns, munitions, bullets, battleships.

All the workers these last several months, since this nation got into the war, have been doing on the farm and in the city, all they have been doing is to provide the necessaries of life and war, to feed the

people of the world and their armies of liberty.

While they have been doing that, certain other gentlemen, NOT so busy, leaving this less important work of providing beans and bread for everybody to eat—leaving this for the farmers—who know how—these other gentlemen who have not been so busy, have spent a good deal of time **announcing** their patriotism. **They have gotten a little the start of us.**

That is all the difference. Five or six billion dollars of war profits will pay for a pretty good sized announcement.

The corn is—how does that go? “The frost is on the pumpkin and the fodder’s in the shock.” The beans are taken care of. The ships are being built, the farmers have provided for the feeding of the world, and the armies of liberty. The farmers and workers in the city have provided amply for all those material things necessary to win the war, and have given up their sons to fight the war, and you, their delegates, are here today to make an announcement of YOUR patriotism.

You know when a man works 16 hours a day, raising the wheat for the government to commandeer to feed the soldiers and win the war—and when he works long hours in the steel mills or the coal mines, producing the things that the government of this nation needs to win the war—at the end of the day he has spent so much of his energy in the patriotic effort to actually DO something for his country, that he doesn't have much energy left to

wave the flag and talk about it. **HE GOES TO SLEEP!**

Others who leave the little business of producing all these necessities to us—whose hands are white and whose skins are soft—have more time to wave the flag. If we spent as much time waving the flag as they do, we would all starve to death—they and us alike.

I repeat, we are here today to make as much of an announcement of our patriotism as what practice we have had enables us to make, and I predict that if we continue to improve in the next two or three years as the farmers of North Dakota have in the last year, he, at the end of that time, will be able to make pretty nearly as much noise as they do.

Providing, however, that we get enough for our wheat and our leather so we don't starve to death during that time. We are not afraid of the comparison either of business ability or patriotism, with any of these gentlemen with coal and iron and steel.

We have invited them here today to compare theirs with ours, and they **DIDN'T COME.**

The kept press, the newspapers owned by those who make four or five **BILLIONS** of dollars a year, and the mouths of some gentlemen have been full of professions of patriotism; but many of those professions of patriotism come from men whose pockets bulge with gold stolen from us.

They are not patriots, because they possess billions and billions of war profits wrung from the agony and sweat and toil

of starving men and women, the possession, I say, of these billions of dollars of war profits in the pockets of the profiteers—their arms red to the elbow in the blood of this nation—is proof that they are not patriots.

For, in the language of the highest authority of these United States, "patriotism and profits do not go together." Then, in a time of the world's crisis, in a time of the nation's needs, if they are not patriotic, what are they? Get a German helmet, place it upon **THEIR** head, and **YOU SEE THE KAISER** himself.

It is absolutely the only conclusion that you can come to. Patriotism consists in doing something for the good of the **NATION**; patriotism consists in sacrificing something for the Nation's good.

A Voice: That's right.

Patriotism is based upon Justice—**NOT UPON ROBBERY.**

A Voice: Absolutely.

Well, I want to say to you that if these men and women, here today, will tell the truth about this thing as **YOU** see it, I won't ask them to tell it as I see it—as you representatives of some two or three million people, who have been toiling night and day, for their country. If they will tell the truth about this thing as **YOU** see it, **THE PROFITEERS WILL HAVE TO GO OUT OF BUSINESS**, for they cannot stand the light of truth. **No** criminal can stand the light of truth.

Ah! Let me show what we face. Let me make that also plain to you. Across the water, in the trenches over there,

where your sons are sacrificing all they have and all you have—because their life is dearer to you than anything else—over there where they are making that most tremendous gift, that Liberty and Democracy may live for all the world—AFTER the battle crawling among the bodies of the dead, are animals in human form, ghouls of the night, that rob the dead bodies of your dear boys.

Rob them of the little gold, the clothing, the jewelry, the gifts that you may have sent to remind them that you still are thinking of them, waiting their return—rob their bodies of these little things. No language I can command can do justice to the crime of the man who would rob the dead. BUT if you take my money when I am dead, and my clothing when I am dead, that is not so bad as it might be, for I do not need the clothing and I cannot spend the money. And, though those ghouls over there may do this, bad as it is, the clothing may do them some good and they may spend the money for liquor, BUT while the mothers and fathers of those boys killed upon the battlefield are struggling here in this nation—as YOU struggle—in an effort to keep the rest of those boys in clothing and in food; while you and I—their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, are trying ourselves to pay the cost of war, a set of the worst criminals God ever permitted to roam this earth, HERE AMONG US, are robbing OUR starving children to death!!

At the time when this nation needs

every ounce of its energy, when its very LIFE hangs in the balance, when liberty and democracy over all the world hangs by a thread, these vultures are sucking our life-blood, and they have so far succeeded in misleading these American people that we call them patriots! And a farmer out here, who thinks that he should not be docked 20 cents per bushel because a bushel of wheat has five pounds of barley in it, IS PRO-GERMAN.

I hope—I hope we are going to make a change. I believe we are, with your assistance, and with the aid of brothers and sisters of the boys who are going to the battle front, we may yet defeat those allies of autocracy here in our own midst.

You and the people at large have been led to believe that this is a protest against the price the Government has fixed upon wheat. It is not.

You have been led to believe that we want the price of wheat raised upon the same basis with the price they are charging for what THEY have to sell. We have not got the nerve to ask that.

If we should get as much for wheat according to what it cost to produce it, as they are getting for coal and steel, we would have so much money we could not carry it around. We are not used to handling so much money. More than that, we have got to spend our time plowing and seeding and feeding the cows.

So we are not here this afternoon to protest either against the price fixed by this government for wheat to the farmer

in the Northwest or against the law that authorizes the government to fix prices. We believe there is a better way, one that can more easily be explained—and men that work sixteen hours a day need their proposition put in plain language. One that can be more easily explained; and that is this. That we accept the government's proposition to fix the price of wheat as it has, and all on God's green earth we want, everything we ask, is this. The thing we pray for night and day is that the government may be able with YOUR help and my help and the help of a majority of the people of this nation—we pray the government may be able to fix the price of everything else on the same basis as it has fixed the price on wheat.

We are not at all selfish in this matter. We don't want the prices you are getting for what you have to sell. We want you to take the prices we are getting for what WE have to sell. Come on in, you gentlemen of coal, and iron and steel and flour. Come on in with us. **THE WATER'S FINE!**

For, according to this American democracy as I understand it—I may be mistaken—a rule that should apply to one group of citizens ought to apply to the others likewise.

I refuse to believe that America has been **Prussianized**. Until I am compelled to stop, I am going to continue to shout from the house tops, that it is our duty to support the Government in its program to fix prices.

And I am going to continue to believe, as I do now, that except for the influence of those over-patriotic gentlemen of coal and iron and steel, we would be **GETTING** a square deal today.

But the only method you can follow to get a square deal is to bring to bear upon your Government an influence that will beat theirs. You have got to out-do them at their own game.

Oh, no!! **SOMEBODY** is mistaken. This is not a protest at all. We are gathered here today to **support** the Government in its program to lower prices.

We are gathered here today to bid God-speed to the agents of the Department of Justice in **THEIR WORK**.

Urging them as soon as they are through with us, to **GO ON DOWN THE LINE**.

It is difficult to hold meetings these days. But the city of St. Paul seems to be very progressive and I believe if the representatives of the grain trust and the coal trust and the steel trust and the sugar trust and the leather trust and all the rest—want to get together and do as we are doing, I believe if there is not any other place in the United States where they can get together and do what we are doing here today, that **ST. PAUL** will let them come here and do it. And I want to say further that if they don't want to take any chances at all and have not the money to do it, we will pay the rent. The Non-partisan League will do that.

Not because we have got so much money, but because we believe it would be a good investment. We will mortgage

our farms to pay the rent. I hope the Resolution Committee is present and will take note of some of the things I say, and embody some of these things in a communication to these gentlemen.

If they don't want to meet here, bring their own hides here—we don't ask them to eat and drink with us, but we will beat that a million miles, if they will come and do what we are doing here today.

They are in Chicago today. But not doing what WE are doing here today. Oh, no. They are making a mighty effort to convince the Administration that they need two cents a bushel commission when they always got along with one cent before. And I don't know but what they MAY succeed.

I hope we have not come to that PASS where they will succeed. If they MUST have two cents a bushel, let us make a treaty with them and have them wait until the war is over, because we NEED that money TO PAY FOR THE WAR!

It is your duty to support the Government and see to it that these billions and billions that must be raised to finance this war for Liberty and Democracy—billions, I repeat, that will be wrung out of the sweat and toil of the mothers and fathers of the soldier boys—billions that must be paid back when the war is over, it is absolutely YOUR duty, to do all you can to see that **not too many** of these billions stick to the fingers of the gentlemen of coal, and iron and steel and bacon.

If you can do that—if you can see that these billions, instead of falling into the

pockets of the profiteers, shall go to pay the worker in the mine, the worker in the factory, the ship builder, the leather worker, the farmer, all those who produce the things that are needed—if you will see that these millions go to the worker in mine and mill and factory, **THEY WILL HAVE ENOUGH SO THAT THEY CAN PAY ENOUGH FOR BREAD, SO THAT THE FARMERS' WHEAT WON'T HAVE TO BE SOLD FOR LESS THAN IT COSTS TO PRODUCE IT.**

We hear a great deal of noise made by these gentlemen, but if you can so support the Government that those gentlemen will be compelled to sell their coal and their iron and their steel on the same basis that the Government now buys the farmers' wheat—I want to say to you that the howl that will go up from their camp will drown all the noise that these millions of farmers could make. For, if there is anything those gentlemen can do with more vigor than make profits, it is make a noise when they feel those profits getting away from them.

If you can do that—support the government in its purpose to fix prices so that all these gentlemen will have to sell their products on the same basis as the farmer now sells his wheat—it will only be a short time before they will come with the mines and the mills and the railroads and the rest, and say here, take these things over—I don't want them any more, for these gentlemen of coal and iron and steel and leather won't produce what their

country needs in time of war for ANY war for liberty and democracy. They don't do it. Their patriotism doesn't GO that far. Their patriotism won't enable them to produce or make anything at a normal profit. THEIR PATRIOTISM IS THE KIND THAT REQUIRES WAR PROFITS TO MAKE IT WORK.

But the farmer will produce wheat at less than cost to feed the armies of Liberty. He is used to that. He has been at it all his life. That is why his farm is mortgaged. Why he keeps his children out of school to keep the mortgage from growing too fast.

You know the place where the children of the manufacturers of steel and iron is, at Harvard and Yale, where YOUR boys would LIKE to go. But about the only place your boy gets a chance to find out anything is at a League convention.

And I submit that those gentlemen would find out something, too, if they would come here today. Something that they don't learn in Harvard and Yale.

Now, the patriotism of the farmer is of a different kind from theirs. I know it is a better kind. Because the farmers' patriotism and the workers' patriotism enables them to go on producing at less than cost, to feed the world in its time of need. And I want to say to you right here—in support of your patriotism, that even though we must pay five, or six, or eight billions of dollars of tribute every year to these pirates in order to get them to produce guns and munitions and things, we have got to have to win the war—

even though we must pay that tremendous tribute, there is STILL hope for Liberty and Democracy. Because the farmers of this nation and the workers of this nation have got enough patriotism in their hearts to make up for the patriotism and manhood that the profiteers lack. And if necessary, we will go on producing wheat to feed the world and its enemies of freedom—even with those profit vultures clutching at our throats. We will go on and make ALL the world safe for Liberty and Democracy. And then we will settle with those gentlemen after the war is over.

Now, I think if you can lower the prices that these gentlemen get for the coal and iron and steel that they have to sell—compel them—by supporting the Government in its program to LOWER prices; compel them to sell their products on the same basis—on the same basis as the farmer now is compelled to sell his wheat—WHEN YOU DO THAT, the patriotism of the coal trust and the gentlemen who sell iron and steel, the patriotism they have left will then be of very much better quality than what they have got now. It won't be as good as the farmer now has, but it will be better than theirs is now. I think it would grade about No. 4. It won't be rejected.

We can make something out of it, and if you can get some of that kind of patriotism into those gentlemen, by enabling the Government to continue its program to reduce prices, and put that patriotism together with the kind the farmers and workers have, this country, this nation

will be able to bring this war to a very successful conclusion, in a short time.

This war for Liberty and Democracy will be a **TREMENDOUS** success, because we shall not only have secured Liberty and Democracy to all the world, but we shall have **INCREASED OUR HOME SUPPLY**.

And I am foolish enough to believe that it is just as much our duty to make sure of Liberty and Democracy for ourselves as it is to carry Liberty and Democracy to foreign people.

It is only the patriotism of the profiteers that would have us give up **OUR** Liberty. For when we have given up our liberties they can get everything else we have got.

Organize; raise your voice; Lay **OFF** a day or two once in a while, as the farmer says, knock off hoeing corn; get together; announce your Patriotism oftener; support your Government in its program to lower prices, and this war will come to a very successful conclusion.

This nation will be able to bring this war to an end a good deal quicker than it will if you don't do that. For two reasons: First, when you have manifested the will of the Majority, and brought to bear a greater influence upon this National Congress and the profiteers than they feel now, and you have so far supported those who **WOULD** represent you, if they could, that they have compelled the owners of steel, iron and coal and bread and butter and bacon to sell them on the same basis as the farmer sells his wheat, take as much profit out of their business as has

been taken out of the business of wheat raising in the Northwest, and you take nearly all the profits out of all business.

Now, as soon as you do that, nobody will want to continue war any longer than is necessary to secure Liberty and Democracy. We will all be so determined in our purpose to win this war for Liberty and Democracy that the German autocracy cannot stand against us.

The only place when you have done that where you will find any slackers will be among that bunch of plutocrats that is robbing you blind.

Why, ladies and gentlemen, **THESE PEOPLE, OUR PEOPLE**, are all for Liberty and Democracy. **THAT IS WHAT WE PAY OUR SIXTEEN DOLLARS FOR!**

Ninety-five per cent of the people of this country want to win for Liberty and Democracy, 95 per cent of all the people of all the allied countries, want to win for Liberty and Democracy, 95 per cent of the **GERMAN** people want to win for Liberty and Democracy.

**We are all against autocracy WHERE-  
EVER we may find it!**

And the only reason we are not able to bring this war to a successful conclusion and win Liberty and Democracy for all the world, and do it quickly is because you have neglected to make known your demands, and sufficiently impressed the will of the majority upon your national congress.

Oh, you American people, you hold the meaning of Liberty and Democracy for all

the world, and if the Liberty and Democracy for all the world does not come out of this world conflict, it will be your fault, you leaders of the world.

And if you fail it will be because you do not express, fully express, your will in this democracy that you have now, and give every man a square deal. For when you do that, when you support the President of the United States when he says that PROFITS AND PATRIOTISM DO NOT GO TOGETHER, when you back him up, and those with him, so that they can make that phrase a LIVE phrase, and a fact, so that instead of industrial despotism in this country, where we have POLITICAL liberty, we have also INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY—when you do *that*—the German government will not so easily be able to lead the German people to believe that the profiteers want to do with them what they are doing to us.

When you do that you will show the German people what can be done in a democracy; and they want that; and when you show the German people what can be done in democracy, where the people have the right to make their own government, THEY WILL TURN AGAINST THE GERMAN AUTOCRACY, and the German autocracy CANNOT STAND AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE!

So I repeat, our purpose here today is as far removed from being a PROTEST against the government's purpose to lower prices, as is the mid-day light of the sun from the darkest hell.

We have been grossly misrepresented.

If there are any patriots in this world, they are here today in this house.

So if we should fail to sufficiently make known to our Congress—if we should fail during the war to sufficiently make known that will of the majority of those who WANT TO FOLLOW the will of the majority, that will have to be done after the war is over, HOWEVER it shall end.

Let me try to make plainer still to you the reason for the injustice in our industrial life. This war will cost America maybe thirty, forty billions of dollars. It is very difficult to raise those many billions of dollars. It entails tremendous sacrifices upon us all. A sacrifice that WE SHALL NOT SHIRK. Those billions will be spent by this government to win the war for Liberty and Democracy. Part of it will be spent for guns, part for ships, part of it for coal, clothing, shoes, leather. A part of it will be paid to those who are making millions of profit out of the war today.

But a soldier boy cannot carry a gun unless there is bread in his stomach. A soldier boy cannot dig a trench unless he has a strong body made by BREAD.

And some of those billions of dollars have to be spent to pay the farmers for the wheat to make the bread. Now, we have been calling for government control of prices. And we got them all right. But in our clamor for government control we overlooked the better tool.

We forgot, or neglected to see, that the representatives of the profiteers were too LARGE a part of our government, and so

we got the government control too largely in behalf of the profiteers. They are today influencing this government in too large a measure. Else they would not fix a price on coal twice what it was BEFORE the war; else they would not be so long reducing the price of bread AFTER they have reduced the price of wheat.

They have too large an influence. An influence so large that they can say to themselves:

"We are going to have forty billion dollars spent here to prosecute this war.

"Now, how much have we to pay these farmers for wheat enough to get bread into the boys' stomachs? What we do not have to pay to the farmers for wheat for the soldier boys we can use to great profit for ourselves."

I think this is their analysis. Let me show you that it is. I am going to reverse the situation now. I am going to assume that instead of there being too much profiteer influence in Congress, we have enough men like John Baer, the farmers' North Dakota Congressman, and Congressman Young, and a few others that represent THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

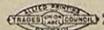
I am going to assume that we have enough true representatives of THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY in Congress, so that they could make their will felt. What would these gentlemen do?

Here is what they would do:

We are going to have forty billion dollars to fight the war. Now, we need coal.

Where is the coal? It is in the ground. Who put it there? God Almighty put it there. Did He put a price on it? No. All right. THEN WE'LL TAKE THE COAL FOR WAR.

And they would want lumber and want steel and say, Where is the steel? And somebody will say: these men; men like John Baer, representing the WILL OF THE MAJORITY, representing YOU, men who have given your sons for the war, they would say, IF IT IS RIGHT TO CONSCRIPT THE LIVES OF OUR BOYS, IT IS RIGHT TO CONSCRIPT THE STEEL!



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19/3

# Why Should Farmers Pay Dues?

FROM  
Room 202 Cameron Bldg.  
WACO, TEXAS



National Nonpartisan League  
St. Paul, Minn.

## Why Should Farmers Pay Dues?

Why will not farmers be reasonable?  
That is what the gentlemen who are robbing the farmers would like to know.

These gentlemen are agreed that farmers' organizations are all right.

Every farmer ought to belong to something.

But why not let it go at that—**just belong to something?**

What is the use of taking this organization matter so infernally seriously?

What is the use of having the organization do anything?

What is the use of having leaders to lay out work and put it through?

**What is the use of paying dues?**

These questions are put to farmers by gentlemen whose pleasant task it is to fleece the farmers.

They are aimed at the Nonpartisan League.

The Nonpartisan League is precisely the kind of an organization that the farmer fleecers do not like.

The Nonpartisan League is not merely something for farmers to "belong to."

Its chief purpose is not to promote the noble pastime of doing nothing.

welfare of its members by preventing others from robbing them.

This is considerable of a job.

It cannot be performed merely by organizing and lying down.

It can be performed only by organizing, getting busy and keeping busy.

The interests that are fleecing the farmers are highly organized and exceedingly active.

Get that—highly organized and exceedingly active.

A little group of men could not fleece a whole nation if they were not highly organized and constantly at work along well thought-out lines.

On the other hand, there was never a time when the many could not have protected themselves from the few if the many had but adopted the means to keep their wealth that the few adopted to get away from them.

The old way of robbing a man was to make a club out of wood and use it.

The new way of robbing a nation is to make a club out of laws and use it.

The only defence against the new kind of weapon is another weapon just like it—a club made of laws.

These clubs do not grow on trees, nor do they gently drop, ready for use, from the skies.

The farmers and other useful workers of the country will never be able to protect themselves until they seriously

interest.

Such laws cannot be made merely by joining paper-organizations that stand for nothing in particular and do what they stand for.

If every farmer and other worker were to join a "National Organization to Abolish Poverty" the mere act of joining would do nothing whatever to abolish poverty.

The first step toward abolishing poverty in this country is to ascertain why most of the people in the richest nation in the world are poor.

Why most Americans are poor should be no secret.

We are not poor because Mr. Rockefeller is such an accomplished safe-blower.

We are not poor because Mr. Morgan is so excellent a porch-climber.

We are not poor because Mr. Armour is an expert with brass-knuckles.

We are poor because all of the interests that are preying upon us are so expert with laws that are good for them and bad for us.

Or, to put the truth more plainly, we are poor because we have not taken the trouble to make laws that would be good for us.

We should always be poor if we were to lie down and go to sleep beside laws that make others rich at our expense.

The members of the Nonpartisan

League have become a little weary of lying down.

They are up and at their oppressors.

They are fashioning a modern weapon made of laws.

They are working together as men must work together to make such a weapon.

This requires leadership and some money. Leadership and a great deal of money are required to make laws in the interest of a few. Is it to be supposed that laws in the interest of everybody can be made without anything?

The well-to-do critics of the Nonpartisan League would have you believe so.

They would have you believe that the league would do better work and be a better organization if it had no leaders and no money. These gentlemen seek to convince you that the existence of leaders in the league and the collection of dues by the league are sufficient reasons why you should stay out of it if you are not in it or get out of it if you are in it.

What frauds these fleecers are! What fools they believe the farmers to be!

Are not the milling interests organized and ably led by a few men? And the interests that manufacture agricultural machinery? And the railroads? Does anybody know of a single great interest in this country that is not

highly organized? Does anybody know of a single great industry that wanders along without leadership?

Even a Sunday school cannot be run without leaders and money!

The critics of the Nonpartisan League belong to the class that stake their all upon leadership and money.

Without leadership and much money their class could not exist. Composed, as it is, of non-producers, it would starve to death.

But it does not starve to death. It fattens while others hunger or are threatened with hunger. By the combined power of organization, leadership and money, a handful of men in America carry elections that bind tens of millions.

The writer saw, the morning after election in 1900, a telegram from a high Republican campaign official to a banker in the middle west. The telegram read: "We have swept the country by an enormous majority. We had on only the port-engine. If we had put on the starboard-engine too we could have carried Texas."

The pleasantry about the starboard and port-engines was a delicate reference to the fact that Mark Hanna's record of \$11,000,000 to elect McKinley in 1896 was not equalled in his second campaign.

The Democrats spend millions to elect their candidates—and the Non-

partisan League is criticised because its members each pay at the rate of \$8 a year, not only to conduct campaigns but to carry on the greatest educational work that has ever been attempted by any farmers' organization in this country!

Is this honest criticism of the league? Is it fair to assail the league because its members are required to pay dues? Is it quite true to say that membership in the Republican or Democratic parties does not necessitate the payment of dues? What are the sums called that are collected by the Republicans and Democrats every two years to finance their congressional and Presidential campaigns? Does it make any difference what they are called? Is it not a fact that the sums are paid to these political organizations by rich gentlemen who are members of them? Is it not a fact that hundreds of men pay from \$5,000 each to \$100,000 each?

Is \$5,000 all right when it is called a "campaign contribution" and \$8 all wrong when the \$8 is called the "dues" of a farmer to the Nonpartisan League?

The truth is that the rich pay heavily for their membership in the Republican and the Democratic parties. They pay during campaigns.

Another truth that is not so well recognized is that farmers and other workingmen who belong to the Republican and the Democratic parties also

pay heavily for their membership—and pay every day of the year.

Every time a farmer is gouged in the price of anything he sells, the sum that he loses is the penalty he pays for the existence in office of a political party that refuses to protect him.

Every time a farmer is gouged in the price of anything he buys he pays some more for the luxury of voting against his own interests.

If these sums were called “dues” the old political organizations might not be so popular among farmers and other workingmen.

What if you were to go to town and were to see thousands of farmers like yourself pouring into what was declared to be a free circus. Would you feel like going in on the free list if you were to go around to the other side of the tent and hear a barker shouting to a group of rich men: “Go right in, gents. Tickets close to the ring are \$100,000 each and standing room is \$5,000, but the ring is full of rubes and every gent will have a chance to rob them of everything but their undershirts.”

Would you sprain a leg to get into such a circus for nothing?

Probably not. Yet rich gentlemen who do not approve the Nonpartisan League try to keep you out of it or get you out of it by telling you that it is an outrage to charge dues for party

membership—and that the old organizations charge none.

The truth of the matter is that “safety first” requires that every man should pay his own way politically.

When somebody else is paying your way in politics you may be quite sure that he will derive more good from the excursion than you will.

It costs money to oppose men politically who fight with money, and the ones that pay it are the only ones who are in a position to determine what line the fight shall take.

It costs money to wage campaigns against respectable robbery because political success for the victims cannot be achieved without getting the victims organized and acting together.

One man who knows what is the matter can do nothing by himself.

He can do nothing until he gets together all the men who know what is the matter.

It takes money to get men together. Men are like bees. Bees gather at the beating of a drum. The drum-beat that makes men co-operate politically for their own protection and advantage is understanding. Every dollar collected and expended by the Nonpartisan League is expended to cause more farmers to understand their own political interests.

You pay \$16 and become a member of the league for two years.

FIVE of these dollars go to pay for a two-years' subscription to the party's weekly magazine, "The Nonpartisan Leader."

The "Leader" is a weekly explanation of why it is more profitable for the rich to farm the farmers than it is for the poor to farm the land. The "Leader" tells you, not only what is the matter, but what to do about it.

Your other eleven dollars go to get other farmers to pay \$16 each for two years of the "Leader" and the rest that goes with it.

To reach these farmers it is necessary to send men among them to talk to them; to hold meetings, print and circulate literature, etc. All of these charges, and election expenses as well, are paid out of your remaining \$11.

It may seem, as if one man should not pay dues to bring another man into the league.

But please bear in mind that the league would amount to nothing if only a few farmers belonged to it.

A majority of the farmers must belong to it before it can be of any service to anybody.

Somebody paid to open your eyes—you are only paying back when you help to open the eyes of another.

At any rate, there is no other way to accomplish anything in politics, where numbers count.

The first-comers to a party can

accomplish nothing until the last-comers arrive.

As a matter of fact, the same principle holds good everywhere Nature is trying to develop men—those who are a little ahead must wait until they can bring up the others.

Did you never observe that the son of a great man is usually but a pale imitation of his father?

Is it not plain why this is so? Think what a world this would be if, from the beginning, there had been a trust in brains—if the most intelligent had mated only with the most intelligent and produced the super-intelligent? We should have had a few men so intellectually great that, in comparison, Socrates would have seemed like a sucker and the rest of us would have known nothing.

Never complain because you must contribute a little toward the understanding of others. It is Nature's way of keeping the human race shoulder to shoulder in the forward march. Incidentally, it is the only way of getting anywhere politically in a civilized community. The only place where a man can go it alone, without reference to others, is among savages.

Be sure that if you complain, those who are robbing you will pat you on the back and tell you you are quite right.

They will tell you you are quite right

for no other reason than that they know you are quite wrong.

Have not the same class of men for years told members of labor unions that it was an imposition to charge them dues and they needed no leaders?

From the point of the grafters, is not the ideal labor union one that is bankrupt and inactive?

Is it not true that if a machinist is paying \$2 a month for his membership in his union that the grafting class always seeks to convince him that it is money wasted?

What railway president believes it is wise for a locomotive engineers to pay \$2.50 a month in dues to his union?

Yet is it not a fact that organized workingmen seem to believe that it does pay them to stick to their unions? Why do they stick? Is it not because of the fact that experience has taught them that their investment in their unions is a good one?

Little more skill is required to operate a linotype than to operate a typewriter, yet the girl who typewrites may get \$6 a week, while the printer gets \$25 or \$30, depending upon the locality where he is employed.

The girl is an unorganized worker and her employer gives her, of what she earns, barely enough to keep her alive.

The linotype operator is an organized

worker and gets a far greater percentage of what belongs to him.

The point is that organization, leadership and the payment of dues for the maintenance of such organization and leadership have everywhere worked to the advantage of those who have organized and paid dues.

Why should a policy that has so well served others be a bad policy for farmers?

If machinists can afford to pay \$24 a year for membership in their union (sometimes more and sometimes less, depending upon the location of the machinists) and locomotive engineers can afford to pay \$30 a year and more, why is \$8 a year too much for a farmer to pay for membership in the league?

The machinist and the engineer get nothing for their money but the advantages of membership and also frequently pay strike assessments in addition.

A farmer who belongs to the Non-partisan League receives a two-years' subscription to a magazine, pays no strike assessments or other extra charges, and always knows that the \$5.50 a year that he is contributing, over and above the cost of his subscription to the "Leader" is being expended to develop a political organization that will serve him instead of his exploiters.

The farmer may feel and does feel that in becoming a member of the

league, he is thereby serving himself. But he is more than serving himself. He is serving the entire community by helping to take the control of public affairs from a selfish few and vest it in the people, where it should be.

The banker who pays perhaps \$500 a year for his membership in a bankers' association can have no such feeling. He knows he is helping only himself. Nor can the merchant who pays from \$100 to \$500 a year for membership in a chamber of commerce. He too knows he is helping only himself.

But the critics of the Nonpartisan League never criticise themselves for belonging to bankers' associations, chambers of commerce and the like. It is all right for them to pay dues ranging from \$100 a year to \$500 a year. They do not fear that anybody is thereby swindling them. They are too busy worrying about the farmers. They do not want to see the farmers swindled by the Nonpartisan League.

When these gentlemen have nothing else to do, they worry because the Nonpartisan League is not incorporated. The Republican party is not and never was incorporated. The same is true of the Democratic party, nor is there any known reason why any political organization should be incorporated. Perhaps, if the league were incorporated, it might be a little easier to kill. Perhaps

lawyers could be hired to harass litigation.

The same reasons that cause those who fleece the farmers to want to kill the league should cause farmers who do not want to be fleeced to preserve and develop it.

Never in the history of agriculture in America did farmers need, so much as they do now, a political organization through which they could protect themselves.

This need will tremendously increase during the next few years.

The war is tending to bring to a crisis certain developments that, if not checked, can hardly fail to bring disaster to agriculture.

On the face of the farming industry it is highly prosperous.

Land is constantly increasing in price and nearly all produce is selling at almost unexampled figures.

But these facts no more indicate health in the farming industry than flushed cheeks indicate health in a fever victim.

One has but to read history to learn that these conditions have often preceded the collapse of agriculture.

Two thousand years ago, a teeming population tilled the fertile lands in the valley of the Euphrates.

Bad laws eventually produced in that region the same results that are today being produced in America.

that farmers could not afford to own it and the owner gave way to the tenant.

Prices of produce were high, but the price of everything else was so high that the farmers had difficulty in making a living.

The fleecing continued until the farmers were unable to make a living. The valley of the Euphrates is now and for hundreds of years has been a wilderness—desolate, abandoned and unproductive.

Ancient Rome had a similar experience. The fictitious signs of prosperity were present. Land and crop-prices were high. But somehow the farmers could not make a living. The soil was good but the city gentlemen were laying too heavy a hand upon the industry. Farmers began to abandon their farms to seek work in Rome. Rome knew that would not do. A "back to the land" movement was started. The farmers paid no attention to it. The tide of travel from the country to the city continued. Eventually the government felt compelled to station armed guards at the city gates with instructions to shoot, if necessary, farmers trying to enter Rome to seek employment.

Agriculture in the United States has long been slipping toward economic catastrophe.

For thirty years there has been a

farm-tenantry.

During all of this time, gentlemen who knew no better have pointed to the constantly increasing price of farm lands as proof of the prosperity of the farming industry.

They have done this, notwithstanding the fact that the mounting price of land really proved the exact opposite of what they thought it proved.

Nobody is benefited by his inability to buy land, and when land becomes too expensive a great many cannot buy and are compelled to rent.

Iowa land is so high that the state is actually losing population, as the last census proved.

Such conditions tend to create what is known in Europe as a peasant class. The world-war is intensifying these conditions. Gradually agriculture is being tied in a knot.

Useful labor is becoming unprofitable. The production of milk and butter is a useful industry, but feed is so high that farmers are gradually getting rid of their cows and selling their heifer calves for veal, notwithstanding the fact that millions of city people can hardly pay the prices asked for milk and butter. The middle-men are not complaining, however.

Raising chickens is a useful industry, but the high cost of feed is causing many farmers to get rid of their

dozen in the cities, but the chicken industry, though it pays the middle-men, does not pay the farmer.

Raising wheat is a useful industry, and the price of wheat is very high, but the cost of everything that goes into the production of wheat is so great that the prosperity indicated by the price of wheat is not real.

What is agriculture coming to?

To whom should we look to halt the present alarming tendencies?

If we look to the business interests of America, we shall look in vain.

The business interests of America, by controlling the political parties that are responsible for the laws of the land, have created the very conditions that make the outlook for agriculture so alarming.

If agriculture in America is to be saved it can be saved only by the farmers.

There are enough farmers to do it, if they will but get together politically.

They outnumber their despoilers as white sheep outnumber black ones.

But they can do nothing unless and until they get together.

Their salvation depends upon the making of a sharp change in governmental policy.

Political principles that have proved and are proving a curse to farmers must give way to principles that will

make agriculture the profitable industry that it can be and should be.

Farmers must put more vigor into the thinking that precedes voting.

The way that is leading to disaster is to pay a great deal of attention to the name at the head of a ticket and mighty little thought to the principles under the name.

The only safety is in reversing this process and paying most of the attention to the principles for which candidates for office stand.

Party slavery has done more than any other one thing to keep most Americans poor.

Most Americans will remain poor so long as they remain party slaves.

The Nonpartisan League means an end to party slavery.

It means the nomination by the league of men in all parties who stand for the principles for which the league stands.

The success of the league means the rejuvenation of agricultural America.

The rapid growth of the league indicates that that rejuvenation will be not long delayed.

The sound financial principles upon which the league is organized is a guarantee that it can and will do the work that its members have cut out for it.

It is the only farmers' organization that ever had a solid financial foundation.

The \$16 that every leaguer pays for two years' membership is what makes the league financially solid and able to do its work.

Give it more power! Become a member! Pay in your \$16! The time to save the agricultural industry of America is now!

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## DUES PAID BY MEMBERS OF LABOR UNIONS

	Per Year
Railroad Conductors .....	\$24.00
Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers..	\$12.00 to 25.00
Plasterers and Cement Workers	9.00 to 24.00
Elevator Constructors .....	18.00 to 24.00
Machinists' Union .....	12.00 to 21.00
Locomotive Firemen and En- gineers .....	18.00 to 20.00
Locomotive Engineers (about)..	20.00
Metal, Brass and Silver Workers	15.00 to 18.00
Musicians' Union .....	6.00 to 18.00
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men—	
Engineers .....	16.00
Cranemen .....	12.00
Firemen .....	8.00
Plumbers and Steam Fitters....	15.60
Garment Workers' Union.....	10.00 to 15.00
Granite Cutters .....	14.00
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	13.00
Hat and Cap Makers' Union—	
Men .....	13.00
Women .....	7.80
United Hatters .....	12.00
Diamond Workers .....	12.00
Print Cutters' Union.....	12.00
Printing Pressmen and Assistants	12.00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers..	6.00 to 12.00
Painters and Decorators.....	9.00

# Why Should Farmers Pay Dues?

FROM  
Room 202 Cameron Bldg.  
WACO, TEXAS



**National Nonpartisan League**  
**St. Paul, Minn.**

## Why Should Farmers Pay Dues?

Why will not farmers be reasonable?  
That is what the gentlemen who are robbing the farmers would like to know.

These gentlemen are agreed that farmers' organizations are all right.

Every farmer ought to belong to something.

But why not let it go at that—**just belong to something?**

What is the use of taking this organization matter so infernally seriously?

What is the use of having the organization do anything?

What is the use of having leaders to lay out work and put it through?

**What is the use of paying dues?**

These questions are put to farmers by gentlemen whose pleasant task it is to fleece the farmers.

They are aimed at the Nonpartisan League.

The Nonpartisan League is precisely the kind of an organization that the farmer fleecers do not like.

The Nonpartisan League is not merely something for farmers to "belong to."

Its chief purpose is not to promote the noble pastime of doing nothing.

Its only purpose is to promote the welfare of its members by preventing others from robbing them.

This is considerable of a job.

It cannot be performed merely by organizing and lying down.

It can be performed only by organizing, getting busy and keeping busy.

The interests that are fleecing the farmers are highly organized and exceedingly active.

Get that—highly organized and exceedingly active.

A little group of men could not fleece a whole nation if they were not highly organized and constantly at work along well thought-out lines.

On the other hand, there was never a time when the many could not have protected themselves from the few if the many had but adopted the means to keep their wealth that the few adopted to get away from them.

The old way of robbing a man was to make a club out of wood and use it.

The new way of robbing a nation is to make a club out of laws and use it.

The only defence against the new kind of weapon is another weapon just like it—a club made of laws.

These clubs do not grow on trees, nor do they gently drop, ready for use, from the skies.

The farmers and other useful workers of the country will never be able to protect themselves until they seriously

go about it to make laws in their own interest.

Such laws cannot be made merely by joining paper-organizations that stand for nothing in particular and do what they stand for.

If every farmer and other worker were to join a "National Organization to Abolish Poverty" the mere act of joining would do nothing whatever to abolish poverty.

The first step toward abolishing poverty in this country is to ascertain why most of the people in the richest nation in the world are poor.

Why most Americans are poor should be no secret.

We are not poor because Mr. Rockefeller is such an accomplished safe-blower.

We are not poor because Mr. Morgan is so excellent a porch-climber.

We are not poor because Mr. Armour is an expert with brass-knuckles.

We are poor because all of the interests that are preying upon us are so expert with laws that are good for them and bad for us.

Or, to put the truth more plainly, we are poor because we have not taken the trouble to make laws that would be good for us.

We should always be poor if we were to lie down and go to sleep beside laws that make others rich at our expense.

The members of the Nonpartisan

League have become a little weary of lying down.

They are up and at their oppressors.

They are fashioning a modern weapon made of laws.

They are working together as men must work together to make such a weapon.

This requires leadership and some money. Leadership and a great deal of money are required to make laws in the interest of a few. Is it to be supposed that laws in the interest of everybody can be made without anything?

The well-to-do critics of the Nonpartisan League would have you believe so.

They would have you believe that the league would do better work and be a better organization if it had no leaders and no money. These gentlemen seek to convince you that the existence of leaders in the league and the collection of dues by the league are sufficient reasons why you should stay out of it if you are not in it or get out of it if you are in it.

What frauds these fleecers are! What fools they believe the farmers to be!

Are not the milling interests organized and ably led by a few men? And the interests that manufacture agricultural machinery? And the railroads? Does anybody know of a single great interest in this country that is not