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The Despoilers

STORIES OF THE NORTH DAKOTA
GRAIN FIELDS

BY

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FOREWORD

The people of the United States of America, prior to the great war, were known to foreign peoples as money chasers, whose God was Mammon. Let us hope in all sincerity that when the war clouds shall have passed away we shall prove the falsity of that impression by demonstrating to the nations that our ideals are excelled by those of no other people; that we shall have accomplished a task such as no other nation has ever been called upon to face, that of assisting a world to recuperate from the effects of the greatest calamity that ever blighted its people. In doing this, let us hope that it will be done unselfishly. Yet we cannot do it without proving to all men that it pays to be money makers; that it pays to be energetic; that it pays to be industrious; that our great natural resources together with our ability as money makers (industry) enables us to achieve the higher things which are called ideal.

If we were a nation of idealists whose ideals reveled exclusively in poetry and song, tabooing the industrial life as a thing distasteful, we should soon find ourselves running short on poetry and song. Or, if we were idealists without ambition, the kind who do not believe in constructive effort, who dream dreams of Utopia where all work and effort will be eliminated, who spurn the commercial life as a monstrous evil working oppression upon the masses, and, if those ideals were put into effect, we should find ourselves unable to take an ideal part in world affairs.

Our nation is divided into forty-eight units, each unit a separate state. Each state follows the industry provided by its natural resources. North Dakota is located in that portion of our country formerly known as "The Great American Desert." We have only to go back to Civil War days when General Sibley's

Army crossed a portion of our State to learn that it was then a dry barren waste with no water anywhere. Even the Sheyenne and James rivers were dry beds. The army was obliged to transport water from the Red River at Fort Abercrombie and other points north. Be that as it may, the new settlers of forty years ago, found a plain covered with rich grasses, an indication that grain could be grown. The herds of buffalo and different species of the deer family that were known to have fed on these plains, and the tons of bones of these animals strewn over the surface, indicated that the grasses must have grown there a long time. It had every appearance of a very fertile plain.

The settlers came and struggled. All frontier life is a struggle. The vicissitudes were many, but they "carried on." Many of the pioneers have passed away leaving a rich heritage. The struggles of the pioneers are unknown to many of today, and to others are only a memory and are seldom given consideration or the present day discontent might be less tense.

This portion of the great American desert has become a very prosperous country. The wealth has been created by natural causes assisted by much energy of man. Business has grown steadily as wealth has increased until it has reached such proportions that railroads find it difficult to function properly. Bigger and bigger it grew until it is indeed "Big Business."

There is a movement on to reorganize creation. North Dakota is taking a very prominent part in this movement. As North Dakota is strictly an agricultural state, without any manufacturing centers, it is an ideal place for those interested in such work. There is only one class of people to manage, a condition that eliminates much trouble. In one day, as it were, North Dakota found itself organized; fifteen percent of the population, those living in the towns and cities, learning of the organization after it was accomplished. There are many objectionable features to this organization, the chief of which is that it was ef-

fectured by a propaganda of abuse of all business, styled "Big Business" including "The Middleman" and reaching to the friends and neighbors living in the cities and towns. At the present writing this last assertion would be denied; nevertheless, the dwellers in the cities and towns were not consulted or included in the organization, which fact gives color to the assertion. The most unfortunate condition created by this organization of eighty-five percent of our people was the bitterness it inculcated in their minds against their friends and neighbors living in the towns. They were banded together for the purpose of destroying big business and in fact all business but their own. They would destroy it by operating all business themselves. This idea was brought about by an organized company of agitators who silently moved about the country telling the people of their (the people's) suffering and the terrible wrongs perpetrated upon them by the business world. They made the people pay them for this *pleasing* information. Some of these men were from outside states. None of them had any part in the struggle, the toiling, the building of our commonwealth. Men who paid no taxes in this state, most of them paid no taxes in any state, urged property owners to plunge into an experiment in socialism and to take all chances on "paying the fiddler."

In 1916 this movement, known as "The Nonpartisan League" carried the State election by electing the entire State ticket, with exception of treasurer. They accomplished this by appropriating the Republican Party. Seemingly the Republican party won the election by an overwhelming majority; but often times things are not what they seem. The following legislative assembly attempted to plunge the State into radical socialism by legislative enactment, the measure being known as "House Bill 44." This bill passed the House but was defeated in the Senate, which body the new organization failed to control owing largely to the number of hold-over Senators. This failure caused a postponement of the League program which meant that they must carry the State again and also

both houses of the legislature, which they did in the general election of 1918, with the single exception of the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. During the Primary campaign of 1918, I was very much disappointed and provoked because of the method employed by the opponents of the League. Whether the attitude of the newspapers opposed to the League was dictated by headquarters, or whether it was a movement that sprang up among the editors spontaneously, I have never attempted to learn, but a very grave blunder was made by the newspapers during that campaign.

The country was at war. It appeared to the press that a popular move would be to accuse all followers of the League of disloyalty, therefore, the newspapers kept up a harangue about "Pro-Germanism," etc. In this manner they defeated their candidate for Governor and the entire State ticket. More accurately speaking, they didn't give him any chance to win. The fact is that the farmers supporting the League were not disloyal in intention. They were supporting a disloyal, seditious and pro-German cause, but they didn't know it. They didn't think so, and it was beyond the power of man to make them think so. They believed they were right; that theirs was a righteous cause; that another Saviour had come down to earth to save them, and, profiting by experience, they knew better than to crucify him. Any one who attempted to persuade them away from their steadfast belief was considered by them a tool of big business, or one who had failed to see the light. So, to accuse them of disloyalty only added fuel to the flames.

It was plain to see that all argument submitted was from a commercial point of view, from a dollar-and-cents intelligence; that men active in political life were either avoiding the subject or were ignorant of the fundamental principles governing life itself. It seemed that no one would ever get down to facts and explain conditions from the real fundamental basis of all things. Thus it came about that following the

Primary election of 1918, I decided to write a letter to the people of North Dakota, giving my views of the fundamental causes of the present mental attitude of the farmers of this State. The letter soon reached the proportions of a pamphlet. It was published in pamphlet form under the title "The Psychology of Suspicion," and a limited number were sent out as a campaign document during the campaign of the general election of 1918. I learned that writing a pamphlet and distributing it are two different propositions. Distribution is a very difficult task unless Big Business jumps to one's assistance. In my case Big Business didn't jump. I learned that one needs the assistance of Big Business, a publishing house with its organized forces.

Following the appearance of the pamphlet "The Psychology of Suspicion" many commendations were received. One by one, friends suggested that I finish the work only begun—as they put it. Some of these suggestions came from men of high attainment; men of high standing in their chosen work, in whose judgment I have the utmost confidence. Thus it was that I have attempted to follow these suggestions. The suggestions for the most part advised that I publish the pamphlet in book form with a more explicit treatise of the subject added; therefore, the work contains the pamphlet as published in 1918, being chapters one and two, the succeeding chapters being written in 1919. This information will explain the difference that will be noticed between the first two chapters and the remainder of the work. The first two chapters are written in the second person, being addressed to the people of North Dakota. The rest of the work is written in the third person, speaking of the people of North Dakota.

The work contains numerous repetitions. Propaganda is successful only when sustained by a continuous effort, a never-ending continuation of the same thing, like successful advertising. To make a statement, which to my mind is vital, one that is intended to call attention to the fundamental basis of life

itself, and, to refrain from using it again for the simple reason of avoiding repetitions, would be to lose the object for which this work is intended. It has been the object of this work to arrive at these statements from different angles in a practical manner, so that different classes of people will be better enabled to comprehend their meaning.

This work is written exclusively for the common people, people who have lived a practical experience in the common walks of life. No thought has been given to make the work compatible with certain classical standards or theories, therefore, all censure or "higher criticism" is hereby waived, on the basis stated by General Ludendorff, that "Theory and practice are not the same."

The work does not attempt to go into a detailed account of the workings of the movement of the radicals in North Dakota. Rather the object of the work is to state certain fundamental truths, merging them, as it were, with practical facts in life, in the hope thereby of their being readily comprehended by people in practical life, the masses.

—THE AUTHOR.

THE DESPOILERS

CHAPTER I

Tell me, where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart, or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?

—*Shakespeare*

The man who owns a newspaper has a special privilege, an opportunity that permits him to voice his opinion upon all subjects. In time many editors come to believe they express the opinion of a whole community, many of them taking on more and more territory. They are allowed by custom to continue in this privilege and many of them become imbued with the belief that they carry the responsibility of forming opinions for a nation. One man has been allowed to think for a nation so long that he now believes he is doing the thinking for Almighty God, and he isn't a bit backward in saying so. But after all, they are only private opinions, just like yours and mine, so, as an humble citizen of North Dakota, I have decided to write an editorial myself. I haven't a newspaper, but I can pay for it in some other fellow's newspaper, and in that way I can send my views broadcast, and they have just as much right to be sent broadcast as any editor's opinion.

First of all I take my oath and solemnly swear, that no editor or politician or business man knows of this letter, or of my intention of writing this letter. To be exact, just one man has heard of this letter. He is an old man, an ex-minister of the gospel, who spends his time in looking for the coming of a better day. He is one who isn't looking for a better day until the end doth come. I have promised to allow this gentleman to read this letter. He shall see it before it is given to you.

Second, who am I? Just an humble citizen who arrived in Dakota territory long ago and settled miles

beyond Jim Hill's railroad. I have been educated in Nature's school which was on the prairies of Dakota territory before the days of school organization. I know the people who made North Dakota. I know something about mosquitoes and I have seen the antelope at play. I have picked buffalo bones out of the way of the breaking plow and snared gophers betimes for amusement. I know what it meant to be twenty miles away from a doctor with no means of getting him except by ox-team. I know where there are some early-made graves which might not have been necessary had it not been for these primeval conditions. My mother and little brother were alone in a claim shanty when two Indian carts arrived at the door, each cart containing an Indian. She locked the door and stood on a chair placed back in the center of the room so that she could see without being seen, and watched and prayed while the Indians conversed there for an hour. She stood there in terror until they moved on, and when they had disappeared beyond the western horizon she fled to the nearest neighbor miles away. As I grew up I joined in the work of the farm. I have been in the straw pile in August when they were threshing barley and I have never been known to quit the job. I have bucked straw from the old style straw carrier with oxen. I saw a picture last winter in a St. Paul paper, showing an ox-team with its trainer. I am an ox-trainer of the first quality, but we were not given that distinction in my time. I continued to live and to grow and to work until I have done every thing that ever was done on a farm in North Dakota. There were no seats on plows, or wheeled trucks behind harrows in my time — I walked. I thought my lot a hard one and decided I wouldn't stay on the farm and have the whole world against me, so I allowed the homestead to be sold and I have never been able to buy it back again. I could not stop living you know, so on and on I went until I have had quite a varied experience.

I have read somewhere a statement to the effect that a man should not attempt to preach the gospel

until he had worked on the farm, on the railroads, in the mines, on the seas, on the docks and under all conditions and circumstances; that then, and only then, would he be fitted to preach the gospel. Taking the above statement as a standard of equipment, then I am fitted to preach the gospel. I have worked on the railroad. I assisted in building the second track across Iowa on the Northwestern Line with the toughest bunch of guys the sun ever shown upon. I have worked in coffer-dams away under the water level. I have worked in mines. I have sailed and know what it is to stay on duty while suffering with sea sickness. I have seen men holding the big wheel after the steam steering gear had gone out of commission, while they were as sick as men ever were while sailing the seas. These men just had to stay there, and I have stayed there. I overheard a watchman say to the second mate during a squall: "Mate, I cannot make the aft signal light burn, I have lit it three times." The answer came "Go aft and make it burn." There is no *can't* allowed aboard ship, and a man must show symptoms of gall stones or appendicitis before they would think of going to the medicine chest. One is unfortunate indeed who is taken ill with any serious malady during a squall.

If there is anything I am grateful for it is because I had the experience of sailing for a while. I never was disciplined until I met Mr. McLeod and Billy, the two mates on the "Sitka" and Mr. Bardow and another Billy, the two mates on the "John W. Moore." When the mate says Joe, he doesn't mean Harry. When he says "Joe, go ashore" he means that Joe shall go ashore and not Bill, and that Joe will go ashore right now and not after a while or any old time. See? It is for this reason I have joined the National Security League, which stands for universal military training for boys. Not that I wish to see this country become a military nation, for there is no danger of that, but because I want to see our boys disciplined; because I want to see them grow up men, real men, and not I. W. W's.

I have threshed and have had various crews. I have an idea of the mental attitude of the average I. W. W., because I have worked with them and I have had them work for me. I have threshed my own cylinder teeth, burrs and all, when there were none gone from the cylinder or concaves. I have worked and planned all day how I could keep her going, and then have worked all night at the flues, while that self opined persecuted mass of humanity, the crew, were comfortably asleep without a care on their minds.

The experiences mentioned above have certainly added to my understanding. They have given me a broader view of social conditions than could have been possible had I only lived one experience in one community. Had I only lived one experience in one community, then I would have been wholly ignorant of these other experiences, without any knowledge or ability to judge them.

I have been in business too, but my financial standing today isn't above par. My failure to amass great wealth and become identified with big business is because of a system which has made it impossible. *That system is myself.* It was my system of doing things. It was my mode of thinking. I had just as great an opportunity as Charlie Schwab who, when asked what he could do, replied "I can do anything." They put him driving posts with a sledge and he drove the posts. Shakespeare understood this system which I mention, for he made Cassius say, "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves." How much better this world would be if people would grasp this knowledge, this psychological knowledge which teaches us that the fault is in ourselves and cease blaming others when things don't go right? A farmer may not prosper, and because he isn't prospering the fellow in town is to blame, or the railroads are to blame, or Wall Street is to blame. He fails to see the prosperity of his neighbor across the road and other neighbors all around him, and to realize that the fault is in himself because the neighbors are working under the same conditions as he. If he did, he would realize

a great psychological truth and say with Cassius, "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

But I am not classifying farmers alone. The trade unions have the same idea. A skilled workman is paid very high wages until his income per annum has equalled and more than equalled that of the average business man. But, because of carelessness in management, extravagance, and far too often a close companionship with John Barleycorn, he has remained in low circumstances. Not having the moral courage to redeem himself, the prohibitionists have had to fight him in getting laws passed that would protect him from wasting his substance. He would blame everybody and everything, and never think of saying, the fault is in myself.

I am addressing this communication to those people who came here in territorial days, or to their sons and daughters. Many are still living who were the pioneers, and the people living on the farms today can remember the early homes and the early hardships. They know who built up this state. Perhaps the richest country in North Dakota today is along the Goose River in Steele and Traill counties. Do you remember when you lived in dug-outs along the banks of that river? Your fathers and mothers lived in dug-outs there. I have seen them. Dug-outs where today great mansions stand, the most magnificent homes to be found anywhere in the world. Isn't it wonderful the change we have seen in a little more than one generation? In that day we left the dug-out, the sod shanty, or the tar-papered shanty and followed the trail (many times making the trail) with an ox-team, and oh! the mosquitoes! Today we leave a magnificent home and follow a well made grade with bridges where required and thirty miles an hour isn't fast. We travel on luxurious upholstered cushions supported by wheels with air-cushioned tires.

I am using the pronoun "we" simply to express the plural sense, as we are all one great family grown up. It doesn't include the writer literally because he

isn't riding on the luxurious cushions. However, he has no complaint to offer, because the fault, dear Brutus, is entirely in himself.

I have written this to assure you that I ought to be as capable of reasoning along these lines as other men, and more capable than many men. But, I ought not to be more capable of reasoning along these lines than you ought to be.

Are the men and women who have lived here and built up this State capable of continuing its development? Nothing can be built up but by constructive thought and action. There is nothing perfect and there cannot be anything perfect. But there can always be an effort along constructive lines which assures a constant healthy growth. That is the way in which North Dakota has reached its present stage of development. There are no problems unsettled but can be settled by North Dakotans themselves, the people who made North Dakota. You were all pretty well contented a few years ago. At the present time there seems to be much discontent. Why this discontent? I now ask you to follow me while I briefly mention conditions as they now exist in this State. I want you to open your minds to reason and allow yourselves to think. If after you have followed me through with open, unprejudiced minds, you disagree with me, it is all right, that is your privilege. But I do wish you would reason this matter over with me, before forming a blind opinion.

I have also been a salesman. Recently I heard a young man complaining because people in towns complained to him about the high price of butter when he attempted to sell some. He complained bitterly because a certain preacher, whom he did not name, stated to him that he was using a substitute for butter, because he could not afford to buy butter at the then high price. This young man stated that it made his heart sick to take the insults hurled at him when people in town complained about the high price of the butter which his young wife had so carefully



THE PIONEER'S LOG HOUSE.

The log house was found along the streams, where timber was found. The streams and the woodlands appealed to that sturdy race from northwest Europe, the Scandinavians. Along the rivers were Norwegian and Swedish settlements.



EX.-GOV. FRANK WHITE

The above shows a college man who went back to the soil to gain practical knowledge. This picture is typical of North Dakota's governors, almost all of them came from the farm where they batched and made their own "flap-jacks." Observe the "claim shanty" in the back-ground.

Lynn Frasier isn't the first farmer governor.

made, and he was firmly convinced it was a united effort against the farmer. Did he realize that if it were not for the people in towns he could not sell a pound of butter, or of anything else, at any price? Who would purchase the farmer's products if there were none but farmers on the earth? Now that young man ought to read "Put Yourself in His Place" by Charles Reade, then get on a salary without anything to depend upon but the salary, and ascertain if he too might not force himself to use a substitute for butter, or go without butter altogether. He had better try preaching and find out how easy it is to keep the larder supplied with butter. He then should try salesmanship for a living and ascertain who the entire world is really lined up against. He will immediately discover that the world is united against a certain salesman and he will long for the flesh pots of Egypt back on the farm where fresh pork may be had by sticking a pig, where eggs are found on the premises and where head lettuce grows free in the garden. This young man had tried salesmanship just in a small way, as a side line, and immediately determined that the world is against the farmer. If he will try real salesmanship for a living, he will soon provide himself with a hide like a canvas-back duck, which neither water nor anything else can penetrate, a psychological hide. He will have to steel himself into such a mental condition that he will be unable to recognize an insult if it had a flag on it.

I mentioned "Put Yourself in His Place." Suppose we put ourselves in the hotel man's place for a few minutes and consider a few of his grievances. If we do that, perhaps we will learn that everybody is against the hotel man. I could show the grievances of many different classes of citizens living in the towns, but for want of space will use the hotel man's grievances for an illustration, as follows:

One of the leading requirements of a city is a good hotel. Somebody must keep a hotel. If your city, or town, hasn't a good hotel, it isn't on the map with the neighboring cities, or towns. Traveling men will

plan their trips to avoid your town. Tourists will make inquiries and learn where the good hotels are and plan accordingly. If you haven't a good hotel they will go to the neighboring town. You will see that one of the most essential features of a town's success is a good hotel. The hotel is an asset to the town as a whole and everybody in town ought to be interested in the welfare of the hotel. But, are they? Does your city appreciate the hotel? No, not if you can find a stool in a Chinese restaurant. If you were running the hotel you would be compelled to see the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant and everybody in town practically going out of his way to patronize lunch counters. I have nothing against lunch counters. It is an honest business. But lunch counters do not maintain rooms for guests, therefore, are not an asset to the city, as the hotel is. There are always so many lunch counters that none of them make any money and they only accomplish about one thing. They drive the hotel man to failure. When the hotel man fails he has lost some money. It doesn't cost the lunch counter man much to get into business, neither does it cost him much to go out of business. What is the result of this unfairness? If the hotel man doesn't fail, he is unable to maintain as good a hotel as he would if his brothers in town would give him their money instead of giving it to a Chinaman. Lunch counters have no rooms, as a rule. When conventions come to town the hotel is needed. When the Governor comes, or any other individual, the hotel in which they are entertained bespeaks the kind of city you have. You need the rooms for your guests. They are your city's guests. But you patronize lunch counters and thus fail to assist your brother to so live that he can maintain rooms in which to entertain your guests. Then, if he isn't able to conduct the place to suit your tastes you censure him as being "no good." If he fails, you say he "was a darn fool anyway." Business men will spend money for cigars all day long, willing to buy them for anybody. Your money is so free that the

birds can have some of it. But, if you can save ten cents by crucifying (financially) the hotel man, it is good business, "Big Business." It is simply a case of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

If the farmer could experience some of the conditions prevailing in the towns; if he could experience the conditions which many hotel men find themselves battling with, his vision would be broadened. The above will do for an illustration, although all classes have their difficulties to contend with. But, the hotel man doesn't take any action to "strafe" all other classes of people.

Now, why do farmers have the idea that everybody is against them? There are several reasons. In the early days there was little opportunity for the immigrant to become posted upon affairs generally and there were men here to teach a propaganda for selfish purposes. In all new countries there are unscrupulous men who prey upon the unsophisticated. The greatest graft was this: Make men believe they had to prove up on their homesteads in six months, then loan them money on their homesteads at a very high rate of interest, when the homesteaders might just as well have had a deed by limitation at the end of five years as they continued to live on their homesteads anyway. In some counties this was worked extensively and other schemes accordingly. But why did these new settlers do such foolish things? Why did they blame the money loaners? Why didn't they blame themselves? They surely were to blame themselves for not finding out the requirements of the law from the proper sources. They were very foolish in not doing so. I am not condoning the acts of these unscrupulous men; they were rascals. Most of them have gone to their reward and perhaps have had that passage of scripture explained to them, wherein it states: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." But perhaps the greatest falsity existing in the world is this blaming others for our own mistakes.

A more recent cause of the idea is the recent pros-

perity with its numerous salesmen. Salesmen have learned how to sell goods and, unfortunately, there are many thoughtless salesmen. Many salesmen care not what argument they use just so they get the order signed. They figure that their argument, or rather, their side talk has done no harm to a man, providing they have sold him something he needs and which will make him money, for, it is absolutely true that it is the salesman who has made the money for many a merchant and for many a farmer. He comes along with his cheerfulness and tells of conditions of the market in his line and shows up new things to people who would otherwise be slow to see them were it not for the activity of the salesman and, as almost all men are slow to act and conservative in constructive action, it requires a sermon, or an oration, or at least a tactful, forceful talk in order to get men to muster up enough initiative or courage to help themselves and, naturally the salesman learns how to get the best results.

What is the most successful way to get results? There are many ways. Find out what a man's hobby is and talk that instead of the goods. Agree with every statement he makes and make him believe he knows it all; that he is a man of good judgment. If he is inclined to think he is getting the worst of it (and all men are inclined to think they are getting the worst of it) immediately agree with him and condemn everything, or more especially anything which that person may have a grievance against, real or imaginary. If a salesman is talking to a farmer he tells him that the grain exchange is eating him up; that he ought to be getting twice as much for his grain; that the banks are robbing him and the local man generally is against him, and they will even go so far as to say that the government is playing into the hands of Wall Street, or big interests, anything to get an order. In this way they tickle the farmer until he has thoroughly enjoyed himself and during his hour of happiness he has bought something. Now stop and reason: A lot the average salesman knows or cares

about the methods of the grain exchange, or of the administration's understanding of government. He is posted in salesmanship and his goods and that is all, as a rule. He waits for the purchaser to give him his cue as to what the talk shall be and it is always a negative talk condemning anything the buyer wishes to hear condemned, and then he goes away laughing about how he did it, and the buyer is so hypnotized he never thinks of reasoning why any salesman should be better posted than he himself. This line of talk has been carried on so long that it has become a real propaganda, and the result is that men are so steeped in this idea that they are getting the worst of it, that they do not reason any more. They are out to get even, to defeat somebody. I wonder who it will be? This is an agricultural State settled entirely by farmers. The farmers have all the wealth. The few men in towns who have wealth are farmers, or farming has the first place in their business. This is true with few exceptions. Then who is going to suffer the defeat? If there is to be a cleaning, which means depreciation of values of the rich, whose values will suffer? The great majority of the farmer's enemies, (so-called) in the towns have no values to depreciate. They will continue to eat, they are eating now. It is all they are doing.

In reply to the question, who will they defeat, I will quote a statement of Abraham Lincoln. It was written after serious riots had occurred in New York City and was addressed to the Workingman's Association:

"None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudices, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property

or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable, is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich, shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

This statement of Lincoln does not quite apply to present conditions in North Dakota. You will notice that he was speaking to the people who were poor in those days. It isn't the poor that are complaining in North Dakota. It is the rich. The class that is dissatisfied in this State have almost all the wealth of the State and, it is difficult to understand why they should object to other classes living with them. As stated before, when the man in town and his family are driven into the ocean there will be no market for the farmer's product and, if there is to be a cleaning in depreciation of values I will leave it to you who will be cleaned. It looks as if there were a great boomerang being started in North Dakota.

But the salesman isn't the only man guilty of this propaganda. The politician is practicing the same art to a high degree. He is not so free in his readiness to condemn, but he is ever leading up to the fact that the farmer is a mighty good fellow. He will agree that he is a sufferer by constantly offering a panacea for all the farmers' ills, real or imaginary. What he is really doing is catering for votes, just as a salesman caters for orders. The salesman nearly always does the farmer some good by selling him something he ought to have, which cannot be said for the politician. The politician caters to everybody for votes, but he doesn't try sympathy for grievances upon anybody but the farmer, because he knows it won't work. He works other classes of individuals by spasmodic spells of heartfelt (?) friendship and good will.

Today in North Dakota there are two great issues before the people to be decided by the people's vote.

Today politicians are working as never before, especially those politicians who are interested in the tearing down process. It is easy for them to work because they have the money to work with; they are being financed by the people, and, the public mind, always pessimistic, prefers to hear fault finding rather than to listen to constructive statements. Politicians working along constructive lines are unable to cope with those working destructively because of want of funds and the preference for abuse of other classes on the part of the people. A few have done what they could at their own expense, but it makes no difference which side you listen to, or what paper you take up, both are praising the farmer. Both are holding him up before himself as being a little lower than the angels. It is a continual God Bless the farmer and then some.

Why this catering to farmers? It is proof that they have the money of the State and, also the majority of votes of the State. If this propaganda is continued it will spell ruin for our State. Did you ever see spoiled children? Well, treat grownups in the manner in which spoiled children are treated and you will see what they will do to you, not only to you but they will bring ruin upon themselves.

If the farmers who believe these stories of their imaginary grievances will brood over them until they become their whole thought and belief, they will surely put the thought into action, and the action will bring about the very conditions they have been thinking of. You know that people usually get what they are looking for. Job of old cried out in anguish: "For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me."

Ever since the world began there have been propagandists preaching the doctrine of discontent wherever they could find a fertile field to plant their seed. They have succeeded in nothing but tearing down for a while, their movements have never been sustained, reaction always set things right again, many times after great damage had been done. The Southland

was a great field just following the Civil War. The demagogues of those days rushed south to be on the ground early, as it was such a fertile field for propaganda as never before seen. They harangued the negroes, the freed slaves. They told them they were equal to the whites; that they had been persecuted beyond measure, which was true, no doubt. They advised them to rise up and assert their rights and to get even with the whites who had so long persecuted them. A reign of terror followed, and it is difficult to imagine what the end might have been had not somebody hit upon a scheme of appealing to the emotions and superstitions of the black man. They organized what was known as the "Kuklux Klan." They dressed its members and their horses in white sheets and rode forth at night and scared the liver out of the superstitious and ignorant colored people. In this way the colored people were brought to their senses and the propagandists had to leave the country to find new fields. Were those propagandists friends of the black man? Would Abe Lincoln have adopted their tactics had he lived and had the rebuilding of the Southland? Oh, no, nothing but strong constructive action could save the freed black man. No tearing down process, which is always a teaching of hatred, can do anything for anyone. Fred Douglas, addressing an audience of his colored brothers, held up a watch and said: "If the white man can make this watch that will run all the time and tell the hour without variation, doesn't it prove that we ought to follow the white man and learn from him until we develop ourselves by effort to be his equal?" Did the propagandists of that day talk that way to the poor ignorant freed slaves? They did not! Did Lenine and Trotsky in Russia tell the poor ignorant peasants that they must learn and work and struggle to work out their salvation? They did not! They told them to rise up and get even, to appropriate everything as their own and to enter into joy eternal; but, oh, what an awakening!

In the Southland the colored people were both igno-

rant and poor; also the peasants in Russia, a striking contrast to prosperous North Dakota. In North Dakota it is the wealthy class who usurp the rights of the poor. It seems that the prosperous farmers of our land would prefer to be down trodden peasants like those in Russia. It is the kind of talk they love to hear. Well, there is a psychological law universal with all mankind which will cause an adjustment and that adjustment will be according to the mental attitude. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." "For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he." These statements of the law are psychological. They have to do with the mentality. As you give in thought so shall you receive in life, both now and hereafter, is the real meaning. The great trouble is, an average has to be struck, and those not to blame will suffer with the guilty as far as material affairs are concerned for the wheat and the tares must live together until the harvest.

As much as the farmer despises capital in the other fellow's purse he will find that he cannot have any in his own unless he is willing that his brother shall share prosperity with him. This may not seem true to him; if it doesn't it is because of ignorance of psychological and economic laws.

The following quotation is from the Fargo Courier-News of May 8th, 1918: "and there are those forces of another sort looking toward the light of a better day for all mankind, whose eyes are on North Dakota with that questioning look."

I will ask you to observe the words "a better day for all mankind." What is there in those words? Simply an insinuation that the present days are not good; that better days are prevented by vicious classes of society. These days might be better because there is nothing perfect in this world, but we do not know of any spot in all the world where conditions are any better. If the present days are not what they could be, it is not because of any particular class of people. If you would make them better, make them better by

doing your part in the interests of the whole. To make them better by a vicious method which means that only one class of people shall prosper and that all other classes shall be ground into nothingness, means that the class promoting the viciousness will be destroyed by the viciousness. "For all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." "A better day for all mankind." That was the cry raised in Russia a few months ago, when Trotsky trotted home from New York with a panacea that was to bring a better day for all mankind; he was going to make all men equal and life in Russia was to be a never-ending round of pleasure. His process was the tearing down process. There is no need of commenting upon the success of his world saving enterprise through a destructive process, that of condemning all things and appealing to the people's prejudice and ignorance. The result was simply awful. You may have it in North Dakota if you continue with your present mode of thinking, or rather, if you refuse to think. If you ever begin thinking for yourselves, there will be no danger.

There is a force in this country far more dangerous to American institutions, more dangerous to the very life of American democracy than the whole German army, let alone a few German people who may not yet have learned the real cause of the war. The war itself is the force that will save America from this most dangerous enemy.

What is this enemy? *Ignorance*. Someone has said the greatest thing in the world is ignorance, when it is admitted, but that its potency for evil is unlimited when it is not admitted. An aged gentleman living near Minneapolis said the other day: "*When you have ignorance and power united you have anarchy.*" Russia is a proof of that fact. This old man was referring to the blind manner in which the people in North Dakota are following the leadership of a propaganda led by a bunch of Carpet-baggers headed by Red Socialists.

Quite a slam isn't it, to call the people of North Dakota ignorant; to compare them with the peasants

of Russia? Oh, no, they are not ignorant like the poor devils in Russia, but they have quit thinking and might just as well be as ignorant. They are going ahead rampant, allowing a propaganda of hatred of all other classes and sympathy for imaginary evils to arouse their pessimistic emotions and they have ceased to reason. A smooth politician who is now catering to this bunch of socialists once said to the writer: "The farmer is a peculiar chap; he has to exhaust his suspicion before he begins to think, and, sometimes that is impossible." This politician is not in sympathy with the socialists, but he is catering for votes just as a salesman caters for orders. In other words, he is a hypocrite to get the votes. He cares not what the result of the propaganda might be to his State, just so he can hold his job. I will agree with this politician that it is sometimes impossible to exhaust a farmer's suspicion, the easier way is to feed that suspicion along the lines of least resistance which is an attack upon anything which is in line with his suspicion. Big Business is usually good enough, you might include the neighbors in town to give the argument a finishing touch. Therefore, when a man's suspicions are being continually fed with stuff intended to increase that suspicion so as to hold him in line for political purposes, for selfish purposes, it is indeed difficult to break through the wall of suspicion, which has become set like adamant, and reach a man's reason.

We have been so free that many have abused the freedom and we who have not abused the freedom have complaisantly condoned this abuse of freedom. We hear Bill Haywood make a speech in no less an environment than in progressive Minneapolis. He says: "It is not higher wages we want, we want the mines; we want the farms!" How much effort has Bill Haywood and his crew put into the development of the Iron Range north of Duluth in Minnesota? How much? How much effort has Bill Haywood and his crew put into the development of North Dakota? Yet he says they don't want higher wages; that they

want the farms. Some philosophy, isn't it? Does that philosophy agree with the teachings of the Nazarene? You or your father worked and earned and built up what you own today, and you have accumulated according to your endeavor; according as you worked and managed. Work alone could not do it; there must be management. But what avails that? Bill Haywood has educated a crew of ignoramuses to actually believe that it is a righteous act to take all you have from you. Fair enough, isn't it? It never dawns upon their superficial minds that they are too indolent and useless to operate the mines, or the farms if they had them. It required vision, study, energy, and untold faith and courage and millions of money to develop the iron range in Minnesota. It required the same kind of stuff to develop the prairies of North Dakota. According to God's law you own all you have earned, and all men have an equal opportunity to acquire worldly possessions. But the ignorant I. W. W. led on by emissaries of Satan are convinced that your property by right belongs to them. This is not a statement made to suit the occasion, it is a statement of fact.

It is very difficult to draw the line showing where socialism leaves off and I. W. W'ism begins. It all points in one direction. All men being equal (in the socialists' eyes) there has been much talk about division of property. The socialist propagandist will deny that is their aim, but, nevertheless, it is the idea they leave in the minds of their converts, the superficial fellows, for most of them are superficial. It has been said: "For ye have the poor always with you." The masses living in towns will always be poor. If you try to help them, their suspicion causes them to think you are trying to beat them. When they get more money they spend more money and make less effort. It is simply their mental attitude. The following story illustrates how the philosophy will work out with the masses: An Irishman who had heard about the division of wealth stated, "Sure an Oi would loike to see all the wealth of the world divoided, Oi would have

a foine toime spending my share of the money." He was asked what he would do after he had spent his share. "Sure an Oi would have thim divoide it over agin." That is just what the masses would do.

What is difficult to understand in North Dakota is this: The masses in North Dakota are farmers and as a class they are not poor, many of them are very rich. What might be called the masses living in the cities are not poverty stricken, but they have not as much of this world's goods as the farmers have, but they are not complaining. It is the wealthiest people we have who are dissatisfied. The poor I. W. W. hasn't any material wealth and his lot is a hard one indeed, made difficult by his own volition, by his own thinking. He hasn't grasped the fundamental principle governing these conditions. But the wealthy farmer of North Dakota goes the I. W. W. one better, yes, several better. He isn't drinking the dregs of poverty and isn't compelled to associate in an atmosphere of hatred and viciousness. The North Dakota farmers as a class belong to the kings of the earth, living equal to any class of people on earth, with all the modern improvements and luxuries, yet he is so dissatisfied and mad that he wishes to grab it all and is determined all other people shall be made to suffer and perish.

How will the war cure it? The war is awakening the country to the terrible conditions existing. That is why there are one hundred and twelve I. W. W. on trial in Chicago at this time, with Bill Haywood one of them. The country is very busy right now, but it is learning its lesson. When the war ends there will be several million of the boys coming home. These boys will be distributed over the entire territory of the United States. They will influence their communities to constructive action and, right now notes are being taken of conditions, and when the war is over there will be more time to act and, there will never again be such carelessness in allowing damago-gues to disturb the mentality of the masses.

You may think I am severe or drawing on my ima-

gination when I mention viciousness and hatred of other classes of people by farmers. I am speaking of farmers as a class and, I know what I am writing. I have lived and associated with them and, it is only a few days since I heard a farmer whom I know well say that all men living in towns are damned rascals. He is a good Christian too. Think on these things.

As for ignorance, a man might be a college graduate and still be ignorant of all practical life experiences. A man who follows a single line of work and thought and has never had experiences in other lines of work cannot help but be narrow and ignorant of all the other fellow's experiences. I think it was Lowell who said: "Show me a man who is a preacher, and a preacher only, and I will show you a narrow man. Show me a man who is a teacher, and a teacher only, and I will show you a narrow man," etc., etc. "Show me a man who follows an exclusive line and I will show you a narrow man." He might just as well have said: "Show me a man who is a farmer, and a farmer only, and I will show you a narrow man" because it would have been just as consistent. The following story illustrates the same condition: "A man was once walking upon a country road, he followed it and it became a foot path; he followed that and it became a cow path; he followed that until it dwindled into a squirrel track; he followed that and it ran up a tree." Be careful of what you are following. A farmer is just as liable to be narrow as any other individual if he follows an exclusive line. Most of them have followed an exclusive line and are ignorant of the other fellow's experiences.

What is socialism? It is a theory that is directly opposite to the laws of creation, or to the laws of God. It is a theory directly in opposition to the teachings of the greatest philosopher the world has ever known, the Nazarene.

The Nazarene never taught except from a psychological point of view. He dwelt continually upon the human mind, always the mind, the mentality. As a man gives in his thought so shall he receive in his life,

as all action is preceded by thought. Today, as in all ages, man has reached the status in life brought about by his past thought and action. Socialism is directly opposed to these teachings. Socialists are materialists; there is no spirituality in them.

The socialist sees only the physical man. The physical man is equal and that is the only way man is equal. He is equal physically and he has equal opportunities and that is as far as equality in man goes. One man builds up and grows spiritually and financially. Another man never builds, but spends his life complaining about the other fellow; drives spikes into saw-logs to break the saw (and perhaps kill a brother man); drives steel bars into grain fields to smash the binder in harvest; puts emery dust into bearings of machinery, sets fire to docks, elevators, etc. Are these two men equal? Are they going to arrive at the same pathway along life's journey? Will their end be the same when that inevitable hour arrives when they must face new conditions? No, not the same. They will receive as they gave, for both had an equal opportunity to build constructively. "Six feet of earth makes us all of one size," must have been written by a socialist because it pertains only to the physical which gets no farther than the cemetery.

Did you ever notice that Socialist-materialists nearly all have the same facial cast? Compare the facial lines of Gene Debs and A. C. Townley. Both these gentlemen have high cheek bones and a narrow chin, a kind of coffin-shaped face a la Russian. Nearly all socialists have the same facial expression. I can recognize them when I see them without any introduction or previous information. Russia abounds with this kind of face and we hear much about the Russian Nihilist. It was the predominating thought in Russia and they have it in Russia today, showing that God's laws are as potent in Russia as in other places. Russia is receiving in life as she gave in thought. This peculiar shaped head and face shows where phrenology plays its part. From a phrenological stand-point these men are not to blame, they cannot help it, they are born that way. This is

a scientific fact. They think the world is wrong and that it is their duty to right it. But, it does not dawn upon their disordered brains that to right it is to usurp the prerogative of Almighty God and to destroy his creation.

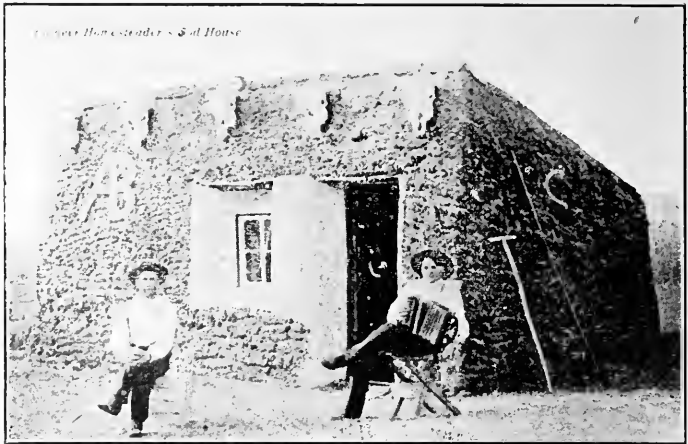
You may not have faith in this phrenology stuff. I will quote President Lincoln again. Mr. Lincoln was waited upon by a committee of pacifists. Did you ever hear of a pacifist? This committee was composed of clergymen, editors, etc. Mr. Lincoln listened patiently a while and then said, pointing his finger at one at a time: "You are an editorial genius; you are a theological genius," etc. "Do you know what a genius is? I will tell you. A genius is a man with an abnormal development of one bump, and I am not going to listen to any man who has only one bump."

You have all read the parable of the Prodigal Son, also of the Lost Sheep. The Socialist dwells upon the great anxiety shown for the sheep that was lost and the utter carelessness shown toward the prodigal son. The prodigal son was left to himself; he had to resolve in his own mind to return unto his father's house without any suggestions from others. Today they complain because the downtrodden man is left to himself, while every care and attention is given to the sheep. There is materialism again; they fail to recognize that man is a responsible being possessed with the responsibility of working out his own salvation along all lines and that to deprive him of that responsibility is to ruin him spiritually and every way. The only human beings receiving the same care as the sheep are those unfortunate beings in our insane asylums and homes for the imbeciles.

The great plan of the universe was bestowed upon mankind before socialists ever happened. Man was condemned to eat bread by the sweat of his brow. He was given a body to feed, a soul to save and was condemned to do both by his own efforts, and, *therein lies his salvation*. Man must build his own temple, unfold his own character and work out his own salvation. If he elects to whine and complain and sit down



HOME OF HON. JOHN STEEN, NEAR RUGBY, N. D.



THE SOD SHANTY ON THE PRAIRIE

This is a real sod home of pioneer days. The brand "AB" indicates that it was a rancher's (live-stock) home, which would be in the western portion of the state. The display of buffalo skulls shown in this picture is more elaborate than was customary; however, it was fashionable to have one buffalo skull placed above the door.



A RURAL SCHOOL HOUSE, CHURCH AND PARSONAGE,
NEAR VALLEY CITY.

and think he is getting the worst of it, then he has chosen the downward way, the destructive way, the negative way. I have stated why farmers as a class are thinking along these negative lines. Don't you see that to baby farmers along by continually peddling out sympathy for them is to ruin them and the entire state? Sympathy is bad medicine, even when its recipient has a grievance, but it is poison when it is peddled out for remunerative purposes to people who have no grievances.

Did you ever see a child get a bad fall and its father or mother break out in a hearty laugh? The little child immediately joins in the laugh no matter how the blow might sting. Did you ever see a child with a grievance, real or imaginary, and the parent says to it: "Tome to mamma ooo poor little tootsy wootsy, did it hurt itself," and you immediately heard the darndest yelling set up that its lungs were capable of. The same principle applies to adults. The same line of baby talk is being doled out to farmers by both factions, but there is no sympathy for the people living in towns. Crocodile tears accompanied by continuous tales of great injustice practiced upon farmers by men who have an axe to grind, something to sell, political ends to reach, etc., have worked upon the mentality of the farmers as a class until they are shedding baby tears instead of standing up like real men thinking for themselves. The farmers of North Dakota are not in need of sympathy. The farmers of North Dakota are to be respected providing they respect themselves. You are running around with soothing syrup for them and the soothing syrup doesn't sooth any more and they are doing to you what the spoiled child does to its parents.

Socialists believe in free love and pay little attention to the marriage rites. Maxim Gorky, the Russian author and socialist, arrived in New York a few years ago and received a great reception, and a few weeks later was ejected from his hotel because the woman with him was not Mrs. Gorky. During the spring of 1917, following the revolution in Russia, there was a

great exodus of Russian exiles from this country. Socialists living here in exile hastened back home to raise hell. The press dispatches at the time mentioned a group of these people who left Seattle and crossed the continent sailing from New York. There were over forty children belonging to the party and none of the people in the party were married. One could go on and on and cite such conditions, but let us see how the leaven of socialism is working in our own state: The last legislature legalized bastardy and lowered the age limit of consent and the words "Patriotism" and "Morality" were omitted in the revised constitution of North Dakota as presented in House Bill 44.

All the carpet-baggers are not socialists, but they are led by socialists. There are always a number of men ready to enter into any work which has the remuneration. There are men doing this work who do not like to do it, but they figure if they don't get the money some other fellow will get it, because the farmers are going to give up the money, are anxious to give it up. I have talked with several of these men in hotels and on trains and know that this is true. They not only make the above statement, but they call the farmers fools for being so easy. They call them worse than that. The farmer is very careful I assure you, but I also assure you there never was a man so easy, providing you wish to feed him the dope. These men I have mentioned, who do the work because they know somebody will do it, and make money by doing it, have not realized the effect this work will have on their own characters; they do not realize that they are making clean the outside of the cup while the inside has become polluted.

A year ago, during the summer of 1917, Mr. Townley proposed to the farmers that they enter into an arrangement with the I. W. W. to furnish the necessary harvest help. That ought to have been enough to put the farmers wise, for the farmers rebelled, and Mr. Townley didn't press the matter. Lynn Frazier gave State's Attorneys and Sheriffs orders to protect all

I. W. W. in the State and, to make no arrests without warrants. That ought to have been sufficient to put the farmers wise, for surely the farmers know the I. W. W. But the farmers love their suspicions and they don't care to give them up. It is the source of their greatest pleasure. Don't you know that the farmers have had more real enjoyment the past two years than they ever experienced before?

At present there are one hundred and twelve I. W. W. on trial at Chicago. A few days ago it was brought out in evidence at this trial that during the summer of 1917, the I. W. W. was negotiating with A. C. Townley of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota to furnish harvest hands so that they could carry a reign of terror into the northwest and destroy the crops and the grain by destroying machinery and setting fires and raising hell in so many devilish ways. Mr. Townley's proposal to the farmers about a year ago dove-tails pretty well with the testimony given at the trial of the I. W. W. now in progress at Chicago. If Mr. Townley's action a year ago in proposing to arrange with the I. W. W. didn't prove enough to make you wise; if the Governor's action in instructing the county authorities to protect, wasn't sufficient to awaken you, then this testimony at the trial in Chicago at this time ought to be sufficient to cause you to begin thinking for yourselves again. Isn't it about time somebody ought to wake up and realize what we are coming to in this state? Testimony given at the trial in Chicago shows terrible conditions prevailing. I have only space enough to mention this one item which so brazenly proves what was intended for us had Mr. Townley been able to put it over. The farmers thought for themselves on this one question a year ago. I suggest that they adopt the plan of doing their own thinking on all questions.

I have referred to psychology frequently. I heard a Chautauqua address during the present season by Dr. Marrs, who told of his experiences in German prisons, and of his escape. During his escape he was commanded to halt with a gun leveled on him on two oc-

casions. He was pretending to be deaf and dumb, so he couldn't halt. He said: "Knowing the psychology of man, I knew if I walked straight at him he wouldn't shoot." He walked straight at the man on both occasions and wasn't shot. These men I have mentioned know the psychology of man. They know more than that; they know the psychology of farmers and they go straight at them.

I have mentioned the similarity of faces in Townley and Debs. I once heard Debs make a speech. He gave the railroads "Cheer, Cheer, the gang's all here," for about two hours. I recall this remark: "Show me an independent farmer, I would like to have a photograph of him." The audience was composed of farmers and it gave vent to a mighty cheer that sent hats to the ceiling, a yell that was sustained several minutes. Now, analyze that statement. Is there anything in it? Not a thing! While they were cheering, I sat there and said mentally: "Right you are Mr. Debs; there are no independent farmers, neither are there any independent railroads, the farmer must have the railroad and the railroad must have the farmer. About the only man I see around here that could be dispensed with is Debs, if he were derricked the community would be better off." There was a coffin expressioned face on the platform with Debs that nearly threw a fit when Debs made that remark. The darned fool didn't know what he was laughing at. The only substance to be found in the remark is the fact it proves the farmers love sympathy in any form, even though it has no sense in it. These fellows ought to be required to make constructive talks or to be barred from the public platform. This is a land of free speech but the privilege ought not to be extended beyond the limits of truthfulness. All audiences are swayed by speakers and when prejudices are played to, these men create discontent from which nothing but harm comes.

A few days ago I heard a prominent citizen of this State making a patriotic address. He was appealing to the patriotism of his audience, urging a generous

support of the administration in its prosecution of the war. He said in part: "Ladies and Gentlemen, we are fighting today for the same principles for which Washington crossed the Delaware on the floating ice and scaled the heights of Bunker Hill and on and on until he defeated the British at Brandywine." There was no particular harm done by the above statement, because the object to be attained was not vicious. The object was to bring tears and it did bring tears. Both men and women were in tears and they seemed to be so engrossed in the cause in which the gentleman waxed eloquent, they seemed not to notice the misstatement of historical facts; they thought only of the cause and no doubt they received benefit from the statement. But for the benefit of those who may not be up in history, or who may have failed to remember the circumstances, let me state here that Washington crossed the Delaware on the night of Dec. 24th and 25th, 1776, attacked and captured the Hessians at Trenton, not Bunker Hill. Bunker Hill was fought June 17th, 1775, by Colonel Prescott before Washington took command of the Continental Army. Washington had no part in Bunker Hill. Brandywine was fought Sept. 11th, 1777, and instead of defeating the British, the British (Hessians) defeated Washington. As a result of this defeat the British Army was comfortably quartered in Philadelphia the following winter while Washington's Americans were obliged to suffer with hunger and cold at Valley Forge. Added to the sting of defeat at Brandywine was the serious wound received by Washington's friend and aid, Gen. Lafayette.

The above merely shows that a man on the platform holds a tremendous advantage. He can even make misstatements of fact and get away with them. In the above case the intention was good, therefore, no harm came from it. But when the misstatements are purposely false and misleading, for vicious purposes, the effect is immeasurable in its perniciousness.

I heard LaFollette speak for two hours and fifty minutes one day and his talk was simply an assault

upon the railroads. During his entire talk he never mentioned the Interstate Commerce Commission once. He never mentioned the different State Railroad Commissions once. He had his audience so completely with him that at least ninety-five per cent of his hearers went home forgetting there was such an institution as the Interstate Commerce Commission, or a State Railroad Commission in any one of the several states. They went home convinced that the railroads were acting with a free hand and that they were in existence only for the purpose of robbing the poor (?) God-forsaken farmer. LaFollette? Ever hear of him? He has already given his demonstration of what kind of stuff these fellows are made of.

The day following LaFollette's speech I was talking to a farmer and I called his attention to the neglect to tell all the truth and stated emphatically that I didn't believe in these fellows running around the country creating ill feeling by not telling all the story, by not telling all the truth, by attacking anything and everything just to create personal favor. Mr. Farmer came right back at me as follows: "Well I do; that is just the kind of talk I like." There you have it. I know what I am talking about; I have lived among them. Result: LaFollette has had North Dakota's vote in the last two Republican National Conventions. That is all he wanted. It makes no difference to men of his calibre what the ultimate result may be, just so their personal ends are accomplished.

When the McNamara brothers were on trial at Los Angeles, California, Eugene Debs made the statement that if the McNamara brothers are convicted, a million men will rise up and ask the reason why. One day the McNamara boys confessed. The morning following this confession I sat in a cafe with a union man, a plumber, a man who had given up \$6.00 toward the defense fund for the McNamara boys. He was in a rage. He wanted to get his hands on the McNamaras. "I am one of their dupes. I put up \$6.00 with the rest of the dupes to create a fund to defend these fellows, the ———." I told this man

that I held an entirely different opinion; that if I were the Governor of California I would pardon the McNamara boys at once for the great good they had performed in behalf of the people of the entire country. Mr. plumber couldn't get me and I had him guessing; so I enlightened him. I said: "Why, a week ago Gene Debs stated that if the McNamara boys are convicted a million men will rise up and ask the reason why. If those two men had stood pat and been convicted, which they certainly would have been, Gene Debs' army of a million men would have arisen and you Mr. — would have been in the ranks. There would have been a reign of terror in this country and thousands of lives might have been lost and millions of property destroyed, and the cause of it all would have been a mistaken suspicion which had developed into a belief in the innocence of these fellows, a belief that would not down and it is difficult to see what the end might be, but these boys have taken the wind out of your sails; Gene Debs' army of a million has nothing to stand upon. This ought to be an education to its would-be members, but they will never think of it in the light I am giving it to you. You Mr. —, ought to be a wiser man." I will ask you, after citing this incident if you do not think the masses are ignorant and that ignorance is the cause of many misunderstandings?

· Just another about Debs. I was traveling by auto and was sunburned and needed a shave. I arrived in a little town where a camp meeting was in progress. A gentleman at the hotel told me of this camp-meeting and proposed we attend same, stating Dr. Walters, of Fargo, was going to preach. We went to the meeting and heard a splendid sermon by Dr. Walters. We sat near the rear and, as we were leaving a minister (not Walters) took my hand and said: "How do you do brother, are you going to be with us?" I informed the gentleman that I was a transient passing through; that I wouldn't be with them. He continued: "Sorry brother, sorry you can't be with us, brother, we are having a splendid time, brother. Say, brother, I have

had the Keeley cure twice, and the gospel cure once, and I tell you, brother, the gospel cure is the cure that cures, the gospel cure is the cure that cures." While he still held my hand, I asked: "Does my big red face indicate that I need the cure?" "Oh, no brother, God bless you no, but I must tell you why I made those remarks. Gene Debs lectured in this building Tuesday last. Gene Debs and I served on the same committee in perhaps the first railroad strike on the continent, at London, Ontario, over thirty years ago, when we were only drunken engineers, only drunken engineers, and his being here the other day brought back reminiscences of the past when we were only drunken engineers, and it has been on my mind ever since and that is how I came to make such a remark to you."

Just a drunken engineer. Now you have the kind of training that fitted Debs to become an advisor and saviour of mankind. If you will look up the record of most of them you will find that their training has been along similar lines. But their records are difficult to look up because they never stay very long in one place. Where is Martin, the fat fellow who used to perspire while he told you how he raised hell in Spokane? Spokane is doing nicely since he left, thank you. He was too strong even for Townley. Now, I know that because I was so informed on a train by one of them very near the top.

Do you think the railroads lost a good engineer in Debs? I don't think so. But they couldn't get rid of him. He has been tantalizing railroads ever since (he learned that it pays). He now has the trainmen getting so much pay the farmers consider them their enemies. Nevertheless when Debs comes around and talks to farmers about their terrible sufferings and at the same time attacks something (time spent mostly in attack) they drink in his words with unadulterated joy and without any reason whatever.

I have stated how the farmers became one great class to work upon, by years of preparation by salesmen's talk and politicians' blarney, and I might add newspapers throwing bouquets at them, all for the

purpose of getting something in return. It was indeed a fertile field, because it differed from the Southland and Russia, inasmuch as it is a wealthy country. In Russia they had to stir up the poor to get money from the rich. In North Dakota they could stir up the rich against the fellow in town and thus rob both. Had to rob both to make it pay, and as there isn't much in the towns the pickings would be slim unless they could also rob the discontented. They saw what easy picking the peasants of Russia would have been, or the negroes of the South would have been had they had any money, therefore, they saw wonderful picking in North Dakota. But they had to have assistance from North Dakota. They looked around and found it.

The late James Twambley, of Grand Forks, was very prominent and efficient in the early days, back in territorial days. He was a member of the first Board of Trustees of the State University and was instrumental in getting that institution located at Grand Forks. The University was a great pet of Mr. Twambley. During the winter of 1907 the writer chanced to be in a group of men, one of whom was Mr. Twambley. He was talking about his pet, the University, even though he had long ceased to be active in its management. He stated there were men on the faculty (at that time) who were more interested in socialism and the teaching of socialism than in their curriculum. He said: "I may not live to see it, but you gentlemen who hear my voice, if you live your allotted time, will see the day when this State will pay for what is being allowed to be carried on at our chief educational institution. They are sowing the wind over there and the State will reap the whirlwind." A few years later there was a gentle cleaning at the University. The men whom Mr. Twambley referred to were dismissed. Mr. Twambley has passed away, but I will call your attention to something we now have, which is right in line with the prophecy of Mr. Twambley.

A certain class was graduated at the University

about the time mentioned. Mr. William Lemke, was a member of that class. In March, 1916, Mr. Lemke was a candidate for State National Committeeman, and was defeated by Gunder Olson. Had the election been at the primary of that year he would have been elected. Nevertheless he was a candidate. Now, the ticket of 1916: For Associate Justice Supreme Court, J. E. Robinson, law partner of Wm. Lemke. For Associate Justice Supreme Court, L. E. Birdsell, former instructor in law, of Wm. Lemke, at the University. For Governor, Lynn J. Frazier, classmate of Wm. Lemke, at the University. For Attorney General, William Langer, classmate of Wm. Lemke, at the University. For Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. C. Macdonald, classmate of Wm. Lemke, at the University, and, later, one Muir, member of the Board of Regents, graduate of the University, don't know which class, but a brother-in-law of Wm. Lemke.

Isn't that a noise like Lemke? Isn't it a noise like Mr. Twambley mentioned over eleven years ago?

Let us ascertain something of the fundamental ideas which were instilled into the minds of the class mentioned, while students at the University. The following is from the Minneapolis Journal:

"Socialism offers its vision — an equal sharing of property between men. But all the while, socialism makes property the highest good. This program is eternally impossible; because as long as the vision does not make brotherly love a higher good than divided property, property will be grabbed and heaped in unholy heaps as it always has been. And the brotherly spirit can never prevail, unless there is a Father in heaven to worship instead of an earth-born Gott."

You will observe in the above quotation that property is classified as the highest good. When Mr. Lemke left the University, he carried with him the same idea in a little different form. One of his first acts in life after graduating was the publishing of a periodical known as "The Common Good." Do you get it?

You might think these men are all educated. Yes,

they are all educated. But education makes no difference, especially when that education has been along single lines and, certain lines, all for a purpose. A man will act according to his thinking. Germany is an example of what education and thinking can do. The Germans have been credited with being the most highly educated people in the world. What has it done for them? Men in Germany have become so scientific they have become intensely materialistic and God Almighty has been relegated to second place. *There is no man so dangerous as the educated ignoramus.* Then what of the boys whose thinking has been guided along certain lines, or along lines of socialism, especially should that boy have phrenological tendencies leading him that way?

Now, what right has Mr. Lemke to rise up and dictate who the officials of this State shall be? Or, how the State shall be governed? Not any more than you or I. Did you ever see Lemke? He looks like Townley and Debs and then some. It has been said: "Consistency, thou art a jewel." You naturally suppose Lemke is against big business, don't you? Well, Lemke has a plantation down in Mexico. In the state of Tepic, on the west coast of Mexico. He was a personal friend of Pres. Porfirio Diaz, J. Ives Limantour, Gen. Victoriano Huerta, and all the Dons down there. He was going to be rich, a millionaire in a few years. The Civil War in Mexico knocked his scheme into a cocked hat, and he was very much disappointed. He wrote a book on Mexico in which he bitterly attacked the administration at Washington.

During the Huerta regime, Mr. Lemke offered his assistance to the Mexican government. He offered to raise an army of 5,000 men, which was to be entirely under his command, as the subordinate officers were to be Americans, — North Dakotans. He offered commissions in this army to several of his university friends, mostly to those who had taken the course in engineering. Ostensibly, this army was to operate in conjunction with the Mexican federal troops, but, most of us who have observed the activity of Mr. Lemke,

without enthusiasm, are of the opinion that this little army of 5,000 men, was intended as a nucleus around which other groups of armies might gather in support of a movement that would place Mr. Lemke in the Mexican Presidential chair, or, better still, that would make him absolute dictator of Mexico. Mr. Lemke would rather dictate than be President. His offer of assistance was declined, seemingly without thanks, because he has related to friends his difficulties in getting out of Mexico. How he cautiously watched for an opportunity to unpretentiously get on board a ship in the harbor of Vera Cruz. He is a disappointed man, has a real grievance, and therefore is dealing in grievances because as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. His proficiency in dictating might have been beneficial to Mexico, but his disappointment in that country has brought about much disaffection on the prairies of North Dakota.

You naturally think Mr. Townley is against big business, don't you? He is suffering from the same disease as Mr. Lemke. It is a real malady and is very vexatious. He never does things like other men. He must be king. That has been his record in past operations. When he farmed in Colorado it was on a large scale, and he failed. When he farmed at Beach, in our own State, it was upon a large scale. He was going to be the "Flax King." He was not satisfied to farm like other men, but must proceed on a colossal plan with numerous gas tractors. The crop was seeded too late; it was a little dry, and the frost came, and the result was terrible, nearly a half million indebtedness. Too bad, of course, but would any safe and sane man take such a chance? Didn't you make haste more slowly? Wouldn't you consider beforehand what the result might be if the season should be a drought and consider how much you could stand to lose. Of course you would; any sane man would. So he suffers from a malady that is incurable with born socialists. If he could reason from an equitable standpoint, he would say with Cassius: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves," and not blame society as a

whole, big business, anything, and vent his spleen upon the people of a State. If you will note it he is still in big business, bigger than ever, and, a business which droughts will not affect; not his end of it. Think of the consistency of his position. Together with his being a man of big things, he is a socialist, and is sincere in his rantings about the injustice of a society that would permit him to do such an idiotic thing as he pulled at Beach. He rants about "Big Biz" and yet sticks to it. In his present venture he takes in so much territory he avoids any chances of failure financially by shifting it onto others, he is playing it safe this time. A dry season won't hurt him. The one over developed bump that he possesses will not allow him to reason the matter out and say: The fault is in myself.

Some one has said: "He that is the greatest sticker for justice is the most unjust of all." It never fails. It cannot fail. It is psychological law. The man who goes through bankruptcy and later pays his debts, never has a word to say about honesty or dishonesty. His actions speak louder than his words. The man who continually talks about the dishonesty of others will never pay any debts after going through bankruptcy. When these noisy fellows come around ranting about other people's dishonesty it is a good time to pull on the gas mask and avoid the poison. But it is difficult indeed to make a gas mask for this purpose, because it must be made of psychological stuff and each individual must make his own mask. A good way to make one is to begin thinking for oneself.

CHAPTER II.

Who were the teachers set my manners right?
The only ones we need—the impolite.
Who taught me to love justice, the august?
The only teachers needed—the unjust.
What teachers showed me virtue's paradise?
The ones with loudest tongue—the slaves of vice.

—*Markham*

It may seem to some of you that I am unaware of the fact that there are many farmers in this State who are having a grievously difficult time. I am not unaware of this condition. I am grievously and regretfully aware of it. Last season the western portion of our State suffered a failure in crops. I am informed that in certain portions there is a failure this year. No man or men can prosper under such conditions. It is very unfortunate indeed, but who is to blame for the condition? The railroads are not to be blamed, or at least, they ought not to be blamed. The fellow living in town ought not to be blamed. The fellow living in town ought not to be blamed because he becomes a sufferer himself, inasmuch as he loses his portion, a portion he is entitled to if he is doing his part in the community, because it requires all classes of men to make a community complete.

I have just received a letter from a brother who is a farmer in Saskatchewan, Canada. He states that the seed in the field is just as dry as it was in the granary before it was planted. That is a terrible condition, but the Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific or the Canadian Pacific railroads are not to blame, neither is the Dominion Government at Ottawa. I don't think my brother will blame anybody. The fact is the Canadian Government assisted by the railroads will be so disappointed and sorry that they will provide seed and feed to carry the unfortunate farmers in that community along until another season may bring them a crop. They have done it in dry districts before and I think they will do it again.

I am keenly aware of the fact that there are farmers in North Dakota suffering more than their portion

it would seem, considering the fact that there are so many farmers who are independently rich. It seems to me if farmers were organized along industrial lines, as they certainly should be, they would not only be able to watch carefully their interests in every way but, they would or could also be able to assist mutually their unfortunate brothers who may by chance lose their crops from natural causes. They should be organized to further their opportunities in every way possible but, should not do so at the expense of other classes of citizens, because that savors of selfishness and hatred, which is against constructive principles, and because no class of citizens can live alone. It requires all classes of citizens to make a state. No man or class of men can prosper if they attempt to deprive all other classes of citizens of the chance to enjoy the blessings intended for all mankind. There must be some change jingling in the other fellow's pocket or you will soon find none in your own.

The people in the western part of the State are pioneers who are blazing the paths where the highways never ran, just as you blazed the paths here over which they reached the frontier. You had to fight your battles alone, there was no one to assist you. These western pioneers have to fight their battles, just as you had to fight your battles here. But the pioneer of today could be assisted materially by the sons of the pioneers of the eighties who have so much of this world's goods. That would indeed be constructive organization.

There is no question but that the farmers have a right to organize. More than that. They should organize. They should be organized along constructive lines, which can only be constructive when they organize for the benefit of the whole. The doctors are organized. What for? Is it to protect the doctors only? Is it to protect them so they would not have to put any effort into life, to get higher fees and allow their profession to die or dry rot? No, it isn't that! They are organized to protect the masses; to maintain a higher standard of efficiency and to see that no ineffi-

cient physician shall be the guardian of health and care for your family and you whenever their services are required. The dentists are organized for the same purpose. No scalawag dentist can put one over on you in this state. The architects are organized. Not to protect architects, but to build better. If they build better who will benefit? The whole. If they build so that the whole benefits by their constructive efforts then they will benefit with the whole. That is the only way benefits can be received. We must give to receive. Are the farmers being organized for the benefit of the whole? No, they are not. They are being educated to hate all classes but themselves, and thoughtlessly and selfishly they are lending themselves to such a propaganda with such selfish ardor that many of them actually hate their best friends and are willing to destroy all society but farmers. No class of citizens can endure alone and the farmers of North Dakota are deliberately committing financial suicide. They must organize for the farmer and for the whole. When they organize to build up the whole then prosperity will come and stay. It cannot come and stay in any other manner.

When you get down to horse sense, the farmer has a larger portion of it in his cranium than the fellow in town, but years of propaganda have given him a false idea of his position in society. Let him build for the benefit of the whole and his own interests will multiply.

LET US CONSIDER THE MULTIPLICATION TABLE

I have stated if you do not begin thinking for yourselves, but continue in your blind attempt to drive other classes of mankind out of business, you will drive yourselves out of business. How will that happen? In this way:

Many of you give notes when you want a little money don't you? You are not asked for security because your note is good enough, isn't it? Your note is a bond. A bond must be paid, If a series of mis-

fortunes should overtake you and you could not get the cash to pay the note, or bond, as you expected to, and the holder of the note, or bond, saw you slipping, what would he do? He would realize on the note, or bond. You would find that Shylock must have his pound of flesh, and the fact that no mortgage was given would not alter the conditions. Shylock would cry out, "I crave the law, the penalty and forfeit of my bond."

Did you ever build a new house or barn? If you did you learned it required more money and more time than you had figured on, didn't you? In other words you learned that the multiplication table isn't always true, didn't you? You learned that figures lie. Keep this in mind.

The framers of our Constitution builded wisely and unselfishly. They builded for their children and their children's children, which means us and our children, and our children's children, doesn't it? They created a fund for the maintenance of our schools. This fund now amounts up into the millions. The Federal Government gave our schools land for this purpose. This arrangement was made by men of great vision who didn't live entirely for themselves and their own generation. According to our constitution our schools are safe forever, but, does the constitution protect these funds and lands as it was intended it should protect them? Our fathers expected of us the same unselfish protection of these funds as they had extended to them. But does the constitution protect? We shall see.

The Constitution provides for its own amendment. Did its provisions signify anything at the last session of the legislature? Not in the least. The Constitution was brushed aside, entirely ignored, and a new constitution was to be given us by legislative enactment. If that can be done, then we have no constitution. This new constitution provided for unlimited bonding of the State for the purpose of creating public owned utilities, didn't it? It was stated that the sky was the limit and Governor Frazier stated that he didn't

know of any reason why our State should not be bonded for three hundred million of dollars.

Now comes the question of the multiplication table. Suppose the State is bonded to the limit and the money spent in the creation of numerous plants such as the packing plant at Fargo, dragging along, nothing much doing, and as stated before each and every plant costing more money and more time to build them than the figures indicated, as is always the case; finally a few of them get going and the results are mediocre. Suppose some of them prove failures, which is to be expected. Remember, only five per cent of all mercantile business succeeds ninety-five per cent fail. Statistics prove that. Suppose the multiplication table proves a failure in the case; that the figures lie and there is no profit as was expected, and depreciation of the plant goes on and on, what will the holders of the bonds do? You will then make the acquaintance of Mr. Shylock and you will hear him cry out:

"I'll have my bond; I will not hear thee speak:
I'll have my bond; and therefore speak no more
I'll not be made a soft and dull-ey'd fool,
To shake the head, relent, and sigh, and yield
To Christian intercessors. Follow not;
I'll have no speaking; I will have my bond."

Shylock will refuse to accept depreciated plants which will perhaps have been closed down, and if closed down they will be no more than junk. And he will collect. How will he collect? From the State. The general fund, the school funds and lands and the private owned lands. Values will depreciate and there will be a cleaning indeed and, who will be cleaned?

Since determining to write this letter I came across an article on the unreliability of the multiplication table. It seemed to rain down so I could use it. I don't know who is the author, but I submit it to you for careful consideration. I will suggest that you read this quotation over a second time, there is a wonderful lesson in it:

FLAWS IN THE MULTIPLICATION TABLE

“Two times two are four. This is a rule that deviates so little from the exact fact that savings banks and life insurance companies use it and consider the variation negligible. The rule works well in small calculations. In pure mathematics two times two equal four exactly, not a shaving more or less.

“But those who from this fact have deduced the formula that two hundred times two hundred equals forty thousand, have often missed the mark by several thousand. This would indicate that the fundamental formula—two times two equal four—while approximately correct, will on close examination be found to show a slight deviation of the needle.

“Take this concrete example: A. has twelve hens, each laying 150 eggs a year, which A. sells for forty cents a dozen. These hens having the run of the ranch and a key to the corn crib, have cost A. so little that the egg profit averages five dollars per hen.

“On this foundation, using the two hundred times two hundred formula, A. builds ten rods of hen house and a thousand brooders, buys forty thousand day old chicks, and proceeds to make two hundred thousand dollars profit the first year. But at the end of the fiscal year A. finds he has not made the amount indicated in the formula, but instead a considerable accumulation of what is termed in speculative circles, ‘Experience.’ Two times two in this case, carried out to the *n*th decimal point, proved to be four minus.

“But A. found during the year (see experience account) that two hundred times two hundred equalled forty thousand, when dealing with chicken mites, anti-chicken germs, predatory vermin, etcetera, showing that the rule, two times two equal four, can be depended upon in dealing with minute items. Incidentally, A. found that in the case of plant aphids, either the green, red, black or blue variety, two hundred times two hundred some times ran as high as fifty-nine thousand.

“But A. discovered another fact regarding the rule.

In estimating the total of bills for cracked corn, wheat screenings, bone meal, meat scraps, tankage, oyster shells, crushed granite, coal tar dips, creosote, kerosene, raw petroleum and items of that order, two hundred times two hundred equal forty thousand exactly, figured forward and backwards, and two per cent more if not paid in thirty days. At the end of the year, A.'s books showed two hundred times two hundred to equal minus thirteen thousand plus experience. To balance his books he figured experience at fifty-three thousand.

"A. is not the only man who has run afoul of a snag in the multiplication table. K. has hit the same obstruction. From the premise that Belgium plus France can be eaten and digested between August first and Christmas, he drew the conclusion that the whole world was his oyster which he might eat at his leisure. A million chickens on one's hands may be a calamity, but a world in one's lap is a tragedy. Possibly there is, therefore, a divine beneficence in these little variations of the multiplication table."

Now visualize for yourself numerous state owned utilities managed by several heads and see them making no more progress than the packing plant at Fargo. Isn't it possible that you might see the multiplication table slipping a little? It won't have to slip very much to spill the beans. Is it a safe game? Are you sustaining your fathers? Isn't it possible the ship might run afoul of a snag and a charge made to experience account? If so, who will pay?

A gentleman living in Ransom county was talking recently about State owned utilities and he waxed enthusiastic and stated: "It is wonderful. Why, the possibilities are so wonderful it is difficult for the human mind to comprehend it all." He was quite right. It is beyond comprehension, and the irony of it is that the possibilities of the figures slipping in the wrong direction is far greater than that they will be sustained.

Let us see how the figures slip when the State-owned twine plant is considered. Mr. Townley states

from the platform that the State-owned twine plant has saved the farmers millions of dollars in their twine bill, and goes on and asks the question: "If the State can operate a twine plant that has saved the farmers millions of dollars, why can it not operate other plants in other lines of industry and thus save the farmers millions and millions untold?" As a rule this question evokes a tremendous cheer with dozens of hats going toward the ceiling. Instead of cheering and the throwing of hats, the audience should remain quiet and do a little thinking and be not unmindful of the fact that the twine plant is operated by convict labor. Labor that cannot get emery dust to put into bearings of machinery; that cannot go on strike; that is constantly under guard of officials with police powers and, whose wage is infinitesimal. But Mr. Townley never mentions the convict labor and he knows he has the enthusiasm worked up to such a degree that his audience will forget all such questions. Convict labor cannot be had for other State owned utilities. That item alone will cause a tremendous slipping of the multiplication table when many additional State-owned plants begin operations.

There is yet another item to be considered while discussing this twine plant. Many of you have used the twine. You have had excellent satisfaction some years and you have been grievously disappointed other years. This was especially true during the early history of the plant. When you were using some of the twine which was not as good as it should have been didn't you lose lots of time monkeying with the knotter and rethreading? All of which meant you were not keeping up with your work or with the ripening grain as you should have done and therefore, there was a loss by shelling. Did you figure that item of loss? Didn't the shockers have to bind many untied bundles which meant a loss of time and grain? Wouldn't it have paid you to have scrapped the whole shipment and purchased standard twine even at the price asked? I am just citing this condition for the purpose of showing how the multiplication table can slip.

I have written more than I had expected to. What I started out to do was to suggest to you, to try and make it plain to you that the people who made North Dakota have done exceedingly well; that they ought to be capable of continuing in their good work. I wished to make it plain to you how dangerous it is to cease reasoning for yourselves and to allow others to do your thinking for you. Philander C. Knox, once stated: "The masses who do not think will never be able to appreciate the debt of gratitude they owe to the few who do their thinking for them."

That is undoubtedly true, but it is extremely important who they select to do their thinking. At the present writing no one has been selected in North Dakota. The people have no voice in the matter; haven't asked for any, just mutely accepted self appointed thinkers, thinkers who have had no part in the building of the State. One of these thinkers (not Townley) who came from so many different states it is impossible to ascertain where he did come from; who had only been here a few months, got up before an audience of North Dakota people and declared: "We must have a Supreme Court that will sustain the laws our Legislature will enact." Had that man any right to make such a dictatorial statement to our people when he was not a citizen of our State; had only been in the State a few months, and was uninvited as far as the people's call was concerned? It is easy to see how much regard he had for the constitution, or for law and order. Of what use is a constitution with that kind of a court? Without a constitution, without law and the judiciary, society cannot safely exist. That is why anarchy prevails where socialism exists. Socialism never did live anywhere, it has only existed. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, recently said: "Socialism has outlived its usefulness." Mr. Gompers didn't put it quite right. Socialism never had any usefulness, is the way he should have put it.

There has always been propaganda going on in the world. With two exceptions the medicine used has

been sympathy. The masses are always looking for sympathy and the propagandist who has only self aggrandizement in view always attacks the line at its point of least resistance and sympathy is the most deadly form of gas yet discovered. Sympathy doesn't always bring tears to the eyes like mustard gas does, but it always is accompanied by crocodile tears which causes a lump to form in the throat which is an indication of self pity. The attack is always directed at an absent third party. The noise is being directed at the third party, big business, etcetera, but the sympathy gases are intended for a direct attack and are deadly inasmuch as they cause self pity and self pity is suicide. Its potency is similar to the Lewis machine gun for quick results, but somehow, not a single propaganda has ever been sustained where these tactics have been employed. It is true that they met with success for a while, but reaction always set conditions right again, many times after great damage had been done.

The Nazarene came to Judea teaching a new philosophy, but his was constructive propaganda and he didn't use sympathy. He could have lived a few years in great popularity in Judea had he been a materialist with inability to see farther than the physical. He could have studied the conditions existing at the time and harangued the people about their abuses. He could have informed them that Rome and the Priesthood were robbing them blind. He could have taxed them \$16.00 each and lived fat on their money. He could have told them that they ought to be getting twice as much for their olives whether he knew anything about the olive exchange or not. Then he could have promised them the scalps(financial) of all the Romans and the Priesthood; that he would drive the Roman out of Palestine across the Hellespont into Europe, yea, he would drive them plumb to Italy where he would throw Caesar into the Tiber and rule the world from the seven hills. But his was a constructive propaganda. He saw that his work must be accomplished from within; that he must tell the people

wherein they themselves were at fault in order that they might see for themselves and get it into their systems that the fault, dear Brutus, was in themselves; that had they been conducting themselves aright, or righteously, they would not have had to be under the bondage of Rome. The people must have been pretty bad in those days. John before him saw them and said: "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" John knew there was going to be a cleaning; that the people themselves were to blame; that the Christ was not going to feed them with sympathy while abusing Rome and the Priesthood. He came as John stated, and his coming was so disappointing. It is true he went about doing good, but he never deviated one iota from his wrath of righteousness. What happened? "And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, * * * they gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: * * * And they crucified him, * * *." But his propaganda is everlasting.

The other propaganda which was a success came in the form of a book. The world was very ignorant for many centuries and to keep the masses contented they organized great crusades to go into the Holy Land. Great pilgrimages on foot going to the Holy Land to rescue the tomb of the Saviour from the hands of the infidel. No doubt "big business" made some money out of those great undertakings. Together with the crusades there grew up a system of Knight Errantry. Europe was full of Knights going forth looking for adventure. Old man Cervantes, of Spain, saw the foolishness of all this and wrote a book called "Don Quixote" in which he ridiculed Knight Errantry in a humorously sarcastic fashion. What was the result? First, they threw old man Cervantes into jail. Second, there were no more crusades and Knight Errantry was ended forever, and the world ceased to worry about the tomb of a dead Christ and set its face toward the living Christ, and the onward march of civilization and education has never ceased since that day.

It is the only way to build constructively. The people must be talked to without any false sympathy, for I tell you the sympathy which you love is false, whether it comes from Townley and his kind, or from the newspapers of both factions, or from politicians catering for votes, or salesmen catering for orders. I tell you it is false and it is only peddled out for remunerative purposes.

Far be it from me to compare myself with old man Cervantes. I am like him insofar as I am telling a great truth, without any sympathy or camouflage. I have tried to state the facts without causing offense. I know I have stated the facts but mildly. All the things I have stated are true. You have ceased to think for yourselves and are following blindly a propaganda that will be the ruination of this State as far as its present welfare is concerned. I write this because I feel convinced that there will be no peace in this State until the people are told point blank that they are a wicked and perverse generation, with a selfishness and hatred in their hearts; that they are happily following a propaganda without serious thought, simply because of the extreme pleasure they feel in the prospect of destroying other classes of society; people with whom they associate every day, people who accommodate them and who are their best friends, yet they joy in the prospect of their destruction and would with glee destroy their very souls. But the law is exact. You cannot destroy the other man's soul; you can only destroy your own soul. You can dig the pit for the other class of society and fall into it yourselves.

A people blessed as few peoples have been blessed, yet a people that show such ingratitude both to their neighbors and to their God are sure to reap as they have sown. I warn you to flee from the wrath to come for God is not mocked.

P. S. It is said that the postscript is the most interesting part of a letter. The letter I determined to write has reached the proportions of a pamphlet. How to publish it is a question indeed. It will require thou-

sands of dollars to print it and to send it through the mails to the voters. If I should show this copy to men who might be interested enough to finance its publication then suspicion would call it "Big Business." If it should be mailed from Bismarck, Fargo or Grand Forks, it would be "Big Biz." If it were backed by the Democratic Party in its campaign it would be "Big Business." An article in the *Courier-News* of the issue of July 9th, by Geo. P. McPherson, states:

"Aside from the fact that no one appears to be willing to shoulder the burden of being a candidate against Lynn J. Frazier, the farmer's choice as the Republican candidate for Governor, it is stated that the securing of coin with which to conduct a campaign is a problem to be faced."

This is a fact indeed and, I am surprised at the boldness in admitting it in the *Nonpartisan League Press*. It is an admittance of the fact that the constructive forces are stranded and that the only big business existing is the *Nonpartisan League* itself. Think it over. But there is a greater problem facing me right now and that is—How to avoid suspicion. I know the psychology of the suspicious. There is only one way and that is to begin in a small way and get out and sell the pamphlet and make it pay for itself. This is the only way which I can see of avoiding suspicion.

I am not a politician, never was a politician. I am not a Democrat. I have always been in the Republican ranks, although I have voted for John Burke twice. While I am not a politician I will confess this is written in the hope that it may cause some of you to do a little reasoning for yourselves; that you may cast a vote for righteousness, which will be for constructive government in our State. My investments in North Dakota are negligible. Perhaps under pressure I could close my affairs in twenty-four hours. Many men have left recently, especially men in educational lines. Men interested in constructive education have no desire to stay under the present conditions. Busi-

ness men wish to sell, but who would buy under present conditions? They are doomed to stay and take a loss. If they take a loss, then down comes the land owner with them. If the people will not think for themselves and thus save the State from the impending calamity, I can see only one condition which might arise to save the State. That condition is this: Will it be possible to sell State Bonds? It might be impossible to find a market for the bonds, because bond buyers are not all foolish. Suppose they do sell the bonds, who will purchase them? Big Business, if there is any big business. Then who is playing to big business? But, I love North Dakota and I regret to see all these years of up-building go glimmering in one foul sweep a la Russia.

I personally have a great desire to see God fearing men guiding the ship of State. Do you know it is quite impossible to get along without God. Russia tried it, but God's law was in Russia.

CHAPTER III

O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us;
It wad frae monie a blunder free us
An' foolish notion;
What airs in dress an' gait wad lea'e us
And e'en devotion.

—Burns

In the following discussion I wish to mention two classes of individuals — Farmers and Scalawags. I use the term farmers, because the people of North Dakota are farmers. I use the term scalawags, because I know of no more fitting term for that class of individuals who scientifically apply the principles of psychology in business without even knowing what the word “psychology” means and yet they are the greatest psychologists the world has ever known, when the art of “bunkosteering” is considered.

Being able to apply these principles accurately is not difficult if one is also ignorant of the fundamental law governing life itself — the law of compensation, which ignorance permits one to take no thought of the consequences to his own character. His arguments sell goods and his profits are in most cases large, owing to the gullibility of the farmers when they hear their favorite song. The farmers' favorite song is a denunciation of all the business interests with which they are obliged to co-operate. It is fashionable, and profitable, for singers to Italianize their names, also to give to music, written in America, Italian names. So to give this favorite song of the farmers an Italian setting, it might be called, “A Tirade.” But perhaps that's Irish. However, it is a mingling of sympathy and abuse; abuse for all the business interests with which they are obliged to co-operate, and sympathy for themselves who have been the sufferers (?) at the hands of all the co-operating

monsters that ever inhabited the earth. This song is as soothing as a symphony to the ears of the farmers, while it is being sung, but when the singer ceases and moves on to other audiences, he leaves behind him the very antithesis of symphony. He leaves behind him in the minds of the farmers a belief that all men are their enemies; that they are being imposed upon from every angle. When one realizes that a great orchestra has been entertaining the people of North Dakota for a quarter of a century, singing nothing but the song of sympathy and abuse, is it any wonder that the people finally believed the song? It was truly the song of hate, yet the singers had no hate. They only sang the song because they knew it would be well received and because it brought the best results.

Co-operation? We cannot live without co-operation. Yet in the name of co-operation the farmers of North Dakota are trying to kill co-operation. Funny, isn't it? The psychology of it is very interesting. Let us consider co-operation. Let us consider the man with the hoe or the man with the axe. Considering the axe, reminds me of a story about a judge who sentenced a culprit to "Six months in Canada with a dull axe." Now that sounds like a slam on Canada, but it isn't. It merely illustrates the fact that Canada was and is a timbered country, a country of mighty forests, and no instrument of man has had more to do with the development of Canada than the axe. So the judge in his desire to give the culprit a sentence commensurate with the crime, sent him to Canada with a dull axe. They keep their axes sharp in Canada. I positively know that too, and by experience. As a little boy in Canada, I have turned the grinding stone many an hour, doing my bit in keeping the axes sharp.

The woodsman goes forth into the forests armed with an axe. He doesn't consider the axe. He merely uses it in his business. He doesn't take into consideration the fact that the iron in the axe was mined from the earth by men he had never seen; that the

iron ore was transported to ships by men he had never seen; that it was transported in ships to smelters by men he had never seen; that it was smelted into pig-iron by men he had never seen; that the pig-iron was converted into steel by men he had never seen; that the iron and steel were moulded into the form of the axe by men he had never seen; that the steel edge was tempered into a keen cutter by men he had never seen; that the axe was packed ready for shipment by men he had never seen; that it was transported from the factory to the wholesale house by men he had never seen; that it was transported from the wholesale-house in all directions until it was finally delivered to his nearest trading point by men he had never seen; that the only man in all the mighty co-operating scheme he was acquainted with was the local dealer, his friend and neighbor; that without this dealer to complete the organization, he would not be in touch with the co-operative world of which he is a part; and yet, he wants to destroy this dealer who keeps him in touch with the mighty scheme of things.

The story of the axe applies to all utensils used by man. It is the story of the wonderful co-operation that exists throughout the nations, brought about by the increase of intelligence, which has enabled man to produce more efficiently and abundantly; and by the wonderful transportation systems which have made it possible for people in one country to enjoy the fruits and blessings which are produced in another country and even across the oceans. The earth and the fruits thereof was given to mankind for their sustenance. As time goes on the world progresses and peoples are more and more linked together until to-day all peoples enjoy one another's goods and one another's knowledge. Each day the entire world has the same thought, the same world news is published everywhere. Surely this progress throughout the world is in keeping with the laws and plans of the Creator of all things; surely it is evolution.

In order that the peoples of the earth should strive

and "carry on," and thus bring about improved conditions so that the earth and its fulness could be utilized by mankind, and that knowledge might increase, a plan of compensation was arranged so that as individuals and peoples strove, they would receive in kind, the mind of man being made the basis of operation with optional power of reception or rejection. So it was and is, that as a man thinketh so is he, and as a man gives in thought and action so it is given even unto him. In this way the world has come up out of many periods of darkness. Through all ages the masses of mankind were dependent upon a courageous element that persisted in forging ahead. While this element received more of the world's goods, it at the same time created sufficient for all. Thus it was that the sluggards were enabled to live. This more aggressive element that has existed in all generations is "The Goose that lays the Golden Eggs." Every time this goose has been killed there has been great suffering on the earth. They are threatening to kill the goose in North Dakota at the present time. The process is by enacting legislation to assist the sluggards.

In past ages mankind lived more within themselves, the co-operation existing only in communities, and even in communities mankind lived much unto themselves. The scheme of co-operation extended only toward peoples or countries that produced articles needed and which could not be produced in home communities. The writer remembers wearing a homespun suit of clothes. The wool was clipped from our own sheep and all the necessary preparation was done at home except the weaving and that was accomplished at a neighbor's home. I have seen several looms at different neighbors where my mother used to take me. Thus it was that cloth for clothing was produced at home without any system of co-operation. I have heard my mother tell of the days when the shoemaker used to come and fit out the entire family with boots and shoes. The hide from some "critter" raised on the farm would be tanned and

then the shoemaker would be sent for. He would come and stay a few weeks while he measured, fitted, and made shoes for the entire household. I remember some of that kind of boots. They required much greasing to get them on and off and they were of a clumsy variety and fell far short of being the finished product of today. I have no means of getting at the relative costs of those boots and shoes and the boots and shoes of today. But in proportion they cost just as much because the family had to keep the shoemaker for weeks and pay him for his work also, and the shoes were of a very inferior quality. Shoes cost more today, when the price in dollars and cents is considered only. When you consider the price of grain today, the relative cost of the shoes is no greater than when you wore the home-made variety. When difference in quality is considered, they are much cheaper today. I once heard an uncle say: "I would rather pay five dollars per hundred for flour and have the five, than to pay two and a half dollars and not have the two and a half." No doubt he remembered the old days. Artemus Ward, referring to the old days said: "When I was a boy my parents sold a cow and sent me to school." Yes, those were great days, people were poor and contented; they didn't know anything about the luxuries of today. A certain province of Rome was very discontented and caused the government much trouble. The Emperor sent one of his generals into the province to ascertain and report the cause of the dissension among the people. The general reported that the people were too prosperous. Thus you see that people have not changed any. People are always people and a great majority of them cannot "carry corn." There is only a small minority of people who can bear prosperity. There is much prosperity in North Dakota. The people living in the towns haven't it. One has only to visit a North Dakota city on a Saturday and see the hundreds and some times thousands of automobiles of all makes and sizes filling the streets to know who are prosperous. We are mighty glad to see them.

No fault to find at all; they earned them. But why are they not willing that the town people should live also?

Today we have advanced co-operation. The farmers haven't time to bother about tanning a hide and sending for a shoemaker. If they did, and had the old time shoemaker come to their homes and make the shoes their daughters would refuse to wear them, so would their sons, and, I have my grave doubts whether the farmers themselves would wear them. The old time shoes had to be greased, patched, and the soles protected with hobnails. The shoes of today are a wonderful product. Shoes stand more wear and tear and abuse than any other article except the automobile. Automobiles endure more wear and tear and abuse than any other piece of machinery ever assembled, and it is a question whether it is the automobile or a pair of shoes that has the most endurance when the uses they are put to are considered. Yet people complain about the price of shoes and forget the shoes their fore-fathers had to wear. They also forget the increased prices of the produce they themselves have to sell. It is the people who work and have nothing to sell who are caught by the high prices, and even they have value received when the class of shoes they buy is compared with the old time shoes.

This is a wonderful age. Today, a fleet of airships leave Newfoundland and fly to the Azores. One of them arrives in a few hours time. They keep us advised of their condition and position by messages from mid-air by wireless, two of them being unable to land owing to a dense fog, finally are compelled to alight on the water. We know of all these conditions as soon as the people of the Azores. We accept this news as a matter of fact; there is nothing so wonderful about it in this age. Such things are so common that some people do not even bother to read the head lines about it. Today the farmers have advanced as rapidly as any one else. The ingenuity of *other* men has furnished them with the very latest, the last word

in efficient machinery, and methods for doing a vast amount of work with a minimum of cost and effort, thus enabling them to take a prominent place among the business men of the world and be the most independent business men of them all. They are so busy raising grain that they cannot afford to bother about tanning a hide and sending for a shoemaker. So it is that they co-operate with their brother men who elect to be manufacturers of shoes. Thus the world has grown to be a great co-operative scheme. The perfection of means of transportation makes all this co-operation possible,—the mighty ships that carry cargoes containing several train loads, and the monster locomotives that pull freight trains a mile long. But, along comes Gene Debs and damns these railroads, and because he damns them, he is loved and followed by an army of pessimists who are only happy when they are listening to an attack upon something; when they are hearing something abused and slandered; all of which carries an insinuation that they themselves are made to suffer and are being imposed upon. These stories of the high-handed manner by which all business has been conducted (except farming) having been preached by both thoughtless and unscrupulous salesmen, and politicians, which propaganda has been maintained more than a quarter of a century, has caused the farmers to actually believe that all business exists for the sole purpose of robbing them. It has been the easiest way to sell goods to farmers and, therefore, thoughtless men used the argument. Conditions have been such for the past several years that unless one used such an argument he could talk till doomsday and never sell them anything. They demanded that they be nursed and babied and fed with the soothing balm of the story of their persecution. This story almost always caused them to buy and many, many times they were robbed indeed by these would-be benefactors. They are slow to learn, because they love sympathy so. Then came the Bolsheviki, taking advantage of the situation created for him, to put over a great experiment

in democracy—socialism. They propose state-owned utilities. The farmers imagine that if the State goes into the manufacturing business it will put all those different lines of manufacturers out of business. Isn't that a noble thought? If one will think for a moment he will immediately see that North Dakota does not cut such a very great figure when the markets of the world are considered. The world is progressing at such a rate that markets will increase in such volume that North Dakota will scarcely be missed, that is the effect it will have on the world's co-operative business—Big Business. A little further thought will soon convince a sane person that flour mills cannot be produced that will ever put the mills located at St. Anthony Falls out of business, or compete with them. Packing plants built on the little Sheyenne, a stream about a foot deep and ten feet wide during the summer seasons, will never put the packing plants established at Chicago on Lake Michigan, Kansas City on the Kaw, or Omaha on the Missouri, out of business, or compete with them.

What is big business? It is you and I, from Maine to California, purchasing a bag of peanuts each day that makes a mighty big peanut business. If we could in some way, and with hatred in our souls, destroy this peanut business, or the men who dare to deal in peanuts, we would then be unable to have any more peanuts. We would have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. That is what they will do when they kill big business, for big business is only world business, getting bigger and bigger in its scope, keeping measure with the progress of mankind, with the progress of the world. The poet says, "Some call it evolution; others call it God."

Thus it is that in the name of co-operation they would kill co-operation. They would create a condition of society that would make it unnecessary to struggle. If ever such Utopia is established on earth then mankind will degenerate and society will be destroyed. Such a condition cannot be attained because it is against the divine plan of the Universe; but a ter-

rible lot of damage can be accomplished in an effort to out-do God Almighty. If they ever do overcome God Almighty there will be an awful shaking up and I don't think any of us will be able to stick around.

Let us consider the axe again. Suppose we succeed in our attempt to appropriate everything. We are getting pretty rich now, and it naturally makes us feel hoggish. We want it all like Touser at the bridge, when he saw another dog down in the water with just as juicy a chunk a meat as his own. Touser never considered that he himself had just as nice a piece of meat as the dog he saw down in the water—his brain cells were not developed that way. Touser wanted it all. In fact he didn't want it all as badly as he wished to deprive the other dog of having any, so he dropped his juicy steak in his attempt to deprive the imaginary dog of his rightful share. That is the philosophy of a large portion of North Dakotans. When they find themselves some day in a condition similar to that of Touser, they will then proceed to realize how it all happened, which will develop brain cells different from those which they possess today. They will find themselves working with dull axes. That is what the Indians did before us. Even today we find evidences of their handiwork in egg shaped stones with a groove hammered out around them where the handle had been fitted. We might go digging around and find sufficient implements left by the Sioux for our needs, driving fence posts, etc. We have very little need for an axe anyway.

“He who is the greatest sticker for justice is the most unjust of all!” It never fails! It cannot fail! It is a psychological law, and has to do with our brain cells. To explain this law in a fuller sense, I will call it—the law of opposites. What I mean is this, (I have learned it in books and by experiences) that when you find a man shedding crocodile tears, don't get too near him; his jaws might go shut and they might get a piece of you. It is said that the crocodile lies on the bank with his mouth open and sheds tears while he waits for his prey. When enough birdies gather on

his jaws which stick out like split ends of old logs, the jaws snap shut and he has procured a juicy meal by the rankest kind of duplicity and hypocrisy. Man does the same thing. The man who isn't laying for you won't feed you any sympathy. He appears to be cold and uninterested in you perhaps, and he is; he isn't meddling with you and yours at all. He is simply attending to his own affairs, therefore he is the opposite from what he may appear to be. Instead of being a bloodthirsty enemy of yours, as his coldness would indicate, he is leaving you absolutely alone to pursue your life's pathway in freedom. The fellow who comes along shedding tears like a crocodile over your terrible wrongs is the opposite from what he appears to be. In reality he is waiting to get you into a position where he can snap shut on you. In Ireland they call it "Blarney" but they take it for what it is worth in Ireland.

The scalawag who fleeces the farmer out of several dollars by singing to him "Love's Old Sweet Song" hasn't injured the farmer any, hasn't injured the man. He has only taken from him a few dollars and in most cases the farmer isn't wise to that. I believe it serves any farmer right to be bit right and left, so long as he deliberately plans to injure his own people, friends and neighbors at every opportunity presented. But what has the scalawag done to himself? He has maintained a front to the farmer that leaves an impression of an angelic presence, a second saviour for farmers. But what about his real self, the inner self, the man? He is making his real self as black as hell, because the greatest sin of mankind is the art of appearing to be what we are not, — double-crossers, hypocrites. Jesse James didn't stoop to hypocrisy.

It isn't my desire to be too severe on these fellows; many of them who have been using the propaganda to further their sales have done so unthinkingly, not knowing of its terrible results. They have used this propaganda because they knew it enhanced their sales and because what they were selling was honest and beneficial. Therefore, they did not see the

evil results to come from their part in what was really a very injurious policy. But I do wish to mention that class that knowingly and maliciously have taken advantage of the farmers' psychology, the farmers' way of reasoning, to enable them to double-cross him.

While I mention a few cases which have come under my personal observation, every one of them a positive fact, I desire that the farmers who may happen to read these pages will observe carefully and honestly and ask themselves if I am not stating positive facts. Also ask themselves if it isn't high time that they should inform themselves as to the conditions and that they should cease listening to these fellows, and to think constructively instead of destructively—to think positively instead of negatively,—to *think for themselves!*

There are many stories that very aptly portray the difference between an optimist and a pessimist, but I recently heard a story giving a definition of a pessimist, as follows: "A Pessimist is a man who knows the prices of everything and the value of nothing." That text doesn't need a sermon. Think it over. Think on it seriously and the sermon will be revealed. Before mentioning a few incidents which have come under my personal observation, I wish to submit a quotation from Woodrow Wilson, as follows:

"If you discourage the community,
The locality,
The self-contained town,
You kill the nation."

The Standard Oil Co. sells oil. That is its business. It has a reputation to maintain, having built up a tremendous business through selling good oil at reasonable prices together with a wonderful system for delivering the oil to the consumer. There are other oil companies than the Standard, many of them are no doubt as reliable as the Standard. I am not condemning any company. But, somehow unscrupulous men get possession of oils of inferior grade and sell them at advanced prices. A few years ago a friend of mine was visited by an oil salesman. The salesman didn't

have much to say about oil. His main argument was that he didn't represent the Standard; that his was an independent company fighting the trusts. "We are against the trust," was his principle argument. It is wonderful, the magic of that statement. As a rule it will sell anything to a farmer. My friend purchased a barrel of steam cylinder oil of a superior (?) quality at an inside (?) price. Threshing season arrived and the engine wouldn't run cool. A lubricator running constantly and a force pump for shooting extra oil into the steam pipe both failed to keep that engine running. The valve would grip the seat, get hot and stick. They were obliged to shut down at times. My friend had to go to his local dealer and purchase oil in order to keep the engine running. He discovered that he could buy oil down town by the gallon cheaper than he bought the barrel for. Also, that the oil purchased down town in five gallon lots gave excellent satisfaction even if it was furnished by a trust. This friend of mine didn't consider values. He didn't consider prices much; being informed that the company handling the oil was bucking the trust, was enough to make it cheap at any price. Yet he isn't cured. He read an oil circular in my presence recently, and said: "I guess I'll give them an order for a barrel of cylinder oil."

An oil salesman called one day on another friend of mine, who farms on a large scale. He owns and operates several threshing outfits and tractors. His order for oil is immense. This salesman ought to have got a line on him before using his usual dope, because this man thinks for himself and his thoughts are not suggested to him by other people's seductive statements. In other words he is a positive, original thinker; his mind is not a vacuum, like a circus rubber ball, bounding from point to point as other people's unscrupulous ideas suggest a landing place here and there. This man's order contained an item of five barrels of steam cylinder oil. Therefore, with tractor oil and machine oil added this made a very desirable order for any salesman. This salesman didn't talk oil

very much but he never ceased to convey the idea that he didn't represent the Standard; that his company was fighting the trust. He used as a leader a particularly fine brand of steam cylinder oil which, as this farmer was a heavy user, he would put in at an inside price, an especially high grade of cylinder oil at sixty-eight cents per gallon. My friend informed him that he didn't know anything about oil; that he had men who looked after such details; that if he could have a portion of the sample he would have his man examine it, and, if it proved to be as good as the oil they had used the year before he might give an order later. My friend procured a portion of the sample and had it analyzed, then took the analysis and a portion of the oil to the Standard Oil Company at Fargo and asked them to match this oil, to quote a price on an order of five barrels. In a few days he received a letter from the Standard quoting a price of twenty-eight cents for the same oil. You can readily see that it costs something to listen to these fellows and assist them to fight the trust. Does it ever occur to you, Mr. Farmer, that they fight the trust with your money? Does it ever occur to you that they probably buy this oil from the Standard, by buying at different points and then assembling it at some given point, and then go out and tell you that they are fighting the Standard Oil Company, knowing that that statement will cause nearly all of you to pay an advanced price without question or consideration?

I hold no brief for the Standard Oil Company. Standard Oil doesn't know me from a hole in the ground. If I were to ask Standard Oil to advance some money toward financing this book I am writing, they would give me a mysterious look (the once over) and wonder why I ever escaped the home for imbeciles. But I presume it is useless for me to make this denial as it will no doubt fail to overcome your inborn suspicion of Big Business.

It is the same with the grocery salesmen. They are not exactly bucking the trusts, but they are bucking

the fellow down town. Their talk is not so much the goods, but how much cheaper it is than you can buy it for, down town. Many people fall for such talk and place an order. When the goods come, there isn't anything particularly wrong with the goods, but why did you forget the flour? Why did you forget the sugar? Why didn't you order coffee while you were ordering? "My, I was so forgetful." Yes, you were forgetful. You were out-generaled. You made your mind passive to the salesman's suggestions. He did the talking and thinking and he saw to it that you forgot the flour, sugar and coffee. Why did he do that? Because there is a very close margin of profit on flour, sugar and coffee, so he left these essentials to be supplied by the local dealer. Did you pay cash for these essentials when you were forced to go to your local dealer for them? I have a suspicion that you said "Charge this please." Perhaps you didn't even say please. Then perhaps you wondered how it came about that you bought so much allspice, cinnamon, cloves, pepper, ginger, lemon extract, vanilla extract, etc. You perhaps discovered that you had enough spices and extracts on hand to last two generations, outlasting its potency. Why? Because there is a large margin of profit on such stuff. You also remembered to buy tea. The tea might not have been as good as you desired it, but you had to wait a long time before you could change the brand. Do you think I am drawing on my imagination? Perhaps I am a little, but, I have bought groceries from these fellows myself! I have bought groceries from these fellows when there was a good friend of mine in the business two miles away. I said I did it. I didn't object to the women buying of them. I was as willing as they were, and there was no reason on earth for ever doing such a thing. Just lack of consideration, that's all. Imagination? Say, I was in a store in a North Dakota town one evening when a woman came in with a parcel under her arm. She had a quantity of spices from a firm in Chicago which she asked to have exchanged for staple groceries, sugar, raisins, etc. She

didn't succeed in making the exchange. The brand on the goods didn't look good to the local dealer, Neither did the pure, unlimited, unadulterated nerve displayed by the lady. (Some people call it gall.)

In my youthful days I served as clerk at times in different stores. I will mention some of the tricks of the trade which came under my observation during that experience. I recall assisting the proprietor of one of those stores to fill two canisters with tea out of a chest. Tea formerly came in chests lined with lead, tea-lead. When we had emptied all of the tea into two canisters standing side by side behind the counter, he said to me: "This sells for thirty-five cents," laying his hand on one of the canisters, "and this for fifty cents," laying his hand on the other one, "catchie onie?" Yes, I caught on and proceeded to sell the same tea at two different prices. I learned something while selling that tea at two different prices. It was this: The people nearly always decided to take the higher priced tea, even when I hinted pretty strongly that the lower priced would make just as good a cup of tea. I wished to sell the thirty-five cent tea because there was a reasonable profit in it at that price. That tea trick wasn't vicious, it didn't do anybody any harm and all had an opportunity to buy the cheaper tea. But, nearly always people elect to take the higher-priced article when any two articles look alike. They pay many an increased profit by doing so. In the case of the tea how easy it would have been to have purchased some of both prices and thus ascertain which was the better tea to use.

It isn't always true that one pays a greater profit by buying the higher-priced article. This applies more directly to shoes, gloves, etc. Two pair of gloves may look just alike at two different prices. The higher priced glove is made of leather from the back of the animal and is tough and durable. The cheaper glove is made from leather from the belly of the animal and it will not wear half as long, or retain its correct form. It is really up to each customer to use his individual judgment. However, there is a better way.

It is to deal with a merchant whom you know to be honest and upright and trust him to direct you in making your selections.

The local merchant has to use diplomacy in dealing with the people of his community. For instance, this same merchant that showed me the tea trick told me to remember that we had a barrel of mackerel in the cellar; that Lent was coming and the Catholic people would ask for the mackerel, but that non-Catholics would eat mackerel just as well if their attention were called to it. Now, there was a man in that community who for a better name we will call, Bill Buyit. There are Bill Buyits in every community; men who will buy everything they see, buy themselves out of home, become overloaded, go broke and then are unable to realize that they had anything to do with their own undoing, but instead, blame society, big business, anything but themselves. These fellows are always ready to listen to the calamity howler and believe all they say and get on the band-wagon to assist in righting conditions. So this merchant said to me when giving me instructions about selling the mackerel, "Don't tell Bill Buyit about it. He will buy the whole barrel." So I studiously avoided mentioning fish in Bill Buyit's presence. Up on the top shelf was what appeared to be the handle of a wringer sticking out. One day Bill Buyit said to me: "Get down that wringer, I want to see what it is like." I was a boy in those days and I went up the shelves like Douglas Fairbanks scaling the side of a building in the movies. When I had reached the wringer, the proprietor called to me: "That is a washing machine; we are out of wringers." I came down without disturbing the washing machine. About a week later Bill Buyit came in again and asked me to let him see that washing machine. I went after it and lo and behold it was a wringer. I said: "This is a wringer." The proprietor looked at it and said: "Great Scott all fish-hooks, I could have sold that a dozen times; I thought it was a washing machine." Bill Buyit purchased that wringer in spite of the diplomacy of the proprietor.

This store went into a receiver's hands, and the receiver arrived from St. Paul. This receiver was a business man used to a cash trade, a man who had spent many years in the meat business. Selling flour and sugar on time when there was no profit in it didn't appeal to this butcher very strongly, so he shut down on it immediately. He said: "—— ——— dese Nort Dakota farmers, dey valk around on der shabe mitoud a cent in der pockets," and refused to sell either flour or sugar, and, in those days the people never thought of paying cash. They didn't have any cash. The mail order houses didn't get any orders until late in the fall when some of the Bill Buyits would send cash to Chicago and forget to settle with the fellow who sold them wringers and mackerel on time during the entire season. I stood behind the counter in that store for several days informing the people that we didn't have any sugar, or flour, when there was lots of it in the warehouse. They would ask when we would have any. I would say that it was ordered; that we were expecting it on every train. I stood that nearly a week. Saturday evening I informed Mr. Receiver that I couldn't stay any longer and I went home to the farm, where I didn't have to be a salaried prevaricator. I have worked in other stores a much longer time and have never seen a dishonest act, nor a mistake that was not corrected. The other stores I mention are still in business and never were in a receiver's hands.

The local merchant must exercise patience. He must have absolute self-control to be successful. He must be possessed of such fortitude that his emotions are wholly subordinated, which enables him to endure insults and keep on smiling. The buying public doesn't seem to realize how insulting it really is. People walk into a store, criticise the goods, yes condemn the goods, tell the merchant how much "they are not worth," how much cheaper they can buy them elsewhere, when he knows they are lying, yet can't tell them so, and when the merchant, possessed of the facts, the knowledge pertaining to the goods, attempts

to defend his position, they deliberately call him a liar with words equivalent. All the merchant dare say back is: "You are mistaken" and he must say it so politely, and with a smile too. I have been called a liar time and time again when I was absolutely right, yet I was solemnly advised never to lose my temper, to submit to any insult and keep smiling. Yes, I have smiled and smiled when, I felt like a villain; when I felt like using a brick-bat. North Dakota is a farming community, but farmers are not the only people guilty of this offense, and strange to say, men are not the only folks guilty of the offense. In fact it seems to require the female of the species to read the riot act right to the man behind the counter. Yet it is a wholesome experience. To give one's mentality such exercise leads to self-control, to that condition of temperament, of mind, of which Kipling dreamed when he said:

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much:
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the earth and everything that's in it,
And—which is more—you'll be a man, my son!"

Perhaps I will be accused of one-sidedness by farmer folk. I realize that danger. I am basing the statements made herein pertaining to stores on normal conditions. Present conditions are not normal when stores, cafes, hotels, butcher-shops, etc., are considered. The mental attitude of the merchants has changed during the war. Present conditions are normal when the mental attitude of the farmers is considered. The mental attitude of the farmers has not changed during the war. They have harbored the present mental attitude for years, and it only required leadership sufficiently unscrupulous to take advantage of the situation and bring about present conditions. The conditions are abnormal. The mental attitude is normal. Neither is the mental attitude of the farmers of Iowa or Indiana abnormal, when they

hasten to North Dakota because it has become a land of Canaan for farmers.

I heard it stated recently that the war has made ninety-five men out of every hundred a thief. I don't endorse that statement, neither do I deny it. Indications are that it is too true. Col. Ingersoll gave this advice: "If you have a dollar and have to spend it, spend it as if you had a million." No doubt Mr. Ingersoll wished to bring the people up out of that negative state of soul, that is developed when people live a life of selfishness—cringing, whining, bickering, bantering, kicking and crawling. He wished them to develop a positive state of soul, by maintaining a mental attitude of magnanimity, hence the advice to be generous in spirit and not pusillanimous. But, what are we going to do about it? The American people have adopted the mental attitude recommended by Col. Ingersoll and the man in the red acts like a millionaire, and the merchants, the cafes, the hotels, the butcher shops, etc., are imposing upon good nature. They are abusing the respect shown them. They are abusing the confidence placed in them—capitalizing it. A sign "Strictly one price" is excellent camouflage, because it savors of fairness, yet may not be just. They can then ask war prices and the American never squeals. What are we going to do about it? An ad, "We cannot make deliveries at present prices," is excellent camouflage because without it prices could not be jumped quite so high without protest. This ad is substantiated by ceasing deliveries and the people accept it like an opiate, which it is mentally. We are not suffering a great deal in North Dakota. I recently took lunch with a gentleman who had just returned from a trip through the East. He stated that we haven't learned much about the high cost of living in this state; that the meal he was eating was the best for the money he had had in four weeks, when he left the state; that in eastern cities it costs a dollar and a half to sit down in a cafe before they will hand out the menu.

The conditions are abnormal. It is a brain storm.

They will become normal again. They will become better and better as people learn to be less selfish. We cannot adjust them by striking. We cannot adjust them by demanding, compelling or by coercion. Certain powerful classes that would coerce all other classes to be subservient to them; that would compel others to pay them outrageous prices or salaries regardless of the rights of other classes, regardless of the law of supply and demand; regardless of the law of cause and effect, which means, regardless of the fundamental laws of the universe, cannot adjust them, but, they can bring about the ruin of the nation. They cannot be properly adjusted while selfishness and ignorance reign; or ignorance and power, which is anarchy. The proper adjustment will be brought about when men learn to put themselves into the other fellow's place. When they can consider the other fellow as well as themselves. When they learn to do unto others as they would have others do unto them.

One day long ago I stood on a vacant corner lot. There was a man there with a table in front of him. This man was known as "Farmer Brown." On the table were three half walnut shells. There was a company of curiosity seekers around him but business was slow. Finally "Skinney Frost" came along and juggled the shells for a few minutes. Skinney won. Wonderful how easy it was for Skinney to take a few five dollar bills from the man behind the table. Skinney walked away with a friend and there was a rush for the easy money, a rush that was disastrous to the rushers. Somehow it didn't come as easy to that crowd as it did to Skinney. That crowd was too dense in its upper story to realize that Skinney Frost was in on the deal as a stool-pigeon, until it became an after consideration.

Another day a man arrived in town and placed a tight rope across the street from the tops of two buildings. It was a great stunt in those days to walk a tight rope with a long balancing pole. It has long gone out of popularity because in these days they

walk slack ropes without balancing poles. This man appeared on the rope walking backward and forward. He ended his performance by attaching a short rope around his neck and to the tight rope and hung suspended in air imitating the death struggle. This exhibition he called, "How Guiteau left Washington at twelve-thirty." (Assassin of Pres. Garfield.) When his performance was over, the crowd was about to disperse when a gentleman standing in a carriage began a harangue: "Step this way gentlemen, step this way. I have here an exhibition of the celebrated maydock gold. This is a newly discovered species of gold that is destined to revolutionize values. We have it made up in different articles of usefulness and are selling these articles at very reasonable prices for the sole purpose of advertising this new species of the world's most sought metal. I have here a number of cuff-buttons which I will sell for twenty-five cents a pair. Who will be the first to buy?" Immediately they began buying. I didn't buy. I was a little shaver and didn't have any money. But how sorry I was that I was denied the privilege of participating in the wonderful opportunity to get something "below cost." As each purchaser paid over his twenty-five cents, the man in the carriage placed a pair of cuff-buttons with the twenty-five cents together in an envelope and laid them on the seat of the carriage. After selling all he could he handed the envelopes to the purchasers and lo and behold their money was in the envelopes with the cuff-buttons. They had received something for nothing and great was their delight. He then began selling watches. Watches manufactured from the celebrated maydock gold for a dollar each. "Who will be the first to buy?" They came with a rush and he placed each watch in an envelope, going through exactly the same movements as before and they crowded him with their dollars. When he had all in sight he handed them their envelopes but there wasn't any dollars in them. The carriage was moving away and the gentleman stood up and looked over that crowd and shouted: "Oh, you suckers!" Then the

purchasers examined their watches and there was only a case. Simply an empty watch case. The emptiness of the case brought conviction that it was brass. That evening the same stunt was pulled off again and they purchased cuff-buttons by the hundreds of pairs. He again placed the cuff-buttons in envelopes and laid them on the carriage seat. Then he handed them their envelopes, but there wasn't any money in the envelopes that time. The carriage was immediately moving and again he stood up and surveyed the crowd and shouted, "Oh, you suckers!"

That day has gone. We have laws today that protect the gullible. Fakirs cannot operate shell games, a close watch is maintained for the old time confidence man. But, were it not so, and those old time confidence men were allowed to roam as in the old days, they would find just as many suckers as ever. Today they work on a bigger scale. There is a fertile field because of the cultivation mentioned in the first chapter of this book, i.e., salesmen's talk to obtain orders; politicians' blarney to obtain office, and newspapers continually handing out bouquets to the "honest farmer." The world is composed of opposites. If there were no dark, there couldn't be any light! If there were no bad, there couldn't be any good! This continual reference to the "honest farmer" carries the insinuation that all others are dishonest, because if there were no dishonesty, there couldn't be any honesty! This continually expressed insinuation has caused the farmers to actually believe that all classes but themselves are dishonest. They try to play even and thus become dishonest, all of which has been carried on persistently for many years until there exists today in the minds of the people a resentment against these imaginary conditions that have done them such an imaginary wrong. Therefore, the field is both fertile and large and thoroughly cultivated. The confidence man of today is not the confidence man of old who gave you nothing for something. The confidence men of today are real business men doing a real business and they give you your

money's worth, as a rule, but they resort to tricks to get the trade. They can do things which the home man, friend and neighbor, cannot do. They have had an excellent opportunity in recent years owing to the determination in the minds of the people to right their wrongs—mostly imaginary. This determination in the minds of the people, this false idea about a purposely organized system of robbery maintained to fleece the farmers, amounts to wrath, a tremendous power, a mental condition that listens to reason but seldom.

One of the modern shell games is the stereotyped story about the middleman. The farmers would like to annihilate the middleman. They would go as far as to annihilate the railroads, then indeed they would have direct communication with Chicago—by wireless. They cheer Debs when he abuses the railroads, without considering which has been and is now the most beneficial to the farmers, the railroads or Debs. Debs is gone from us forever, let us hope, but his going does not affect the progress of North Dakota. There will be more contentment in the minds of men if he will never be allowed to enter the state again. But suppose they would send the railroads to Leavenworth, rails, ties, road-beds and all, what effect would it have on land values? They would immediately learn that, "A friend in need is a friend indeed," and that the railroads have been co-operating with them.

There are several large business houses that advertise to do business without the middleman. My, that sounds good! How wonderful it is to do business without the middleman? Why, by cutting out the middleman they can save all the profits that go to their local merchants and through the regular channels of trade. These local merchants are home people who have been robbing them and here is an opportunity to crucify them financially; to starve them out, and that privilege alone is a joy forever; because according to the tales of salesmen and their late-found friends, the agitators, these home merchants have been persistently robbing them for years.

Let us try to locate the middleman when dealing

with some of these eastern houses. First, there is an immense printing establishment, costing into the millions, an establishment that runs night and day, the main business of which is to print and make catalogues advertising their wares. It is estimated that these catalogues of the larger size cost one dollar each. Second, the distribution of these catalogues. In one season one of these establishments sent thirty-two carloads to Fargo, twenty carloads to Bismarck and several carloads to other points. I will leave it to the reader to compute the freight on these trainloads of catalogues. These catalogues are turned over to transfer companies for distribution locally. At one of our smaller cities four carloads were distributed at a cost of \$13,600.00 for postage. Add to that amount the transfer company's charges for services. Then, there is always a certain amount of goods returned. In 1917 one of these concerns had \$12,460,615.00 worth of goods returned. They paid the transportation charges on this amount of goods both ways. That meant no small sum. Have you found the middleman? He is there! You cannot get along without him! It costs a certain amount to do business whether by private enterprise or by state-owned, whether by big business or by little business. If our people would give the matter consideration they would find that the cost of printing establishments, cost of printing and making catalogues, cost of distribution by freight, cost of local distribution by mail, cost of transportation charges on goods returned, etc., quite equals the profits to their friends and neighbors down town and through the regular channels of trade, had they given their business to them; that they themselves haven't gained, but that the community has lost. Therefore, if there must be a cost in the distribution of goods, which has become known as the middleman, why not give that cost through our local dealers and assist them to live, and by so doing build up the local town, which in turn builds up the entire community? By patronizing their friends, the fellows down town, who at one time were good to them when they were needed,

they would not only leave a little money in their own community, which makes it a better community, which enhances the value of their homes, but they would also feel better. If they would think better of their neighbors in town they would soon like themselves better. When for the purpose of preventing their friends and neighbors from getting a dollar or two occasionally with which to support their families, pay taxes, etc., they send their money away to a concern that does business with printing presses only, they are indeed directly engaged in placing business in single hands; doing the very thing they try to avoid, double-crossing themselves, patronizing big business. No wonder somebody said, "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

One of the favorite tricks is to quote an inside price on one staple article. The people fall for it immediately and call their honest friends robbers. For instance, some firm in the distance quotes sugar two or three cents lower than the market, which of course is at a loss. Why do they do it? To put the local dealers in a bad plight, to make them appear to be profiteers. It strikes right to the very soul and the people fill out an order for Chicago. Now that large business establishment has all classes of people in its employ, among others, advertising specialists. The fellow who decided to sell sugar below cost was an advertising specialist. He was also a psychologist, because he knew just exactly what people would think of their local dealers. He knew the processes of their minds. He knew they would fail to take into consideration the profits on the other goods they might order; that they wouldn't order sugar only; that they would send him a good-sized order and a cash order. It is always cash! This practice of selling certain articles below cost, as leaders, has been carried on to such an extent that the government has stepped in and investigated, and it is now a misdemeanor to advertise and sell below cost certain articles as leaders to catch the suspicious and gullible. But how the people fell for that bait. One article quoted cheap was enough

to bring righteous (?) indignation upon the local dealers and thousands of orders at fair prices to Chicago. These houses do all they claim to do. They cut out the middleman's profits which includes the profits of your local dealer. They take the money that would naturally go to your local merchant and the channels of trade and they distribute it in the printing establishments, and costs of printing catalogues by the millions, and enormous freight and postage costs, transportation two ways on goods returned, etc. In doing this, they take every cent in every deal given them out of the home community,—money that never finds its way back again in the way of your friends spending money in the community, paying taxes, etc., building up the home town and community and all that goes to enhance the value of property in the community. You cannot prosper alone! Fortunately you cannot increase the value of your own property without increasing the value of the property of your neighbors. If that were possible, each man would be living on a little plat of ground like an oasis in the desert; there would be waste all around each man's little selfish spot. That would be the condition if man's code of ethics were the fundamental basis of things. Therefore, you had better be fair with the neighbors down town. Assist in increasing the value of the entire community, and in proportion as you assist in increasing the welfare of your neighbors and the community, in like portion will increase and prosperity return to you. Paying taxes in Chicago will never improve home communities or enhance land values in any certain township in North Dakota.

Another case I remember well. A certain machinery company's catalogue quoted an inside price on a flue expander. The price of their expander was fifty per cent lower than the price quoted in any other catalogue at the time, and fifty per cent cheaper than any local dealers were selling them for. It was so low that it seemed very evident that there was an outrageous profit in the other fellows' flue expanders; that the local dealers were making an outrageous

profit on flue expanders, and of course the evidence of such profits on flue expanders carried the suspicious mind along through the entire stock on the local dealers' shelves. They were robbers! Now, what was that price quoted so low for? It was simply this: They knew that almost all who chanced to see the low price on the flue expander would not only buy flue expanders, but would place their entire order with that house, and pay full price on everything but flue expanders. They also knew that very few would be in the market for flue expanders, but that the cut in price on that article would get their orders for other goods that carried the usual profit. It was simply a trick to fool you and get the business instead of allowing it to go to the local dealers where it belonged. Now get this: Isn't it true that a flue expander lasts a long while. Isn't it true that a flue expander will take care of a dozen boilers of a certain size flue in any one community; and that such an article is loaned by one thresherman to another? Yes, that is true and the man who quoted the price on that flue expander knew it well. He knew they wouldn't be called upon to sell many flue expanders and that the low price on them would cause piles of orders to roll in for other goods carrying the usual profit. Is it dishonest? Not in itself, because to give things away savors of service to others and there was no law against it. But in principle it is damnably dishonest and damnable in its results. It causes non-thinking and suspicious people, the buying masses, to form false opinions of their neighbors and friends, the local dealers. It fills their hearts with hatred and suspicion. These cut prices on certain special articles as leaders by firms at a distance have filled the minds of the people with distrust of their local dealers, until they are afraid to trust themselves almost.

Another method is as follows: A certain spark plug has become as staple as sugar. It sells for \$1.00 at all garages. A certain supply house advertises them for seventy-five cents. You send them an order, attracted by the bare-faced exposure of the local man's

exorbitant profits and you include in your order an item for several spark plugs. Your order is filled, but instead of spark-plugs comes an explanation that they are just out of spark plugs; that they were unable to supply that item. Or they say that they were out of that particular spark plug and that they had filled your order with another make of spark plug at a dollar each. You never catch on, and they have their profits, and the local dealer and the community has lost that much money that never returns. The local man isn't resorting to any such tricks; he is doing business straight from the shoulder. Yet suspicion is directed at him by unscrupulous concerns on the outside, and in order to direct your mental processes to work so that you will cultivate that suspicion of home dealers they have to stoop to dishonesty and hypocrisy. Therefore, it is the fellow far away who is the robber. He robs your community without benefiting his customers.

Propaganda? Does all this dishonest cutting of prices on special articles as leaders, at a loss, amount to propaganda? Yes it does! Add to this unscrupulous advertising just mentioned above, all the statements made direct to you by a horde of salesmen, politicians and agitators with a systematic talk about everything being wrong and everybody robbing you but them, and be not unmindful of the fact that this line of talk, this system of education has been going on for more than a quarter of a century, and you will see that it is nothing else but propaganda that is undermining society in this State.

This propaganda has got into the mentality of the people as a whole to such an extent that conversations like the following would be true in each and every community in this State. A friend of mine lives four miles from A., and sixteen miles from B. B. is a large place, one of the principal cities of the state. Years ago, before a certain railroad went through the country south of A., all the settlers for many miles traded at A. The railroad south established a town at C., and the town of C., took a lot of trade from A., and

the settlers to the south ceased to be as neighborly with the settlers around A. A few months ago two gentlemen from C., were autoing toward A., and stopped and visited my friend at A. They stayed for dinner. At dinner, one of the guests asked my friend where he did his buying. My friend replied, "*As near home as I can, I never buy anything at B., that I can buy at A.*" The guest stated, "I should think as large a buyer as you are could save a lot of money by sending away for goods." My friend replied, "No, I couldn't. I am the largest buyer in — county. If I sent away for my goods all my darn fool neighbors would send away for their goods and we wouldn't have any trading point at A. at all, and the value of our land would drop off twenty dollars an acre. There are times when I wish the trading point was on my farm instead of being four miles away. I can't afford to destroy it." The guest then stated, "Well, I believe in the trading at home idea myself and would be glad if they were not such — robbers." My friend then called him, as follows: "Say, when did you come to A? I came in 1879." The guest stated he had arrived at A. in 1881. "In 1881,—Who was the merchant in 1881? How much money did he make? Who followed him?" They went down the line from 1881 until the present time and didn't find one millionaire. Four had failed in business. Some had made enough to be considered successful merchants, but most of them merely lived a life of accommodation to the community and were none too well paid for their services. They then considered the machine dealers of A., and found the same results. Some failures and none that could be called really successful. Not one millionaire! My friend then said that according to the statements of agitators there ought to have been at least six millionaires made at A.; that he had given them enough business himself since 1879 to have made three millionaires if they had been taking such excessive profits from the farmers as agitators claimed. He invited his guests to go with him to D., E., F., and G., and still they found no millionaires. They failed to

find a place where the excessive profits were going to. They made a survey of the tourist question and they discovered that the merchants in these towns were not making trips to California very frequently, while many of them only knew California in their imagination. To think of California would only make them sad, because they could never go there on trips of pleasure. Their business wouldn't stand it, because their business calls for a daily, weekly and yearly grind, with their noses on the grindstone until ten P. M. to accommodate the tyrants who would raise hades if they failed to be there when it suited their convenience to make a purchase. But all around A., B., and C., the farmers, many of them, were in California or Florida during the winter months, and could also take auto trips to the Minnesota lakes during the fishing season, while the merchants in the towns had to stick around to accommodate the men left on the farms; because they couldn't leave their business, nor afford to go.

We didn't hear much about the word propaganda before the world war. Of late it has become a very common term in our vocabulary. There has been ample demonstration of its efficiency in tearing down established institutions of society in the old world. Even though it is a new term to us and was seldom used or thought of prior to the great world conflict, yet it has always been in use in our daily lives. We send a boy to school and methodically and persistently instill the facts of materia medica and anatomy into him for years and that boy becomes a doctor and thinks in terms of medicine and surgery all his life. He just cannot do otherwise; it is his life. Another boy is methodically and persistently taught the principles of the higher mathematics and he becomes a civil engineer, or an architect. Another is as persistently taught the ethics of the law and becomes a lawyer and acquires a legal mind. Each of these boys has been made what he is by propaganda. It is by exercise that the mentality grows. Then another boy doesn't fit himself, by mental exercise, by per-

sistent effort, for any specific vocation in life; therefore, has failed to acquire any principles to guide him through the storm-tossed seas of life. He is more apt to become listless, pessimistic, and therefore, becomes an easy victim of the vicious propagandist. Tossed to and fro on the sea of mental confusion, he is finally driven into the breakers of destruction by head winds of abuse aided by an undercurrent of sympathy. So it is that the masses, while they do not realize it, are constantly being taught, being trained, and unconsciously they have been attending a very vicious school. Unknowingly they have been methodically and persistently trained to believe that they are a down-trodden class; that all business is in existence for the sole purpose of robbing them; that they are not getting what belongs to them; that all kinds of evil monsters in the forms of railroads, elevators, grain exchanges, flour mills, home dealers, are against them, and after a generation of that kind of post-graduate course, they are as set in their suspicious life as the doctor is set in his surgical life, or the lawyer is set in his legal life. Their mentality is simply moulded that way. It is their life and it is not without its compensations. They do not enjoy it, yet they prefer it! It is entirely optional with them, they receive as they give, in thought, in effort. It will require some jar to change it in North Dakota. A financial bump might do it, an experience. But the forces of righteousness in North Dakota are endeavoring to prevent the spoliation if possible, or, as much of it as possible.

Could any set of men ever have created such a state of anarchy and desolation as obtains in Russia if they had confined themselves to a constructive policy, to truthfulness? No, it couldn't be accomplished that way. Could any set of men have succeeded in causing the disastrous Italian retreat of 1917, if they had adhered to the constructive principle of truthfulness? You know they could not! The devil always gets a hearing for a while. He gets the first hearing. But "truth crushed to earth will rise again." Truth

prevailed in Italy, and truth will yet prevail in Russia, but the spoliation is great.

Society would become corrupt were there no criticism. But criticism should be and often is constructive. Theodore Roosevelt's criticism was constructive. That is why he had so many enemies during these days of Satan.

"Now, altogether, let us apologize to Theodore Roosevelt," says the Chicago Tribune. "There are enough of those who should apologize, but we are not among the offenders, thank you."

—*St. Paul Despatch.*

It requires courage and knowledge to criticise constructively. Any idiot can complain about existing conditions and be unable to create anything better; and be unable to appreciate anything better if he had an opportunity. People are slow to listen to and believe constructive statements. That is a fact that is as true as it is that the sun is shining over us. They have always been so since the beginning of the world. People almost always doubt the truth. It is equally true that people are always ready to believe destructive statements, because destructive statements appeal to pessimistic natures. People, as a whole, are pessimistic. You know it is said that "Straight is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth unto life," and that "broad is the way and wide is the gate that leadeth to destruction." A man comes to you and makes truthful statements and he is doubted. Why? Because truth cannot be painted, or decorated, it is always plain and often isn't pleasing to the ear. But, if a man wishes to tear down, he has unlimited means at his command to embellish his statements. That is why one has to make haste slowly when building constructively; it is one of the immutable laws of nature. It requires years of labor and energy to erect a great building. The building might be of concrete, granite and marble, with perhaps gold leaf on its mighty dome, a wonderful structure, magnificent, and along comes a crouching ignoramus with a disordered mind, one who has had no other ideals in life but to

listen to the harangues of demagogues who preach poison in the form of sympathy until they have enabled him to destroy all that a man possesses, his character, his life, his soul. He places a few sticks of dynamite in the building and in a second of time the beautiful stately structure is destroyed. It isn't at all difficult to start a tearing down movement. It acts almost as quickly as dynamite. It requires a slow and painstaking process to bring that building back to its former state again, and it is very expensive. The constructive forces are trying to stop the tearing down method before the destruction is irreparable.

The human mind can be like the building magnificent, or it can be fashioned to resemble the most miserable tumbled-down shack of the slums. It depends entirely upon how you build. It was the building of the human mind to which Oliver Wendell Holmes referred, when he composed the following lines:

Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
While the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!
—*The Chambered Nautilus.*

CHAPTER IV

There is an inmost centre in us all
Where truth abides in fullness; and to know
Rather consists in opening out a way
Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
Than in effecting entrance for a light
Supposed to be without.

—*Robert Browning*

In 1492 Columbus discovered a new world. Since that time successive generations have done him honor and his name has been given an everlasting place of permanence in Land, Story and Song. All are familiar with the story of Columbus; not only with the story of the voyage and discovery, but the story of his life leading up to the discovery; of poverty, of disappointments, of his traveling from country to country in Europe; from court to court; of his persistence in the search of assistance even in the face of the verdict of the wise men of Salamanca who pronounced him insane. It was the thought and struggle that preceded the act that brought about its accomplishment. The act was only the culmination of the thought. The real work of the great drama was in the thought processes of Columbus' mind which brought about the act that so astounded the world; which so astounded men who fail to use their minds for constructive thinking. It was a bold thought, a thought that required more courage than the thought of the men of today who accomplished the flight across the Atlantic ocean. These bold men of today knew there was another shore to this ocean; they had been there and selected a landing place where they knew they would be received with great ovations and receptions; that these receptions would extend to both sides of the great water; that in case of falling they would be very liable to be picked up by the many swift ocean liners which are continually steaming along the avenues of commerce, and, last,

but not least, the whole world was with them in thought and good wishes. They were in no danger of going to jail, or of having their heads removed for the crime of thinking beyond the limits of the casual thoughts of the masses. It was different with Columbus. Columbus started out with his little tubs to sail around the world, to sail west until he reached India, and thus prove that the earth was round. What a vast thought! What a mighty undertaking to risk going out on unknown seas with only the winds as a propelling force, and they against him five days of the week. He didn't have the privilege of coming to America so that he could sail eastward as the English birdmen of today did. There were no ships to be met which might save him in case of accidents. There was no idea of the earth's dimensions even had they known it was round. It required the greatest of courage to perform the act itself, but it required more courage to persist in the expression of the opinion that by sailing west he would reach India. It was a bold thought, projected and persisted in at an age when men were allowed to think providing they would not think; when men were put to death for the crime of thinking original thoughts that differed from the prescribed thought of the established authority. Surely there must have been some divine interference with the mentality of the kings and the courts of the time which caused a lapse in their persistent efforts to crush all progress that did not coincide with the established conclusions.

In 1596, one hundred years later, Descartes was born. Infinitely greater than Columbus, Descartes discovered and made known to mankind a new world of the mind, a world compared to which the one discovered by Columbus was a mere bagatelle. Descartes placed everything upon the mind, rather than upon the things external or upon the cut and dried dicta of the day. He said: "Not in what is around and outside of us, but rather in what is within us, are we to find the truth that makes us free." Descartes didn't care a fig for what the people believed to be true, un-

less they were able to back it up by rational reasoning. Mere assumption disgusted him, and he turned away from any authority that had nothing but its own pompous assertions to prove its soundness.

The world can never get away from the fact that Columbus sailed westward until he reached San Salvador. Not so with the world discovered by Descartes. It is the easiest thing in all the world to forget the world discovered by Descartes. Let us keep in mind this world of Descartes, this world of the mind, while we consider external conditions as found along the way in practical life.

An all-wise Creator ordained that every living creature of the earth must struggle for his food. The wild animals must struggle for their existence. Their lives are full of dangers; they not only have to contend with their enemies of the animal kingdom, but they often receive a bullet while honestly searching for food. The bees were created by the same wisdom that created man. Consider the bees. They believe in government, have their queen and are intensely industrious, always engaged in constructive work. They have a law unto themselves which surely was given them by their Creator. It is an industrial law. They kill the I. W. W. The bees call the I. W. W. drones, and when a drone develops they sting him to death. Bill Haywood couldn't even get an opportunity to get his propaganda started, if he had chanced to belong to the bee species. The bees must be happy creatures, for they work for the fun of it; they get their living, it is true, by intense energy, but they don't receive anything for their surplus (as far as we can see) and yet their surplus is the sweetest product given to man. They positively will not stand for socialism and the idle agitator isn't given the formality of a trial. Not being pestered by such theories they accomplish a high purpose in life, don't know what poverty is, and they never destroy their product because of dissatisfaction of industrial conditions. Their government is not influenced by academic theories.

Man survives under the same laws that the bees adhere to. But man was created a responsible being with the power of good and evil. He was condemned to eat bread by the sweat of his brow. It wasn't stated that he was to eat bread by the sweat of his hands. When the hands sweat the brow sweats, but, often times the brow sweats when the hands are perfectly dry. Those whose brows sweat only when their hands sweat, know nothing of the labor performed by the brow alone. Mental labor is the most exhausting known to man, and the mentality must be exercised and trained before it can endure the strain. Let a mentality that has trained itself to read and appreciate such books as "Nick Carter on Time" attempt to read such works as—well, the Bible, and they will drop off to sleep on the first page. They haven't exercised the brain cells along such lines, in fact their minds have failed to create brain cells that are capable of comprehending new ideas. Not possessing mind development sufficient to receive and assimilate facts which other people have spent years in struggle to obtain, they become confused when facts foreign to their understanding are mentioned. Original thoughts are impossible with confused minds. Confusion of the mind causes suspicion, and suspicion persisted in, causes belief, and he that believes the most, knows the least, or, he that knows the least believes the most. That is the condition that prevails in North Dakota today. The farmers are farmers only and do not understand the other fellow's experiences. Not knowing all phases of the other fellow's experiences and having listened for a lifetime to outrageous stories of their abuses by salesmen and politicians, they now believe the thoughts which they have persisted in thinking. It is a clear case of confusion causing suspicion, and suspicion persisted in causing belief, and nothing but an experience which will reach their pocket books will teach them anything different. The most shocking of all is to see highly intelligent farmers, college graduates, as persistent in this belief as the others. In fact the same

idea reaches into the pulpits and colleges, to the academic life from which it emanates.

Descartes discovered and made known to mankind this world of the mind, the world within, but unless courageous souls continue the struggle to hold the light before mankind, this new world discovered by that wonderful Frenchman will soon have been forgotten and the peoples of the earth again will drift, seeking to find causes of life and death in external sources. What was this world discovered by Descartes? Simply an understanding of the teachings of the Nazarene, or the philosophy of the Nazarene applied to practical life. The teachings of the Nazarene were always mental, always psychological; they always referred to the mental attitude of the individual toward the fundamental law of compensation, which is spiritual. Every statement, every parable, every answer to questions put to him, had a reference to the mentality of the individual. According to the teachings of the Nazarene, the mentality constitutes the fundamental basis of all things. His teachings have been followed diligently, though not practically, for the past nineteen hundred years, and it is easy to ascertain where his teachings have been held sacred, by the evidence of civilization among the peoples that became Christian. While he spoke very clearly, yet he only spoke. He failed to leave any writings; however, it is fortunate that many of his sayings were written down and preserved by others, because it gives the people of this age an opportunity to interpret the meaning of those statements, which were not wholly understood by the generation in which he lived. Remember, we are all mortal beings except Him. Therefore, we mortals of the twentieth century have just as much right to interpret his parables and statements as the mortals who usurped the prerogative and authority to mould interpretations of his instructions in stereotyped form to be handed down unchangeable to future generations.

Why is it that these teachings have not been fully understood, or are not fully understood? Because the

world has endeavored to arrive at a correct interpretation by applying reason founded upon external sources; a reasoning by materialistic minds that had no understanding of conditions other than physical, who do not think beyond that which they can see with their eyes and feel with their hands, a material dollar-and-cents intelligence.

People of all ages have been inclined to materialism. Lack of consideration of the higher things unseen by physical eyes has been the fundamental cause of the physical troubles which mankind has been obliged to combat. Twenty-four hundred years ago the following conversation took place between two gentlemen of Athens:

Socrates—"Take a look around, then, and see that none of the uninitiated are listening. Now by the uninitiated I mean the people who believe in nothing but what they can hold fast in their hands, and who will not allow that action and generation and all that is invisible can have any real existence."

Theaetetus—"Yes, indeed, Socrates, they are very stubborn and repulsive mortals."

The Jews were a wonderful people, but they were intensely materialistic. They were held within bounds by a system of sacrifice. They had to give until it hurt, and they did it through fear. The Jews were not and are not alone in this respect. The people of today are materialistic and all their thinking is done in dollars and cents, and it is impossible to get a clear conception of the Master's teachings with minds that have no other application than a dollar-and-cents point of view.

I heard a great man tell this story. This man was in Rome. He met an American, a millionaire soap manufacturer. One day they met on the street and greeted each other. One remarked about the many points of historical interest in Rome. He called the other's attention to St. Peter's mighty dome in the distance, and stated how he enjoyed gazing at it, in reverence. The other replied: "Some building. Going back home to build a bigger one."

The great calamity that swept over Belgium and northern France, through Serbia and Roumania, was brought about by external reasoning, by extremely materialistic minds. Theirs was an earth-born Gott. The present calamity of the world, as demonstrated in Russia and in North Dakota, is the result of reasoning from external sources, by extremely impractical and materialistic minds endeavoring to correct economic wrongs, by applying a remedy from the outside, a materialistic, dollar-and-cents remedy. They might just as well apply balm of gilead salve to the thumb to cure appendicitis. This is what our farmers are trying to do.

Not so with the socialistic leaders. The socialistic leaders are trying to put over a great experiment in democracy they say, but in reality an experiment in socialism. They use the propaganda of grievances caused by the high-handed and cold-blooded selfishness and robbery on the part of our own responsible citizens assisted by a terrible gang of blood-thirsty monsters located at Minneapolis and St. Paul, and our people believe it all. Whether or not the experiment proves a success will cause these leaders no loss in blood. Money is the life blood in their eyes. That is why the bourgeoisie are called "blood-suckers" but the agitators excel in that business themselves. They will not be affected by any loss that might occur, because most of them have nothing invested in any state, and they can go to New Zealand, if they wish. However, New Zealand is one place where they will not go; there is too much of their own stuff there.

The writer has read the fac-simile of a letter written to a prospective President of one of our state educational institutions by a member of the present Board of Administration, in which it was stated that while they didn't wish to drag the educational institutions into politics, nevertheless, they desired to have at the head of such institutions men who were willing to assist in putting over a "great experiment in democracy." You can readily see that the experiment

would be financed entirely by property owners in North Dakota; that the cost would not reach the pockets of either the President of the educational institution or the Administrator, which, of course, is purely along academic lines.

Some of these people refer to the Nazarene and some of them preach sermons, and, they say he was a socialist, but their lives and actions are in direct contradiction to his teachings. It makes no difference whether people understand the philosophy of the Nazarene or not, the law of compensation to which he constantly referred, is immutable and exact, and, regardless of misunderstandings or ignorance, justice is meted out in exact portions. As you give in thought so shall you receive in life. If your thought and action merit a penalty, the penalty will be applied. As you sow in thought and action, so shall you reap in life.

I stated that it is the easiest thing in the world to forget the world discovered by Descartes. It is indeed. In fact millions never hear of it. All instruction of today is from without, all is material, about external conditions and no thought is given to the individual's world within, the inner self. "When we build a home for ourselves, how careful we are in regard to the plans; how we study every detail; how we watch the material and select only the best of everything; and yet how careless we are when it comes to building our mental home, our spiritual home, which is infinitely more important than our physical home can ever be, regardless of magnificence, because the character of our physical home and everything else that can possibly enter into our lives depends upon the character of the thought which enters into the construction of our mental home, our real home, the mind. We are accustomed to examine the mechanism of the implements which we use for tilling the soil, and we try to get an understanding of the automobile we drive, but most of us are content to remain in absolute ignorance of the greatest piece of mechanism which ever came into existence, the mind of man." You know

something of the mechanism which has been invented by Edison, Bell, Marconi and other electrical wizards, but did you ever stop to think that the mechanism that has been given to you, with which you can build onward and upward without limit, by which you may receive in proportion as you are willing to strive, or by which you can, through sloth, laziness and pure cussedness, drift downward and become an outcast of society, was invented and created by a greater than Edison? The flexibility of this mechanism, its wonderful facility in responding to every whim of the mind of man, was all arranged by an all-wise Creator so that man could be a responsible being, with power to work out his own salvation. It is up to the individual which path he wishes to travel.

Boys and girls grow up and receive good educations, many of them receiving degrees from our highest institutions of learning, yet it is all based upon external, materialistic reasoning, and they leave college to meet life's duties absolutely ignorant of the fundamental laws governing very life itself, which has to do with all things.* Many live to life's old age and never understand these fundamental principles unless they diligently search or stumble upon them by accident. Some grow up by chance in a cheerful, successful environment, and the mental state, the character they mould, causes them to go through life quite comfortably. Others grow up in an environment of poverty, sloth and discouragement, which causes a mentality to be formed that brings about a miserable life, or perhaps existence, would be a better word. Suppose all people understood these principles and a watchful care were given the growing boys and girls while habits and character are forming, wouldn't it bring about a mighty change in the world?

*You may be a college graduate. You may have had the advantages of a college course in psychology. But you have probably had no instruction in the practical application of mental operations. So far as we are aware, there are few universities in the world that embrace in their curricula a course in "applied" psychology. . . .

—The Society of Applied Psychology.

Our educational institutions need another course added to the curriculum, because it isn't likely that the churches will ever adopt the line of psychology I am talking about. The churches prefer to follow the interpretations of the stereotyped form. This is quite natural and is in keeping with psychological law. Many years ago I engaged my services to a threshing machine company, although I had my doubts about the efficiency of that Company's machine. But a friend of mine persisted in persuading me that it was all right; that I was prejudiced. I went to work with misgivings, but talked the merits of that machine until I believed what I said myself. In two months it was the best machine of its kind manufactured. But when I found myself experting in the field with them, in the midst of a community of Czecho-Slovaks, gesticulating with goose talk around the straw pile, I realized that I had been a victim of propaganda; that I had followed after false persuasions. Brain cells have a way of acting that way. The mind creates brain cells; that is the way propaganda finally gets a foothold. The clergy are students and during the years of higher education in theological seminaries, their minds are applied to a study of the old interpretations. They leave college and enter the ministry and continue the good work. Their minds have created certain brain cells and they know their story so well they simply cannot accept any view but their own, therefore, being absolutely sure of their position, they are slow to accept any other view. Thus it is that individuals outside of the church constitute the force that makes for progress. Constructive criticism is the compelling force of advancement. It is the leaven that works as a guiding force to academic minds.

I have stated that the teachings of the Nazarene have been followed for the past nineteen hundred years, though not in a wholly practical manner. I was reared in a home that followed strictly the path of righteousness according to the interpretations of the time. It was what was known as a God-fearing home.

I know that it was the teachings and influence of that home that caused me to become interested in this subject and consequently causes me to write this story. Nevertheless, it was indeed a God-fearing home. The Nazarene tells us to fear not. Paul tells us to work our own salvation with fear and trembling. My parents accepted Paul's version, lived in fear and raised their children in fear. A man or woman raised in fear of God, fear of the devil and all his imps, is in fear of everything real and imaginary; he fears things that are, and things that are not, for fear is an imaginary thing without substance, yet it is the greatest enemy of mankind, for, persisted in, it becomes slow suicide, it weakens the character; it has marred the lives of millions of individuals. To remove this fear from the system is a tremendous struggle. I have graduated from that struggle and live apart from the mental condition formed in my youth. I fear not. And when I mention the Nazarene, observe that I mention his life and his teachings as well as his death. My theory is practical, not academic. I don't say to you—Believe me or you will be damned. I say to you—use your reason.

As a boy I attended many a revival meeting. It was necessary that we attend these meetings. I have seen many go forward to the mercy seat. I have been urged to go myself and informed what a terrible thing it would be to be lost, and because I didn't go I felt guilty (fear) and yet I never agreed with the proceedings. I have in mind a certain gentleman in particular, who went to the mercy seat, to the penitent bench, every February and fell from grace every August during harvest. It reminds me of Opie Reid's story about a fellow in Missouri who was a hard customer, a hard, wicked fellow indeed. They would have six weeks revival meetings, but Hank would be out of the fold at the end of the meetings, so they would extend the meetings a week to save Hank. Still Hank would be a sinner and they would extend the meetings the second extra week to save him. Hank would still be out, so they would extend the meetings

a third extra week and about Friday of the third extra week, Hank would come into the fold and be saved. Great was the rejoicing, Hank was saved. This program was carried on many years, converting Hank on Friday evening of the third extra week. So one winter when the annual revival had run six weeks and Hank had failed as usual, the meetings closed without anything being said about any extra week, and Hank nearly threw a fit. Hank was taken off his feet, dumbfounded, the most disconsolate man in the Ozarks. Poor Hank, he was so crestfallen he couldn't look any of his neighbors in the face. Opie Reid didn't say so, but I believe that stunt must have converted Hank. It requires biffs like that to reach some people's common sense.

The only opportunity I had in my youth to learn the philosophy of the Nazarene was as pictured above. Somehow, going forward and listening to them sing "Halleluiah 'tis done, I believe on the Son, I am saved by the blood of the crucified One" didn't have much effect on me, because I was none the wiser when it was all over. It was wholly mystical to me, just something to believe.

I am not ridiculing the church, far from it. The church has been a shield and a buckler against the forces of evil throughout the Christian era; but I am stating my individual opinion of that kind of worship that brings the emotions into action. Working the emotions into a state of intense excitement is a weakening process both to the physical and to the mental life, therefore, is destructive and not in keeping with the great revelation of the laws of creation as expounded by the man of Galilee. The religion of the Christ has greater significance, a depth and breadth that transcends jumping into the air and ascertaining how many times one can crack the heels together before coming down, or of rolling and groaning in the dust.

The church must continue to lead the people in matters ethical, moral and spiritual. It must rise to the demands upon it, and it will. The very best way to strengthen the church is to attend it and assist in its work, for the harvest is great and the tares and the

thistles never were as persistent as now, moreover the exercise will prove wonderfully beneficial.

Some of the greatest men of the world are in the pulpits, but there must be more of them. There are some wonderful preachers. I sat in a magnificent auditorium in Chicago one Sunday morning, listening to the world's greatest pulpit orator. I found myself actually saying, "My, if I ever get rich I will come to Chicago every Sunday to attend church."

During the course of that sermon the preacher told of a conversation that occurred between him and his father. When he informed his father that he felt that he was called to preach the gospel, the father remarked about as follows: "Well, son, I am very glad to know that you feel you are called to preach the gospel. I shall be very glad to know that a son of mine is a preacher of the gospel; but I would rather you would study law, and practice law for a season before attempting to preach the gospel. If you will study law and be admitted to the bar, and go into court with your first case, and address your first jury, and proceed to hang your bouquets all over the walls and ceiling while a sarcastic gentleman with pad and pencil is seated across the table, it will be a revelation to you how easily the gentleman of the pad and pencil can proceed to take down your bouquets from the walls and ceiling and cast them into the stream where they will be carried down through the rapids and be destroyed. When by repeated efforts, experience will have enabled you to hang your bouquets on the walls and ceiling so securely that the gentleman with the pad and pencil is unable to take them down and cast them into the stream where they will be carried over the rapids and destroyed, then you will be fitted to preach the gospel, for it is a very easy matter to stand behind the pulpit where nobody dare gainsay you, and pronounce the benediction."

One of the most serious causes of the world's present deplorable state is the vast number of non-churchgoers. One cannot ignore religion without losing that element which is known as spirituality, which was given to all men. When that element is gone,

there is nothing that satisfies and hence we have the great discontent with everybody, and everything to blame but one's self.

I will quote from the Saturday Evening Post Henry Watterson's ideas on religion. In all of Mr. Watterson's long, very active and useful life, he never did a grander thing than to give voice to the sentiments presented herewith. I am sure "Marse Henry" will not object to my giving his testimony further usefulness:

"Until I was twelve years old the enchantment of religion had complete possession of my understanding. With the loudest I could sing all the hymns. Being early taught music I began to transpose them into many sorts of rhythmic movements for the edification of my companions. Their words, aimed directly at the heart, sank never to be forgotten into my memory. To this day I can repeat most of them—though not without a break of voice—while too much dwelling upon them would stir me to a pitch of feeling which a life of activity in very different walks and ways, and a certain self control I have been always able to command, would scarcely suffice to restrain.

"The truth is that I retain the spiritual essentials I learned then and there. I never had the young man's period of disbelief. There has never been a time when if the angel of death had appeared on the scene—no matter how festal—I would not have knelt with adoration and welcome; never a time on the battlefield or at sea when, if the elements had opened to swallow me, I would not have gone down shouting.

"Sectarianism yielded in time to universalism. Theology came to seem to my mind more and more a weapon in the hands of Satan to embroil and divide the churches. I found in the Sermon on the Mount leading enough for my ethical guidance; in the life and death of the Man of Galilee inspiration enough to fulfill my heart's desire, and though I have read a great deal of modern inquiry—from Renan and Huxley through Newman and Doellinger, embracing de-

bates before, during and after the English upheaval of the late fifties and the Ecumenical council of 1870, including the various raids on the Westminster confession, especially the revision of the Bible, down to writers like Frederick Harrison and Dr. Campbell, I have found nothing to shake my childlike faith in the simple rescript of Christ and him crucified."

In many ways the world hasn't changed much since the days of Descartes. The world will accept men of the Columbus type today without question, but it is slow to accept men of the Descartes type. Unless courageous souls keep up the struggle and hold the light before mankind the world of the mind will be forgotten. There has been a great change in the world thought during the last decade, but the men and women who have led in this change of thought have been scoffed at and called freaks, bugs, etc.; and by whom? By men and women who have not taken upon themselves the effort to study or to think originally. Therefore, the verdict arrived at by those who do not know, because of the inaction of their own mentality, is nil and void, notwithstanding they are in that great majority known as the masses.

Life is a habit. Life is made up of habits. A man will say to himself: "I am going to quit drinking; I won't take another drink; I'm through." Immediately habit, like a still small voice, says to him: "Take a drink; take a drink; you need a drink; be a sport and take a drink." He quits smoking, has quit for good, and immediately something says to him: "Smoke, have a cigar. Say, you need a smoke. Come on, be a sport. Have a cigar." And, unless he exercises extraordinary will power he will do that same thing; he will take a drink, or a smoke. It is so with everything. It is life. The whole of life is a habit. The mind has been trained along certain grooves and it requires strenuous efforts to bring about any change, the efforts must be continued; and it is necessary to exercise will-power to continue in the new methods, which must be followed persistently until they shall have become habits of

life. There have been instances of people changing the conduct of their lives in a moment of time; they made the effort. There have been many instances of people promising to do so who failed, like men promising aboard ship in a desperate storm, to ever follow in the ways of the Lord, and who forget it as soon as they reach dry land.

Men are usually made successful, or they are made failures according to the instructions they received during boyhood, or the environment of the home in which they were reared. Some men are unusually successful financially; everything they touch seems to turn into money. Yet some of them are so lacking in the fundamentals of education that they depend upon others to write their names for them, while they simply make a cross above it, and the other party writes "his mark." Then we find other men occasionally with "A.B.," "A.M.," or "Ph.D." following their names, who seemingly are unable to do anything that appears successful financially; who have a difficult time to keep alive and meet their daily financial obligations. It isn't what they know or don't know, for surely the gentleman with the Ph. D. knows more than the gentleman who makes his mark. But the Doctor of Philosophy has never known success financially and the other has never known failure—financially. One has the money consciousness and nothing else, and, the other has *not* the money consciousness, but has everything else. One has probably struggled through financial straits in order to acquire an education and has formed the habit of worry over finances. The habit remains with him and he worries and doubts the success of every financial venture he undertakes. He thinks failure through habit and he receives as he thinks, as he gives in thought. There is a vast difference between one's hopes and one's thoughts, or thinking. The other probably never made the effort to acquire an education and thus escaped the opportunity to form worry habits over lack of funds; probably he never heard poverty talked of every day in the home until he didn't know there was

any other condition in life but lack of money. He probably was successful in his first deal and never had his spirit broken through poverty and disappointments. Hence he expects success, thinks success—financially—because he hasn't brains enough to know there is anything else.

The following quotation is from the American Magazine. It illustrates the thought I have been trying to make clear:

HAVE YOU BRAINS, or IMAGINATION, or
BOTH?

“The difference between brains and imagination:

“Like all the rest of you simple minded and innocent New Yorkers, you get brains and imagination mixed. They is a big difference. BRAINS is what puts a man over and imagination is what keeps him back. The feller with brains sets his mind on what he wants, forgets everything else, goes to it and gets it. He don't for a minute consider what might happen if he fails, or that the thing he proposes has never been done before, or that maybe his scheme ain't really as good as he first thought it was. Why don't he think of them things? Because he ain't got no imagination. The imaginative feller is beat from the start. He keeps thinking from every possible angle what might happen to him if he fails, and by the time he gets all that figured out, his idea is cold and his enthusiasm for it has drowned in the sea of possibilities his roamin mind has created. The feller which said 'Look before you leap' might of been clever, but I bet he thought a five dollar bill was as big as they made 'em till he went to his grave. If I'd had imagination I'd never of come to New York and made good. I'd of been afraid the town was too big for me.”

Such stories as the above can be found very frequently of late years. Each little story represents an attempt to illustrate in a practical manner, the influence which the mind, the inner self, the subconscious, has upon the outer world, the external conditions,

Another illustration: Some men accomplish things while applying intelligence of physical things only, dollar-and-cents intelligence, and unknowingly to them, their mental processes act beneficially and the task is accomplished. Other men attempt the same task, applying intelligence of physical things only, dollar-and-cents intelligence, and unknowingly to them their mental processes act detrimentally and they fail in the task. Men may think on a commercial basis, but their success or failure is caused by the processes of their inner consciousness wholly unknown to them, and yet, these processes were created by themselves during the time when they were forming character.

Is it physically possible that one man who might be illiterate and uninformed should succeed, as the world considers and appreciates success, and another man of high intelligence should fail, as the world considers and appreciates success, when the physical conditions are equal, if the processes of the sub-conscious haven't anything to do with it? It isn't what one wishes and hopes for, or we would all be great and powerful. It is what we think in the sub-conscious self—the mental attitude. "For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he." Very few have thoughts similar to their wishes, only those without imagination.

The man in business, the man in town, the salesman, are all directly affected by this psychological law; they are dealing with it constantly. The mechanic, the laboring man, the farmer, are less directly affected by it. They deal with it indirectly, as it were. Yet all men must face its conditions and mandates; no man can escape it. The mechanic deals with it indirectly because his receipts depend upon certain work accomplished with his hands, regardless of his mental attitude. The way for the mechanic to profit directly from this law is, to do his work well and cheerfully, to give value received. If he gives this way he will receive in the same way and his profits will be in the form of a positive, constructive character, and, there is likely to be in an increase of money remuneration, or promotion. This also applies to the labor-

ing man. I have heard men say that if they had the nail half driven, and the hammer drawn back for a blow, and the whistle should blow *twelve* at that moment, they wouldn't finish the blow, but relax the arm and finish driving the nail after the whistle had blown for *one*. Now it goes without saying that the same man who relaxed the arm to avoid the blow, was not standing there with his arm raised ready for the whistle to sound the moment of renewing the movement. No, he would have to rise slowly, put away his pipe and make numerous and divers movements at the employer's expense before sending that nail home. That is indeed "sticking it to the boss" and there seems to be enjoyment in it. But such individuals seem to be unable to understand that they cannot do such things to the boss without the use of a mental process which, persisted in, brings a like condition to themselves, because, as a man gives in thought so he receives in life, in character. They are only shaving a few *dollars* from the boss whom they have not injured. But they have shaved *character* from themselves, thereby injuring themselves.

I once heard a dialogue on the stage that illustrates this condition. The scene was a room some place in America, where a young Irish artist was painting a picture. As he worked he conversed with an uncle who had just arrived from the "auld sod." The young man was asking about certain friends in the homeland and the uncle was giving him all information as to conditions at home. Finally he asked for a certain gentleman as follows: "How is Tim O'Brien?"

The old uncle, with elbow on knee and smoking a pipe, replied: "He's deat."

"Dead? Why, what happened to him?"

"He was drowned."

"Drowned? Why, I thought he was a good swimmer."

"Indade an he was. He was the foineest swimmer in all Ireland."

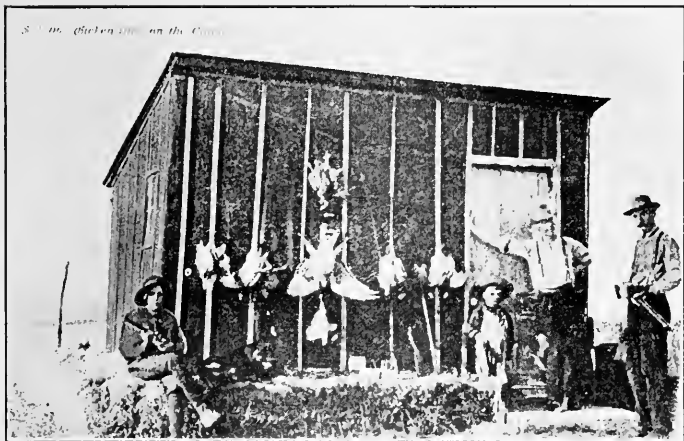
"Then how did he come to drown?"

"He was a union man, the whistle blew and he stopped swimming."

According to this story, Tim O'Brien committed suicide through habit as well as principle. Drowning is a rapid process and only destroys the body. Many are committing suicide by a slower process which has become a habit, a suicide that means destruction to the soul.

The farmer, of all classes of society, is least affected by this law. It doesn't matter much whether the farmer is a positive or negative thinker, because seed sown in the soil will germinate and grow, regardless of a man's mental attitude. The farmer's activity has to do with the soil, and success is brought about by purely physical laws. The people of North Dakota are farmers, many of whom came to Dakota territory in pioneer days. Coming to Dakota territory and taking free homesteads was a process that required mental action. It was an intensely physical process, however, with most of them, because they had gone the limit in their old environments and were grabbing at straws. It was a case of "root, hog, or die," and most of them preferred to root. So they found their way into the new territory and also to free homesteads, pre-emptions and tree claims, a farm of 480 acres of the best land out of doors. True, the pioneer days were strenuous and the vicissitudes many. It was combating these hardships that developed fortitude in the pioneers. But there was a time when many of them would have surrendered to the conditions and left the country and its vicissitudes behind forever, had they been able to get away. Many offered their homes and lands for enough money to transport them back to the old homes, but there were no takers; they were compelled to stay and be game; gameness was forced upon them. The writer knows men personally, who offered their farms for as little as \$150.00, so that they might get back to the homeland, or to some other place. I know of one man who offered a half section of choice land for a two year old calf, but the deal didn't look good to the fellow

S. J. W. (Finley) on the Claim



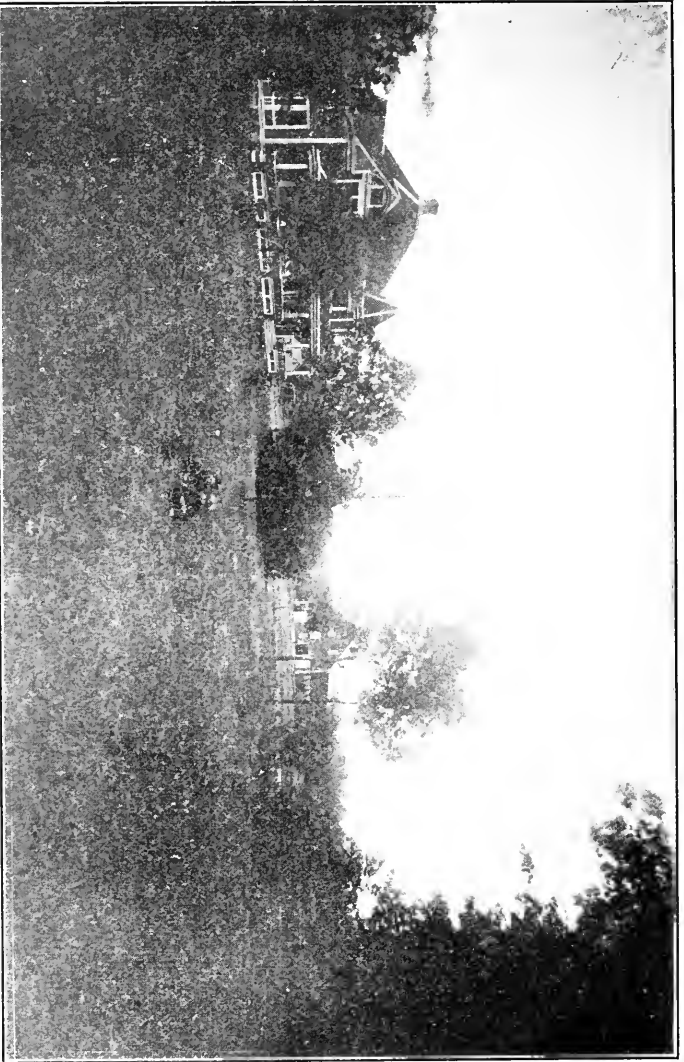
THE TAR-SHAPED SHANTY ON THE CLAIM

During the eighties and early nineties, the prairies of North Dakota were dotted with tar-papered and sod shanties. The above is a picture of a real prairie home. The display of prairie chickens being the only added interest.



FARM HOME OF MR. AND MRS. SIMON SIMONSON, NEAR FINLEY, N. D.

This home is equipped with the Genco Light and Power plant, furnishing electric power for the home work, and light for the buildings and farm yard.



HOME OF MR. AND MRS. IVER THOMPSON, NEAR HATTON, N. D.

who owned the calf. That man is rich today and he is considered a good business man. I don't know whether he is a bolshevik or not.*

I have stated above that it matters little what the mental attitude of the farmer is so far as his material wealth is concerned. It doesn't directly. It doesn't affect the growing crops; not if he does his work well and on time. But it does indirectly and, it will indirectly. The farmer goes about his work of plowing, harrowing and seeding the grain, and it usually grows in this land of plenty. Some plow better, harrow better and reap better crops. Harvest time arrives and the grain must be husbanded promptly when it is ready. Most farmers are prompt, prepared to the minute, and they reap the full value of the harvest which an all wise Creator has bestowed upon them.

They have to do their part. Of course a man can be a good hustler and a good bolshevik at the same time in North Dakota. But there are some farmers whose mentality drags to such an extent that they are never ready and up with their work. They often seed too late when grain might just as well have been seeded in season. Harvest comes, the grain ripens and shells and falls to the ground; their profits are on the ground through their own carelessness. They are always poor and everybody is to blame for their impoverished condition but themselves. These fellows make good bolsheviki as their votes are perfectly prompt and solid. These shiftless people who are never on time work a hardship on the whole community and especially upon the thresher. The shocks of grain in their fields (in some cases) have all the appearances of prosperity, but the thresher finds that a third or more of the grain is on the ground and he drives his

* By the term bolshevik in this book is meant those who through their prejudices against their brother man have cast their votes to bring about the bolsheviki movement in this state whether they believe in the principles of bolshevism, or do not believe in the principles of bolshevism. To differentiate, the qualities and degrees of different individual opinions would not in any degree affect the potency of the votes cast.

machine and crew to the utmost and yet barely makes enough to pay expenses. I have been that thresher. I have moved into as prosperous looking fields as one would expect to see to find my profits on the ground, yet I stayed and threshed it all, because I had contracted to do it. That farmer couldn't continue to farm; he just couldn't keep up with his work. I haven't talked to him of late, but I presume he is a good bolshevik. No doubt he has a good excuse for his inability to make good. The neighbors probably were to blame, or perhaps it was the grain exchange. At any rate big business got him in its foils. While describing the above mentioned farmer, I must say that there are very few like him. He belongs to a small minority. The farmers of North Dakota, as a whole, are highly intelligent, aggressive in their operations and rich in this world's possessions. I am referring to the farmers of the eastern portion of the state where the socialist movement is the strongest. The farmers of the western portion have suffered three successive crop failures along with their brothers in Montana and Saskatchewan. Theirs is an impoverished condition which no system of economics or politics can alleviate. Nature must come to their assistance and produce crops abundantly to restore to them what they have lost through natural causes.

Many farmers are better informed than citizens in the towns because they have more time for reading and thought. They not only have more time, but they have less to distract their attention from constructive thoughts. Their brother down town is not only held to his business day after day the entire year, but when he is off duty there are more opportunities to be engaged, such as a card game, the movies and just standing around and talking. That is the reason it's the boy from the farm who gets to the top. That standing around thought reminds me of a story, a true story. My brother operated a large farm. There was an Irishman on the force. One day in June they were picking mustard and the Irishman stated that he didn't like that kind of work; there was too much

light lifting and heavy standing around. A week later they were stacking hay and it was desperately hot. The Irishman was reminded that conditions had changed since the day on the mustard job. He replied: "Faith and I know it. This isn't the same at all at all, this is too much heavy lifting and loight standing around."

I don't wish to be considered inconsistent. In the first chapter I stated that ignorance was the cause of the unsettled condition in North Dakota. In the paragraph above I stated that the farmers are intelligent. They are intelligent as intelligence goes, but they are only really posted in the rudiments of their own business. They are ignorant of the inner workings and the details of the other fellow's business, of the world business as a whole; that is why they believe the stories told to them month after month, year after year, by a herd of salesmen feeding them poison in the form of taffy, in order to obtain orders for goods, stocks, etc.; and later a herd of agitators who are taking advantage of the mental attitude created by the salesmen, in order to put over "a great experiment in democracy" at the farmers' expense.

North Dakota has no right to be called the "boob state." There is not a state in the Union that will average a higher degree of intelligence than North Dakota. But, no state in the Union posseses a population less diversified in industry. Eighty-five per cent of our people are actual farmers and the remaining fifteen per cent are indirectly farmers. North Dakota is a state of tillers of the soil. It is the realization of this condition, of their power at the polls, that causes the farmers to swell up and, therefore, feel like destroying something. But there are so many of them that they cannot bring about the destruction of the despised fifteen per cent without bringing about their own destrucion. It is well that we are so helplessly under the divine protection of this law of compensation, or woe be unto us.

Because of North Dakota's single industry, it was

the most fertile field in the Union in which to plant the seeds of discontent; there were no conflicting interests to be handled and kept in check; only one brand of poison was required to accomplish the death. You know it is the most difficult task in the world to be a good liar; one has to have such a good memory. Truth requires no memory; it is everlasting. So, in North Dakota there would be less tax on the memory. As only one line of dope was required, there was a good chance to put it over before the collapse arrived, a collapse that is sure to come because theirs is a structure without substance, not founded upon established truths. Theirs is a dream.

When we consider the farmer and compare his experiences with the experiences of the people who live in the towns, we find that he hasn't realized the high cost of living which the world war has forced upon us. For instance: He has a place for his hogs and a pasture in which to care for cattle. He knows nothing about the high price of butter except by the goodly amount of cash he loses by eating it himself; and the same applies to eggs. In the garden the potatoes grow, the beets, the cabbages, parsnips, lettuce, pumpkins, squash, peas, beans, etc. The cost of these edibles is infinitesimal to the farmer, and the effort required for the planting and cultivation is no greater than during pre-war conditions. It is true he pays a big price for his flour, but he receives an equally big price for his wheat. He isn't affected very much by the changed conditions, but he makes a tremendous holler even when the changed conditions are directly in his favor. The holler is camouflage. The changed conditions are greatly in his favor when crops are good. They are ruinous when crops fail. Our western farmers have been most unfortunate during these years of high prices.

The man down town must purchase every morsel of food set upon his board. Very few have small gardens in which a few vegetables are raised. They are obliged to pay the market price for butter, eggs, meats and vegetables; and it is a caution how the

prices of vegetables have gone upward during and since the war. A small bunch of vegetables increase in price, not value, five hundred per cent during the journey through the kitchen of a cafe. The farmers eat their free vegetables at home, while a large portion of our people must pay the price or deprive their systems of proper nourishment.

In proof of the above assertions I will state that only last month, July, I spent the major portion thereof on a Barnes county farm. I might state that I spent my vacation there, for, it was really a vacation, although I worked every day. I painted a house. I had painted long ago on the homestead. I knew how to paint. I had a delightfully cool room, and a delightfully quiet room. There was no need of a fool-killer to destroy the pest that races the motor with the cut-out open under your window at two A. M. I felt so refreshed in the morning that I worked before breakfast. I was not an eight-hour man by any means. I was nearer a sixteen hour man. That is why it seemed a vacation. I wanted to get that house painted, and both the farmer and his good wife say I did a good job. Besides the delightful place to sleep, were the bountiful meals. They just waded through butter, eggs, meats and all kinds of vegetables. That lady knew just how to prepare them, and there was no limit to the supply. I observed that if that farmer and his crew could possibly find an eating place in the towns where they could find eatables in such abundance and partook of the same with such lavishness, they would soon be bankrupt.

In contrast to this condition let me repeat a conversation between a guest at a hotel and a waitress. The guest had been at this hotel for some time. One day lettuce was served. The guest asked if he might have another portion. The waitress soon returned with the second service. The guest asked:

“What is that stuff?”

The waitress stated it was lettuce.

“Lettuce? Where did they get it?”

“Why, from the gardens.”

"Here in North Dakota?"

"Why yes, didn't you ever see lettuce before?"

"No, I never saw any before, I thought they imported it from India."

The waitress "tumbled" by this time and enjoyed the joke.

If there are profiteers, then people in towns are the victims. The farmers kill and use their own meats. The people in town must pay the price. They are surely the victims and no matter how they are victimized they have nothing to sell to offset it, because they are not producers. I am referring to the masses, the workers, whose increase in salaries is not commensurate with the rise in prices. The butchers and merchants are not in this class because higher prices mean greater percentages. It doesn't seem as though the butchers were guided by percentages. The workers in the towns meet the conditions cheerfully and seldom complain; they seem to consider the conditions abnormal and adapt themselves to them with the hope and expectation that time will bring about an adjustment. The mental attitude of the farmers is very different. The only adjustment they expect or will stand for is an adjustment that will be entirely in their favor, one that will compel. Why shouldn't it be in their favor? Aren't they the abused babies? Hasn't everybody been against the farmers since time immemorial? Have not the farmers eighty-five per cent of the votes of the state? Can't they do as they like? Well, what do they like? All the earth and everything that's in it, and, sad to relate, they would enjoy depriving the minority in the towns of substance to sustain life more than they would enjoy the possession thereof.

The following conversation overheard in a farmer's bank illustrates the workings of the mind of the Non-partisan League leaders, I mean our own leaders, the farmers who are leaders and good members:

"Hello Frank."

"Hello Joe."

"I bought a set of harness today and I paid just

twice as much for it as I paid for the same thing seven years ago."

"Well, that is fair enough; consider what they are paying for hides today compared with seven years ago. Consider the wages in the tanneries and factories today compared with seven years ago. Consider what you are getting for your wheat today compared with seven years ago." (In 1912 wheat was worth from sixty to eighty cents a bushel. Today it is \$2.26 guaranteed.)

But Joe walked away unconvinced. He doesn't like that kind of reasoning; it causes confusion of the faculties. He hasn't a mind trained that way. He hasn't created any brain cells for positive thinking, that are capable of receiving positive thoughts. His mind can only receive negative thoughts, destructive thoughts. Joe is a wealthy man; a man rich in this world's goods, yet counting every cent and hanging on for dear life while continually complaining about the unjust conditions under which the farmers are obliged to exist. But his land produces abundantly regardless of his mental state. It is said that Joe is on considerable paper given in behalf of many of the schemes which the Nonpartisan League leaders merged with their organization. If this is true, then he will have to deal with this psychic law directly; it will not be indirectly in his case.

The last legislature plunged North Dakota into a system of socialism. While the program didn't go all the way, as in Russia, it did go as far as was expedient, and, a little farther; far enough to bring about an early reaction. But the process has started and its effect will be similar to the burning coal mine out in the Bad Lands; it will go on and on eating its way into the vitals of the state and it will be impossible to extinguish it without serious loss materially. The material loss will no doubt be balanced by spiritual gain, for, when the farmers finally realize the situation they will feel like saying, "Lord, what fools these [we] mortals be," and there will be a desire to return unto the Lord. The different laws enacted

were formulated by non-citizens. The people who builded up the state had no definite part in the proceedings. It is true they had a voice in both houses of the legislature but it was only a voice that resounded against the walls and ceilings. Great professors with long heads and faces, possessing the materialistic equipment to write wonderful deductions proving the wonderful benefits to be derived, were the rulers, and yet, these same professors probably were never out of a school room in their lives. Many of them graduated out of the school room into the school room and have been dealing with children ever since; therefore, they remain children in experience, and yet they have the egotism to think that they are the moulders of public thought and opinion, world leaders. Well, follow them in practical affairs and you will soon find yourselves in a state of chaos. Ralph Parlette in his lecture, "The University of Hard Knocks" says: "Egotism is the opiate that Nature administers to deaden the pains of mediocrity." Mark Twain's advice was "Do not allow your boy's schooling to interfere with his education."

In the first chapter of this book (written in 1918) I stated that the farmers were being treated like spoiled children; that people were afraid of them; that they were being fed with baby talk; that they were being administered soothing syrup which didn't soothe any more. In the above paragraph I have referred to professors who have been graduated out of the school room into the school room and who deal with children all their lives and who therefore remain children in experience. To prove that I was not alone in this idea of the childishness of it all, I will quote from an article in the Saturday Evening Post of May 3rd, 1919, entitled, "Naughty Boys," by Harry Leon Wilson, as follows:

"Have you a little Bolshevik in your home? Long, long ago I knew a nice old home that had one, and I was it. And no wonder! For the capitalist bourgeoisie had me ground down something cruel. Slave labor in a garden and at a woodpile to crush my proud

spirit; debasing toil compelled at times even on a Saturday! And foul imprisonment—close confinement five days a week in a red brick penal institution under brutal keepers! Life was black with despair.

“Yet, I didn’t finally go over to the Reds until I had applied the devices of revealed religion and proved them impotent. Did I not for one week on chilled and bony knees pray nightly that my red brick prison would burn down on the following Monday morning precisely at nine o’clock? And could I longer believe in a designed Universe when nothing sweet and fitting happened on the appointed day? Even by ten o’clock I knew no help would come from above. And so with Slavic bitterness I flung faith to the winds and went, as that dear Nietzsche has it, beyond good and evil. I saw I should have to take direct action if that prison house was to burn proper.

“So in spirit at least I applied the helpful torch with my own hands on a score of horrible Monday mornings, desisting only when another submerged victim of the ruling classes suggested that even if the old thing did burn they probably wouldn’t stop school; probably they’d hold it in the vestry of the Methodist Church or some place.

“But my career as an incendiary revolutionist was not ended. There was the lesser prison that confined me of nights and far too much out of school hours. Again and again I dramatized its sweet destruction by fire, with a glorious loss of life to the oppressive bourgeoisie. And why not? Wasn’t I being kept down and exploited? Wasn’t there a vast field of potatoes to hoe, potatoes insanely planted over too much of God’s green earth? Wasn’t there endless wood to be split and borne to the remote kitchen by the most degrading use of human muscles—a being with a birth-right of freedom bending forever under mere stove wood? And could I go decently out West and slay the red man and be trapper, scout and guide in a coonskin cap and a fringed buckskin business or lounge suit as worn by Kit Carson, who had set the mode for certain snappy dressers in that day? I could

not—even though I had a dandy air rifle and the boundless steppes of the West lay just beyond an adjacent cornfield.

“No, indeed! I must do those debasing chores every night, and must report at that red brick prison to learn dates when things happened, and to write a good business hand and how to bound Iowa and what is a participle—I don’t know yet—and the distressing complications bound to ensue if a gentleman sent his servant to buy seven and five-eighths yards of fine broadcloth at six and three-quarters shillings a yard. And if I treated as a mere scrap of paper the order to have the garden weeded by night-fall was I hailed as a patriot and a liberator and a champion of the masses? I was not. It was quite simply and horribly otherwise. A large hairy bourgeoisie hand impelled me to the woodshed and treated me rough. That was nothing to cheer about.

“Yes; I nearly burned the schoolhouse and the home that sheltered me. Nearly! But somehow the vengeance of an irritated heaven never did actually blast my hateful environment. I devoutly wished to peel the rind off organized society, but something restrained me. I hate to tell what it was, but I might as well. It was a wide and richly gleaming streak of chemically pure yellow that extended clean through me and out on each side till it touched those garments worn next the hide. Of course I didn’t call it that. I merely reasoned about it like a grown man. I could burn the school house, but the principal of that school was a perfect devil for finding things out, and in his torture chamber he highly favored an old oaken seat slat. And I could fire the home, but maybe that male bourgeoisie, surviving in spite of flames and air gun, would lead me by one ear to the smoking ruins of a once competent woodshed and do something really fancy to me. And I saw no reason why the world should be made more hellish than it was. So I struggled on amid those dreadful social and industrial conditions.

“I didn’t know it then, but what I should have done was to start one of those radical little papers, some-

thing called—The New Dawn, or—Liberty, or—The Toiling Masses. For I was a natural leader and too good to do the rough stuff that might have been found out on me. I could have told the others how to do that, those others that were just plain serfs without a vestige of the genius for leadership. And if I had finally worked the soldiers and sailors committee of that soviet up to some bit of direct action and the bourgeoisie had unreasonably blamed me for it, couldn't I have crawled gracefully by saying I hadn't meant anything of the sort, except in a purely academic way? And the jury would have had to disagree, at the very least."

I must not print the whole story, for it belongs to the Saturday Evening Post, and it is long enough to make a booklet in itself, but it is so true to life, so true in its application to existing conditions, not only in Russia, but in North Dakota, that I cannot resist the temptation to use another paragraph, with apologies to the Post and to Mr. Wilson.

"But they are older boys than I was; physically older. If the conditions under which I lived had forever kept me a boy, no matter what my years and physical strength, there would eventually have been some real fires and slaughterings and lootings in my town, because you can't keep a boy's mind in a man's body and not have trouble. That is the kind of trouble Russia is having. Under conditions that actually were the evil conditions I thought I endured, the Russian boy had to stay a boy in mind. Then suddenly he found himself a man in strength with a boy's lively imagination. I am not surprised at what was done in Russia. I am not sure he has done even so many charming things in the way of violence as I could have thought of if I had stayed a boy of twelve and grown up with him in body. I think he has been pretty decently moderate considering the faults of his upbringing. Also I am heartily in sympathy with him in all his deeds of murder and burglary and his childish game with the press that prints money. He is having a good time but he has earned it. And I heartily

wish he would hurry and kill off every one that it's any fun to kill, including himself. He is doing it rapidly; and now famine and disease are helping, for there has happened to him what would have happened to me in my ideal world—he has consumed the stocks of candy and ice cream, and there is no one who will make any more, for all are free.”

Rudyard Kipling gives expression to the same idea as, *Half Devil and Half Child*.

Many of our people will be indignant at this insinuation, but we will only need to wait a few years when they will have ample opportunity to look back at their childishness. They may then satisfy themselves as to whether the childishness was innocent or devilish.

In reading the press of the day, one can almost daily find articles pertaining to this subject. The following is from the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

“Just what have we learned as the lesson of the great war? Some think it is the futility of plans for the conquest of humanity; others that warfare is a costly business in which even the winner loses. But if these were the real lessons, the world would have learned them many centuries ago. No, the asset emerging from all the piling up liabilities of the big conflict is not the brutality of bloodshed, but the simple economic truth that if you do not work you cannot eat.

“That was a truism in the days of Moses, but this dull old world has often to go through some very bitter experiences rediscovering the truth of the ten commandments. It took the former Kaiser more than forty years to learn that there was something more than a request behind the injunction, “Thou shalt not kill.” And it has taken Russia more than a year and a half to grasp the fact that you can steal only until there is no more to steal, and that the more you steal the less men will produce.

“Never before in the history of man was there such a demonstration of the utter ineptitude of anarchy as that which has been furnished in the case of Russia.

The world now sees as plain as plain can be that anarchy cannot feed itself. It is of the essence of parasitism and preys upon the very prosperity it affects to despise. Some one must have produced something before the anarchist could begin to operate, and he must have produced it under conditions the reverse of those advocated by Lenine and Trotzky.

"It may be unfortunate, but it is true that we cannot live unless we work, and as anarchy is opposed to working it must fail. The Bolsheviki have collapsed because there was no longer sufficient private enterprise and the fruits thereof to keep them in food and clothing."

Some North Dakotans will ask, what has Bolshevism in Russia to do with us? We are not Bolsheviks or Socialists! Quite true. They worked too long and endured too much to believe in playing fifty-fifty with the millions who have put forth no effort. But in their blindness; in their determination to crush all opposition to special privileges for themselves, they unitedly support a bunch of socialists who have gone as far toward Bolshevism as they dared, and a little farther than was expedient. Our people couldn't have done themselves more harm had they been real simon pure Bolsheviki, because their votes wouldn't have been any more potent. They deny that the movement is socialistic, yet vote for men to represent them in the legislature who stand on the floor of our legislative halls and say inconversation, "To hell with the Constitution." If that isn't anarchistic, then the author of the remark and those who support him in it are woefully ignorant. Which is it? The people are organized into a society for self protection and self aggrandizement. The leaders preach special privilege, condemning it in big business, but recommending it as an excellent concoction for the farmer. The farmers resent it maliciously when they listen to stories about big busines monsters being supported by it; but they believe in its efficacy as a highly ethical procedure if they are to be the recipients. This condition of inconsistency of the human mind; or, if you

please, this condition of inconsistency of the farmers' thinking, is not only a demonstration of extreme selfishness, but it verifies the accuracy of the old axiom, "He that is the greatest sticker for justice is the most unjust of all."

An amusing state of affairs follows: The farmers are organized, which means, the buyers are organized. The salesmen, Nonpartisan League organizers, come in twos and threes. When they arrive on the farmer's premises they constitute one happy family. They laugh at the helplessness of big business, give it the necessary amount of abuse and then tell of their wonderful scheme for making some money; money that nobody but Nonpartisans can have a look at. Then they ask, "Which do you prefer to sign, an individual or a joint note?" It being all in the family the farmer usually signs. But recently some are beginning to wake up and refuse to sign. It isn't as easy as it used to be. Many will learn that a joint note if signed by five men, will be five times bigger than an individual note and five times as dangerous.

It is passing strange that such implicit faith and trust should be placed in men who until recently were quite unknown, many of whom have been in the state but a few years and some of whom are non-citizens and non-residents, and that our own established, reliable and responsible citizens are discredited as being wolves in sheep's clothing, whose sole object in life is to suck the life blood (money) from the farmer. As stated in the Foreword, the two first chapters of this book were published in 1918. Several thousand copies were sent out in pamphlet form. The writer received many letters commenting upon the merits and demerits of the contents. One farmer expressed himself as follows:

"You say we should follow the Nazarene. The Nazarene was on the side of the common people and was crucified by upper classes, property owners, priests and their followers. But his propaganda will live forever like A. C. Townley's."

This gentleman refers to property owners in the

above. I haven't taken the trouble to ascertain how many sections he owns. Rather inconsistent when one considers that almost all wealth in North Dakota is owned by farmers.

A letter enclosed with the pamphlet stated it was educational. A gentleman referred to it as follows:

"You say it is educational. We don't want that kind of education."

This man was the most consistent of any that made deprecatory comments. He honestly admits that he would rather listen to a man, or bunch of men, who disregard all laws of cause and effect; who recognize no God, no law of creation, but who through their narrow egotism have the conceit to think they can make laws that will outdo God's laws. A lady went the men one better and returned the pamphlet to me and commented as follows:

"Keep this big business pamphlet yourself. Up here in North Dakota we are satisfied to get along without big business any more. Thank goodness we have drove them out. And as to being so low down to put and use God's name in a pamphlet like this I would be disgraced. The Lord seeth your evil mind. May the Lord teacheth you to the good is my only wish."

The above is a sample of the sincerity of the people. This dear lady, bless her heart, has the very best wishes one could have for the writer and I am grateful to her; she is positive she is walking in the way of the Lord. So are the inmates of an insane asylum positive in their opinions. Another farmer writes:

"I have just finished reading that pamphlet sent to me some time ago. It sure makes one think. I for one have learned to think and see that there is more than one side to this political question which was before us and was voted on at the last election.

"Your pamphlet was worth its weight in gold to me and I would wish that every man and woman in this state could have the chance to read it, and follow its good example of thinking for themselves."

The above quotations express the opinions of four people. You will note that one gentleman differs in

opinion from the others. I submit them to prove that I realize these different states of mind, and also to prove that when I use the term—farmer—I do not mean any particular farmer, or every farmer, but the farmers as a whole, the majority. While there are thousands of farmers who have nothing but the very best wishes for their neighbors in the towns, it is shocking indeed, when one realizes the smallness of that minority.

There is considerable speculation as to what the result might be if the women could vote the entire state ticket. There are many people who give credit to the women for the election of the present State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The writer does not concur in that opinion. I will mention a few incidents that have a bearing on the situation in that respect. At a meeting of a Ladies' Aid Society in a rural community, at which almost all the ladies of the community were present, one lady stated in all sincerity, "When the Nonpartisan League program gets going in full sway, we won't have to work any more." That seemed to be the opinion of all present as there were no dissenting voices.

In another county a Ladies' Auxiliary of the Nonpartisan League met one afternoon where a friend of the writer was present as a visitor. The topic under discussion that day was the advisability of presenting Mrs. Townley with a party gown. It was the unanimous opinion of the ladies present that Mrs. Townley, being the first lady of the State, held a position which demanded that she appear suitably gowned. Inasmuch as her husband had but recently received a discharge in bankruptcy, it followed that he would be unable to properly furnish her with gowns suitable to enable her to appear as her position demanded. A tax of one dollar each was levied for the above mentioned purpose, and was cheerfully subscribed.

A woman nearly always objects to renewing a mortgage. It usually requires the combined efforts of the husband and the mortgagee, or agent, for several hours to persuade a woman to renew an obligation



THE NOLTIMIER SCHOOL, BARNES COUNTY,
A type of North Dakota's consolidated rural schools.



WHEAT IN THE SHOCK, A BARNES COUNTY SCENE.

which they are unable to pay. A woman will sign when making a loan, but will stubbornly object to giving a renewal even when it is impossible to pay. No psychologist has yet been able to explain why women nearly always take this inconsistent position. One day last winter, in one of the western counties, where drouth had caused very light crops, a banker and a farmer spent several hours persuading a woman that she must sign a renewal of a mortgage which they were unable to pay; that she was not assuming any additional indebtedness; that it was a matter of business; that the mortgagee was quite willing to extend the credit, etc. Finally she signed. Then her husband stated: "Well, this is the last time we will have to renew it. The Nonpartisan League program is in force now, when it becomes due again we will be able to pay it." The wife turned on him and remarked, "Yes, the Nonpartisan League program is in force now. I would like to know how the Nonpartisan League program is going to make it rain. You and your Nonpartisan League bunch ought to be in Leavenworth. The whole bunch of you are a pack of socialists and anarchists." You will readily see that one woman in North Dakota has a mind of her own; a mind that works constructively.

Out of the incidents mentioned above we find two companies of ladies dwelling in comparative luxury in the wealthy portion of the State, all solid supporters of the League, even to supplementing the gifts of money by the men with gifts of wearing apparel. We find one woman living in the dry belt of the past two seasons, struggling with difficulties, who condemned the League. As it is with men, so it seems to be with women. Those possessed of the most comforts in life, the most material wealth, are the most dissatisfied, or, shall we say, the most selfish.

The above incidents take into consideration the women living on the farms. The women living in the cities and towns would be just as solidly opposed to the League. It is difficult indeed to form any opinion as to what influence the women's votes will have in a general election in this State.

My statements have not been far fetched. On the evening of July 14th, 1915, I first learned of the organization later known as the Nonpartisan League. It was not named as such that evening. I was one of a company that evening that met for business purposes. All were prosperous farmers except the writer. I heard a conversation that evening that was dumbfounding. I heard the entire plan discussed. I believe that the plans and ideas which I heard suggested that evening far exceeded any plan that has later been submitted by the socialistic leaders. The movement later known as the Nonpartisan League was then in its infancy; just starting in a little room in my own town, a room without signs on either doors or windows, a kind of mysterious start, but it certainly had a following in the group of farmers gathered about me the evening mentioned, a following that would lead. I was so surprised that I lost all consciousness of my external appearance, which must have reflected my mental processes at the moment because I was brought out of it by a statement directed at me by a close friend, as follows: "You may smile, Jimmie, but it is coming." I looked at him. He set his lips firmly, nodded his head at me and repeated, "It's coming." The entire conversation was a revelation to me, and the statement directed at me was unexpected, but I replied exactly as follows:

"I don't know what you fellows are talking about. But if what you are talking about is coming, I hope I get mine and make my getaway before it arrives. The first thing you fellows will do will be to throw the great seal of the state of North Dakota into the Missouri river; it will be, to hell with the judiciary, and there will be no law. There was a time when guns were law in this country, and gun law is better than no law for no law is anarchy. You fellows are talking anarchy."

The above statement was impulsive, without a moment's preparation, but it carried a prophesy. The Supreme Court elected in 1916, brought an action to oust the retiring court December 1st, so anxious

were they to get their court into action that they didn't propose to wait until December 31st when the old court would be retired by expiration. I mention this conversation of 1915, to prove that my statements of the farmer's mental attitude toward all business except his own are founded upon exact conditions, and the farmers know it is true.

Since the farmers have developed a disposition to destroy all business except their own and therefore punish their fellow man for the crime of living and doing his bit to make up a complete and successful community, it becomes necessary that they must follow something. A good way to make a man follow is to make him think he is leading. It has worked admirably in this state. Let us consider what they are following:

The socialist party in national convention in St. Louis, after we were in the war, after it had become *our* war, passed the following, *which has since been ratified by a referendum vote of the whole party*:

"The Socialist Party in the United States in the present grave crisis, *solemnly* reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and the working class solidarity the world over, and *proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the Government of the United States.*

"The forces of capitalism which have led to the war in Europe are even more hideously transparent in the war recently provoked by the ruling classes in this country.

"*The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified, even on the plea that it is a war of defense of American rights and American honor. Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine policy of the German government was, and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people, as such, but only the interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin cold profits out of the blood and suffering of our fellowmen in the warring countries of Europe.*

"It is not a war for democracy.

"We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world."

"In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage. No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalist class is forcing upon this nation at its will."

The above doesn't need any comments. The inconsistency of their position lies in their proclamations about the "brotherhood of man," etc. Their interpretations of the policy of "self determination of peoples" is that one people may determine to stay at home and live happily unto themselves, excepting, of course, the natural commercial relations with their neighbors in a brotherly way. Another people may determine to kid themselves into the belief that they are supermen destined to conquer the world. (I know whereof I speak. I speak advisedly. World—and that means us.) Any people that deliberately determines such a diabolical scheme and spends years thinking along such lines are led by that very thinking to hate other peoples. The longer they delay putting such determination into action the greater their hatred will be and the more ferocious they become. It is always the man who gets mad who is to blame. These people who framed the above resolutions and their constituency that supported them, use "Comrade" as their salutation, and, brotherhood of man as their stock in trade, yet they would see millions of their comrades totally destroyed regardless of ethical considerations. In slang language, the vernacular of the day, these people would be designated as "white livered". We will now consider a man they are following:

Excerpts from Mr. A. C. Townley's Buffalo Lake speech, Sargent county, North Dakota, July 8th, 1917:

"We have been dragged into war by the American Autocracy; dragged into a war we did not want and we are told it is a war to liberate the people from the control of Autocracy.

"We are about to send millions of our young men

to Europe to fight the German Autocracy, while the big-bellied, red-necked American plutocrats, ten times worse than the German Autocrats, coin the blood of our young men into profits for themselves.

"We are about to send our soldiers over to fight the German Autocracy, who charge their people \$8.50 per barrel for flour. We are sending them to fight for the American Autocracy, who charge the American people \$17.00 per barrel for flour."

"You are about to have these young fellows drafted into the Army, and they will be sent over to Europe to fight. They will have their legs shot off, their arms shot off, their chests ripped open, their eyes torn out, and as they lay there in No Man's Land, at night, human reptiles will crawl over them, go through their pockets and steal their little trinkets and souvenirs. Their carcasses will become carrion for the vultures and the worms and the reptiles of the earth, while the human reptiles, the big-bellied, red-necked American plutocrats continue to obtain their extortionate profits of \$4,000,000,000 per year while loudly shouting that this is a war for liberty and democracy.

"Who started this war? I will tell you who started this war. It was the big-bellied, red-necked plutocrats. And I will tell you how to stop this war. Place the big-bellied, red-necked plutocrats in the line of battle. Their big bellies will stop more bullets than the bodies of our slim young men, whom they are taking from their families. But this is not the reason why the war would stop. It is because they would not stand for being targets of German bullets. These big-bellied, red-necked plutocrats would take care of their precious bodies by seeing that the United States' participation in this war was brought to a close." (Ten witnesses signed statements as to the authenticity of the above.)

It is dumbfounding and blood-curdling to hear the audiences applaud such speeches. But they do and uproariously. I don't know the price of flour in Germany, but one doesn't have to know. If Mr. Townley had said \$6.00 per barrel it would have answered the

purpose just as well, for there would have been no questions asked. He carefully avoids mentioning the price of wheat in Germany. He referred to the \$4,000,000,000 profits of the American plutocrats. Supposing that his figures are right; it is only natural. The world always had its business centers and big business. Thebes thrived in Egypt during Joseph's time. Jerusalem was the seat of big things for the Jewish people. Babylon had its day. Tyre was the center for the Phoenicians. Carthage did the big business for northern Africa. Athens was the business center for Greece and the educational center of the world. Rome not only became the big business center of Italy, but a world center. Then came the numerous centers according to their geographical location. In more modern time Paris became the Mecca of France. London became the great center of England. In America Boston had the start in point of years and Boston maintains its lead in ethical standards, literature and art. The spirit of the Pilgrims still lives in part at least; theirs was not a dollar-and-cents intelligence; dollars and cents had a secondary consideration. But the Dutch under Peter Stuyvesant, forged ahead at New Amsterdam, and thus New York became the great business center of the United States. It is evident these business centers are necessary if past experiences and history constitute any authority. Mr. Townley would have Sentinel Butte, on the west edge of the Bad Lands, a business center in North Dakota, regardless of geographical or commercial conditions. By his theory, granting that it was right to wage war against Germany, the United States War Department committed a colossal blunder in disembarking troops, munitions and supplies at Brest or Bordeaux. They should have sailed those ships until they reached the Marne river, because that is where the army and its equipment was needed. Just visualize the enormous amount of money wasted in transferring troops, supplies, etc., from Brest to the Marne, money that belonged to the common people.

Money always finds its way to these centers, but it always finds its way back again. Of course it is utterly impossible for each of the many spokes in this business wheel to handle as much money as must needs be in the center.

In 1918, \$200,000,000.00 found its way into North Dakota. As only the east half of the state had a crop that year, this large sum was distributed to the plutocrats of the eastern part of the state. Who are the plutocrats? The farmers, the property owners, the people of North Dakota. Doesn't it appear that the farmers of North Dakota are a part of this great scheme themselves; that the \$200,000,000.00 they received has a close relationship to Mr. Townley's \$4,000,000,000.00? But this is a horse of another color and is seldom noticed by self-centered people. It isn't painted bright red by the agitators. If people would learn to see from the other fellow's point of view, as well as from their own selfish point of view, there would be more fairness in the world and a more equal distribution of wealth. The writer speaks advisedly here also. My failing has been always, to put myself into the other fellow's place, consequently I haven't any money that belongs to anybody else. I never took bad money, and my supply of good money is negligible.

I will ask you my dear reader, if you, during the entire time of the war and since hostilities ceased, while you read of and thought of the many horrors of war, the terrible suffering of the wounded, the hardships to be endured by the troops, the diseases that in the past always have accompanied war, the destruction of property and homes and the starvation of many peoples, the awful mutilation of the innocents, which was brought to our attention, did you, dear reader, while contemplating these things, ever think of No Man's Land at night, and the dead lying out there while human reptiles crawled over them and took away their trinkets and souvenirs? Did you? No, I don't think you did! It is only people who would do such things who have such thoughts. It is in keeping

with psychological law that people judge people by themselves, or from their own standards. The only possible way for thoughts to form in one's mind, thoughts that are not suggested by others, is to receive them from one's own sub-consciousness, or from one's inner self, from one's character. Therefore, only thoughts pertaining to one's sub-consciousness, to one's principles, to one's character, suggest themselves to the conscious mind. It is the inner self, the sub-conscious that makes suggestions to the conscious mind, and your character is such that no such thoughts as robbing the dead ever entered your mind; you couldn't conceive of such a thing.

I will also ask you, dear reader, if you, during the entire time of the war, or since, ever thought of the bodies of the soldiers becoming carrion for the vultures and the worms and the reptiles of the earth? Did you? No, I don't think you did. Your thoughts of the dead transcend the physical. It is true we find comfort in giving the bodies of our deceased relatives a decent burial and the maintenance of beautiful cemeteries gives us a sense of contentment, as it offers a means of prolonging a reverence toward those who have passed on. We are soothed and sustained by an unflinching trust that death only means a greater life and we live to that end. The beautiful respect shown in the cities of the dead is a formality of decency. We are pleased to continue this formality even though we know that it matters not whether the ocean be the grave, or the willow shades the grave, or whether the body is obliterated by a bursting shell. The materialist doesn't possess this faith. Therefore, when he thinks of death he sees worms.

I stated several pages back that the farmer's mental attitude doesn't affect his prosperity; that he prospers if he does his physical labor well and promptly; that crops will grow regardless of mental attitudes. Yet the doing of his physical labor depends upon his mental attitude. But, the farmer may have an active liver which enables him to do wonders on his farm; yet he may do it with bitterness of soul. This is why

I have said he will be affected indirectly. As sure as there is an existence to all things the effect will come. How will it come? The way it came in Russia! The way it came in Germany! "Whosoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Did not the Russians think up hatred of the plutocrats for generations, yes, centuries? I am not saying they didn't have a grievance. But how much did we Americans know about the Russian mind? It was easy to criticise and censure from afar. Perhaps if we had been possessed of the information which the Czar Nicholas possessed, we might have been glad to say, Keep your job, "Nicky," you are doing well. Yet even though he might have been doing well, there was a great seething mass of mental confusion swarming from St. Petersburg to Kamchatka. Everybody against the government with hearts filled with hatred and confusion. As a whole they were illiterate and uninformed, not only in the science of government, but in all things. They were herded into meetings, held in obscure places and lectured by Nihilists. Being uninformed, therefore easily persuaded, they were ready to destroy the government and all men of action. Of course these wonderful saviours, who headed these meetings and told them how to destroy, collected a few rubles from each, and, why shouldn't they? Didn't they tell the people all they knew? Perhaps it would be more explicit to say, all they cared to know. Were not these leaders going to bring them the earth and everything that's in it? Russia received as she gave in thought and it will require a new generation of people to bring about regeneration of soul.

Did not Germany for nearly two generations hold in mind the thought that she was destined by Almighty God to conquer all other peoples? It certainly seemed that way. Back in 1898 Capt. Coughlin, of the United States Navy, was eye-witness to a little incident that occurred in Manila Bay. Later he was United States Naval Attache to the German Navy, and witnessed the German Naval manoeuvres at Kiel. There he saw much pomp and majesty exhibited. He

heard the Kaiser preach, and he became impressed with the mental attitude of the German government and people, royalty at least, and he put his impressions into verse at that time, 1901, in a poem entitled "Hoch! Der Kaiser," as follows:

HOCH! DER KAISER.

Der Kaiser of dis Vaterland
 Und Gott on high, all dings commant.
 Ve two, Ach! Don'd you understant?
 Me, und Gott!
 Some beobles sing der bower divine,
 Mine soldiers sing die Wacht am Rhine,
 Und drink der health in a Rhinish vine
 Of me, und Gott!
 Ders France, she swaggers all aroud,
 She's ausgespielt!
 To much me dinks she don'd amound.
 Me, und Gott!
 Me dinks she don'd vant to fight again,
 But if she should, I'll show her blain
 Dot Alsace and (in French) Loraine
 Are mine, Py Gott!
 Ders Grand Ma, she dinks she's nicht small beer,
 Mit boors and such she interferes,
 She'll learn none owns dis hemispheres
 But Me, und Gott!
 She dinks good frou, some ships she's got,
 Und soldiers mit der scarlet coat,
 Ach! Ve could knock dem, Puff! Like dot.
 Me, und Gott!
 In times of beace brebare for war!
 I hold the spear and helm of Mars,
 Und care not for den dousand Czars,
 Me, und Gott!
 I always caper to every whim
 Mit aspect dark and visage grim.
 Gott pulls mit me, and me mit him.
 Me, und Gott!
 It is easy to see that Capt. Coughlin's mind caught

the impression of what was in the German mind, as his verses were prophetic. Germany planned for years with materialistic minds the undoing of other peoples. She planned it so enthusiastically that she grew single minded and lost the ability, faculty, of being capable of considering what the other peoples might do; she lost absolutely the power to understand other peoples; she couldn't possibly put herself into the other peoples' place and see a proposition from their point of view. She put the thought into action, and the pit she prepared for others she fell into herself. The Creator's law cannot be avoided, it is immutable and exact!

North Dakota is planning on destroying big business, all business but the farmer. The state has enacted legislation that authorizes state-owned utilities. \$17,000,000.00 in bonds have been authorized for this purpose. The farmers think these state-owned utilities will be an injury to private business of a similar nature, and they hope it will destroy all such, and, as they are not in that business themselves (privately) they will not be injured, and, therefore, they will be sure to gain when the other fellow loses; and, great is the joy when the other fellow loses! A year ago I referred to the packing plant at Fargo. Well, it is still slipping. Its original capitalization was \$500,000. It has been increased to \$2,500,000.00. Suppose the new state-owned utilities increase in capitalization in proportion to the packing plant, and suppose they drag along into the years like the packing plant, won't there be some slipping of the multiplication table? Suppose there are no bond buyers. If there should not be, then there is the \$62,000,000.00 school fund to convert into state bonds. If the state-owned utilities act like the packing plant, in that case it would be—Good-bye school fund! Who will lose? The people of North Dakota! Who are the people of North Dakota? Eighty-five per cent directly farmers. How will they lose? By paying taxes! Who pays taxes? Property owners. Who owns the property? The farmers. Who will lose? The farmers!

The idea that big business will lose in other states is preposterous! So-called big business doesn't own property in this state. Chicago, New York, St. Paul and Minneapolis, will not lose, because their taxes are paid in the states in which they are located. The world will continue to progress; business will increase in such volume that trade will always be found increasing. North Dakota will not be missed a great deal when the increase in business caused by natural development is considered. There is nobody who can possibly lose but the people who own the wealth of North Dakota.

It is thus that the world discovered by Descartes is revealed to us, whether we ever heard of it or not. It is thus that the law of compensation is exact in its application to practical affairs. It is thus that "Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein: and he that rolleth a stone, it will return upon him."

CHAPTER V.

If drunk with sight of power we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boasting as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the law,
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget! Lest we forget!

—Kipling

Much has been written during the last decade upon the processes of the human mind. It has required years of study and investigation to arrive at the conclusions accepted at the present time. We have been witnesses to many efforts in this direction. All were struggling in the one direction: to learn the truth. Out of it all has come a science which indeed might be called Christian Science, because it is a practical revelation of the doctrine of the Nazarene. But, there isn't any need of organizing another secret society for the purpose of enjoying and propagating the long lost knowledge. It belongs to everybody. Every living soul is associated with it, whether he be priest, minister, statesman, or the proprietor of an opium joint in the slums of a great city; whether his faith is placed in the meek and lowly Nazarene or in the philosophy of Confucius; or even if one's faith has no higher pedestal than his own egotistic self. There is no avoiding it.

The Nazarene taught according to the usages of the age in which he appeared, and he spoke in terse parables. Why should not the peoples of the twentieth century strive to understand him as well as the peoples of the generation in which he lived? Why should present day peoples be obliged to accept interpretations made by man centuries ago? It is by exercise that the mentality grows; therefore, if we calmly accept the stereotyped man-made interpretations we do not exercise our faculties of reasoning along these

lines and consequently fail to make any progress in solving the greatest of all problems, a problem which has ever confronted the world.

There is no standing still in this world. We are either going forward or we are going backward. That was decreed by the Creator of all things, and His laws are immutable. Then why shouldn't we make efforts to progress in understanding, in this mightiest of all questions? The world has progressed materially. It has progressed in leaps and bounds until mankind is at a loss to know what to do with the blessings. The material blessings have been piled up in unholy heaps until confusion exists in the minds of the people to know how to manage them. Having quite forgotten, or rather having failed to make equal progress in the interpretation of this great fundamental law which governs all things, the people are attempting to supply a law of their own, or a multitude of laws of their own; laws formulated by a dollar-and-cents intelligence, which is a very superficial intelligence. It is becoming too great a problem for mankind to solve with such a superficial intelligence; an intelligence of the surface of things, an intelligence without God!

I am going to attempt to make plain in a single paragraph what has required years to comprehend and assimilate by following the different schools of thought as they struggled to learn the truth. Truth? It is said that truth lies at the bottom of a well. At any rate, truth cannot be found without digging for it.

Man's mind is more than his conscious understanding! Man begins as an infant and builds up his understanding. He possesses an unconscious intelligence that controls the vital functions of the body. This unconscious intelligence, known scientifically as the "sub-conscious" intelligence, is also a receptacle of facts. It is also a receptacle of lies. It is a reservoir, a storehouse where every atom of thought is laid away for safe-keeping and future use. Therefore, as the individual grows through the years, every thought is stored away carefully in his sub-consciousness. If the individual makes great effort and struggles to attain

certain benefits, the thought used in the struggle is carefully laid away for safe-keeping and future use. If the individual does not make any effort to attain any benefits, his thought, be it ever so weak and negative during the years of drifting listlessly, is carefully laid away for safe-keeping and future use. And he cannot use any more! There is a mighty good reason why he cannot use any more. It is because "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." The more facts, the more truth, the more knowledge a man stores away while guiding his thinking through the years, the greater fund will he have to draw upon, as he wishes to use his knowledge in the affairs of life. The more falsehoods, the more idleness, the more hatefulness, the more devilishness a man stores away while failing to guide his thinking through the years, the more miserable will be his life and the more disturbance will he be fitted to raise. If a man didn't have a place to store away all the things he knows, and all the knowledge he might possess were constantly before his vision and in his mind, his position in this world would be quite hopeless. But, fortunately, man had nothing to do with the arrangement of the mechanism of his own mentality, therefore, he isn't bothered with all he knows pestering him continually. It is arranged for him so that he can reach in, as it were, and use what portions he may have immediate need for, and when he is through using it, it slips back into its file or pigeon hole in the mental store-house, ready to come forth again at the call of the conscious mind. But he cannot use what he failed to put there by his own conscious efforts! Some writers have named the contents of man's mental store-house, "Potential Energy!" Different men have supplied themselves with different quantities and different qualities of potential energy.

What class of potential energy have you supplied yourself with? You may strut around and feel like "some pumpkins" because you possess a little money, but you are not one whit bigger than your thoughts have been. And you cannot be bigger unless you get

busy and strive to change your habitual method of thinking. When you decide to do that, you will find it to be an awful task. Why? Because you are just what your previous thoughts have made you. You, by your own conscious efforts have builded up a sub-consciousness (personality) and this sub-consciousness holds you in its power. You think your conscious mind is boss. Well, it isn't! You are controlled by your inner self; the thing you made yourself. So it is that man is a rational being with power for good and evil. Each individual is at liberty to work out his own salvation. You can work it out. You can change your personality. But very few have builded sufficient courage and persistency into their sub-consciousness to enable them to do it.

To get away from the mental attitude formed in one's youth, or during one's past life, and, to find one's self possessed of a new understanding, a new mental attitude, is a tremendous task. Very few people possess the incentive to attempt the task. It is too great an effort, and it is so much easier just to drift along in the same old rut. It seems to me that the Nazarene must have had that in mind when he informed Nicodemus that he must be born again.

William Shakespeare, the greatest master of expression, may have understood this process of the human mind, or he may have been speaking sarcastically while referring to food for the body, when he made Cassius say, "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed, that he is grown so great?" Shakespeare may not have realized the depth of meaning contained in his question, but I have an idea that he understood it fully and meant just what he said. He wanted to know what mental food Caesar was feeding upon. It is very evident that Caesar must have fed his mentality with strong constructive thoughts or he never would have been able to cross the Rubicon.

Someone has stated long ago, "He who is the greatest sticker for justice is the most unjust of all." Do you not see why that statement is scientifically true? A man is suspicious because he doesn't possess

complete information. If he possessed complete information relative to any given condition, there would be no need of suspicion. Suspicion would vanish, guilty or not guilty. But not knowing, and in most cases judging other people by his own standard of ethics, he finds it difficult to believe them innocent. Therefore, he harbors suspicious thoughts. He feeds his mentality on that kind of food and it becomes his basic potential energy. All people are dishonest in his opinion. That very thought persisted in makes him dishonest. He believes everything and everybody to be dishonest; therefore, he rants about it and becomes a sticker for justice. His conclusions almost in their entirety are founded upon false premises or theories, thus he is more unjust than those of whom he complains. Such men are usually uninformed and impractical. If they ever get an opportunity they will become tyrants.

With the foregoing explanation as a basis, I am going to give a few illustrations as to how this logic works out in real life. The first from the Review, entitled, "The Professor's Sorrows," as follows:

"I had a conversation with a young New Englander, recently discharged, who expressed great bitterness because he had had to pay a large price for a knife in France and had, he thought, been overcharged for eggs. It happened that we got off at the same station, and I enquired his name and learned that his father was one of the selectmen of the little lake village where I spend my summers. Then I recalled that the selectmen had assessed my cottage twice as much as that of the more valuable property of the farmer next to me; that this same boy's aunt charged us above the current rate for eggs and was so careful to pick out the big ones for the Boston market that at times I have wondered whether she had not changed her hens for pigeons; that this boy's cousin, who plays golf on our hillside links, had a short time since "borrowed" a dozen golf balls from my locker; that the village clergyman, who is a relative of this boy's, after selling me my property on the lake, arranged with a

friend to claim that the title was faulty and that the lake front belonged to him and not to the clergyman, and the two had tried for six months to blackmail me out of an additional sum of money for the land; all these things because I am to these people a New York millionaire, though in reality a college professor on an inadequate salary."

You will notice that this boy referred to above, was associated with a family of grafters. The home influence had given him the grafter's mental attitude. The grafter not only dislikes to be grafted, but, judging other people by himself, he accuses them of being grafters, whether they are or not. That is why the unjust are everlastingly complaining about the injustice of the just. You do not hear the "just" complaining. In a previous chapter I referred to this condition of the mind as the law of opposites, because people are usually opposite to what they seem to be. They are accepted for what they seem to be by those who only see the surface of things. Like Little Red Riding Hood, they are captivated by the smiles and wiles of the wolf. The wolves seem to have exerted and sustained a hypnotic influence in North Dakota. But the spell will break and these people will prove to be very different from what they seemed.

A friend recently handed me a book in which he thought I would be interested. I read in it a statement by an eminent authority on hypnotism, giving his method for producing hypnosis. He says:

"After talking sympathetically with the subject, sometimes for an hour or two, thoroughly acquainting myself with his dominant propensities, or controlling thoughts, and, above all, securing his confidence.***"

You see, the hypnotist talks sympathy, and acquaints himself with the subject's dominant propensities, or controlling thoughts. What are the subject's controlling thoughts? They are the thoughts suggested to the conscious mind by the all dominant potential energy stored away for safe-keeping and future use by man's free will during his past life. In far too many instances the controlling thoughts are of doubt,

suspicion and hatred. For such a patient, well directed abuse of something or somebody, sugar-coated with sympathy for the patient, acts as a soothing balm. Above all, it secures his confidence. In North Dakota it was the "knock-out drop," for the dominant propensities or controlling thoughts were of how big business and everybody in business was robbing the farmers. It required only a few fellows sufficiently unscrupulous to take advantage of the mental attitude already existing, to enter upon the field to make the propaganda effective.

Mary Johnston, in her book, "The Long Roll," gives a bird's eye view of the battle of Chancellorsville. She shows the Army of the Potomac facing a wood. The Confederate Army is in the wood. She shows General Lee, fighting desperately in front of the Union Army's attack, while "Stonewall" Jackson, with his famous "foot cavalry" is making an encircling movement to strike the Union Army's right flank. General Fitzhugh Lee, with the cavalry, arrived at the point of rendezvous first, and did a little looking around. When the infantry arrived with Jackson, Fitzhugh Lee saluted and said: "General Jackson, if you will ride with me to the top of that hill I will show you the strangest thing." They rode to the top of the hill behind some trees which protected them from view, and there they looked at the "strangest thing." What they saw was the 11th Army Corps, the right wing of the Union Army, resting at ease, in bivouac, arms stacked, men scattered about, some playing games, etc., with flank unprotected. Perhaps the really strangest thing was that the "high command" of the 11th army corps, was not a civilian soldier, but an academician; that he had three times refused to entertain suggestions of danger, and to grant permission to a subordinate officer, a civilian, to make disposition of troops to protect the flank from attack. What happened at Chancellorsville has passed into history. Only night, a dark night, limited the rout to a defeat, instead of an irreparable disaster. If you will go with me a few pages farther I will show you some of the *strangest things*.

GO HOME AND SLOP THE HOGS

During the legislative session of 1915, before Mr. Townley had ever been heard of, the farmers maintained a lobby at Bismarck to work in behalf of a terminal elevator bill. During that session a large delegation of farmers went to Bismarck under the leadership of the late George Lofthus, of St. Paul, Minn., who worked with the prestige of the Farmers Society of Equity, to bring pressure upon the legislature to pass the elevator bill. They made a very forceful demonstration, and were very indignant and abused when the legislature failed to be coerced by them.

During debate in the House of Representatives, Mr. Treadwell Twitchell, of Mapleton, was speaking. Mr. Twitchell is a farmer, a farmer only, the largest individual farmer in North Dakota. He has farmed extensively since 1879. He has held the office of Sheriff several terms and represented his district in the legislature, being twice elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. He is a man who has been a student of economics, whose knowledge of farming transcends that of being a master of farm operations. It is doubtful if there is a man in North Dakota who knows farming and the marketing of farm products as does Mr. Twitchell. Mr. Twitchell opposed the elevator bill of 1915. It was poor politics, but Twitchell wasn't playing politics. The defeat of the elevator bill in 1915 was the chief cause of the present farmer movement. During Mr. Twitchell's remarks on the floor of the House, he paused, and Mr. Lofthus interrupted, saying something like, "We may as well go home and slop the hogs." Mr. Twitchell nodded assent and made some remark such as "If you wish to take it that way." It was immediately heralded broadcast that Twitchell had told the farmers to go home and slop their hogs.

Later, Mr. Twitchell, as Chairman of the Committee on State Affairs, entertained two committees of farmers in his room at his hotel. One committee was pledged to stand for nothing but a terminal elevator

at Fargo. The other committee was pledged to accept nothing but a terminal elevator at St. Paul. The situation was a deadlock. Morning approached and they were no nearer a solution than when they started. It being "getting up" time on the farm, and all present being farmers, Twitchell said, "Well fellows, let us slop the hogs and go to bed," simply using the idea suggested by Mr. Lofthus a few days before. Some disgruntled committee member took advantage of this statement also, and it has been used with telling effect. It was great platform stuff. It became the slogan of the league, together with a badge worn as a stick pin, "We'll stick, we'll win."

When we order a couple of slices of bacon with our cakes and coffee, we have the proof that Pork is King. The additional sum of money we are required to pay to the cashier makes it difficult to understand why a reference to hogs should be considered an insult. We who have to pay war prices for bacon, don't eat much of it, and, as a business proposition we well know that if it were a fact that Mr. Twitchell advised the farmers to go home and raise hogs, that he gave them excellent advice.

During the campaign of 1918, Hon. S. J. Doyle, candidate for Governor, was interrupted one day by a voice from the audience, "How about slopping the hogs?" Mr. Doyle paused, then asked, "Is the Secretary of the local Red Cross in the room? Please come forward." Mr. Doyle handed the secretary twenty-five dollars and requested the owner of the voice to place twenty-five dollars beside it, with the understanding that if the gentleman could prove in thirty days that Mr. Twitchell in a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives or any other place, told the farmers to go home and slop the hogs the money was to be his. If he failed to find the proofs in thirty days the money was to belong to the local Red Cross. The Red Cross got the money.

Mr. Townley poses as a wonderful organizer, a powerful personality. But be it known that Mr. Townley didn't do all the work. Mr. George Lofthus, of

St. Paul, Minn., President of the Farmers Society of Equity, together with numerous local leaders, bona fide farmers of this State, had prepared the mentality of the people. The field was already plowed, even sub-soiled, disked and harrowed over and over again until the "quack-grass" of big business seemed to be doomed. Mr. Lofthus was stricken at Minot, N. D., early in August 1915. The ailment was cancer of malignant form and it claimed its victim the following year. The seething mass of discontent and suspicion was without leadership. At this juncture Mr. Townley stepped into the field which was so well prepared. He found the going delightfully easy. The movement itself was leading. It only needed directing. There is nothing wonderful about the sudden rise of Mr. Townley as far as his control of the people is concerned. They would follow anything.

He is given the credit by some people of being the absolute boss of the organization, and they wonder at his ability to control his lieutenants; men bigger than himself, many of them. But it isn't so wonderful when one realizes that they are just as unscrupulous as Townley and are just as anxious to establish a soviet government as he. It only seems as though Townley is bidding them. It is true that Townley bids the Governor, but residents of the Capital City have noticed that something is usually doing there following a visit of Bill Lemke.

CONSUMERS UNITED STORES COMPANY

When the organizers of the Nonpartisan League made their initial appearance as public benefactors for farmers, it was necessary that inducements be offered. You will readily see that they accomplished two definite objects at one operation. They brought into existence the Nonpartisan League as a political organization, the purpose of which was ostensibly to make North Dakota safe for farmers. The chief inducement offered was the delightful process of elimination. All business but farming was to be eliminated. More accurately speaking, the farmers were to handle all busi-

ness,—everything, therefore, it would naturally follow that the remains of the people who were unfortunate enough to live in the towns would be laid away in the cemeteries; perhaps, but judging by the energy and viciousness displayed by the people in aligning themselves with the movement, it seemed possible that their remains would be strewn all over the fields as fertilizer, their bones gathered up and sold to sugar refineries. Oh, it was interesting.

They also brought into existence a buyers' society, or what might be designated as "*The United Easy Marks Association.*" They had, by talking sympathetically to the subject for an hour or two, secured his confidence. They were already acquainted with the dominant propensities, or controlling thoughts.

One of the specific inducements was a scheme for going into the mercantile business. The farmers were to operate stores and thereby get their goods through their own organization. I do not know whether the picture of obtaining goods cheaper was held before their vision or not. But the picture of the farmers operating their own stores was held before them, and that was sufficient, because it also provided a picture of all established stores being destroyed for want of business, and that in itself would be a joy forever.

I first learned of the farmers going into business for themselves on the evening of July 14th, 1915, already referred to in a previous chapter. On that evening, the stores, the business men in the towns were to be destroyed utterly. That conversation took place while the work of organization of the League itself was being effected. It showed conclusively the kind of propaganda that was being preached to the people. Let us see how the farmers' mercantile business has worked out.

A number of the League organizers, always the same bunch, organized the "Consumers United Stores Company." They went before the farmers in the different communities where these stores are located. Their plan was to raise \$10,000.00 as capital for each

store. They sold certificates to the farmers at \$100.00 each, taking the farmers' notes for same. Ten per cent was to be allowed for organization expenses, commissions, etc., leaving \$9,000.00 for capital on which to operate the store. In return for the \$100.00, the farmers were allowed the privilege of trading at these stores for *cash*. There are several of these stores established throughout the State. It is said the largest stock in any of the stores does not contain more than \$4,000.00 worth of goods. Some of them not more than \$2,000.00. Terms are strictly cash. Prices are supposed to be 10 percent above cost, however, the difference doesn't seem to be perceptible and even the farmers who paid \$100.00 for the privilege of buying goods for cash at these stores seem to prefer to trade with the old time stores. The Consumers' United Stores are very quiet places indeed.

Inasmuch as \$4,000.00 seems to be the largest amount expended in any one store, there seems to remain for organization expenses, commissions, etc., \$6,000.00 instead of \$1,000.00 as stipulated in the plan. But this is not all. They didn't stop when they had secured \$10,000.00. They continued to work diligently. At one place they are said to have raised \$60,000.00. With an investment of \$4,000.00 and \$1,000.00 for organization expenses, commissions, etc., there remains \$55,000.00. A gentleman living at Dawson, known as "Farmer Ingle," who assisted in the promotion of the store at that place, saw this leak, became interested, and asked Mr. Townley what became of this surplus money. He was immediately informed by that high minded gentleman that it was none of his G— D— business.

GRABBING THE PAPERS AND THE PRINTING CINCH

Early in the contest for political control in North Dakota, Mr. Townley and his advisors were convinced that the control of the avenues of publicity was necessary. The Nonpartisan Leader, a weekly publication, followed. This weekly became famous, or in-

famous, for its vicious propaganda of hatred and abuse and for its full page cartoons on its front page ridiculing big business; always showing up big business as a fat middle-aged gentleman with vest decorated with the dollar mark. This fat gentleman was pictured to the farmers in all manner of shapes, and each cartoon carried with it the poison of insinuation. The writer heard Lynn J. Frazier, while candidate for Governor, tell an audience that he received his money's worth in the Nonpartisan Leader out of the cartoons alone. That remark of Mr. Frazier gives us an ex-ray of his reasoning apparatus. The Nonpartisan Leader later became the National Nonpartisan Leader. Mr. Townley next secured the Fargo Courier News, by the rankest kind of duplicity, terribly double-crossing its former owner. A less academic, or a more practical man than the former owner would not have been so deceived. These two papers not furnishing sufficient publicity, he began the organization of the Grand Forks American, and the buying or establishing of weekly papers throughout the state. While this was going on they also formulated legislation that was to be put through at the following session of the legislature, which was to not only finance them, but make considerable change on the side for those on the inside.

To this end Townley incorporated the League Service Bureau for \$10,000.00, three employees of the league being the incorporators and it was to engage in the newspaper publicity and printing business, to buy and sell newspapers, to act as promoters in the buying and selling of newspapers, and to deal in all kinds of supplies and act as an advertising and news agency. This corporation, under the guiding genius of Mr. Wells Brinton, has organized or bought newspapers in practically every county in North Dakota.

The general plan of organizing these papers ought to commend itself to J. Rufus Wallingford. The articles of incorporation of the county weeklies are practically identical for all of them. The stock is

divided into common and preferred. The par value of the common stock is \$2.00 per share and is issued to the Service Bureau in payment for promotion and organization work and for services rendered or to be rendered. The par value of the preferred stock is \$10.00 per share and is paid for in cash or notes.

The capitalization is \$11,000.00 divided into 450 shares of common stock and 1,010 shares of preferred stock. The dividends on the common stock are preferred and cumulative just the same as the preferred stock, the only difference being the classification, the preferred stock being considered first. You will notice that the common stock is nearly one-half of the amount of the preferred stock. The common stock cost the Service Bureau probably one speech, a few dollars carfare and a hotel bill for each of the fifty papers bought or established. The preferred stock cost the farmers \$10,100.00 in real money for each of the fifty papers bought or established.

One would suppose that the preferred stock controlled; that the farmers possessing 1,010 shares of the stock would have something to say, but such is not the case. There are yet even greater heights to which Mr. Brinton and the inner circle can climb, it would seem, but in reality it isn't climbing, it is rather a demonstration of stupidity on the part of the farmers who purchased the preferred stock. The common stock is voted, each share of the \$2.00 gift stock has one vote. Thus the Service Bureau has 450 votes. The preferred stock is not voted. Each holder of preferred stock has one vote individually. A man might own fifty shares of preferred stock, par value \$500.00 and have one vote, while the Service Bureau with 450 shares has 450 votes. Of course it is arranged so that there are not more than 450 individuals holding preferred stock. This method of organization assures control of all league weekly papers by the Bureau, which in turn is controlled by the "inner circle" of the league which is controlled absolutely by Mr. Townley.

These league newspapers are not only over-capitalized and forced to divide any earnings they might

make with the Bureau, but they must look to it for all supplies and news service, which of course, includes editorial matter. The result is that Mr. Townley dictates the policies of his state weeklies, his two state dailies and fifty odd county weeklies. The same propaganda appears simultaneously and the same editorials grace each sheet. He maintains a bureau of three experienced newspaper men at the capitol and no expense is spared in securing team work on the part of these publications in putting over the various Townley schemes.

The league daily newspapers are organized on a different basis. The Grand Forks American's articles of incorporation contain the following provisions:

"The capital stock of this corporation shall consist of 500 shares of common stock of the par value of \$2.00 per share and 990 shares of preferred stock of the par value of \$100.00 per share. The holders of the preferred stock shall be entitled to cumulative dividends thereon at the rate of \$7.00 per share for each and every fiscal year of the company, payable out of any surplus or net profits, annually, and when declared by the board of directors. The remaining surplus or net profit, if any, shall be applied in paying the cumulative dividends of the common stock at the rate of \$7.00 per share for each and every fiscal year of the company, and the remainder, surplus or net profits, if any, shall be paid as a special dividend on both the preferred and common stock share and share alike.

"Not more than 15% of the proceeds derived from the sale of preferred stock shall ever be used for the purpose of the organization. The common stock shall be issued in payment for promotion and organization work and for services rendered or to be rendered."

This is a rather unique arrangement. The "woodchuck" might not be noticed in a casual reading by the lay mind, so I will point it out. Notice the difference in the par value of the preferred and common stock of the company. "The common stock shall be issued in payment for promotion and organization work and for

services rendered, or to be rendered." Only \$1,000.00 worth of the stock is issued to the promoters, basing the amount on the par value of the shares. \$1,000.00 out of a capitalization of \$100,000.00 is a very small commission. It is the essence of fairness. But, the par value of the common stock being only \$2.00 per share it becomes necessary to issue 500 shares to satisfy this very modest sum of \$1,000.00. The farmers invest \$99,000.00 in real money, but, the par value of the preferred stock is \$100.00, a fact that makes it necessary to issue only 990 shares to the farmers for their \$99,000.00. By this unique arrangement the promoters get possession of one-half as much of the stock for nothing as the farmers get for \$99,000.00 or, one-third of all the stock of the company. The 990 shares have a preference, inasmuch as a dividend of \$7.00 per share is to be paid from the surplus, or net profits,—first. "The remaining surplus or net profit, if any, shall be applied in paying the cumulative dividends of the common stock at the rate of \$7.00 per share for each and every fiscal year of the company." It is merely a difference in classification, which stock is favored first, for arrangements were made by a farmers' legislature to provide ample surplus and net profits to pay seven per cent on all the stock. When the *special privilege* under which this newspaper operates is considered it will be seen that the surplus and net profits will amount to several times seven per cent. "And the remainder, surplus or net profits, if any, shall be paid as a special dividend on both the preferred and common stock share and share alike." So they get one-third of the profits regardless of the amount, and considering the cinch under which they operate, the profits ought to be liberal. Then we read, "Not more than 15% of the proceeds derived from the sale of preferred stock shall ever be used for the purpose of the organization." This last statement is ambiguous. If it read,—purpose of organization, it would mean—purpose of organizing. It reads,—purpose of the organization. This could be construed to mean,—purpose of the company. Let us assume

that it means,—purpose of organization, organizing,—then the promoters receive \$14,850.00 cash bonus besides their one-third of the stock of the company which they received for nothing. If it should be construed to mean,—purpose of the company, then the promoters could take any amount of the \$99,000.00 over and above the expenditures for plant, up to \$84,150.00.

THE CINCH

SENATE BILL No. 157, created the State Publication and Printing Commission.

SENATE BILL No. 158.—“An Act providing for the selection and designation of one State, County and Municipal Official newspaper in each county in the State, prescribing the manner of its selection and duties.”

Section 5.—“Defining duties of such official newspaper. Such official newspaper as shall be chosen by the voters in said county as the state, county and municipal official newspaper therein, shall publish all official proceedings of the board of county commissioners in said county and all other notices and publications that are now required by law to be published by county officers; all summonses, citations, notices, orders and other process in actions or proceedings in the supreme, district, county or justice courts, which are or may hereafter be required by law to be published in the respective counties of the state. All publications of every nature that are now or may hereafter be required to be published by state officers, elective or appointive; all notices of foreclosure of real estate or chattel mortgages or other liens of real estate or personal property foreclosed by advertisement in said county; and all legal notices of whatsoever kind and character required by law to be published or which may hereafter be required to be published in said county. Provided, however, that in organized cities, towns or villages where no official newspaper is published said city, town or village, board, council or commission may designate an official newspaper for the

publication of such notices and legal publications as are now or hereafter may be required by law for said cities, towns and villages, including legal notices and official statements of the schools within such cities, towns and villages, and the statements of banks and other corporations therein; but in cities, towns or villages where the state, county and municipal official newspaper is published such notices and legal publications as are now or may hereafter be required by law to be published, shall be published in such official newspaper."

The above bills were introduced by the committee on public printing and referred to committee on public printing.

SENATE BILL No. 159.—(Introduced by committee on public printing.) "An Act to amend and re-enact Section 4915 of the Compiled Laws of North Dakota for the year 1913, relating to annual statements of insurance companies and the publication thereof."

Section 1.—Amendment. "Section 4915 of the Compiled Laws of North Dakota for the year 1913 is hereby amended and re-enacted to read as follows:

Section 4915.—Annual statement, publication thereof. Every insurance company doing business in this State must transmit to the commissioner of insurance a statement of its condition and business for the year ending on the preceding thirty-first of December, which shall be rendered not later than the first day of March in each year. Foreign insurance companies shall have until the following first day of December to transmit their statements of business, other than that taken in the United States.*** The State Publication and Printing Commission shall elect the two official newspapers of general publication published in each judicial district in which the statements shall be published, and the publication fee shall be the legal rates for publishing such notices."

A more dastardly outrage upon the freedom of the press could not be conceived. The newspapers have been selected and the scheme is in full operation. Al-

ready, some thirty-odd weeklies in the state have suspended publication, driven out of business, their property confiscated by this act of the legislature. It is all a part of a grand scheme, not only to keep Townley's followers in ignorance of what is really transpiring in the state, but to fill their minds with malice and hatred which is necessary to success in the soviet system of government. Moreover, the young must be educated. If a socialist state would succeed, the rising generation must be imbued with socialistic principles. This rape of the independent press is a part of the educational program of the league to establish and perpetuate socialism in North Dakota.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION AND THE BANK OF NORTH DAKOTA

HOUSE BILL No. 17, created the Industrial Commission. The Industrial Commission consists of the Governor, the Attorney General and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor. In Section 2 of the bill it reads, "Two members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business." Section 4 reads, "All orders, rules, regulations, by-laws and written contracts, adopted or authorized by the Commission shall, before becoming effective, be approved by the Governor, as Chairman, and shall not be in force unless approved by him." The last clause of the above sentence caused the measure to be known as "The one man commission bill." Two constitutes a quorum, but one of the two must be the Governor to be effective. If the other two should agree and be opposed by the Governor, the Governor, as Chairman, need not approve.

This law authorizes the State of North Dakota to operate public owned utilities. Section 5 reads, "The Industrial Commission is hereby empowered, and directed to manage, operate, control and govern all utilities, enterprises and business projects now or hereafter established, owned, undertaken, administered or operated by the State of North Dakota, except those

carried on in penal, charitable or educational institutions. ***"

HOUSE BILL No. 18, created the Bank of North Dakota. Section 2, reads, "The Industrial Commission shall operate, manage and control The Bank of North Dakota.***" You will notice that the Industrial Commission and The Bank of North Dakota are closely related. One man controls all.

Section 6 reads, "The Bank shall be opened and shall proceed to transact business whenever there shall be delivered to the Industrial Commission bonds in the sum of two million dollars issued by the State as may be provided by law for such purpose. The fund procured by the negotiation and sale of bonds is hereby designated and shall be known as the capital of said bank."

Section 10 states, "All deposits in the Bank of North Dakota, are hereby guaranteed by the State. Such deposits shall be exempt from state, county and municipal taxes of any and all kinds."

Section 15 states, "The Bank of North Dakota may transfer funds to other departments, institutions, utilities, industries, enterprises or business projects of the State which shall be returned with interest to the Bank."

The establishment of the Bank of North Dakota was an excellent idea. It provides a workable means for handling state-owned utilities, industries, etc. It has already proved its usefulness under Section 15, for, on September 1st, 1919, the State Auditor announced that the general fund was in a depleted condition; that the salaries for August could not be paid in full. The Bank of North Dakota promptly loaned the general fund \$25,000.00 and everything moved on as smoothly as oil. You can readily see the elasticity, the springiness of the Bank of North Dakota.

Under Section 10 it becomes an ideal depository as all deposits are guaranteed, and are exempt from taxation. While Section 6 proves the simplicity of its inception. It only requires a bond issue of \$2,000,000.00

to establish such a Bank; a procedure that "passes the buck" to our descendants.

It is very simple. In Section 15, we read, "which shall be returned with interest to the Bank." That looks as though the success of the different state-owned utilities is an assured fact. Suppose the multiplication table should slip a little. Mathematics is the only science that proves itself. Yet mathematics has fooled more mathematicians than all other sciences have fooled all other people. The multiplication table is still slipping on the little Cheyenne, near Fargo. Suppose there should be a slipping on a large scale when the different industries get under way, then how would the funds with interest be returned to the Bank? I know how. Sell more bonds! It will need to be a kind of whirligig arrangement that goes round and round. It recalls the story of the Indiana farmers who raise more corn, to feed more hogs, to make more money, to buy more land, to raise more corn, to feed more hogs, to make more money, to buy more land, to raise more corn, to feed more hogs, to make more money, to buy more land.

One of the main incentives of the Nonpartisan League movement was to lower the rates of interest,—for farmers. I will quote from a speech by Mr. F. E. Packard, Assistant Attorney General, and formerly State Tax Commissioner. In an address before the Montana Press Association, he said:

"The bank pays four per cent upon time certificates of deposit and two percent upon average daily balances, which is considerably less than sometimes paid by private banks. The money is loaned to private banks at six per cent. If the bank did not exist the public funds would be deposited with the private banks and would draw interest at from two to five percent, with a probable average of three percent, and would be available for private banks to loan at six percent.

"It must cost the private bank more to do business than it does the State Bank, since its risks are greater and volume of business smaller. Two percent is a

narrow margin and public funds which pass through the State Bank can only be loaned at eight percent. The only effect the State Bank has had, so far, upon business conditions in the State, has been to add two percent to the cost of money."

The National Republican, in a recent editorial, states the conditions, as follows:

"The Bank of North Dakota, now beginning business will, under the laws of the State, not be subjected to scrutiny by 'snooping' officials representing the people who are to put up for the maintenance of the enterprise. The new bank can pay out all the money it has and leave nothing for its depositors, according to Frank E. Packard, an assistant attorney general of North Dakota. It can loan all its money to one individual, and overdrafts are not forbidden, although all public funds must be deposited in the bank. No penalty can be imposed upon its officers for making false reports. It does not have to make good bad debts or impaired capital. Public treasurers are relieved from all responsibility once they have put their money in this bank. If the money is squandered or embezzled it can be made good only by taxation. The bank may transfer its funds to other departments, institutions, industries or business projects of the State. It may transfer the school funds, for instance, to a state glue factory, if erected, as it may be under the laws of the State. The public bank examiner and banking boards have no supervision over the institution. It is responsible only to the political board which controls it."

THE VALLEY CITY BANK DEAL

The Bank of North Dakota being successfully created by the farmers' legislature, it became expedient to have a chain of Nonpartisan banks to co-operate with it. It is quite obvious to any unbiased mind why Nonpartisan League banks would be very desirable. It is equally obvious what was intended for the other banks in such communities. So it came about that there was to be a Nonpartisan League bank at Valley City.

They established their bank at that place by purchase. They took over the American National Bank. Two of the league's henchmen manipulated the transfer. It didn't require any effort to make this sale to the farmers. The farmers were so anxious to buy stock in this new institution that there was a run on the bank two days. They stood in line reaching through the doorway into the street like at a general delivery window of a postoffice in a large city on a Monday morning, while extra clerks assisted the bank force to receive the money and issue certificates. The farmers being so anxious to buy this stock, why was it necessary to pay commissions?

The promoters allowed a rumor to be circulated purporting that there was to be a half dozen center banks established in different parts of the state, each center bank to be a branch of the Bank of North Dakota; that each branch was to be a depository of public funds, therefore, these branch banks would be a cinch for their owners, and, a detriment to the banks in such communities outside the League. It sounded like a bankers' soviet. The farmers like a soviet, if it is a farmers' soviet.*

*The Declaration of Independence declares that all men are created equal, and, that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. ONE BIG UNION, the U. S. A.

A soviet government is a government of groups. Thus, a workmen's soviet is a government builded around and for the workmen. A farmers' soviet is a government builded around and for the farmers. Sometimes these groups work together, as in Russia, "the workmen's and soldiers' soviet." In Russia the soviets go a little further than this, and, on the basis that others have taken what belongs to them, they have taken from others to divide amongst themselves. The farmers seem to be imbued with the same idea; that others have robbed them. They too, might be willing to take from others, but—they might find difficulty in the matter of division amongst themselves. Ostensibly, North Dakota is a farmers' soviet, however, the increase in taxes would indicate that it is a preparatory organization, a step toward communism—the abolition of private property, or state-owned farms.

So these farmers paid \$125.00 for the stock in this bank, on a capitalization increased four times. They purchased a \$50,000.00 bank and made it a \$200,000.00 bank, and paid a premium of twenty-five per cent for the privilege of doing so. They are unalterably opposed to the high-handed methods of big business, yet big business is all right if they own it; and they outdo big business in their efforts to destroy it. They have no objections to overcapitalization. It seems as though the bigger the capitalization the better they like it—if they own it. They may learn that even farmer ownership cannot prevent a loss caused by overcapitalization.

Besides their liberality in boosting capitalizations and paying premiums, they are very liberal in granting promotion profits. They allowed a commission amounting to nearly as much as the capital stock of the bank they had purchased. The state banking board held up an item of \$15,026.91. This item was graft over and above the stipulated commission. Besides saving these farmers \$15,026.91 in cash, the banking department objected to \$36,375.00 of the bank's paper and insisted that it be better secured, therefore, \$51,401.91 was made good to the purchasers of this bank by the banking department, while the state examiner was persistently maintaining that the deal was regular in every way and that he would go to jail before he would divulge certain things. It wasn't necessary for him to do any divulging, and up to date he has managed to keep out of jail.

The avariciousness shown by the farmers in their anxiety to buy stock in this bank, is evidence of the correctness of the assertion that when the League was organized the buyers in all the different contemplated schemes were also organized and made ready. Besides the desire to own their own bank, was the delightful prospect of injuring three other banks, even to putting them out of business. But there are four other banks at Valley City now, and all seem to be increasing their business.

There is a story that goes with the Valley City Bank deal. One of the League promoters, who supposed all clerks in the bank were bona fide Nonpartisans, stepped up to one of the special clerks, one of the extra assistants in issuing certificates, and remarked, "How does the new board of directors suit you?" Mr. Clerk, always brusque, stated, "Suits me all right." The promoter then inquired how he liked the manner in which the business was conducted, method of procedure, etc. Mr. Clerk replied, "Jesse James rode a horse!"

THE UNITED STATES SISAL TRUST

The largest of all operations by these organizers is a proposed Sisal Company. There is a shortage of raw material from which cordage, rope, binder-twine, etc., is manufactured. There is grave danger of a binder-twine famine, a condition which would work a great hardship in North Dakota, because of the great amount of twine used annually to tie the sheaves of the harvest. The International Harvester Company has foreseen this condition and has been persistently endeavoring to induce the farmers to grow hemp as a profitable crop. This company has induced many farmers to experiment with hemp on an optional basis, guaranteeing a certain amount cash per acre. It has paid cash for thousands of acres seeded to hemp, and took over the crop. Proper machinery had to be invented and perfected for harvesting the hemp. The first machines had weaknesses which had to be overcome, and it required a few years of experimentation to produce a perfect machine. Of course, when the machines failed to be ready to harvest the crop the first years, which meant that it must be cut by a mower, and therefore harvested in a tangled mess, the farmers elected to accept the cash per acre plan. Thus the cost of the introduction of the hemp plant into the state has been an expensive venture for the Harvester Company. Benefits are to be derived from this crop in three ways, namely, a profitable crop to

raise, an excellent crop for cleaning land, and a means of avoiding a twine famine.

The activity of the Harvester Company in the promoting of the cultivation of hemp is evidence of the fact that big business thinks about the welfare of the farmers as well as its own welfare. When the harvesting machinery is perfected (it is doing excellent work now) the farmers will use it with as much assurance as though they had created it themselves. They will attend meetings presided over by agitators and pass resolutions condemning the company that took the initiative in guiding them towards a venture that will not only prove profitable to them, but which will do more to clean foul land than any process known, and at the same time help to prevent a twine famine. You will note that the Harvester Company (big business) endeavored to have the farmers go into the hemp raising business individually, on their farms, by raising the raw material, which is and always has been their part in the great co-operative scheme of things.

Sisal is a fibre that is also made into rope, binder-twine, etc. Sisal is made from henequen, or the Maguay plant, which thrives in Mexico, especially in the State of Yucatan. A Mexican authority states that the henequen of Yucatan is almost the sole support of the Carranza Government at the present time; that the planters are required to turn over the product to the government or the soldiers will destroy the Maguay plants.

Conditions in Mexico being so chaotic it isn't feasible to promote industries in that country. To avoid any trouble with unstable Mexico, it is proposed to move Mexico into the United States. It is a case of, If Mohammed cannot go to the mountain, the mountain can go to Mohammed. Twenty-two thousand acres of land have been secured in Florida. The Maguay plant is to be transplanted from Mexico into Florida. This is going into the fibre business on a larger scale than was ever known before. Didn't we hear,

and don't we hear big business condemned? Oh, well, big business is all right if it is the farmers' big business.

The capitalization of the United States Sisal Trust is \$1,000,000.00. The proposed buyers of the stock in this enterprise live in North Dakota, Minnesota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, or any place where the Nonpartisan League has organized members. It is a big family affair. It is "We Us and Company." To assure prompt action in the sale of this stock an organization and a working fund are necessary. It is quite simple. They select a bank in different communities to handle all notes obtained in such communities. The bank is asked to advance \$1,000.00 for which it receives \$2,000.00 worth of stock, besides the discounts on all the notes obtained in its community. All notes. It is so arranged that all notes will be bankable. There will be no questionable paper. The method of converting questionable paper into gilt-edged security is the essence of simplicity, as follows: The President of the United States Sisal Trust, is manager of the Bank of North Dakota. Presto, Change.

The capitalization of this company is \$1,000,000.00; however, the advance agents of the enterprise have intimated to the bankers that they propose to sell millions of dollars worth of the stock. Judging by the method followed by the Consumers' United Stores Company, there is no reason to doubt their intention of doing so. The farmers will buy this stock without thought of investigation, because it is a great cooperative plan for farmers, and nobody else will get a look in. If they are saved a goodly sum of money by some diligent state official, it won't be the farmers' fault, and, they will condemn the man who intercedes in their behalf as a tool of big business. Such was the case in the Valley City bank deal when the Attorney General secured that institution an item of \$51.-026.91

This company has already run full page ads setting

forth reasons why its stock is desirable, for farmers, supplementing the inducements embodied in the advertisement, by publishing a list of purchasers of this stock. Each of the purchasers named in the advertisement is a progressive substantial business man. Strange that they would go to big business for names when they wish to give prestige to their wares? In almost every case these men are bankers. The public, the farmers, sometimes designated "The dear people," not being in possession of all the facts, naturally think that it must be a good stock, or bankers wouldn't buy it. Oh, the dear people, who are so suspicious, and who think they are so wise, never will get wise to this bank stuff. So they buy because the banker buys. In this particular case, these forty, more or less, purchasers represent, in almost every case, forty men who have made up the working fund, \$1,000.00 from each. They take no chances of a loss because they are sure to make money by handling (discounting) the notes obtained by salesmen operating in their several communities. Their names lend dignity and respectability to the enterprise. But whether or not the proposition proves to be a dividend payer, these forty bankers stand ready with shears in their hands to assist in fleecing the lambs.

Different bankers have given the writer this information. Bankers who accepted the proposition and put up \$1,000.00 and bankers who listened to all the story and then rejected the proposition and did not put up the \$1,000.00. Some bankers figure that their community is so strong financially that they cannot do the state any harm because all paper in their particular community is gilt-edged. North Dakota has many such communities. Another reason is, that some fellow is going to do it, therefore, one might just as well get the rake-off as some other fellow. It is a matter of ethics. Right here I must say, that the big majority of banks, would not and do not do it.

Intercession in behalf of the prospective stockholders of The United States Sisal Trust, has already been

made in an action of the State Banking Department, when the President of the Company was served an ultimatum to either resign as President of the United States Sisal Trust or as Manager of the Bank of North Dakota.

There are other organizations along these lines, but to go into detail would require much space. Besides these organizations actually promoted by Nonpartisan League financiers, there are herds of salesmen utilizing the same propaganda to further their success in obtaining orders. Salesmen who have no part in the League, but who condemn it in every way, yet when talking to League farmers will subordinate principle, character, everything, for personal gain. Salesmen have carried on League propaganda to obtain easy orders, many times selling fakes, to such an extent that it brought forth warnings from the League itself, from the Governor, the Attorney General and from Mr. Townley.

STATE OWNED UTILITIES

Section 5., of House Bill 17., reads, "The Industrial Commission is hereby empowered and directed to manage, operate, control and govern all utilities, industries, enterprises and business projects now or hereafter established, owned, undertaken, administered or operated by the State of North Dakota, except those carried on in penal, charitable or educational institutions."

The above provides for a wide range of operations. The Bank of North Dakota had to be established first, and it is now in operation. State owned industries are yet unestablished, excepting a small flour mill at Drake, where the sentiment of the people was so enthusiastic for the League that the manager of the Mill and Elevator Association stated that they just had to give Drake a mill. Thus it is seen that state-owned industries are to be located according to sentiment in different communities, as will be seen later on.

The first state-owned industries are to be flour mills and elevators. Section 1., of Senate Bill 20, reads, "***shall establish a system of warehouses, elevators, flour mills, factories, plants, machinery and equipments, owned, controlled and operated by it under the name of North Dakota Mill and Elevator Association***"

There was much objection to this bill. The main objection being directed against its scope. If you will refer back to Section 1, quoted above, you will see that it provides for warehouses, elevators, flour mills, factories, plants, machinery and equipments. The words, factories, plants, machinery and equipments cover a lot of prospective territory quite outside the scope of a stated mill and elevator business. \$5,000,000.00 is a lot of money to use for experimental purposes, therefore, a new bill was framed, a strictly mill and elevator bill carrying an appropriation of \$2,000,000.00. This new mill and elevator bill was one of four new bills which were to have been initiated at a special Initiative and Referendum election. But the Governor vetoed the initiated bills by setting the date of election too early to comply with the law governing initiated bills at special elections. He issued a proclamation in which he stated that to submit both initiated and referred bills would cause confusion in the minds of the people. In other words he stated that the people of North Dakota do not know the difference between yes and no. Only the referred bills were submitted to the people and the people voted, yes!

This law is so constructed that under its provisions the Industrial Commission may purchase, or build, factories and plants of any description and use moneys from the appropriation which this law carries to any amount they may see fit. Mr. A. E. Bowen, one of the principal prime movers in the organization of the League, when under pressure at a meeting of farmers at Wallum, admitted that under the construction of this bill, the Industrial Commission can expend the entire appropriation on factories, plants, machinery,

and equipments and not build or purchase a single elevator or flour mill. They can start factories manufacturing text books on socialism edited by that eminent Dean of Socialism, Walter Thomas Mills, for use in our public schools. We do not say that they will manufacture socialistic text books for our schools, but we do say that they can do so under the provisions of this law. The action taken by the legislature under the personal direction of Walter Thomas Mills, who was the guiding spirit of the Sixteenth Legislative Assembly, in enacting a law known as the Administration Bill, is evidence of the grievous disappointment in the defeat of their candidate for re-election to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. Losing this office frustrated any plans there might have been for introducing instruction in socialism into the public schools. So they proceeded to take from the Superintendent of Public Instruction all powers heretofore vested in that office, of which mention will be made later.

In way of explanation as to how state-owned industries are to be located, I will quote from the Courier News, Fargo, issue of August 13th, 1919, and from the Forum, Fargo, issue of August 14th, 1919, as follows:

“A BLIND LEADER”

“This is no time for mincing words. Fargo’s future may truly be said to be hanging in the balance. If the city secures the great mill and elevator to be erected by the state, no other city will be able to dispute Fargo’s leadership. If Fargo does not secure these great industries, some other city will eventually leave Fargo in the rear.

“It is practically certain that the mill and elevator will be located in the city offering the largest subscription to the state bonds. Fargo’s wealth enables it easily to outbid all other cities.

“But Fargo has as yet done nothing. And why? We propose to point out one reason.

“Has any citizen of Fargo seen as much as one word in the Forum in favor of securing these industries? Has the Forum taken even one step that could by any interpretation be considered as leading towards a campaign for these industries?”

“And why has the Forum done nothing to secure these great industries?”

“The answer is exceedingly simple: The Forum has not been and is not now working for the upbuilding of Fargo, but for the protection of the Twin Cities.

“Absolutely not one single business man in Fargo will be hurt by the location here of the new industries. They would bring to Fargo hundreds of additional citizens, they would involve the payment of thousands of dollars in wages, they would advertise Fargo’s name all over the country, they would vastly benefit farmers in this vicinity by offering cheap feed for livestock, as well as furnishing a home market for their grain. The retail trade, and the wholesale trade, of Fargo would alike be wonderfully stimulated by the location here of these industries.

“What would the Forum be doing if, say, a Pillsbury mill of the size to be built by the state were to be located in North Dakota? Would it not be urging Fargo business men to offer a site, to raise a bonus, to get down on their knees and beg for the mill?”

“But it isn’t a Pillsbury mill that is going to be located. It is a North Dakota mill. Its profits are to be widely distributed among both farmers and consumers, instead of being appropriated by a few Pillsburys and Crosbys and Washburns.

“And that is the one and only reason why the Forum does not want the mill located at Fargo. The state mill will be of benefit only to the great mass of the people of North Dakota; it will hurt those selfish interests whose protection, for some reason, has been the Forum’s one concern for years past.

“But how about the business men of Fargo? Are the Twin Cities’ interests of more concern to them than Fargo’s? Following the blind leadership of a

disgruntled, discredited pariah of newspaperdom, are they to shut the gates of Fargo against these great state industries?

"Our guess is that they are not! We hazard the opinion that they have at last seen the light. Surely even the most prejudiced opponent of the organized farmers of North Dakota must realize now, from the Forum's attitude in this time of municipal crisis, what the issue is.

"Surely business men of Fargo are going to demand constructive action! They are not going to ruin Fargo's future merely because the Minnesota-controlled evening newspaper prefers such a course.

"Fargo comes first—and Fargo's future demands a united, enthusiastic, winning fight for North Dakota's great state mill and elevator!"

"FARGO WOULD WIN ON MERITS"

"After overcoming our blushes at the front page accusation by Mr. Townley's newspaper, that the Forum holds the industrial destiny of Fargo in the hollow of its hand, we are still enjoying a good laugh over the Blind Leader editorial of yesterday morning.

"It is quite too delicious to have a contemporary indignantly accuse you of being so powerful and influential that nothing can be done in Fargo without your aid. The Forum has no such illusions about its own importance.

"But seriously, The Forum is not in the business of advising Fargoians to buy state bonds, issued for industrial purposes even after they have been approved by the courts.

"Any appeal to locate the new state industries in Fargo, should be made solely on the basis of the advantages Fargo offers. Nobody can dispute those advantages. This is the logical point for both the elevator and the flour mill. We are the Gateway City in fact as well as name. No city has such railroad connections, The packing plant will attract shippers

here from all parts of the state. The other industries should be located close to the packing plant, for many farmers have business with both.

"We have the needed banking facilities, and hotels adequate to accommodate the grain growers who would come here to transact business.

"Of course, Fargo wants the industries, since they are going to be started in any event. Fargo has consistently voted against their establishment but they will get a square deal and a welcome from Fargo's business interests—including The Forum if Mr. Townley decides to locate them here.

"If the industries are not located in Fargo, it will be because the owners of the morning paper wish to take vengeance on the city, and discipline it for opposing their political schemes—not because Fargo is not the logical place for them."

The above editorials show conclusively the fact that the location of the principal Elevator and Flour Mill is made the issue of strife between cities, just as the inception of the Nonpartisan League itself was founded upon strife stirred up between classes. Its location is being used as a club, as the lever that starts the machinery of selling bonds. In this way both Grand Forks and Fargo will be induced to buy bonds, and one of the two is sure to lose the mill and elevator, and, perhaps both will lose them, for, it is evident that the location doesn't depend upon advantages, which mean so much to successful enterprise.

The following is from the Courier News, Fargo, issue of September 15, 1919:

"FARGO CAN DO IT"

"Unofficial advices from Bismarck indicate that either Fargo or Grand Forks will be expected to subscribe \$1,000,000.00 in mill and elevator bonds in order to secure the location of the terminal mill and elevator, the main storage warehouse and the headquarters of the mill and elevator association. Whether this particular sum is actually required or not, it is well

within reason. The location of these great industries would be well worth such a sum to Fargo, by establishing the city's future beyond all doubt.

"Fargo and the surrounding territory could easily absorb a million in bonds. It need not be a permanent investment; it need only be a loan, if the subscribers so prefer, to secure the establishment here of the industries. Any study of state and municipal bonds will indicate that they are the very best investments. Just at present, due to the legal fights instituted by the opposition, outside buyers are timid about taking North Dakota mill and elevator bonds. But any lawyer or banker knows that the validity of these bonds is absolutely certain to be approved by the United States Supreme Court, just as the bonds of other states for similar purposes have always been approved, and when that time comes as it will within a year or so, anyone who may desire to sell his 5 percent investment can easily secure cash on it.

"So the Industrial Commission is not expecting anything in the way of a bonus from Fargo. It is merely asking for financial co-operation in securing the establishment in this city of the biggest industries in the northwest, outside of the Twin Cities and Duluth. That the people of Fargo and Cass County will not be found lacking when it comes to the actual financial campaign is proved by the fact that already subscriptions are being offered, although the Commercial Club has not yet received the final data it must have from Manager McGovern. Grand Forks may talk, but when it comes to an actual matching of dollar for dollar Grand Forks will, as always be trailing Fargo."

May I not remark that if the Pillsburys, or Crosbys, or Washburns were contemplating the establishment of a great mill and elevator in North Dakota, the first thing they would know is where to locate it, and, it wouldn't be at Drake. No inducement could cause them to locate it at Ambrose. Note the childish slur cast at Grand Forks in the above article. To create strife and bitterness is their stock in trade.

The writer graduated in the promotion business, but he never discounted a note; not one! He has had ample opportunity. The writer made loans at responsible and respectable banks on good and sufficient collateral. He never enjoyed the assistance or the prestige of the scalper banker.

The farmers are not alone to blame for the success of the socialistic movement in North Dakota. The writer once heard Mr. Francis P. Haney lecture on the question of graft in our greater municipalities. In pointing out where to find the king of grafters in such municipalities he said, "In your banks, always in your banks." It is so in North Dakota. The organizers of the Nonpartisan League were not moneyed men. It was absolutely impossible for them to operate without the assistance of banks. Their receipts were not always cash, cash being a very small fraction of the total receipts. The receipts came in the form of notes and post-dated checks. To get cash they had to go to banks. There were no Nonpartisan banks four years ago. Post-dated checks are never considered collateral, but they were relatively safe security two years ago. They are very unreliable security at the present writing. On what terms would a scalper banker make a loan on such security? On what terms did the scalper bankers make loans to the organizers?

Promoters who have no financial standing, or resources of their own, are often very careless when they discount paper at banks. I have known such to walk into banks and offer to slash paper to such an extent that the bankers would refuse to buy it, knowing that no business could endure under such proceedings. Some of these fellows do not seem to know that there is a difference between interest and discount. A banker once offered to take notes off the writer's hands at twenty-five percent discount. Said notes were due in thirty days and as good as the Bank of England,—three hundred per cent interest.

The scalper banker, as a rule, is a man who does business individually with his own money, using the

prestige of his bank as a magnet for pulling the crooks to him.

The Nonpartisan organizers won the confidence and admiration of the farmers by abusing big business. Today these leaders place the names of big business in advertisements in order to impress the farmers with the reliability of certain stocks they are about to sell. The Industrial Commission recently sold an option on State bonds to Wall Street brokers in the sum of \$3,000,000.00 and advertised the transaction as a wonderful achievement, and, in doing so gave credit to the one man representing big business, if there are such in this State. They accepted the business acumen of perhaps the keenest business man in North Dakota. If there ever was such an organization as the "old gang" then this man is the ex-officio president, secretary-treasurer, and chairman of the executive committee. Would that the State were guided by men of such sound business judgment as this man possesses. Strange that the farmers cannot see these inconsistencies.

There is yet another reason why the farmers are not wholly to blame. The writer assisted in circulating petitions for a referendum election held in June 1919. He found that the business men in the small towns were afraid of the farmers. Not afraid of Townley, but afraid of their neighbors. It was always difficult to find a person willing to circulate petitions. In one town not a business man, nor any man would do it. Finally a farmer who had moved into town for the winter, to give his children better school facilities, circulated the petitions in that town. Another farmer came to the town every morning to button-hole farmers on the street and escort them to where they could sign petitions. Many farmers were and are against the socialistic program and when they are they have the courage of their convictions. In one small town I found everybody opposed to the League. I asked the banker if the petitions had been circulated. He stated that they had been sent to the wrong man, a League

member, and of course he wouldn't circulate them. I said, "Here is where I get busy," and pulled out a petition. The gentleman declined to sign it. I then canvassed the town and found every man opposed to the League, yet not a man would sign a petition for a referendum election to refer certain radical bills to the people, which was in accordance with the laws of our State. Why? They were afraid of the farmers in their own community. Thus it is that the success of the movement can be attributed to three classes of people. First, a majority of the farmers, who actually, not honestly, believed that they were the goats of Christendom, that everybody was robbing them, and that this movement offered an opportunity to right matters, and incidentally get even with the gang that had so long lived off them. Second, a few bankers who unequivocally opposed the principles upon which the League was founded; who lost no opportunity to scoff at it, to condemn it, and yet, for personal gain, were so lacking in principle that they buried all thought of righteousness, of ethics, and for big discounts actually abetted the band of impractical visionaries in working a great financial loss upon our commonwealth. These same bankers are today quite profuse in their condemnation, yes, their damnation of the League leaders. They are trying to appear so different from what they really are. Third, the apathy and cowardice of the people living in the towns who were and are afraid to stand upon the courage of their convictions. There are so many of this class of people that it hurts. Tom Lawson, in his articles "Frenzied Finance," referred to this latter class of people as, "Gelatine-spined shrimps."

DISSENSION

When the new year of 1919 arrived, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction elect arrived at Bismarck to qualify and take office, the Nonpartisan incumbent sat tight and refused to vacate said office,

notwithstanding the fact that his opponent was elected by a majority of nearly 8,000 votes. This action of the former Superintendent of Public Instruction was acquiesced in by almost all of the State officials and all of the League bosses. The real reason for this acquiescence is socialism.

It was this acute condition of affairs that brought on the schism between the Attorney General and the League bosses. The Attorney General in conformance with his duties, that of interpreting and enforcing the laws, held that the Superintendent of Public Instruction elect was duly elected by the electors of the State and that she possessed the necessary qualifications for the office as provided for in the Constitution of the State of North Dakota. The Superintendent elect placed her case with the legal department of the State. Next to a lawyer's God comes the Constitution, if he is a rational being. So, when it came to a question between Mr. Townley and his socialistic cohorts and the Constitution of the State of North Dakota, the Attorney General stood by the Constitution. Ouster proceedings were brought to bear upon the League incumbent of the office and he was escorted from the office by the Governor, not as an officer of the law, but as a personal friend and sympathizer.

Mr. Townley doesn't mince words when he comes to the parting of the ways with different personalities; therefore, he unmercifully berated the Attorney General in the Nonpartisan League press, which has a large circulation among the farmers and which is read by them almost exclusively. The abuse of the Attorney General was a regular diet in the press, until finally, April 30th, 1919, the Attorney General turned upon his accuser with the following challenge, which has not been accepted:

"Bismarck, N. D., April 30.—William Langer, attorney general of North Dakota, who recently declared himself against several laws passed by the legislature with the result that a bitter fight has developed between himself and A. C. Townley, president of the

Nonpartisan League, today issued a public letter, as follows:

"You and your hirelings have lied to and are deceiving the farmers of North Dakota. You who had the greatest opportunity ever given to any man in North Dakota, were not big enough for the job. You hold your personal interests above the interests of the farmers who trusted you. Greedy for power, hungry for money, self-indulgent in your whims and with a mighty hate for all honest men who dare to counsel moderation, you betray the farmers of North Dakota.

"You, who hold nothing sacred; if the educational system lies in your paths you ruin it; if the independent press dares tell the truth, you wreck it. If an honest man exercises his American privilege of opposing certain bills, he is a crook, a coward, a dub and a fool.

"You imported into North Dakota radicals by the score. Who are they? They pay no taxes in North Dakota. They have made no sacrifices for North Dakota. They have no homesteads in North Dakota. They are not pioneers of North Dakota. They preach nothing but discontent. What are their characters?

"These men I have mentioned have no interests in North Dakota. To them North Dakota is nothing but an interesting experiment. The payment of taxes is to them, as it is to you, a matter of indifference.

"Beyond milking them to the utmost of your ability, you and these men 'love not the farmer' and are not the farmers' friends.

"You and your hirelings have said that I am a crook, a traitor, and that I have sold out and betrayed the farmers of North Dakota. You prove it. I waive a jury and ask that you prove it to the satisfaction of the man who declared you a bankrupt only a few months ago, the man who freed Walter Thomas Mills only a few weeks ago. Prove it to the satisfaction of the United States District Judge, Chas. F. Amidon, of Fargo.

“Prove it and I will resign the office to which I was elected. Prove it to the satisfaction of this one judge and I will resign. Prove that I have done one crooked act as Attorney General of the State of North Dakota. Prove that out of nearly a thousand opinions given by me as Attorney General, I have given one that wrongfully favored ‘big business.’ Prove that I have betrayed the farmers of North Dakota and the resignation will follow. And if you with your horde of detectives, organizers, spies and associates can’t prove it, then stand convicted before the farmers of the State of North Dakota, the men who trusted you. Stand convicted as a self-confessed liar and an assassin of character, a man more despicable than the ghoul that sneaks out under cover of darkness into ‘No Man’s Land’ and robs the dead.”*

(Signed) William Langer.

Notwithstanding this challenge, yet unaccepted, the farmers went to the polls at a special referendum election held in June and supported their new saviour.

During the legislative session of 1919, when certain radical bills were being considered, the Auditor, in conformance with his duties, went before certain committees to confer and to give his technical advice. His advice was too conservative to suit the radicals and Mr. Townley called upon him, told him what his duties were (duties to the League) and instructed him to remain in his office where he belonged and to mind his own G— D— business. Since that time, the Auditor has been living the life that God Almighty, the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of North Dakota vouchsafes him. Since that time he has energetically opposed certain bills passed by the legislature, and has been outspoken in exposing irregular practices as well as financial conditions under the present administration. On Sep-

*Mr. Langer knows Mr. Townley. Mr. Townley was his subject, not soldiers, dead soldiers, or No Man’s Land. His thoughts were wholly concentrated on Townley.

tember 1st, 1919, he gave a statement to the press to the effect that the general fund was in a depleted condition; that the August salaries of officials and clerks could not be fully paid. Immediately the Nonpartisan press accused him of falsifying the accounts, assuring the people that the salaries were paid promptly. Then the Auditor made another statement carrying a challenge which to date has not been accepted, as follows: "To the public:

"A desperate attempt is being made to discredit me with the people of this State. It has been charged by the Townley press that I have depleted the general fund by making illegal and unwarranted transfers from this fund. As usual these statements are contemptible lies, as will not only the records of my office and those of the state treasurer's office prove but also the fact that Governor Frazier and Commissioner Hagen, the majority members of the Industrial Commission, voted to loan the state general fund from The Bank of North Dakota the sum of \$25,000.00 clearly establish the falsity of these charges. The fact that Governor Frazier has deemed it necessary to transfer funds from the Bank of North Dakota to the state general fund is proof that such fund is absolutely depleted, for if the charges and insinuations of the Townley press, to the effect that I have juggled or misappropriated the general fund of the state, were true, then action could have been started in the courts before this time and I could have been compelled to credit back to the general fund any money wrongfully transferred from such fund. The truth of the matter is that every dollar that belongs to the state general fund is in that fund today and if Townley and his press, Governor Frazier or anyone else, connected with the administration, think otherwise, let them be men enough to go into the courts of this state and prove their malicious statements."

(Signed) Carl Kositzky.

State Auditor.

AN ACADEMIC AUTOCRACY

Certain individuals in educational work, members of faculties of our higher institutions of learning, possessed certain scholastic degrees, some higher than others, of course. Some of our State educational institutions engaged instructors who didn't possess any degrees. There were a few of such. Most of these instructors possessing degrees are also possessed of a certain degree not conferred by any of the great institutions of learning, the degree of C.S. (common sense). A few of those of high degree failed to possess this most essential of all degrees. They placed degrees ahead of ability, intelligence, or common sense.

One of the State schools possessed a goodly bunch of this latter sort. They formed themselves into a society of their own and lived apart from most of their fellows on the faculty. This coterie of autocrats styled themselves "The Magazine Club." Some of its members were quite persistent in their demands that they should be paid according to their degrees, regardless of results obtained. The President of the institution was an educator of the practical kind and worked for and recognized results. He placed results ahead of scholastic degrees. He informed these discontents that the parties of low degree, or no degree, as the case might be, of whom they complained, were getting results, and that their salaries were based upon the results obtained. The President was too good a fellow. He endured much annoyance for several years, by permitting these discontents to remain on the payroll. He refrained from asking for their resignations, not wishing any act of his to be a handicap to their success in life. An honest man is not suspicious, therefore, he didn't suspect that a conspiracy existed. He was long suffering and kind, but he isn't president any more.

Closely associated with this "Magazine Club," was the Nonpartisan League incumbent of the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Some

years ago this autocrat of high degree had a vision. He looked over the field and saw in perspective clear sailing for himself for the Superintendency of Public Instruction,—almost. But he saw possible opposition in the person of a very progressive young woman. The more he visualized the more formidable she appeared as a possible candidate for the same office. This young woman possessed all the qualifications to admirably fit her for the duties of this office. Her qualifications were of the practical kind attained by actual experience supplemented by a liberal education. But she didn't possess the degrees possessed by his Lordship. The more he contemplated the probability of this young woman aspiring to be a candidate for this office the more he plotted her destruction. He worked overtime at her annihilation. As State Inspector of Rural Schools, his duties took him among the county superintendents of the state. He talked propaganda to them as some of them have informed the writer. He talked it to the writer personally. He had a bill introduced during the legislative session of 1915, and again during the session of 1917, setting forth the qualifications which candidates for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction must possess; said qualifications consisting mostly in the possession of certain scholastic degrees. These bills were directed at a certain young woman whom he feared and who was so capable she could take degrees with very little effort, but who was too busy to get away from official duties to take them. Cartoons appeared in the press at the time, showing the gentleman being measured so that the bill might be properly framed to fit his personality. These bills failed to pass. So it came about, in keeping with divine law, that he has had occasion to weep like Job of old, and cry out in anguish of spirit, "For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me."

I have used the quotation that, "He who is the greatest sticker for justice is the most unjust of all;" that

people are the opposite of what they appear to be. Let us apply this philosophy in this man's case. This man bases his contention that he is the bona fide Superintendent of Public Instruction on the grounds that his opponent is not qualified for the office; that he himself is eminently qualified because of certain degrees. This being the case, isn't it strange that stenographers dislike to do work for him? The writer has been voluntarily informed by stenographers that the gentleman cannot dictate; that he has a difficult task to express the ideas which he leaves with them to be put into words; that they have to arrange the sentences, punctuation, etc.

A linotype operator set up a job of a twenty page pamphlet written by the gentleman. He set the job according to copy, with the exception of typographical errors. When the gentleman's wife got through reading proof on it, they scrapped the entire job and set it over again.

I once saw a comedy at the Illinois Theatre, Chicago, which I recall quite vividly. Miss Lulu Glaiser, was playing in "Dolly Dollars." The gist of the play was as follows: Lord Burlingame was a young man whose late father had left great estates and lots of money. But with the estates and the cash the will provided that he must take certain degrees at Oxford. Upon his taking the specified degrees at Oxford depended his acquisition of the property. The young Lord didn't like this provision of the will. He acquired a suitable substitute to take the degrees, while he hired out to old man Dollars as chauffeur, and incidentally drove Dolly around. The substitute at Oxford possessed an acute mind, for learning, but lacked a balance wheel. He was deficient in this respect in his upper story. After receiving the degrees at Oxford, he returned to the estate looking for the real Lord Burlingame. He appeared upon the stage attired in his Oxford cap and gown, and addressed the audience relative to the awkward position in which he found himself. He touched his head to indicate where his trouble lay, and stated

about as follows: "It is a most embarrassing position in which the young Lord has placed me. Here I am an A.M., LL.D., Ph.D., etc., but what am I to do with them. I am jolly well educated don't cher know, but what good is education to me when I am not all thaah, when I am cracked!"

THE ADMINISTRATION BILL

Great disappointment followed the defeat of the Nonpartisan Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Superintendent elect was a monkey-wrench thrown into the gearing of the machinery of the League. They could no longer depend upon co-operative effort from that office, and, \$62,000,000.00 in the school fund. The Governor, the Attorney General, the Secretary of State, the Auditor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction constituted the Board of University and School Lands. The Attorney General was supporting the Superintendent of Public Instruction elect. The Auditor wouldn't stay put, and the Secretary of State was showing signs of becoming obstreperous. Conditions were fast becoming chaotic.

HOUSE BILL 44 of the previous session, which was no more or less than a new constitution by legislative enactment, a monstrosity equal to the machinations of the soviets in Russia, having failed of passage, something had to be done to provide for the introduction of the teaching of socialism into the schools. But, had they not lost the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, the action taken in Senate Bill 134 would not have been so drastic.

SENATE BILL 134 created the Board of Administration. This board consists of five members, and a secretary. The Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, being ex-officio members of said Board. This Board of Administration supervises all penal, charitable and educational institutions, and the public schools of the State. It supersedes all other boards, etc. The Superintendent of Public Instruction finds herself a minority of one on the Board.

Section 6 states. "***Said Board shall make all necessary rules and regulations for its own official procedure and for the general administration, supervision and management of the various penal, charitable and educational institutions, and for the general supervision of the public schools of the State.***" The Board has very broad powers. It is easy to appreciate the Superintendent of Public Instruction's position on this Board.

The Board has power to appoint a temporary school commission "*** to investigate the kinds and cost of library books and text books for use in the public schools of this State.***" The Public Library Commission seems to have been assigned this duty, as the following news item attests:

"Bismarck, N. D., Sept. 16.—Madame Signe Lund is the most recent adjunct of the State official family. Madame Lund 'sat in' yesterday in the public library commission, assisting in the checking up of the records, books, etc., inaugurated several days ago by Charles E. Stangeland. Signe Lund is a Chicago woman; she has spent about six months in the employ of the Nonpartisan League, and has given considerable time to the defense of Kate Richards O'Hare, the socialist serving time in the Leavenworth penitentiary for violating the espionage act. Circulation of literature seeking to show that Kate O'Hare should be freed has been Signe Lund's specialty.

"The public library commission is now controlled by Stangeland, whose radical views were such that the United States Government was obliged to dispense with his services while he was attached to the American consular service in England. The appointment of Stangeland, and the subsequent calling in of Signe Lund, is in the line with the Board of Administration policy of socializing the State's educational system."

Section 7, "*** The Board of Administration shall appoint an Educational Commission to consist of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall be ex-officio chairman of the commission, and four other

members appointed by the Board*** subject to the direction and general approval of the Board, to have special charge and supervision of the certification of teachers, standardization of schools, examination for eighth grade and high school pupils, preparation of courses of study for the several classes of public schools, and such other work as may be assigned to it by the Board***."

It isn't difficult to see how little the present Superintendent of Public Instruction, who was elected by the people of the State, is considered, or regarded by the socialist bosses who were placed in power on the profession of love extraordinary for the dear people.

This Board goes even further than the law provides. One of the most boldly officious of the many egotistic demagogues who now infest this State, a member of this Board, caused the following to be written into the minutes of a recent Board meeting:

"In view of the many other duties of the two ex-officio members in connection with their own departments, it was thought advisable that they be called upon to meet only for the more important matters affecting the election of heads of institutions and the most prominent faculty members, etc.—the three appointive members to act upon all other matters. Upon suggestion by Pres. Totten it was decided, temporarily, to hold meetings of the full Board on the first Tuesday of each month. This was approved by all members. Pres. Totten then especially invited the two ex-officio members to feel free at any time to participate in any of the deliberations of the three appointive members."

The above minutes state, "This was approved by all members." However, the Superintendent calmly informed the gentleman that she would be present at all sessions of the commissions and of the Board. This woman doesn't cry any, either.

This administration measure was passed upon the promise of the Governor that the Ex-Superintendent

would not be appointed a member of the Board of Administration. But they passed a bill that gives the Board unlimited powers, as per section 6, therefore, the Board created a new office for its "doll-baby" that of "Educational Advisor and General School Inspector," with a salary equal to the salaries of the members of the Board. This office gives him power equal with the Superintendent because he assumes it with the backing of the Board. Somebody once said, "How long, O Lord, how long?" This action by the Board brought forth the following letter:

"Bismarck, August 22, 1919.

"Dear School Officer:

"Last January when I addressed a letter to the school officers of the state, it met with such hearty response as to encourage a policy of this department to work with and through the school officers for the betterment of our schools. I feel that I would be neglecting my duty if at this time I did not tell you, as one of those most directly interested in our schools, what the newly created Board of Administration has done and plans to do in the immediate future to deprive this office of its responsibility and duties.

"Because friends of the Board of Administration bill told you before the referendum election that this bill would not take from this office any powers and duties, you should know that on August 13, nine cartloads of books, records, blanks and other supplies used in the conduct of our work, were removed from this office. These books, records, etc., had been a part of this office since North Dakota became a state. They were removed by order of the State Board of Administration.

"You should know that the work of issuing certificates to teachers has been removed from this office to another room in the capitol building and placed in charge of E. P. Crain, assisted by Mrs. N. C. Macdonald. This work has been conducted in this office, under the supervision of the State Superintendent,

since North Dakota became a state. It was removed from this office by the order of the Board of Administration.

"You should know that the Board of Administration has authorized its educational commission to prepare the course of study for the common schools of the state. This is a right and a duty that under the law has belonged to the State Superintendent since North Dakota became a state. On this point the Board of Administration asked Attorney General William Langer for an opinion. Attorney General Langer has again come to the assistance of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and as a result the Supreme Court has ordered the Board of Administration on September 8, to show by what authority it assumes to prepare the course of study for the common schools of the state.

"It is apparent that further attempts will be made on the part of the Board to strip this office of all authority and responsibility, unless the people of the state protest to the Governor against such unwarranted and illegal action.

"I am under bond to the people of the state and have taken an oath of office faithfully to perform the duties of the office to which I was elected. I write this letter not merely to inform you of policies and proposed policies because they deprive this office of its functions and duties, but in the interests of our common schools.

"I trust that with the betterment of our schools at heart you will give this matter more than passing thought "

(Signed) Minnie J. Nielson.

SOCIALISM

Does it not appear as though socialism is at the bottom of the entire movement in North Dakota? Farmers and farmers' wives have indignantly informed the writer that the Nonpartisan League is not socialistic. I will quote from "The New Appeal" of February 8, 1919, as follows:

“Radical Program of Legislation is being worked out by Nonpartisan Law Makers who now control the State of North Dakota.

“Provisions for state-owned grain elevators and flour mills, a state-owned bank, a new system of state taxation hitting corporations and land speculators and grants power to State to invade field of private capital and do business for itself.

“In these days of progress The New Appeal finds frequent occasion to congratulate itself, for measures, that it has been advocating for years, are rapidly coming to the fore. *This paper feels particularly gratified and self congratulatory over the legislative program announced by the Nonpartisan League representatives who control the State of North Dakota. This radical program includes the very things The New Appeal has been fighting for; incidentally it was prepared with the advice of a New Appeal man, Walter Thomas Mills, the well known socialist lecturer, who conducted correspondence courses for the readers of The New Appeal, and who has for years been a contributor to the columns of this paper***.*”

“The overthrow of the Czar was indeed a master liberating stroke, releasing nearly two hundred millions of people from bondage belonging to the dark ages of man’s history. Surely there is no one who would *regret this splendid spectacle of freedom.*” (in Russia).

The New Appeal is a new name for the “Appeal to Reason.” The Government wouldn’t allow The Appeal to Reason to go through the mails, so the name of this most radical socialist paper was changed.

Walter Thomas Mills also conducted a school at Bismarck during the legislative session, and was a regular tutor for penitentiary inmates, and, Kate Richards O’Hare also lectured to the penitentiary inmates while visiting Mr. Mills, and Governor Frazier, this last winter.

On September 1st, Labor Day, the Governor of the State of North Dakota gave voice to words that

indicate the correctness of the assertions made by The New Appeal, quoted above. A news item from the capital city reads as follows:

"Bismarck, N. D., Sept. 2.—The corridors and halls seem to echo it; in the mantle of suspense which hangs over the capitol one seems to feel it; the mice in the attic (of the building of course) squeak out their opinions concerning it; even 'Sakakawea' on her pedestal in the grounds seems to have her mouth pursed for the first syllable of the word 'Impeachment.'

"Who will it be? 'Langer and Kositzky,' say the socialistic leaders.

"But Hist! There be rumors that counter impeachment proceedings will be brought against Governor Lynn J. Frazier. Impeachment of the Governor is no idle murmur of the winds, say attorneys of the capital city. They cite from the Townley Farmers' press the following quotation from Frazier's Labor Day speech:

"Our forefathers in 1776 had no voice in the taxes they had to pay, so they organized the Revolution and broke away from tyranny. It was a just revolution. I hope to God we can change things here by the use of the ballot. I think we can. But if we can't it may be necessary to have another just revolution."

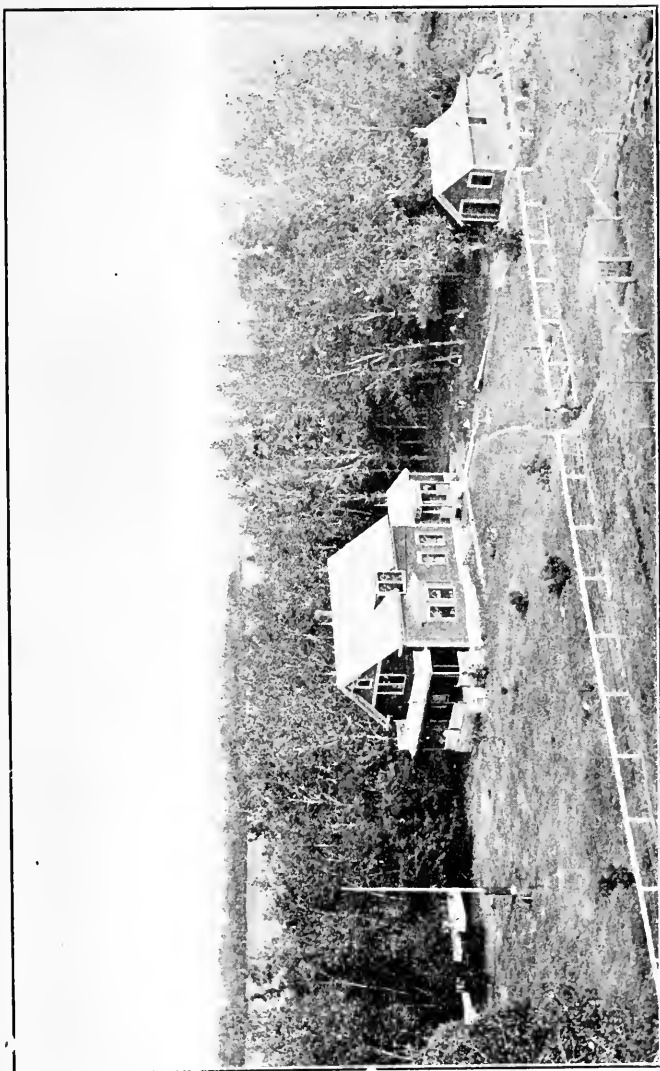
"On the official books on file in the office of the Secretary of State, Thos. Hall, there is the following oath:

"I, Lynn Frazier, of Hoople, N. D., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of North Dakota, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of Governor according to the best of my ability. So help me God."

Is the movement socialistic, or anarchistic?

TAXES

Much could be written about taxes, but I am not going to tire the reader with statistics. One of the



HOME OF MR. AND MRS. T. J. LEE, NEAR VALLEY CITY, N. D.

This farm home is complete in modern equipment. Electric light and power is furnished by high tension current from a centrally located plant at Valley City. Mr. and Mrs. Lee lived on this spot in a sod shanty when the prairie was a barren wilderness. The groves of trees in the distance indicates where the neighbors' homes are located.



THE PIONEERS

This pioneer home was in the western portion of the state, near Benedict.

fundamental causes of strife, or the feeling of injury on the part of the farmers, is the time-worn argument that "the farmers pay it all." If a man takes the platform, and addresses an audience of farmers, and should shout to them, "They make the farmer pay it all!" the audience immediately becomes passive, and a great love goes out for the gentleman who so daringly espouses their cause. They feel a resentment against the tyrants, whoever they are, and they fall under the gentleman's suggestive power. If he is selling gold bricks they will buy the bricks.

Does the farmer pay it all? Yes! of course he pays it all. Farming is the fundamental industry in North Dakota, and the fundamental industry must pay it all. In manufacturing districts, where there is nothing else but manufacturing, then that industry must pay it all. In large timber districts, lumbering must pay it all. The fundamental industry must pay it all. No laws can be formulated that will alter these natural conditions. Therefore it follows, that when the people in their efforts to make the business men pay increased taxes, the business men are obliged to increase the selling price of the commodities which they have to offer, and the ultimate result is that the increase must be paid by the people. The people, many of them, think this is unfair, and that the business organizations ought not to raise their prices to meet increased cost caused by increased taxes, but should submit to the will of the people and operate at a loss. That is the object aimed at. Break them. Destroy big business, which in the last analysis means, destroy business. Business cannot endure at a loss, therefore, if the people could have their way in this respect conditions would become chaotic. The goose that lays the golden eggs would die, and the people would be obliged to get along without many of the things which they now demand as their rights. You must feed a cow if you expect to get any milk. If you starve a cow she won't give any milk. I once heard a vaudeville story about a cow owned in part-

nership. Tom and Bill owned the cow. Bill claimed the rear half of the cow, therefore, Tom was compelled to accept the front half. Tom had to feed his half and Bill got all the milk. But Tom got even. Tom killed his half and Bill's died.

Will the people of North Dakota pay more taxes? I think so. It is natural that taxes should increase in keeping with the increase along all lines. But the lavish expenditures in North Dakota; the hordes of hangers on; the many additional offices created, with secretaryships and clerkships attached, many of them carrying larger salaries than some of the State officials are paid, will certainly make it necessary to increase the revenue of the State. How will it be done? Taxes. Who pays taxes? Property owners. Who owns the property in North Dakota? The farmers.

But the Industrial Commission has found an easier way to replenish the shrinking general fund. The simple method of borrowing money from The Bank of North Dakota. You see this bank was established by selling State bonds,—\$2,000,000.00. Very simple. The State is good for it. \$5,000,000.00 more is to be expended in flour mills and elevators. Then the Commission can expend \$10,000,000.00 more in other utilities. Of course there is no danger because of the wonderful profits that will accrue from the different state-owned industries. These profits will pay all moneys back to the bank with interest. Suppose the multiplication table should prove faulty, and should slip just a little,—Taxes.

BIG BUSINESS

It may seem to some people that I am one-sided; that I am abusing the common people and condoning big business. Some will accuse me of being hired and subsidized to do it. Let me say right here without any hesitation, mental reservation or secret evasion of mind whatever, that with the exception of a certain publishing house in an eastern city, I make the assertion unequivocally, that big business knows nothing

about the writing of this book. The publishing house is business; business which cannot be avoided if this book is to see the light of day. If it is big business, then it bespeaks honesty, thrift, energy and industry on the part of the publishing house.

This message is intended for the common people. I haven't anything to ask of the people; no selfish motives; therefore, it isn't necessary to tell them anything but the truth. As I write I recall the coming of a young man out of the West, and in a great speech made much of the common people. During that great outburst of oratory he said, "It has never been the judgment of the common people." And, "If they will come out and declare themselves in favor of the single gold standard, we will fight them to the uttermost." (continued cheers.) That young man was immediately given a presidential nomination.

No, I am not handing bouquets to the common people, because I have nothing to sell, and my motive is not to continue in wrong doing. The people,—the great mass of humanity known as the common people, have been injured beyond the power of man to describe, by the years and years of teaching that they have been imposed upon. I am not denying that they have been imposed upon. All classes have been imposed upon. Even big business, the railroads have been imposed upon. Imposed upon by politicians seeking personal favors at the hands of their constituents until the railroads are deteriorating in efficiency. The railroads couldn't increase their rates to meet the added burdens, as the oil companies could increase prices. They were compelled to become less efficient, which in turn works a hardship upon the common people.

Is it not plain to see that because some self-seeking demagogue preaches hatred, and attacks big business, the people sell themselves into a trap? To maintain popularity he must do something, and the people like to see big business "lambasted", therefore, politicians seeking favor concoct every possible scheme to work

hardships on "Big Business, the enemy of the people," many times much to the people's delight. How does it affect the people? Prices of commodities are forced upward. Railroads become less efficient, and the people must pay it all. It is in keeping with divine law. "Whoso causeth the righteous to go astray in an evil way, he shall fall, himself into his own pit: but the upright shall have good things in possession."

It is high time that the man who cannot succeed in this world by constructive effort, and who grows rich and worldly successful by attacking everything seen and unseen should be ostracised from society. He should be shunned by all respectable people. He is an enemy of mankind and an emissary of Satan. Why, or how could it be possible for all big successful things to be vile with iniquity? Did the world progress through the ages through the efforts of such people? My personal experience has been that the bigger the man the fairer and less selfish he is. It is the little benighted soul who finds God's creation all wrong.

The common people have been imposed upon. Not so much perhaps by big business as by little business, by business all around them. It is simply selfishness and avariciousness on the part of individuals. I read recently of a woman down south who purchased two shares of the League of Nations. She paid \$450.00 each for the shares without reservations. The shares were worth \$600.00 with reservations. Was big business to blame for that woman being fleeced? That class of people is always ready to heed and obey a calamity howler. I know of a woman who recently emigrated to another state, who said, "I jest love it when we are all torn up ready to move to some place, but I jest hate it when we are going to settle down some place." That class of people never acquire any of the good things, but they will give an attentive ear to the calamity howler and vote to destroy the goose that lays the golden eggs which gives them a livelihood.

There never was a day in the history of the world

when the common people enjoyed blessings equal with the kings and queens of the earth, as they do at the present time. The people who work are paid large salaries. They have stated incomes, and most of them live beyond them — and therein lies the trouble. Successful people do not do so, but keep enlarging their foundation instead of weakening it. The farmers are not laboring men. Some work hard in season. But theirs' is physical labor and a nights sleep brings wonderful refreshment. None of them have the continual grief of the business man. If the crop is light and they don't make any money, they borrow some money if need be. If they are unable to meet all their bills, they don't worry, the other fellow does that. Today, threshing is over and the farmers are plowing and holding their wheat for \$4.00 per bushel, and the merchants are doing the worrying. Not because they think they will lose anything, but because they have their bills to meet. They are placed in a buffer position. The farmers know they are good for it, and that ought to be sufficient. They learn the difference when they quit farming and go into business. If the crop is heavy, then they are big winners. In North Dakota land values are going upward, therefore, the farmers are growing rich faster than any other class of people. Even the western farmers in the dry belt of the past few seasons are growing rich through the increase of land values. Climatic conditions will become normal again, and the price of land will go upward bounding because there isn't a frontier any more to retard the advance in values. The farmers of these dry belts are enduring hardships, but they will become rich beyond the measure of the merchants who are today their sole support. Today in these dry districts, the farmers will gather in a hall, or a school house to meet a Nonpartisan agitator, and pass resolutions condemning big business and all business as enemies of the farmers. The next day these same farmers will drive to town and buy machinery, merchandise, etc., *on time* from the follows they reso-

luted against. When the meetings are held in towns, they will go straight from the meetings to the stores and buy goods *on time*. There is a great lack of consistency. Of course they are obliged to do this because the agitators do not trust them for one dollar. It is always money with the agitators, and, *they give nothing in return*.

It is easy to understand that the farmers of North Dakota have acted with the knowledge and beliefs which they have for years been storing away in their sub-consciousness as potential energy for safekeeping and future use.

In support of my argument that the farmers of North Dakota are not poor, miserable, downtrodden weaklings, tramped into the earth by premeditated spoliation on the part of all business interests with which they are obliged to co-operate, I will quote an advertisement that appeared in the Devils' Lake Journal, September 13, 1919, as follows:

"I have made enough money to satisfy me.

"It was only a few years ago that I came to Ramsey county with good health and a determination to do, as my only capital. I have made all my money farming right here, and I have accumulated enough so I can afford to quit. I have one of the best farms in the county—a farm that has made a fortune for me—and I offer it for sale. I have stock, machinery, feed and everything complete and I am in position to give some energetic man a good bargain—one that will enable him to make a fortune in a few years, the same as I have. A crop failure was never known on this land, and in all the years I have farmed it I was always able to put some money in the bank. My improvements are good, my stock is good, my machinery is in good repair, and my land is clean and in good condition."

—Robert Cochrane,

Devils' Lake, N. D.

The writer is not acquainted with Mr. Cochrane,

but there are a few very revealing sentences in his advertisement:

"My machinery is in good repair." A trip through North Dakota will show too much valuable machinery out in the weather to rust.

"My stock is good." That's another reason why he is retiring with a fortune made. Good stock costs no more to keep than scrub stock.

"My land is clean." You bet it is, or Mr. Cochrane wouldn't be retiring. That is why he never had a crop failure. The man who farms right will put some money in the bank, when the careless fellow hasn't enough to pay him for cutting it.

Mr. Cochrane shows a noble spirit in giving some other man a chance to do as he has done. No doubt he can give valuable directions just how to do it. And, *he has given the lie to the horde of agitators that infest this state.*

CHAPTER VI

The Rabble gather round the man of news
And listen with their mouths open; some talk,
Some hear, some judge of news, some make it,
And he that lies the loudest, is most believed.
—Dryden.

There is no doubt that the present movement toward destruction throughout the civilized world has reached greater proportions than ever before. The great progress made during the past few decades has made it possible for the movement to assume tremendous proportions. But, it isn't anything new, because there isn't anything new under the sun. That is positively and scientifically true. Man has made great discoveries, but there's isn't anything new. Marconi made a great discovery, but he didn't create the forces. The forces necessary to make wireless an accomplished fact always existed. The principle of steam generated in strong containers, and allowed to escape through ports opened and closed by a sliding valve controlled by an eccentric, into ends of a cylinder, alternately, thus driving a piston from end to end of the cylinder, which, connected with a crank has turned the wheels of industry, was always in existence. If it wasn't discovered before Watts' and Stevenson's time, it wasn't because of lack of the principle involved. One can go on and on and prove that there isn't anything new under the sun.

Neither is discontent a new psychological condition. It has always existed. Socrates was handed the cup of hemlock in 399 B. C. So, it was more than two thousand four hundred years ago when he stated:

“And the proof is that many of them in their ignorance, attributing all to themselves and despising me, either of their own accord or at the instigation of

others, have gone away sooner than they ought; and the result has been that they have produced abortions by reason of their evil communications, * * * deeming lies and shadows of more value than the truth; and they have at last ended by seeing themselves as others see them, to be great fools."

The people of North Dakota, in their ignorance, attributing all to themselves and despising all business with which they were obliged to co-operate, were willing of themselves, yet at the instigation of others, they proceeded to bring forth divers state-owned utilities, by reason of their evil communications, deeming lies and shadows of more value than the truth, and they stand in great danger of ending by seeing themselves as others see them, to be great fools.

The people interested in the present radical movements think they are doing original work; that it is something new. Very few have been students of history, either political, economic or industrial, and this applies to the leaders also; therefore, they do not know that their scheme has been tried over and over again, and that they stand upon a platform floating in air, as it were, a platform unsupported by the posts of experience, based upon a foundation of truth, imbedded in the soil of creative science which is of God.

During the reign of King Henry VI., of England, in the fifteenth century, the same discontent was in the minds of the people; the same complaints were made that are being voiced today throughout the world. The conditions must have existed or Shakespeare would not have had the material for the following lines:

"Geo.—I tell thee, Jack Cade the clothier means to dress the commonwealth, and turn it, and set a new nap upon it.

John—So he hath need, for 'tis threadbare. Well, I say it was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up.

Geo.—O miserable age! Virtue is not regarded in handicrafts-men.

John—The nobility thinks scorn to go in leather aprons.

Geo.—Nay, more, the King's council are no good workmen.

John—True; and yet it is said, labor in thy vocation; which is as much to say as, let the magistrates be laboring men; and therefore should we be magistrates.

Geo.—Thou hast hit it; for there's no better sign of a brave mind than a hard hand."

And again, when Jack Cade harangued the people along the same lines as they are being harangued to-day:

"Be brave, then; for your captain is brave, and vows reformation. There shall be in England seven half-penny loaves sold for a penny: the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it a felony to drink small beer: all the realm shall be in common; and in Cheapside shall my palfrey go to grass: and when I am King, as King I will be,*** all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their Lord."

"Away, burn all the records of the realm: my mouth shall be the parliament of England,*** And henceforward all things shall be in common."

There were people in England who strove to attain, thus endeavoring to comply with the Creator's law of compensation; people who understood that in order that they might receive certain benefits it would be necessary for them to make the corresponding effort; that if they were going to be able to read and to write, it would be necessary for them to put forth sufficient effort mentally to acquire the art of reading and writing. But, at that age the people were evidently opposed to any advancement, as per the following dialogue:

"Cade—Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast

thou a mark to thyself, like an honest plain-dealing man?

Clerk—Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up that I can write my name.

All—He hath confessed: away with him! he's a villain and a traitor.

Cade—Away with him, I say! hang him with his pen and inkhorn about his neck."

It is evident that education made its way in the world through much tribulation, as the following from this same Jack Cade's indictment of Lord Say, also implies:

"I am the besom that must sweep the court clean of such filth as thou art. Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, and, contrary to the King, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear."

This man, Jack Cade, backed by the rabble of ignorance, actually emptied the jails of England to gain adherents, as the Russia Bolsheviki are accused of doing.

The above is Shakespeare's version of Jack Cade's activity. English history proves that Wat Tyler went a good deal farther than did Cade. Wat Tyler demanded from the King a commission to put to death all lawyers, escheaters and others which by any means had anything to do with the law. Wat Tyler's purpose was to do away with all who understood or had anything to do with the law, so that all things could be ordered according to the will and disposition of the people. Wat Tyler obliged the teachers of children in the grammar schools to swear never to instruct in their art. An English writer of the old school states: "It was dangerous among them to be known for one

that was learned, and more dangerous if any man was found with a penner and inkhorne at his side; for such seldome or never escaped from them alive."

Bolshevism in the fifteenth century endeavored to obstruct progress and to have all things in common. No doubt it entertained the dream that to have all things in common meant a life without effort, or, a life of confiscation. Confiscation of all property and wealth created by those who strive seems to be the policy of today, in Russia. They would confiscate until there is nothing to confiscate, then poverty, squalor and starvation until again the ambitious class begins striving and creating, which energy, if allowed to be used constructively will not only bring prosperity to those who strive, but, will also make a livelihood for the drones.

The movements are one and the same thing. Always the same thing and they are not new even in our own country, as the following from Mr. Gustavus Meyers, in the Review of Reviews, states:

"Bolshevism may appear strikingly new to this generation. But it is an old story in the annals of American history. The only new thing about its present revival is its name. The essentials of it are antique. Ninety and more years ago they were widely urged in the United States by the so-called communists. The American workmen were not only pressed to rise and create a new system based upon them, but a deliberate attempt was made to manipulate the workers' organizations in favor of the plan. The American workmen rejected the program, and did so after giving it the fullest consideration.

"There are many obvious resemblances between the communist agitation of 1826-1834 and the bolshevism of today. Both denounce the professional class, although, like the bolshevism of these days the movement of nearly a century ago was led exclusively by professional theorists. The project of dispensing with technical or administrative skill in the industries was then clearly implied, and the supremacy of manual

labor then preached is the precise dogma upon which modern bolshevism bases the fierce demand for '*A dictatorship of the proletariat.*' In these respects, and obviously in many others, the communism of ninety years ago bore striking resemblance to the bolshevist program, but the world in which it found itself was a very different one from ours, and we have yet to learn how speedily the present movement will spend itself or find new forms of expression."

It was during the above mentioned movement in this country that Daniel Webster made the following remarks, ninety-one years ago:

"There are persons who constantly clamor. They complain of oppression, speculation and the pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations and all means by which small capitals become united in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all established institutions. In a country of unbounded liberty they clamor against oppression. In a country of perfect equality they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where the wages of labor are high beyond parallel they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave."

This is as applicable to the conditions in 1919 as it was to conditions in 1828. Since the day when Cain envied the apparent greater success of his brother Abel until now, we have always had with us the man who envies the success of others and spends the time he should be working, in agitating for an unearned share of the things acquired by the industrious and the thrifty.

The above quotations prove conclusively that there isn't anything new in the present mental condition of discontent. Civilization has made it more deadly in its scope, that is all. Is it possible that civilization can act that way? The following quotations would indicate that it is possible:

"The Prussians are cruel by nature ; civilization will make them ferocious." —Goethe.

"The Prussians *** nature has made them stupid, science has made them wicked." —Heine.

I have quoted the above because it is "out of their own mouths" and because we have had the proofs in our own generation. It is strange indeed that civilization, which means an improvement along all lines in the way of welfare of the people, should have a tendency to make people dissatisfied. Yet it is true. If you should meet a man in need of assistance to save him from actual want, and you should give him a dollar for food, and a dollar the next day, and the next for six days, but on the seventh you refuse to give him the expected dollar, suggesting that he has had sufficient time in which to help himself, you will have made an enemy. You will have added one more to the list who are out to get even. It also proves that it is weakening to the recipient of gifts because it deprives him of the necessary struggle which nature demands. If you pamper children and give in to their every whim, they will lead you a merry chase. If you pamper adults, accede to every demand, throw bouquets at them in the form of reference to their grievances, which savors of sympathy, you must expect a merry chase; especially if you are dealing with adults with child minds.

There will never be a satisfactory solution of the labor troubles until mankind possesses a greater comprehension of the fundamental principles of the laws of creation, until man learns that to get more of the physical, or material things of this world he must live more; that it is psychologically and economically impossible for an idler who whiles away his life without a creative thought to possess the material success of a James J. Hill. At present it appears that the more the laborer is given the more he will want. The more he gets the more he thinks he can get, and the more he will despise an imaginary enemy. Supply and demand, cause and effect, are never considered by the

workers. Capital is accused of selfishness and hoggishness. I do not hold any brief for the capitalists, but the capitalists know what they are doing and labor does not. Labor follows blindly the direction of socialistic agitators, walking delegates. I have had crew after crew made up of men from almost every state in the Union and foreign countries. I never had any trouble with them except in isolated cases. I always found that if I fed them well, paid them well, and worked them well, they would be all right. The only cause of trouble would be stops, little mechanical troubles that would cause stops which would give the men an opportunity to rest behind shocks too frequently. Idleness is very bad medicine for any bunch of men even if they are being paid for it. But, I have listened to strange arguments. I have listened to conversation in hay-mows and in tents that would make a statesman shiver. I know the mentality of the rank and file. I know the quantity and quality of consideration that is given to the present-day labor questions by the rank and file. I know the quality of *potential energy* that has been stored away in the mentality, the sub-consciousness, for safekeeping and future use, by the average individual in that walk of life. They are good fellows, most of them. I have found princes among them, even though they are "dubbed" "hobos" in this fair State. But the majority have failed to equip themselves with any knowledge of economic affairs, or of any of that stuff called self-assertiveness, and they prove easy marks for the class of individuals to which Webster referred in 1828.

I haven't mentioned experiences in the newspaper business from the "devil" to the editorial chair. The newspaper business has its difficulties, the chief of which is often to make the "ghost walk." The ghost failed to walk to me with \$13.00 away back in 1883. I have that sum coming to me with interest. One Saturday afternoon, long ago, in a middle-western city, the ghost couldn't walk in a certain prominent newspaper office. The "typos" stood around want-

ing their money. They were entitled to it. But owing to a stringency in the money market, a purely local condition, the paper failed to have means with which to meet the payroll. It was unfortunate, but the printers wouldn't consider any misfortune. They demanded their money or there would be no issue of the paper on the following morning. They would kill the goose that laid the golden eggs right there. The scene in that office on that occasion can be illustrated by calling attention to a picture painted at Chinook, Montana, by a cowboy named Russell. An exceptionally cold and stormy winter with lots of snow had decimated the herd and the balance were in a starving condition. The foreman didn't have the heart to inform the owner in the east, at least he dreaded the duty. One of the cowboys said: "I'll tell him!" He painted a picture of a steer standing in the snow; poor, gaunt, with woebegone expression, hump-backed and doubled up. Around the critter was a pack of wolves silently waiting for the collapse. He wrote under the picture, "The Last of the Five Thousand," and sent it to the owner. The newspaper in question occupied a position similar to that of the starved critter. An election campaign had just closed, and, of course, the paper had made enemies, and friends. One of the bitterest enemies owed the paper a considerable sum of money. It would have been good business judgment to have delayed the collecting of this account until the heat of election had cooled, or until the gentleman had changed his opinion, perhaps. But the sight of that pack, and the silence of it, caused the manager to say to me, "Go and see Morrison." I did. It wasn't my duty to go. I wasn't exactly connected with the accounting department, and, ethically speaking, I had already worked over eight hours. But I went, and my going only added fuel to the flames. I listened to a tirade of abuse without sympathy, but I wanted that money and the abuse went over my head. I returned with the money and the ghost walked, and the wolves hastened over to "Gray Bills'" to have



HOME OF MR. AND MRS. DEL LINK, NEAR TOWER CITY, N. D.

Observe the growing wheat in the foreground, planted almost into the farm yard and onto the road which passes between the house and grove opposite.



ONE OF THE LEE COWELL FARMS, LOCATED NEAR COOPERSTOWN.
Home of Mr. and Mrs. Vaughn Cowell.

their checks cashed, and, to incidentally give Bill a demonstration of the utter disregard in which they held money.

It was a morning paper, therefore, the printers would be at leisure during the afternoons. The members of the business and news forces, myself included, purposely failed to carry money in our pockets to be better able to withstand incidents like the following: We would meet three or four "prints" on the street. One would approach and say roughly, "Give me a dollar." We would hand him a dollar and he would turn to his companions and say, "Well, come on over to Gray Bills." This is not a mental picture founded upon fancy. It is from actual circumstances on Tower Avenue, West Superior, Wisconsin, over a quarter of a century ago.

What lesson have we in this? We have seen men in the newspaper business struggling with its many vicissitudes, working any hours necessary for the purpose of maintaining the life of the paper and sustaining their own. Conditions arose over which they had no control, and for which they were not responsible, that made the going very hard, until a situation arrived that was desperate. On the other hand we see men engaged in setting type only. Not another care in the world. Not responsible for anything. If they elected not to work certain days, a "sub" was always ready to take their place. The men running the business were carrying the responsibility of the entire establishment including the composition and press-room forces. Yet these irresponsible individuals were veritable demons if the gentleman who created their opportunity to earn a livelihood failed in a single instance to cross their palms instanter. The men who did all the planning and the struggling with difficulties, were, figuratively speaking, nailed to the cross, even if the whole edifice must fall. I know why. I have been there and have been very discontented too, and irritable. Why? Close application to little things in which I had no personal interest, and, a lack of responsibility, which breeds monotony. In other words,

I was having it too easy; not enough real difficulties to enable me to appreciate easy conditions.

The world is made up of opposites. If there weren't any black there couldn't be any white. If there weren't any dark there couldn't be any light. If there weren't any bad there couldn't be any good. So, if there weren't anything difficult there couldn't be anything easy. There are millions of people who, for the lack of responsibility and difficulties are very discontented. They are suffering from the same malady as the society folk of Newport who know not what to do to find surcease from a gnawing discontent. I confess ignorance of any direct knowledge of society's doings at Newport beyond a casual reading of the doings there. One picks up a Sunday paper and sees a picture of a lady and a Japanese dog. Under the picture is the statement, "This tiny animal lives in absolute luxury having an entire suite of rooms for himself." Folks look at such a picture and remark, "There is what makes I. W. W." Why should it? None of us are our brothers' keepers. None of us are responsible for this extravagant demonstration of imbecility. The Lord will take care of the mistress of this little doggie in his own sure way, according to his fundamental law of compensation. No laboring man should bite off his nose to spite his face on seeing such nonsensical stuff in the newspapers.

It is an awful state of being to be a full-grown man with a child mind. In the old days a drunken debauch would bring about contentment and ambition, and a desire to work. I once saw a miner with his face much swollen and black and blue in spots. He had been beaten up while in a drunken condition. He was asked what satisfaction he found in getting drunk. His reply was, "It gives the mind a rest." I can add to that statement,—it leaves the victim broke, in a position where he must work or starve. Today there is less drunkenness and the mind doesn't get that interval of rest, neither does money vanish in an hour, and it is a sad state of affairs when men cannot work

unless they are flat broke. There are millions with that disposition. Not having the opportunity for that mental rest, that surcrease from sorrow which is obtained by a few days' companionship with the flowing bowl, the child mind keeps on working.

A large majority of those not responsible for the financial equilibrium of the business that gives them a livelihood has become discontented through lack of experience with the difficulties of the business world. It only requires a walking delegate, a socialistic agitator, to arouse suspicion and a dissatisfaction that calls for more. Not possessing a knowledge of economics obtained by actual experiences, they don't know when they are receiving a fair share. It is a brainstorm. This doesn't apply to printers only. It applies to all classes who earn their livelihood with their hands through the directing power of others who assume all responsibility.

Doing routine work, the same thing day after day, grows monotonous. Some men of their own initiative create interest in their work. The management should do everything possible to create methods for keeping the men interested and industrious. I have been in printing plants where the boss, instead of being interested in the cheerful mental attitude of the men, would arrive at the plant every morning, and especially Monday mornings, with a grouch, a veritable bear. That was the kind of start he gave his crew at the beginning of each week.

One of the evidences of the advancement of civilization during the recent tremendous progress of the world is the consideration shown the people who work with their hands. They have done their part. It requires all classes of citizens to make a State. Nothing can be done without the hands of labor. But labor alone would not get very far. If some one didn't furnish the visualization, the initiation, the capital and the responsibility, labor would lack opportunity to bring creations into manifestation. In years gone by labor made demands, demands that were just, no

doubt. This was well. It caused the world to be less thoughtless and to think more of the different classes of society. No doubt the world had been thoughtless and thoughtlessness is selfishness. So a movement was started for recognition of labor. It has continued until labor too is being spoiled. Labor too will kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. There never was a time in the history of all the world when labor enjoyed as many of the world's blessings as at the present day. Yet it wants more, and it wants it with a vengeance. It also wants it without any consideration founded upon the fundamental laws of supply and demand, cause and effect, or of the law of compensation which is of God, and is spiritual in its working. The struggle cannot be taken out of life. When it is man will degenerate. The business man toils. The capitalist toils. These men are not particular how many hours they work, all night if necessary, and besides their close application to business, they carry responsibility. Labor doesn't carry responsibility, hasn't anything invested, yet considers that it creates everything. Demands after demands have been made with ever-increasing limitations, until at last limitations have been dispensed with, and they want it all. Some one said: "Heap kindness upon people and they will pay you with ingratitude."

On the other hand stands capital. The autocratic spirit is exemplified on both sides, so it seems. At the present writing capital refuses a hearing to the representatives of labor, and a strike is on. This looks like autocracy with a vengeance, a vengeance that is costing millions which all of the people will have to pay. If the writer were bothered with a political bee that persisted in tickling his ear, he would accept this opportunity to give the head of the Steel industry an unmerciful "lambasting" that would win him the next election in this State. It is a sad admission to make, but that is the way political offices are won nowadays. But, I usually carry a ladies hair-pin with which to take care of itching ears, therefore I am not going

to abuse the head of the Steel industry, for I don't possess all the facts, or understand the conditions. I do know that the head of the Steel industry was a jurist, who had many years' experience in the practice of law supplementing a finished education. I have no abuse for such a man. Judge Gary didn't bury his talents. He has made his five talents produce "five other talents." The thoughts that must needs have been used by such a man to enable him to occupy such a position in the business world could not but build up a very potential character, a supply of sub-conscious *potential energy* that would absolutely prevent the organization of any murderous gang designated as "The Steel Trust's fiendish crew." Such talk is the rankest kind of piffle. It seems that this present strike could have been avoided. But there is one extenuating circumstance which must be considered. The issue had to be fought out some day. The showdown must come. Gratifying demands could not satisfy it.

There is a possibility, however, that the heads of industries and the men do not hold enough in common. What a man is grows upon him. Just as the spoiled child becomes more and more obdurate and unmanageable, so does the autocrat become more and more autocratic, yet perhaps doesn't realize it. Why is this so? Because man's mentality grows by exercise, with what it feeds upon. The thoughts used by man, stored away for safekeeping and future use, become his potential energy and he is controlled by it. He cannot reason or act from any other premise. Thus it is that, "the kingdom of God is within you." If that is true then it follows that its opposite is also true, that the kingdom of Satan is within you. It is not the fault of the law of which I am writing that many people of their own volition prefer to build up a little hell within themselves instead of its opposite.

The writer has experienced different phases of life. He has been in gangs that turned the hogs loose, carried in straw for bedding and there

slept the sleep of the just. He has occupied sod-barns as sleeping quarters, sleeping behind the horses and the oxen, and he knows what American "cooties" are. He has gone forth in the morning in ten to twenty below zero weather to oil up, etc., lighting a bon-fire, then holding the oil can wrapped in a heated cloth to prevent congealing. But the writer never persisted in adopting that mode of living as his standard in life. He has been at gay society functions spick and span in evening dress. He has lived at times so immaculately attired that fastidiousness grew upon him until a little dust upon a desk would be very annoying.

"Take care that the mind does not become too fastidious and refined. It is not a blessing, but a hindrance in the work of life."
—Robertson.

No situation in life could ever cause the writer to cease to appreciate the rough stuff, or to forget those who know no other life. It is because they do not know that causes them to be suspicious; that causes them to listen to and believe the arch-fiends of hell that are over-running this country.

Very few of the nation's big men understood the common people, Mr. Roosevelt being a striking exception. Roosevelt, who always sought opportunities to meet and talk with men in the ordinary walks of life. Roosevelt, who didn't have to condescend to meet the common man, because he had walked with him.

"Leal servant, loved master, rare comrade, sure
guide,
Oh, our world is none the safer, now Great-Heart
hath died."

—Kipling.

The problem of the amount of money in circulation is perhaps good for an illustration of the necessity of equilibrium. A solution cannot be reached in any question while both sides of a controversy are making extreme and unjust demands. It has always been a question with many people why the government didn't

make more money. Why they didn't have more money in circulation. Then everybody could have more money. That has been a solution suggested by some of our embryo statesmen seeking office. We have that condition now. Twice as much money in circulation as before the war. Have you any more money? Yes! Does it buy any more? No! Money is cheaper and commodities are dearer. Business is conducted on a percentage basis, therefore, the bigger the prices the bigger the percentages. It follows that the higher the prices of commodities the more money in percentages finds its way to business centers. Therefore, too much money in circulation will work an injury to the people. Yet there must be sufficient to meet the necessities for conducting business, for, after all, money is but a medium of exchange. Wealth does not consist of money. Money in any form is indigestible. To maintain a happy medium requires statesmanship. It requires men of knowledge of finance and affairs. It requires men of education supplemented with experience. Practical men. So, just as this question of the volume of money in circulation among the people must be adjusted to give the best results to all the people, so must all important questions be settled. They cannot be settled by demands based upon the simple fact that a certain class of people hold a balance of power, by direct action, that will compel the whole nation to accede to their demands. Such a policy will have no other effect than that of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. If such extreme measures are persisted in "Caesar's Column" will become a reality and it will reach into the heavens higher than a certain "Cross of Gold" we once heard about.

"Direct Action" seems to be the most popular method for the adjustment of difficulties at the present time. It might be more accurate to say—for the purpose of coercing the established institutions into submission. Demanding more and more in the way of higher wages and shorter hours has the same effect as raising taxes. The institutions compelled to sub-

mit to dictation are in turn compelled to raise rates or prices of commodities and the people, all the people, must pay. Some people might enjoy the spectacle of seeing workmen compel certain institutions to submit to demands, even though the demands be unjust. But there isn't any satisfaction in it, because the laugh is on the people. Railroads and workmen may war, but the people will pay for the ammunition.

Contentment is a state of being. Health is a state of being. Happiness is a state of being. A scientific authority states, "You cannot be healthy if you are seeking health;" meaning that you cannot be healthy while you are seeking health; that health is a condition that simply is. It follows that you cannot be happy while you are seeking happiness; that happiness is a condition that simply is. Neither can you be contented while you are seeking contentment. The man who seeks contentment is discontented. We have all known people who spent all their lives talking about sickness and seeking health. Nurses will tell you that they know women who are planning for the next trip to the hospital while they are yet in the hospital convalescing. They call this mental condition, "Hospitalitis."

There is great discontent in the world today, let us see if we can find a cause. Let us suppose for argument's sake that the workers, the labor organizations are right in their demands, basing said demands upon economic principles, and that the demands be gratified. Will the gratification of their demands bring contentment? *No, they will not be contented, though the demands be granted!* because contentment is a state of being; raise in salary, shorter hours, will not change that state of being. The change will have to come from within; from within the men themselves. "For as he thinketh in his heart so is he." Suppose a man thinks for a year that he ought to be allowed certain considerations. Suppose thousands of men think the same thing, coached by agitators. Something is going to happen. It happens. They gain their ends, the demands

they made being granted. They have an interval of relaxation which they call satisfaction, but they haven't changed any. They are not contented. The same old potential energy, the same old thought substance which they have stored away in their sub-conscious mental storehouse is still in control and it prompts them as of old. The same old gnawing is pulling at their heart-strings. The same old agitators are coaching them, and the same old demands will be made again. General Ludendorff lived through an awful experience during the last year of the war, but according to his own written word he hasn't changed any; hasn't learned anything. Years of thinking militarism, that might is right, has builded an all powerful potential energy in him that controls him still. Men who are interested only in dollars and cents will try to adjust matters upon the basis of a dollar-and-cents intelligence, but it cannot be adjusted that way. The adjustment will have to come from within the men themselves. Blessings bestowed upon them from the outside, physical blessings, will have a tendency to aggravate their mental state of being.

As an illustration of the fact that happiness and contentment is a state of being that can only be established by the individual; that it can only be acquired by personal effort, by work, I will mention the case of a gentleman living in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Mr. Gustav Bloomquist. The Minneapolis Journal of September 28th, 1919, says in part:

"There is a man in Minneapolis who has no hands and no feet, who has only the stumps of his legs, and but a fragment of one arm. Yet he works every day in a downtown factory, lifting weights and operating machinery. In the evening when other men are quitting work, he begins another task—as janitor, he sweeps, scrubs and cleans 12,000 square feet of floor space every night. And he has a smile ready on tap for every visitor who passes, and a chuckle on tap for every friend who stops to chat with him.

***Bloomquist was released from the hospital,

and taken to the county poor farm at Fort Dodge, Iowa. He was helpless, almost friendless. His parents could give him no help. For a year he lay in a wheeled chair at the farm, a helpless, useless hulk. Somehow, he kept his courage. He tried to go out on the streets and earn a few cents by selling pencils, to get money enough to start him in a business of his own. He failed.

"Then he asked the county commissioners to give him artificial legs and arms, and let him go to Minneapolis to find work. He got his makeshift limbs, and came to Minneapolis with only his courage and unshaken confidence that America wouldn't let a man starve when he was trying to make his own way. He found a job in a Minneapolis artificial limb factory, took it, and made good. He has held it ever since.

"Bloomquist has fought his way to independence in spite of a handicap that would daunt most men. But he has no complaint to make, no fault to find with fate or with the world.

"'I'm no bolshevik,' he says, and his usually smiling face takes on a set, proud look. 'I'm a good Republican, and I always will be. Why should I want what anyone else has. I can get around as well as anyone else can. I can dress myself, comb my hair, wash my face, button my clothes, and enjoy myself as well as anyone else. I can drive an auto. I can do my work and earn my own living, and I'm helping other poor chaps who haven't found out how well a crippled fellow can get along in the world.

"'The only really unfortunate folks in the world are those without eyes, or those who can't hear. I used to feel, sometimes, that I had been ill-treated in the world. But when I remembered there were those around me who couldn't see the sunshine, or their friends, or hear other people talking to them, I cheered up right away.

"'I'm an American right straight through. I'd have liked to go with the army, but they wouldn't have had much use for me. I stayed home, but I helped

make the legs and arms that are giving some of the wounded fellows a chance to start again. And that counts a little bit, I think.

“‘Bolshevik! I should say not. I’m a real American. America took care of me when I was down and out, and gave me a chance to start all over again. I’m for America every minute.

“‘And what’s more, I don’t see how any fellow with all his arms and legs wants any more chance than he’s got now in this country.’”

My personal experience with men has taught me that the big men who create the progress of the business world, are the fairest minded men, the broadest minded of all men. The biggest men whom it has been my privilege to meet, have been the fairest and commonest and pleasantest. It is quite natural that they should be fair and large minded. These men could not attain their position in the business world without a thought process preceding all action on their part. It follows that men who have achieved so much must needs have had big thoughts, too big to possess a potential energy that would prompt them, or permit them, to be guilty of some of the child-like things of which they have been accused.

Let us consider the parable of the talents:

“For the kingdom of heaven is as a man traveling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability; and straight way took his journey.

“Then he that received the five talents went and traded with the same, and made them other five talents. And likewise he that had received two, he also gained other two. But he that had received one went and digged in the earth, and hid his Lord’s money.

“After a long time the Lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them. And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five

talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more. His Lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

"He also that had received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: behold, I have gained two other talents beside them. His Lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.

"Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown, and gathering where thou hast not strawed: And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou hast that is thine. His Lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed: Thou oughtest therefore, to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury. Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him which hath ten talents."

Does the above parable read as though the Nazarene was a socialist? The picture which he gives us is being exemplified in our own country and age. We see men with five talents making five talents more, and men with two talents making two more. These men are unfortunately in the minority, but they are following out the creative principle in nature, and by their so doing, the millions who dig in the dirt and bury their talents are enabled to live. Meanwhile, muck-rakers, who, by their own self-training are unable to see anything good hanging over them, and all about them, but the slime of their own creation, pester the people who bury their talents until they create a mental confusion that demands more than the equilibrium founded upon the law of economics will stand. They

are not satisfied with burying their own talents, they would bury all talents,—then oblivion.

The above parable states, "Thou oughtest therefore, to have put my money to the exchangers,***" It is evident that exchangers lived on this earth long before our generation. The statement of the Nazarene in this instance gives them recognition as an economic necessity. A majority of the people who till the soil would do away with them. There is no class of people so obnoxious to them as the speculators on the exchanges and boards of trade. This feeling is engendered by the absolute knowledge that the exchangers could not live at the business of speculating were it not for the farmers who produce the raw material with which they speculate, and, there isn't anything so exasperating to the farmers as to have other classes of society live off them. They feel that they are supporting a gang of rascals who live easily and at the farmers' expense. The thought that the farmers could not enjoy such prosperous business conditions without the exchangers never enters their minds. Such thinking would require unselfish thoughts, and there are not many who are capable of thinking that way; not of their own volition.

There has been much discussion and not a little investigation, as to the merits and demerits of speculation, dealing in futures, etc. In the early nineties the German government stopped the Bourse of Berlin from dealing in futures, and soon found that a mistake had been made. To discuss this subject thoroughly would require a volume in itself, and I know where volumes on the subject can be found which far excel any effort that the writer could bring forth. It may be well to state, however, that dealing in futures is dealing in actualities. A future may be transferred many times, but some day, somebody must deliver the actual material. In this manner the market of that commodity is stabilized. Not only stabilized, but a market always exists, the market is never "glutted," and the great business of the world goes on, without the least effort on the part of "the

man behind the plow," further than the part he naturally plays in the great co-operative scheme of things.

In proof of the above assertion I will call to mind the effort of Mr. Joseph Leiter to corner wheat, some twenty years ago. Wheat soared skyward and many farmers of the writer's acquaintance profited greatly thereby, many of them good Christians too. They didn't seem to have any conscientious scruples against profits on a false market. But Leiter misjudged the amount of wheat available. He wasn't buying wind, as many people are led to believe is what the speculators deal in. He was buying wheat. There was more wheat than he judged could be found in the country, and means were found to deliver this wheat to him. He had to buy it, and it broke him.

Let us suppose there were no grain exchanges, boards of trade, etc. If such were the case, the wheat market would soon take on the conditions existing in the parsnip market. A man can put a few bushels of parsnips into a wagon and drive to town and find a ready market at a fair price. If he repeats the performance the next day he will find the market glutted, and he will probably have to haul the parsnips home again. I recall one evening many years ago, when father returned from town with a borrowed buggy instead of the wagon with which he had left home that morning. There was no market that day and he left his load of wheat in town. I remember that occasion very vividly because "Jack" didn't come home, and his absence was a very serious matter with us kiddies. Jack was our dog, and he considered it his duty to watch that load of wheat. He was found there a few days later, faithful to a self-imposed trust. That is the kind of a market the farmers would have were it not for the much despised speculators. The farmers ought to be thankful for the wonderful efficiency of the system erected to take their products at all times. Instead of the speculators depressing the market, which is done sometimes, they, as a rule, boost it up to the benefit of the grain growers.

Without this organization, conditions would be

chaotic. To kill off the speculators would mean that a new set of men would have to take their places. The predominant idea at present is to have a farmer's market, a market manipulated by farmers. If such a market were instituted, then the farmers manipulating the market would cease to be farmers and become speculators. If such ideas were carried through to consummation, which would create a farmers' market, and the exclusion of all other markets, together with the destruction of the rascals who at present compose the personnel of the exchanges, there would be great loss sustained before the present efficiency would be re-attained. The present day speculators are called crooks. The fact is there is no other class of men more honest. A signal given by the fingers in the midst of excitement and clamor, by an agent on the floor of the exchanges is accepted for thousands of dollars and they never welch on their signals. To be a member of any of the great exchanges requires financial reliability and unquestionable character — and a goodly amount of money. Any man who becomes a member of any of the great exchanges of the country must needs be a man of character and integrity above reproach.

In contrast to these "crooks" on the exchanges, who have only to give a signal to be trusted into the hundreds of thousands, we have that great mass of humanity, often designated as "the dear people." Do they do business with signals? No! Do farmers do business with signals? No! They usually require a mortgage, always a note. When two ordinary men make a wager, they require a stake-holder. Why? Because if the money isn't put up in a third party's hands they will welch on their bets. And, instances have been known, when they had to go after the stake-holder with a gun. So it is, that if the great exchanges of the country, were composed of the ordinary type of man, there would be great welching on their signals, and business conditions of the entire country would be in chaos. It is for this reason, that a market manipulated by a new bunch, all farmers, would require

several decades before we would enjoy the maximum of honesty which we have today. Yet, this most honest class of men in the country are painted by agitators as the greatest crooks, and the ordinary man, who doesn't know, believes the agitators, because they sing the song of hate, while appealing to pessimism.

Many people confound the bucket shops with the grain exchanges. They make investments in bucket shops and when they win it is an honorable business. When they lose it is the rankest kind of robbery. A bucket shop is like a hornet's nest—a good thing to leave alone. It won't hurt you if you leave it alone. The bucket shop has nothing to do with the exchanges, and even though they do business into the hundreds of thousands, their dealings don't affect the market, because they are not dealing in realities. They are only wagering money on the price of products. If you play their game, you are as bad as they are, and you are yellow if you yelp when you prove to be a poor guesser.

"A noble discontent drives men and women to mighty deeds and great." Whatever mankind is engaged in they try to enlarge upon, which is evolutionary progress. The rich man seeks more riches. The musician writes more music endeavoring to make each new creation his masterpiece. It is so with the artist. If a man, or a set of men, succeed in getting more by making demands, they will continue in making demands. It is the only successful method they know of. They will continue in this successful process even beyond the bounds of justice; even to persecution; even to destruction, and still be discontented. Just as a rich man is discontented. It is a psychological condition, a mental attitude. It seems certain that the present generation has reached mature age lacking calm, studious consideration of the principles of life, or of creation, as potential energy. Just growing up, as it were, they have not been enabled to create a sub-consciousness that will be a life-guard in time of storm; they lack a balance

wheel, are children still; and it only requires the leadership of a socialistic revolutionist to cause them to hang innocent patriots and to burn newly constructed buildings costing into the millions. There is one great prominent redeeming feature connected with the recent calamity at Omaha. Not one of those in authority was a coward. Every man in authority did his duty, even unto death, because the Mayor of that city actually gave his life; he could not have given any more had he never regained consciousness. Our national life is secure so long as we can have such magnificent courage and patriotism at the head of municipalities.

Unhappy, discontented people would do well to take inventory of their own mental construction. They might, through a thorough introspection discover that "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."

This country needs to bring back more than "the old fashioned melodies daddy and mammy used to know." It needs to bring back the old fashioned Americans homes daddy and mammy used to know.

The following figures indicate that strikes, or, "direct action" are very costly:

"London, Aug. 14, 1919.—The Yorkshire miners' strike has been an expensive bit of business for the union as well as for the people not directly connected with the dispute. The generally accepted figures are:

Damage to mines	\$10,000,000.00
Coal lost to industry.....	15,000,000.00
Losses to kindred industries.....	12,500,000.00

The strike fund of the miners, amounting to \$1,400,000.00 was exhausted with the payment of the fourth week's strike benefits. This fund, it was stated, has taken some twenty-five years to accumulate."

The people of England will pay the total.

Germany, before the war, enjoyed the reputation of being the most economic and industrious of the European nations. Germany didn't need to go to war to gain world ascendency. That the same economic and

industrious spirit maintains in Germany today is shown in the following:

“Many workmen are also beginning to see that higher wages alone will not improve conditions, owing to the increase in the cost of living. In many places workmen are demanding a ten-hour day and military protection for work!”—Special cable to the New York Times, summarizing conditions in Germany.

Call that capitalistic propaganda, if you choose, but it touches the real heart of the present industrial problem. The ten-hour day may not be necessary for American workmen, but certainly anything less than the eight-hour day under present conditions is going to complicate our problems. The world has a lot of back work to catch up with, if it is going to restore the wealth destroyed by the war. The German people were led by a military caste to commit the greatest crime of all the ages. But the German people by their innate industry and thrift, have already hit upon a method that will, in a very few years place them far beyond the nations. They will accomplish it by the method outlined above, and, they will be the happiest people of the world while doing so, for there is no happiness in a mental attitude that knows no more than to just ask for more.

Never before did we need men of high purpose and practical knowledge of affairs as we need them today. It is absolutely impossible for the masses to reach an equitable adjustment of the many economic problems confronting the nation today. The masses must elect men to represent them in matters of State. They must elect men of practical knowledge and high purpose in life; and then support their representatives with their faith, their trust. It is very difficult for any man to do efficient work as a representative of the people if each and every one of his constituents is finding fault with him and questioning his motives; when each and every one of his constituents knows more about the problems than he who is possessed of all the information pertaining to the problems; when

each and every one of his constituents has an opinion of his own, an opinion openly arrived at on superficial intelligence, or on very limited information. All that such a constituency can accomplish is to argue and harangue each other, each individual seeking to have his own little opinion adopted as the infallible remedy for all the evils that ever affected the human race. This confused mental state of the constituency provides an excellent working field for the professional agitator. In fact the agitator creates this field, because it is his business to preach direct action to the people. He is a disturber. It is his business to keep the minds of the people confused and stirred up. If conditions should suddenly become normal and all the people were supremely happy and contented, what would become of the agitators? Would they go to work contentedly? No! Why not? Because they are just what their past thinking has made them. They have stored away only restless, suspicious, vicious and dissatisfied thoughts in their sub-conscious mental storehouse, and out of the abundance of their ("hearts") potential energy they are impelled to continue in the work they have fitted themselves for — that of raising hell.

Another weapon in the hands of Satan is the newspaper. The newspaper has a tremendous influence. It is the medium of information of all the people. Editorials in newspapers are the greatest educational force of the age when the intelligence of the masses is considered, the masses out of the schools. It is the editorials in newspapers that dispense clear cut information on the many problems of interest confronting the people. There are many great editorial writers; God bless them. But strewn all over the highlands and the lowlands of our fair country are little sheets, dailies and weeklies, whose editors possess the effrontery to think themselves on a par with the editors of the great periodicals and newspapers of the land, such as the gentlemen on the Christian Science Monitor, The Outlook, etc. Most of these country editors are agitators, who are unable to com-

ment on any question of interest to the people without taking sides and carrying on a bitter attack against the opposition, all of which only succeeds in creating ill-feeling and discontent in the minds of the people. In North Dakota, the people are heart-sick of these child-like editorials.

Inasmuch as the newspaper has attained a prestige that gives it a tremendous influence in the matter of the education of the masses, why should there not be certain qualifications to comply with, just as school teachers are required to comply with certain standards of mental equipment? Because a man began active life as a "devil" in some small country newspaper does not constitute a reason why he should be a dictator in the realm of thought, or a self-constituted critic of his fellows.

There is yet another class of people who reach out into realms beyond their "ken" and overwork themselves. Some of them occupy pulpits in some of our churches. Only recently I heard a preacher express his personal opinion of the United States Senate in no uncertain terms. Isn't that assuming a great deal? Each and every one of us has a right to his own opinion on problems confronting the government, but we should not be unmindful that a grave danger exists, that we might not be in possession of all the facts; that even those long experienced in the affairs of government might have views quite as potential as our own. The man on the platform holds a psychological advantage because the audience usually assumes a receptive mood. His power for good or evil is tremendous. It seems to me, notwithstanding my high regard for the clergy, that to stigmatize the United States Senate is beyond the privilege even of the pulpit. It may be that certain gentlemen of the Senate are too conservative; conservatism brought about by long terms of service in affairs of government. But they are honest, sincere, high-minded men who happen to hold views of their own on some of the momentous questions to be solved. The Senate needs the Presi-

dent and the President needs the Senate. They need each other. "One secret of Napoleon's success arose from his being free to make his own appointments, choosing the men who had the qualities which supplemented his and cured his own shortcomings. The universal genius who can manage all himself has yet to appear." We do not need preachers of the academic type to "lambast" either the President, or the United States Senate, because "God reigns and the government at Washington still lives."

One of Aesop's fables tells of four blind men's opinion of an elephant. One felt its leg and thought it was like a tree. Another felt its trunk and thought it was like a rope. Another felt its tail and thought it was like a snake. The fourth felt its side and thought it was like the wall of a house. The man in business is often indeed "a man with an elephant on his hands." The academic theorist gets a very limited view of the elephant. No man is so wise that he knows more than the accumulated knowledge of his fellows. When a man becomes imbued with that idea he is dangerous. There are many such people in the insane asylums. Most insane people are positive in their opinions.

It follows that there are men who, by past effort in their chosen line of work are better fitted to guide the affairs of State than the rank and file of the people. Do you not see the absurdity of the agitators running around the country instilling into the minds of the people the idea that all big capable men are rascals; filling the people's minds with suspicion and hatred; advising them to rise up and personally direct the affairs of State? To accomplish such a movement it is necessary to preach much abuse and tell many lies, so that when the movement gets under way, it comes with maliciousness, with a determination to get even with the persecutors. A movement founded upon hatred, falsehood and maliciousness cannot long endure.

Some of our present-day socialists imagine they are

affiliated with a new idea. Far from it. Socialism, communism, etc., isn't a new idea. Many times in past ages the people have listened to such advice, and many times they have found themselves in chaos. They were always ready to listen to reason and common sense after such experiences. Sparta, under Lycurgus, made as successful attempt as any, because Lycurgus instituted an incentive for physical perfection. The dominant thought of Sparta was to excel physically. It was their incentive to action. There must be incentive and there must be action.

The Creator decreed that mankind should live under condemnation. Condemned to eat bread by the sweat of their brows, and, to work out their own salvation; and therein lies their salvation. Otherwise they would not be rational beings. The theory of socialism is a scheme whereby it will be unnecessary to comply with these laws of creation. Put into action, such a scheme will not in any way effect the potency of the Creator's laws, because,

“Though the mills of God grind slowly
Yet they grind exceeding small,
Though with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all.”

We might add to the poet's lines, that the mills of God grind and grind; that they pay not in money, but in kind. We may not receive as much money as we hope for, but we receive in disposition, in character, in exact proportion as we develop our potential energy by the thoughts we think.

In way of proof of the accuracy of statements made herein, that there must be an incentive to action in life; that to remove the incentive would remove the struggle which an all wise Creator provided so that man might be a rational being with power to work out his salvation, personally and collectively, and with that power optional with the individual, to prove, I repeat, that mankind would degenerate, I will submit the following:

“Juneau, Alaska, Sept. 1—Mere man has little voice in governing affairs in Eskimo inhabited little Diomede, one of the Diomede islands that are cut in two by the international boundary line across the Behring sea between Alaska and Siberia.

“Women and children do most of the ruling according to reports reaching the Alaska territorial bureau of publicity here. Before a man can make a purchase he must get his wife’s consent. If a mother is living with a married son or daughter her consent must be obtained. Wealth is estimated in skins and the rich provide for the poor.

“Official suicide is provided for. When one of the natives tires of hunting seals and fishing and trapping and desires to end his existence, he makes formal application to the governing body for permission to take his life.”

Benjamin Franklin, during the American revolution stated, “These are the times that try men’s souls.” That struggle was intense, but it was easily understood. All men were able to see how to apply themselves to the task in order to obtain the object held in view,—independence. We of this generation are in the midst of times that try men’s souls, and the object to be attained is far from being understood, therefore, present action is scattered and confusion exists. “People’s minds are kept in a discordant condition, therefore, are incapable of thinking original thoughts, they simply follow.”

“If we don’t hang together, we will all hang separately,” was another of Franklin’s epigrams. Are we hanging together today, or are we hanging separately? Are we thinking for ourselves, or are we following leaders? Today there is a large portion of our people allowing the President to do their thinking for them in affairs of State. Another portion allows certain Senators to do their thinking. In the economic world, a large portion of people think along similar lines, yet select different leaders to originate their thoughts for them. They follow such leaders as

Bill Haywood, "Gene" Debs, Emma Goldman, Walter Thomas Mills, A. C. Townley and others of similar persuasion. The leadership of all these apostles of discontent leads to confusion of mind. The followers of these socialistic leaders have allowed suspicion and belief in rascality on the part of others to occupy their thoughts until vindictiveness has become their dominant propensity, or potential energy.

In discussing the psychology of labor and the followers of the above-mentioned leaders, we must not be unmindful of the fact that labor, federated labor, does not wholly follow such leadership. The followers of the socialistic leaders are composed of that large class of drifting humanity, unskilled men without ambition, who are not associated, as a whole, with any branch of labor. Many of the members of federated labor are imbued with I. W. W. principles, however. This class of men is known as The Industrial Workers of the World, I. W. W. These three letters are more appropriately used when they are applied to the phrase "I Wont Work." The question arises, Is there anything in common between the farmers and the I. W. W.? No! The farmers hold very decided opinions of the I. W. W. They condemn their philosophy just as emphatically and for the same reasons that other classes of citizens condemn it. Yet, the action of the farmers of North Dakota during the past few years doesn't differ in principle from the action of the I. W. W. The I. W. W., are the more consistent of the two. The farmers are the wealth owners of North Dakota, who own their own homes, some magnificent, and yet they are just as willing to listen to and follow walking delegates as any bunch of I. W. W. ever assembled. There is some degree of reason why a man who is poor, without a home, many times without relatives and few friends, living in a vicious environment, even if it is of his own volition, should be dissatisfied and resentful of successful people, when he is unable to appreciate that his position in life is exactly in accordance with his own thinking, his thought limita-

tions; thought limitations that prevent him from taking the initiative to try to better his condition. But the farmers are the sovereign lords of creation. The farmers denounce the I. W. W., very emphatically. Why? Many reasons. When the farmers need extra men for harvest, the I. W. W. ask them what kind of farms they have, "Is your farm prairie or rolling?" If the farmers say "rolling," the I. W. W. say, "Well, roll it in and we will look it over." But, on the other hand, it is quite a change to some people to attempt to follow the farmers. There is a story about a farmer who called the new harvest hand before daylight. He said, "Come on, get up, we have to get in them oats." The new man asked if they were wild oats. "No, they are not wild oats!" Then the new man said, "Well, what's the use of sneaking up on them?"

"In union there is strength." But when that strength is prompted by vindictiveness; guided by leaders who are the emissaries of Satan, all thought of God, or of the fundamental laws of creation are forgotten, and when God's law is forgotten it is usually violated, and when His laws are violated the penalty must be paid.

When the attention is centered upon the laws of the Creator for any length of time, mankind is soon enabled to see righteously. When mankind sees righteously they will soon be able to recognize righteous leadership. When righteous leadership is considered, the Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt comes into view. In a speech at Fargo, in 1912, Mr. Roosevelt stated that if North Dakota didn't accept the principles of the Progressive party it would accept socialism in a very few years. It is evident that Mr. Roosevelt had a keen grasp of things political and economic, even applied to geographical locations. His knowledge of affairs was founded upon a Harvard education supplemented by a life of endeavor in which he followed the principle of "Put yourself in his place." He not only put himself in the other fellow's place in his thinking, but he put himself there actually when he roughed it on the Little Missouri in this state. His

policy was that of a square deal for all, for labor as well as capital, and for capital as well as labor.

But Roosevelt is dead. Yet, perhaps Roosevelt dead is a greater force for righteousness than Roosevelt living. Roosevelt living was scoffed at by many in this age of Satan. He was human, and, being human, and knowing so much, how could he keep still? Yet to speak was to be quoted. If he were alive he would speak, and every time he dared speak the socialistic editors would twist his statements around and dish them up to the masses in misconstrued form, accompanied by ridicule and abuse. The pity of it all is,—that the people always prefer to believe what is served with ridicule and abuse. But Roosevelt dead caused thousands of impulsive and superficial people to pause and think, and many of his revilers are now ardently deploring what seems to have been his untimely death.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling paid an appropriate tribute to Theodore Roosevelt in a poem written shortly after his death. Mr. Kipling used a text for this particular poem, "The interpreter then called for a man-servant of his, one *great-heart*."—Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

CHAPTER VII

Nor can I count him happiest who has never
 Been forced with his own hand his chains to sever
And for himself find out the way divine;
 He never earned the struggle's priceless gains.
Oh, block to block, with sore and sharp endeavor,
 Lifelong we build these human natures up
Into a temple fit for freedom's shrine,
 And trial ever consecrates the cup
Wherefrom we pour her sacrificial wine.

—Lowell.

It may seem passing strange to some of the readers of these pages that I should attempt to write on this subject if my education were limited to that of the prairies. As I am an advocate of the School of Practical Knowledge, and a graduate of the University of Hard Knocks, I will mention briefly an outline of a few of my experiences, which form the fundamental basis of my education.

I was born on a farm in the province of Ontario, Canada, where rolls the Otonabee. I was the ninth in a family of ten. Children were quite common in our home long before my arrival. Therefore, I didn't receive any of the pampering usually bestowed upon the first-born, and, which nearly always injures that member of the family; or to families of few when quite frequently all are spoiled. I did, however, receive special attention because I demanded it. I walked when I was eight months old, and, I was found standing one day on the gatepost when I was nine months old. It required special attention to prevent me from committing suicide through lack of caution, because of my daredevilness. Yet in spite of attention I almost put my light out at the age of one, by a tumble down stairs and against a door edge, an event that causes some people to inquire at this late date what caused the lengthy scar now exposed on my bald pate. I managed

to break away and break a leg at the age of seven by climbing over a fence to get turnips. Then I demanded special attention because I was a sickly child. I was very frail and subject to illness, and therefore, I couldn't go to school regularly. We lived a mile and a half from the school, so I couldn't go during the winter months and not regularly during the summer. The last winter in Ontario and the first summer in Dakota on the prairies were spent out of school. Thus a whole year passed without schooling. That summer was spent in constructive play except when I was picking buffalo bones out of the way of the breaking plow. My younger brother and I builded railroads through the alkali beds where the grass didn't grow. We saw the work of the builders as the railroad was constructed westward, so we made miniature railroads on the alkali beds. We got some sheet-iron spools from a neighbor who had a wire binder, and with those spools for car-trucks we manufactured cars. Instead of rails we had creases or grooves in the road-bed which the wheels followed. Our railroad had depots, sidings and a turn-table. We even built a hearse with which to conduct the funeral rites of dead gophers. Several gophers received a solemn burial after a tedious journey to the cemetery. Some of those gophers died in our well. Our well was a kind of community affair, gophers, toads, frogs and mice persisted in getting into it, and the gophers and mice couldn't live in it. The reason why we didn't have a good well was because there was no good water. Father did much laborious work sinking in different places in search of good water. Finally he succeeded and then we had a real well properly stoned to the top. Up to that time we were compelled to live on water that was inhabited by frogs and toads and occasionally gophers and mice, and which was intensely alkali. It is well that it isn't what goeth in at the mouth that defileth a man.

The storms that swept the prairies that summer seemed to be very violent indeed. I really believe they

were worse that season than they have ever been since that time. A shanty of one room, built of one thickness of shiplap lumber makes an ideal sounding board when hail-stones of large dimensions begin a bombardment. The tar paper on the roof, used in those days in place of shingles, didn't last longer than the first shot, therefore every hail-storm meant a deluge. My mother, after being on the prairie for a month or so, became so lonely that she couldn't endure it. She had come from civilization and found herself in a flat country without a tree; with neighbors sparse and miles away; without means of visiting except by walking or ox-team, and either mode of traveling meant a desperate battle with mosquitoes. The music (racket would be a better term) of the wild birds was constant. The call of the snipe, now extinct in this state, was persistent; it was a weird sound without melody. Wild ducks quacked only a few rods from our door. The wild goose honked and the sand-hill crane a mile in the sky sounded a tremulous baritone. The plover's mournful wail as it alights from a flight, and they were continually alighting, and the meadow-lark's song on our shanty roof before sunrise not only became tiresome but prevented natural rest. The wildness of it all was distracting to a woman used to the conventionalities of civilization. So, one day father yoked the oxen and they went to town where mother visited a daughter who lived there. As they moved away over the prairies in their brand new Jackson wagon toward the distant city, sixteen miles away, we 'kiddies were instructed to go to an aunt who had just arrived on the prairie and was living in a little shack while her larger shanty was yet unconstructed. That was an awful night. A storm came from the west; the hail was terrific, the rain in torrents, the wind a hurricane. How that little shack clung to its foundations is a conundrum. The hail cut the tar paper on the roof and the water came through in a shower until it couldn't get away through the cracks between the floor boards as rapidly as it came in and the floor was

a lake. The beds were soaked. They were improvised beds on the floor and they were in the water. No matter where one stood it was impossible to find a dry place. The hail stones pounded the thin walls until it was almost impossible to make each other hear by shouting. The wind howled and the lightning flashed constantly, while the thunder pealed a terrific cannonade. A mile away our neighbor, in a more secure household, sat in his window and got our range with a large field glass, and watched us throughout the storm to see if we were still there. I do not think it is disrespectful to our National Anthem if I quote from it here, as no other language so accurately describes our situation that night:

"The rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our [shack] was
still there."

The little American garrison under fire at Fort McHenry while Francis Scott Key penned the above lines wasn't a terror-stricken garrison under the British bombardment such as our little company was that memorable night while we were at the mercy of the elements. I have a mental picture as I write of that woman, my father's sister, alone with her own little kiddies and us. She was calm and cautioned us not to cry, but once I saw her cry. She encouraged us to be brave when she was in terror herself.

How different it is in this generation! This generation doesn't know anything about hardships and dangers. Today the people live in houses so secure that they don't know until they step out in the morning that it rained during the night. Almost every house, or many of them, are protected by groves of trees, and we know nothing about severe storms even when they do come. The cry of the wild fowl is heard no more, and in many sections of the State the neighbors' homes are invisible because of the numerous groves of timber dotting the landscape, which form a restful background for the eyes as they gaze across the beautiful prairies. The eyes no longer look upon

a horizon without anything to rest upon. Today our people live in such luxury that they have become discontented and dissatisfied. Their homes are not only magnificent, many of them, all of them comfortable, but they have the most up-to-date conveniences. Many have their own electric light plants which light their homes, barns and farmyards. In some localities they are connecting up with a central electric light plant, and have only to press the button for light in house, barn, or for power. I know one farmer who plans on operating his threshing machine with electricity. Telephones connect them with the outside world. In most places the mail is brought daily to their doors. When they wish to go to town they step into an automobile. Some are Fords, but many of them only require the press of the button and they are off at a gait so rapid that mosquitoes find themselves out of the running. Today our people live in such luxury and find the pickings so easy that they have developed a disposition like Towser at the bridge; they are discontented with their prosperity in their suspicion that they are not getting enough, and they are preparing to let go of what they have in their effort to get it all. They are not willing to co-operate: they want it all.

I have only mentioned one of the awful nights of that first summer. I am free to confess that it was the worst of all because of the flimsiness of our protection, but there were many strenuous times during that period. Times that caused much wear and tear to the nervous system. During the fall of that first year there was a smoke in the west for days, getting greater and greater and at night the western horizon seemed to be a great flame of red. At last it came one Sunday morning and swept by us. Our shanty was protected by fire-breaks in circles. First, second and third lines of defense, as it were. We had faith in our defenses, but the onslaught was a terrible sight to behold. It swept by with its smoke and heat and left us safe but on a changed landscape. We were now inhabitants of a great black sea.

I went to school in town four months the following winter, then on the prairie again. Thus it was I never attended school a straight year. We were one of many families that settled on the worst spot in all North Dakota. North Dakota, especially the central and eastern portions, is one vast grain field, with only the roads, pastures and farmyards unseeded during the growing seasons. But there is one spot about the size of a township that is called an alkali flat. We landed in the center of that flat. It looked nice and smooth. Much of it was as level as a college campus platted by an engineer. There was an occasional ant-heap and it was strewn with buffalo bones. Then there were great stretches where the alkali was so strong that the grass wouldn't grow. We lived and farmed in this district three seasons before we learned what was the matter, before we abandoned it and moved farther west. We were not alone in this experience, but the settlers moved away and the plowed fields have gone back to their wild state. So, instead of building up on the small capital invested, we didn't build at all until we moved a few miles farther west. Thus it was that we had hard sledding for a few years and I had real hardship forced upon me at an age when I was very impressionable. Of course, there was always enough to eat, but, I never order salt pork; somehow it doesn't appeal to me. Neither do I care for syrup unless it has the real Canadian maple flavor. We did not see a cow for a year and a half after our arrival on the prairie and then it wasn't ours. Butter wasn't even a luxury. Salt pork gravy and keg syrup constituted the regular rations. Syrup in kegs and no place to keep it where it wouldn't ferment was great stuff indeed.

I was ambitious and always managed to make a little money during the winters in town. I had money in the bank one time with a real certificate of deposit. I showed signs of being a financier. I carried paper routes nights and mornings and went to school. I carried the papers every morning before breakfast re-

ardless of weather conditions, and there were many stingers, the thermometer down in the forties, sometimes in the fifties when the sidewalks often made nasty cracks at me. I broke into the newspaper business by selling papers one evening. I was very successful indeed. But, when I reported at home that I had been selling papers and showed my money, mother put her veto upon such action, and I wasn't allowed to sell papers any more, it would make me too bold. I was everlastingly cautioned not to be bold. That was the propaganda persistently instilled into my mentality during boyhood and it had its effect. I haven't sufficient boldness today to successfully take my part in the business world; there is always a disposition to be mannerly, to remain in the background and let others be bold. Everett True would never find an opportunity to break an umbrella over my cranium. My mother moulded my disposition that way. I was allowed to deliver a route because that was doing so much work for so much pay, but I mustn't be bold, and selling papers would have a tendency to make me bold.

I will tell how I came to be a whirlwind selling papers that one evening. I was walking down the street calling out "Daily News." I opened a saloon door and called "Daily News." The proprietor asked what was the news. I told him it had all the news. He said, "I will bet it hasn't! The Plaindealer has a full account of the escape of the Younger Brothers from Stillwater. I will bet The News hasn't a word about it." I jerked the door shut and proceeded down the street calling out, "Daily News, all about the Younger Brothers' escape from Stillwater." Men bought the paper and stepped into the nearest doorway to read it, while I moved on doing a rushing business. I sold out my supply and returned to the office and said, "I want some more papers." One gentleman said, "You bet Kid, you are a cracker-jack." I was starting out with my second supply when the gentleman asked me how I sold my papers so quickly. I told him my story

and he remarked, "Say, Kid, give me those papers, you'll get killed; you had better go home."

I continued going to school during the winters and a part of some of the summers. Even though the opportunity for schooling in those days was very limited when compared to the opportunity with which the youth of today are provided, yet I didn't make the most of my opportunities. I was allowed to work at different jobs when I ought to have been in school. Then I found myself on the homestead at just about the age when millionaires' sons enter college. Bought horses, machinery, etc., and started farming. The first year I harvested nine bushels wheat per acre and received for it thirty-nine cents per bushel. The second year ten bushels per acre and forty-one cents per bushel. The third year twenty-seven bushels per acre and fifty-five cents per bushel. The fourth year it rained all spring. I commenced seeding May 29th. The grain came on until it was about six inches high, then it stayed right there. I was all in. I had raised as good crops as my neighbors, but, having just started into business, purchasing everything, I couldn't stand it, and I saw my ambitions crushed, my pride and spirit broken. Such bumps at an early age hurt deeply. At that time my knowledge of political and economic conditions was very limited indeed, therefore, great was my disgust with Mr. Cleveland. I even blamed Grover Cleveland for the short crops and the deluge of the spring of 1896.

Having learned machinery pretty well through actual experience with it, I found myself working for a machine company selling threshing machines. This employment lasted during the summer months only, in those days, and one would use up during the winter about all that would be accumulated during the summer. I confess that I lost much time during some of those winters, but, when one has not the wherewithal to enable him to map out a course of procedure and then follow it, it is easy to drift and thus the years go by. Young men living in the east, even without funds,

could work their way through college. But there were no such opportunities in this new country during the pioneer days; therefore, the opportunities that did exist farther east were unknown to the young man who had never been east. There is no excuse today for any young man to fail to go through college whether he has the money or not. Every community has opportunities for a young man to work and go to school and the wages are immense compared to the wages of the old days.

Most men never accept anything of a constructive nature until other men force it upon them. I could always see a thing coming and would accept it. Most men eagerly join the anvil chorus and knock; they do everything in their power to prevent any new thing from developing. Instead of assisting the optimist, the builder, they resist him, often to his financial undoing. Then, about the time the optimist dies the death of financial exhaustion, the obstructionist, the knocker, the pessimist, takes up the idea and profits from the efforts of those whom he has assisted in destroying and whose work has builded the business, created the demand. Thus it was that I got into the automobile game too early. I knew it was a comer. I sold every touring car in my county in 1906 and 1907 but that was only eleven cars. The buyers were so limited that they were always friends of mine (?) and wanted the commission taken off. These same friends will jump on you with spikes in their boots when you go broke. My conviction that the automobile was a comer brought about the same results as my experience down on the farm, not only directly, but indirectly. Indirectly because I had the ill-will of the entire community in which I lived. In those days one could arrive at the farm and put the horses in the barn and talk horse to the farmer and there would be no suspicion. To arrive with an automobile meant to invite antagonism. It is quite easy to understand why the farmers got sore, but there was little reason why the folks in town should get sore, even the women.

It was an awful task to drive an automobile across the country in those days as every horse would be terribly frightened. Every team that one would meet meant an ordeal to go through. Every team would rear up and lunge and make a break for the fields. This made the drivers very angry and they would shout curses at me while struggling with their frightened animals. I would shout back at them, "Look at your horses, I don't need any attention." I used to have a trip of about forty miles to make occasionally and I would meet from ten to twenty teams on the trip. Every man I met would consider he had had an awful experience that day because he had met an automobile and he would entertain evil thoughts of the man with the horseless carriage; he would wish to get his hands on him. I would have hundreds of such experiences to his one, and, my position called for a greater strain on the nerves than the position of the man who held the lines in his hands and was master of the situation. I have met horses in my sleep and seen them rearing and lunging all night long, after one of those cross-country trips.

About this time a business man in my town wrote a farmer a letter asking him to kindly call the first time he came to town and make settlement of a certain matter; that they wished to get the figures adjusted so they could make proper entry on the books. The farmer answered about as follows: "I can't come to town now for dem otemobile. Ven my horse he see him von mile away he yump like hell! I vish de teufel take dem al." Today that farmer is driving a swell six and there isn't a horse in North Dakota that gives a care for it.

I had the agencies of the Buick and Ford. A certain woman stated that it was dangerous to be out on the lawn when B. went up the hill. Another woman annoyed the Mayor demanding my arrest. The Mayor stopped me one day and remarked, "Say, the women on the hill have held a convention and have decided to get your goat. They demand your arrest. I pro-

mised them to have you arrested at the first opportunity. We have been watching you for the past two weeks and find that you are moving about these streets the slowest and turning the corners a little the nicest of any driver in this city. But I have to get you! I have no interest in the Buick, (he was a relative of the Minneapolis agent of the Ford) but get into the Ford and go down the street to beat the band and you will be arrested and fined; but perhaps we can take care of that matter of the fine. Anyway, we must satisfy those women." But the model "F" Ford could not run fast enough to be arrested.

Years later a ladies' club met one afternoon and they were discussing the automobile question. One lady remarked, "Well, I wish they would arrest Mr. B.; the way he drives and cuts around corners is something terrible. I don't see how he has escaped killing somebody's children before now." One of the ladies present was a friend of mine and about this time she remarked, "Well, Mr. B. hasn't driven a car for the past two years." The only reason I found for this sentiment against me was that I was first in the business, therefore, conspicuous as a driver, and, as the masses as a whole condemn everything new until a certain type of mind develops such things before they are ready to accept them, I became the goat. But those days are gone. Everybody drives a car now and all those people are friends of mine. Today the streets are parked with cars, and at night they run to and fro until the dust makes breathing difficult. A dozen at once will be standing at the curb racing the motors with the cut-out open as late as 2 A. M., making the night hideous; making such a racket that I can only compare it to General Byng's drive at Cambrai, and, it is all right, there is no complaint, even the Chief of Police doesn't seem to hear it.

After quitting the automobile business I found myself the possessor of a threshing outfit, a left-over from the wreck of the machine business. I thought I could run that machine. I had run them before and

I had seen many men operate many threshing machines and I had learned almost all there was to know about the art. I ran it all right as far as making the machinery go was concerned. But I moved into a large job in a community of slow movers, and I threshed day after day, from morning till night, and would get out about enough to pay expenses. The profits were on the ground, grain cut too late and shelled. One morning in October I overheard one of the crew (hobos) singing while on his way to the machine before daylight, as follows:

Fifteen men in Buttree's crew,

Ho, ho, ho, and a bottle o' rum.

Work like hell and get nothing through,

Ho, ho, ho, and a bottle o' rum.

That season didn't bring any surplus. The following season I tried again and was a success running the machine, for a while. The first ten days we went as steady as a grist-mill, much to the delight of the farmer, who always slept till eight A. M. (This farmer was a single exception in the matter of sleeping. I don't think this assertion would apply to any other farmer in North Dakota.) Thus it was that I ran the machine and the farm activity also, even to personally feeding the farm horses their breakfast at four A. M. But portions of those fields had been frosted and the percentage of profits were moderate indeed, and to get a portion of them I had to bring suit against Mr. Farmer, one of the wealthiest. After standing still twelve days, feeding a crew of horses and men during a rainy spell, we threshed seven days at a grist-mill gait in excellent grain and making big money. One morning the engine jumped off the boiler. We had literally pulled it off by driving the machine to its utmost. There may have been some cigarettes mixed in the deal. This season didn't bring any surplus.

The last season I tried threshing, the machine ran successfully, but for some unknown reason, help from outside states didn't arrive and we were short-crewed. The farmers, God bless them, had made arrangements

to haul the threshed grain direct to the elevators in town. The crew for hauling the threshed grain was larger than the crew for threshing the grain. They sat or stood around with their four-horse teams waiting for grain to fill their tanks when there were only five or six teams hauling to the separator. What should have been done was to make up a crew by using some of the grain teams for bundle teams, and a portion of the threshed grain left in bins in the fields, or even in piles in the fields. It would have been good money for both the farmers and the thresherman, but, no sir, they sat around and looked at me. Take it from me, that bunch was an ornery set.

At the end of the above mentioned season I had enough and decided never to thresh again, not even if the kernels were made of gold. I had reached the limit, or what is known as the end of the limit. I will state here that during each of the above mentioned threshing seasons, and during the entire years for that matter, I anticipated failure. I had met failure and became quite well acquainted with it. It proved to be a congenial companion and I associated myself with it; I lived with it. So, even while I hustled energetically, making desperate efforts physically to succeed financially, I never ceased to think failure, and to expect failure. That was my mental attitude regardless of my hustling ability, and regardless of my spasmodic hopes and wishes. Like millions of others I got what I was looking for. As a man thinketh so is he.*

*A reader of the manuscript of this book suggested that there was too much failure in this chapter; that people are never impressed by failure. Inasmuch as success is condemned; that all successful men are classed as enemies of the people, "big business," etc., it is difficult indeed to ascertain what would impress the people favorably. I have only mentioned in this chapter a few incidents in my life that proved to be failures financially. I selected them for this chapter to show how I became possessed of an education along certain lines which enabled me to write a book on this subject. I was successful in other things, and was as successful as the average when it pleased me to work on salaries. I did not change the manuscript after listening to

It was then I went West and found myself in a mining camp. "S-a-m-e— old— sto-ry— nothing— n-ew." I met a man there who was a miner of the old school. He was pretty smooth. But he did put up a fine argument, and I agree with him to this day. He stated that most mining companies were promoted by men in New York or Chicago; and that they mined the people instead of the hills. "They spend ninety cents for every dollar they get and then blow in the ten cents." I knew that was true. I have since met such men in Chicago. He thought North Dakota would be a good place to promote a mining company because, "You haven't any of the frenzied financiers there." (There were none at that time.) It would be possible to get money in North Dakota without renting whole floors in the largest buildings inside the loop in Chicago. "Keep your office in your grip until you incorporate, then the law will demand an office. When that time comes rent a desk room and put out a sign. Never mind the plate-glass, the plate-glass can come later. We don't need to make a great showing on the surface to start with. We will put the money in the ground and keep down the overhead. Don't send your sisters and your cousins and your aunts out here on big salaries, supposed to be accountants and draughtsmen, etc., but who really only sit around and read books."

The proposition looked good to me. Millions had been taken out of the same camp by the pioneers of the long ago. It seemed to me that if the pioneers could do so much with no point nearer than Sacramento, five hundred miles away, with which they communicated with pack-mule and ox-team, over the Sierra Nevada mountains, there ought to be an opportunity today, with the railroad right in town and with all the modern appliances. I went at it. It is very

the gentleman's criticism, for this reason,—it is quite possible that a man might learn as much experiencing failures, as it would be possible to learn never meeting failure. A man might begin life making bricks and be successful from the beginning. Financial standing might give him great prestige, yet all he would know would be bricks.

seldom that a man with money will ever attempt to do what I did. In fact they never do. Men with money wait until men without means develop a property, prove it to be good, then they will offer big money for it, and, when the offer comes, it is put before the stockholders and the stockholders always vote to sell. Then the new owners proceed to take out millions and these same stockholders who voted to sell, condemn them as robbers, big business, etc.

No matter how much of a joke a fellow may be during the days of promotion, or how big a fool if he fails to succeed, it is the way the wealth of the world is created. It is always a poor devil who does the work. I learned much during the experience. It has been an education indeed. If the proposition should fail, I will have no regrets as far as I am personally concerned. I have had value received in experience. My regret will be the fact that I induced others to take stock in this enterprise. I will regret to see them lose their money invested, because money is all that many of them have. So, today, I am still working for a living. I am writing these pages on rainy days in different hotels. I am not able to engage a sailing vessel and take a trip around the Horn, as Jack London did when he wished to write a book. I might say that this book comes up out of great tribulation.

When I had reached that stage in life where I found myself flat broke, when my pride caused me to imagine all men despised me, and, in fact, almost all men did forget me, it was a woeful hour indeed. O, it is true; I have had the experience and I have had the proofs! I have lived much with the blues, blues of the double-breasted variety. The average man becomes a socialist under such conditions. Why didn't I? I certainly had been a rustler. "Energetic" was my middle name in my home town. I had tried desperately, yet was broke, a good-for-nothing, while getting on in years. As a rule, under such conditions, men blame anything but themselves; they are seldom able to find any fault with themselves. It must be

that there is no egotism in my mental make-up, for I never saw the hour when I blamed anybody but myself; or anything but my own mental attitude. Was it not a fact that many men came to the country after I did, who had no better opportunity than I, yet who became rich and prosperous? Weren't there men doing well all around me? Were not land values going up and making men rich, and wasn't I here as soon as any of them and yet didn't own any land? How could Wall Street be to blame? If the Grain Exchange was robbing the people of North Dakota why couldn't I at least do as well as my friends and neighbors and get my share of what the grain Exchange left? There appeared to be a lot left. I knew what was wrong. It was myself. My way of thinking. My way of doing things. The fault, dear Brutus, was wholly in myself! If I were an optimist and could believe in the automobile long before others would tolerate it, who was to blame? I have no reason to blame anybody but myself. I should perhaps have been a knocker and thus made it difficult for some persistent, courageous soul, until he had overcome all the obstacles to be met and exhausted his capital and forced to retire from the business; then I could have jumped into the game with the capital I had been hoarding, and reaped the benefits of the other fellow's labors. But I wasn't built that way. I am to blame myself in being so persistently rash in building for others. I am not alone in possessing this mental attitude. The early makers of the automobile went broke, many of them. They were in the game too early, working out difficulties that others might follow and profit thereby. Robert Fulton was given an audience for a few minutes with Napoleon. He had a proposition whereby Napoleon could place engines in boats and during contrary winds these boats could land armies in England while the British fleet would be unable to operate. Napoleon dismissed him as insane. Fulton didn't make much out of his steamboat; neither did Watt from his theory about the power of

steam if generated in strong containers; nor Stephenson from the engine he invented. These men were all mechanically inclined; they possessed the mechanic consciousness, yet didn't profit financially because they were in the game too early. They merely created possibilities for others. Some men have achieved fame that cost them bitter struggles with poverty. No great man of history, and very few men in any walk of life endured greater poverty than the great Napoleon. Robert Burns is revered and loved over a century after his parting with earthly ties because of his poetic consciousness, a consciousness that prevented him from being a financial success even though he was a Scotchman. With all of Burns' greatness he could not avoid poverty, or his creditors. Even on the day of his death a butcher who had a bill of nine dollars against him was making desperate efforts to collect before he passed out, but failed. Stoddard, in commenting on this incident says, "Burns was a sensitive man and the horror of the situation killed him."

I was in the Locomobile establishment on Michigan Avenue, Chicago, one day and overheard a conversation that interested me and I was a good listener. After it was over I approached one of the gentlemen and said, "They address you as Doctor. I presume you are a practicing physician in the city?" He stated that he was. I continued, "One wouldn't think so to hear you talk." He replied, "Oh, I'm just the fellow who can practice, I don't give much medicine. If you are interested along these lines subscribe for the — and the —." I did so. I began to read and to study old ideas (new to me) pertaining to life itself. I was just getting interested in these new ideas about the time I started the western promotion already mentioned. I made up my mind I could put it over. So I made a business of reading and studying psychology. I didn't study psychology as taught in the schools. I studied what might be classed as applied psychology, the relation of the mind to practical things, or practical life, which, when traced to the last analysis,

proves that the teachings of the Nazarene are a revelation of the laws of the Universe, the laws of creation, or the laws of God; these are embodied in the law of compensation which is spiritual in its operation.

To give a more definite explanation of the operation of this law, I will quote from a circular by Edmund B. James, entitled, "The High Cost of Living," as follows:

"Do you know that you can live high or low, just as you make your purchases? Well, you can, and that is a fact that many people of today are beginning to understand. Do you know that the Universe is a great supply-house, and that you draw your supplies according to your demands without paying over a dollar? To know how to draw your rations is what is needed.

"Picture in your mind the Universe as a great store-house. This store-house is stocked with everything that can be desired by the human mind. Its provisions consist of joy, happiness, love, health, peace, power, honesty, money, courage, confidence, fear, gloom, misery, hatred, poverty, sickness, suspicion, distrust and pessimism.

"To receive supplies from this store-house one must pay in advance and pay in kind—there is no medium of exchange. As ye give, so shall ye receive, is the principle upon which this store-house is operated. To receive joy one must give joy. To receive peace in mind one must give peace in thought. You have always lived under this law, giving and receiving in kind, but perhaps you didn't know it, and unknowingly disobeyed the law.

"Begin today and give in thought what you desire in life. Do not think fear, gloom, poverty, hatred, sickness, dishonesty, suspicion and pessimism, while wishing and praying for peace, joy, happiness, health, power, money; 'For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he.' As you give in thought so shall you receive in life."

I continued reading along these lines for the pur-

pose of keeping my mind positive. I would land a man as a stockholder and while I was with him he would feel all right, but as soon as I left him his pessimistic nature would cause him to have grave doubts. He would perhaps mention the deal to a neighbor (seldom to his wife). The neighbor would say something like this, "Well, I thought you had some sense." Or, "Well, kiss it good-bye." Or, "You ought to have a guardian appointed." Such statements would cause cold chills to run down the spine, he would have the blues with all his pessimistic thoughts centered upon the fellow who stung (?) him. He would never consider that the neighbor didn't know anything about it; that a knocker never does know what he is talking about; for, when a knocker learns what he is talking about he usually ceases to be a knocker. So one after another I gathered them together as stockholders until I had a goodly number of them. I knew there is a mighty power in united thought; that fifty, sixty, a hundred men, all thinking doubtful thoughts in unison, with their united thought all centered on me would be difficult to withstand; that I would be overwhelmed and lost in the sea of mental confusion, then oblivion. So I read everything along these new lines of reasoning that I could find, or that my eyesight could stand. I never failed to keep the ideas in mind and all went well as far as courage and confidence were concerned. There was no trouble with pessimists in the company; it was a courageous bunch. I received invaluable assistance from an optimistic and courageous friend. A progressive farmer with a spirit that is never daunted.

We struggled for some years through many vicissitudes; crop failure, partial failure, rainy threshing seasons, presidential campaigns, change in administration, new tariff and currency bills pending, etc., all of which had their effect upon the mental attitude of the people. One engaged in the work of promotion will not fail to be cognizant of the many conditions arising that give the people an opportunity to hang

back in the collar. Finally we got some men into the company who had both money and influence. It seemed that we would have no more trouble getting money now, and I committed the fatal error of relaxing. I needed rest. I rested, allowing others to take up the burden. These others proved to be impractical men. For instance, all they knew about a steam boiler they learned riding behind it in Pullman cars. They didn't know the difference between an internal-combustion engine and a Johnson-bar. In fact they didn't know anything practical outside of their own particular business. I soon learned that the less a man knows the more he thinks he knows and the stronger are his opinions; that he is obstinate to the extreme; that nothing but a steam-roller will convince him and then he is of the same opinion still. In fact, or to be exact, he has no opinions, his ideas are dogmas. These men were not ignorant as the world considers ignorance. They were highly intelligent, most of them, educated ignoramuses, and they lacked mightily in knowledge that can only be gained by experience, therefore, they were impractical. But, if a man has money, which gives him prestige, he usually has abundance of self-esteem, which is quite often accompanied by selfishness.

Men acquainted with the steam engine know that the ports open allowing steam to enter before the piston has traveled the full length of the stroke. The incoming steam acts as a cushion in stopping the travel of the piston with the weight of the cross-head and connecting-rod behind it, as well as giving power; that there would be no power if this lead were not given and the piston passed center before the admittance of steam into the cylinder. The same principle applies to the gasoline engine. The ignition must take place before the piston arrives at back-center. The automobile is equipped with a lever which adjusts the ignition. It must be retarded when starting the motor, or it will kick backwards. Many have received broken arms because of their failure to slow the spark. The

motor starts on a slow spark, but it will not move the car, or speed up, until the spark is advanced. In the early days of the automobile, several had sore arms in our town caused by the back-kicking of the Oldsmobile. A lawyer, a man brilliant in the ethics of the law; couldn't understand why the motor in his auto should go backwards. A mechanical gentleman was explaining the principle as above mentioned. The lawyer asked, "Do you mean to tell me that the ignition takes place before the piston has passed center?" The gentleman said, "I certainly do." The lawyer, "Why, that's impossible! That's against all theory. That would bust the end of the engine out. That's preposterous!" And, he was of the same opinion still. Now suppose you were much interested in the welfare of a corporation, and such a man was heavily interested financially, and suppose he assumed full responsibility and proposed to dictate every detail, and his money backed him up.

The way to conduct any business it to keep down the cost to a minimum. The merchant who is a good buyer, who keeps his cost down is the merchant who wins. That is true in any business, not excepting mining. There is only one exception, the business of war. They do things regardless of cost in war. The application of war methods in mining has brought about disastrous results, times without number. Impractical men cannot hold their heads and be conservative. We had an authority investigate and report on our property, and, immediately day dreaming became a common pastime with the scene visualized up in the skies. Money talks, therefore, it is many times quite useless for a man without means to attempt to advise men who have money and little else. To preach caution, or economy is considered too small for mining or war. It seemed to some people that I had gone through such a course of hardship, dealing with little things and amounts, that I couldn't comprehend the immensity of the enterprise I had created; that in order to drive things as they ought to be driven, in

keeping with the character of the prominent business we were engaged in, it would be to the best interest of the Company that I be dismissed. Were we not engaged in precious metal mining? Had we not visited the refineries at Omaha, and a twelve million dollar smelter near Salt Lake, where we were talked to and were treated like kings by the Guggenheims? Yes, that was all true, but somehow I failed to be exalted in my own opinion; I felt just the same and endeavored to continue the business on an earthly basis. I was dismissed by financial pressure and without pay. The mine hasn't failed. It is looking very good, but, development work has proved that had my small ideas been listened to we would have had our present ore bodies with about \$200,000. less money expended and stock issued against it at a ridiculously low price. The gentlemen to whom I have referred are much more capable today because of the experiences they have assimilated while dealing in stern realities. Having followed my western friend's advice, I did the promotion work as cheaply as possible, which was without commissions. Therefore, the result of the work brought me about the same returns as I received in previous stunts. However, I hold a moderate amount of the stock.

This new thought I have mentioned, teaches that whatever is, is just. Whatever is, is right. To the average individual such an assertion will be impossible to believe, yet it is absolutely true. I accept things as they are. I am well aware that there are thousands of men who out-rank me as philosophers, psychologists, economists; who are many times more competent to write on philosophy, psychology or economics, than I am; but theirs is the academic mind. It would require a philosopher, a psychologist, or an economist to understand them; their philosophy goes over the heads of those who have failed to, or have not had the opportunity, to prepare themselves to assimilate the ideas which they write about. There are few who possess any knowledge of philosophy, psychology

or economics combined with the knowledge gained in the University of Hard Knocks. Being a graduate at the head of the class from that great university, and, also having absorbed some philosophy and psychology of a practical kind, I am trying to write a story that will be understood by that great class of people known as the masses, by mingling the philosophy with life's experiences.

So, whatever is, is right. Had I continued with the mining company, it is probable that this book never would have been thought of. Thus it is that every knock becomes a boost, for, if this book proves to be able to give to the farmers and others a clearer insight into the fundamental psychological laws which govern mankind, individually and collectively, and knowledge better to apply it in their practical affairs in their dealings with each other, I will consider it a greater success than a million dollars received from the precious metal mine in a western state.*

The mine is in operation and is looking very good. It may be that I am intrinsically worth a lot of this world's goods. If I am, then O, God, how I earned it! If I am not, then why should I complain? You dig a well on your premises. Some times you get water and some times you don't. Some times you get good water and some times you don't. If you don't get water, do you call yourself a fool? Or do you dig again? It is so with the metals that are found in the earth. Man must dig for them and, some times they fail. The conservative folks, who think only of money, who consider themselves wise because they never do anything, never lose any money, but they live on the misfortunes of many folks who do things. Suppose our western proposition proves a big success; have we not earned it? Should we hand it over to Bill Haywood and his crew? If Mr. Townley and his crew, and Mr. Lenine and his crew have their way, which will be to give all men everything that is created, do you sup-

*Since the manuscript for this work was submitted, the above mentioned mine has proven to be a very meritorious proposition.

pose any man will ever think of going through the ordeal I did? It doesn't appear that way to me. Then, who will do the digging and the creating? It is the digging and the striving that man has to do to attain, that develops him and all the wealth that the world contains. An all-wise Creator ordained it that way, so that man could be a responsible being with power within himself to work out his salvation. This same Creator has supplied everything that mankind needs, but it is arranged so that man must toil to get it. Coal, iron, oil, and the precious metals are hidden in the earth so that man must search for them. When they are found they are in a crude state known as raw materials. Man must invent ways of refining and separating the fine from the dross. Yes it is evident that man must toil. Why must he toil? To feed and clothe himself you will say. Yes, primarily, but because he is a living entity, hanging in the balance, as it were, with power to think and to live constructively and thus work out his own salvation; or, to think and to live destructively and thus bring upon himself damnation. It is entirely optional with the individual. But today, the great idea is to create wealth without work, so they legislate for the sluggards.

I may not receive anything from the western mints, but the striving I have done has already given me returns that I would not sell for the mints. However, the law is such that I cannot sell what I received.

I have given this synopsis of a few of my experiences to establish a basis of authority for writing a book which might be accused of touching upon philosophy, psychology and economics.

The post graduate work of promoting a mining company was a seven years' course, a course in practical life and things which academic minds know naught of. Therefore, I know that I can write with a firmer knowledge of practical life than is possible for the man who has graduated from the school room into the schoolroom and who has been dealing with children and theories all his life; or the successful business man

who has spent a life in a certain business on a certain street and avenue in a certain community. Those may be considered far-fetched statements, but consider them, then realize that today the world is full of impractical men who, in their egotism are trying to mould opinion for mankind, and you will realize why there are so many idiotic theories disturbing the minds of the masses.

This new thought which I have mentioned is in reality very old thought. It is the original thought that was given to the world. The reason it seems new in this age is because mankind has become so material they have got entirely away from thinking upon the fundamental causes of the effects which they see all around them. The effects grow larger and larger in this age of mighty progress and mankind is struggling to manage the effects by applying its own little system of dollar-and-cents intelligence.

In the beginning there was a fundamental basis for all things, but man was such a self-centered and materialistic animal that he was constantly in trouble. Moses formulated a code of laws which held the Jews in check, or within bounds, by enforcing a system of sacrifice of material things which reached the Jew, because he gave until it hurt. He made his sacrifices in conformity with the law without realizing the beneficial psychological effects upon his mentality, and that the mental attitude created by the sacrifice was really the fundamental basis of his salvation.

I have often heard people say that the New Testament is enough; that it contains all of the Christ teachings; therefore, what is the use of bothering about the Mosaic Law? It is true that the New Testament is enough, but if we will go back and study the Old Testament we will find that the world has not changed fundamentally; that the same law that governed mankind in the days of old is governing mankind today. It has not changed one iota.

Over and over again the Children of Israel found themselves in serious trouble. What caused the

trouble? "They walked not in the way of the Lord." "They remembered not the way of the Lord." Over and over again they got out of their difficulties and prospered. How did they do it? "They returned unto the Lord." The Lord's way always brought such an abundance of prosperity that the people would forget His ways, usurp His prerogative and do things their own way. Their own way was always a destructive way and they would soon find themselves in sore straits again.

The writers of those days, using the phraseology of their time, would say, "They remembered not the way of the Lord." The writers of today use a different phraseology, that's all. The historians of today don't say that Germany walked not in the way of the Lord, or that Wilhelm remembered not the way of the Lord, but continued to bite off more and more until his egotism caused him to usurp the prerogative of the Almighty and overwork himself; until poets made him to say, "Me, und Gott"; but the Lord is a jealous God and he smote Wilhelm hip and thigh. No, they don't put it that way today. They just say, "Kaiser Bill got his." But it makes no difference how they say it, it is the Lord's way just as much as it ever was in olden time. In olden time it was a very common procedure of mankind to think they knew more than God Almighty, and they were taken to task occasionally. In Isaiah 55-9, we read, "For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

David was an impulsive fellow and did many rash things, but his sins were of the head and not of the heart, and the Lord loved him for his frankness. There wasn't any socialism in David's makeup. Whenever he got into trouble through his misdoings he knew who was to blame and whom to rely upon. In II Samuel 24-14, we read, "And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the Lord: for his mercies are great: and let me not fall into the hand of man." The poor Russians in this generation

have got so far away from understanding the fundamental ways of the Lord that they failed to think of Him and allowed themselves to fall into the hand of man. In North Dakota a majority of the people have become so materialistic they have been spending money in order that they might fall into the hand of man. We won't have any historians who will put it in the old biblical phraseology, "And Frazier walked not in the way of the Lord, but followed after the wiles of Belzebug."

Following the dawn of the Christian era a new scheme was provided to hold mankind in check. It was a system of formalities, certain rites and ceremonies, with the penalty of fear attached. Certain man-made creeds to follow, with constant fear of the penalties attached in case of disobedience. Paul said, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling," and Paul is preached much. The Nazarene said, "Fear not!" always fear not. John said, "Fear worketh a torment." Out of it all came a system of formalities enforced by fear. This new system became a propaganda. Children were taught this system from generation to generation reaching into the centuries, until it became a fixture in the mentality of mankind. Thus it is that we have the institution known as the church. I am not censuring the church. The church alone has held humanity in check for nearly two thousand years. I recently heard a sermon which taught that reverence ought to be applied wherever the word fear appeared in the scriptures; that reverence was the true meaning. Thus the text: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" would read, "The reverence of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." I endorse the latter translation. What would the world have been without the influence of the church?

It is a conspicuous fact that almost all of the leaders of the new world movement, Socialism, Bolshevism, are enemies of the church. They are men who are not only out of the church, but they are men who are purely materialistic, therefore are not "followers of

the Lord." They have usurped the prerogative of the Lord to such an extent that their every movement and recommendation is in direct conflict with the laws of Creation. There are a few "half-baked" individuals in the churches, even in the pulpits, who claim to be socialists, even claiming that the Nazarene was a socialist. Does this sound like socialism? "And one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother, that he divide his inheritance with me. And he said unto him, Man, who made me judge or a divider over you?" and again, "Give and it shall be given unto you." "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." He referred to the spiritual law of compensation and inferred that he only who strives to attain shall attain, after refusing to divide the inheritance. As a man thinks, he gives into the divine law of compensation. He receives in kind according to his thoughts. He receives in portion according to his efforts. We are all associated with this divine law and doing business with it constantly whether we understand it or not, and whether we wish to or not. Even the anarchist, the nihilist, the infidel, are struggling with it, and they will be paid in kind. That is the divine principle in nature, arranged by an all-wise Creator so that man could be a responsible being with power to work out his own salvation. Now comes a movement championed by a set of men who are very frank in ignoring any authority above their own, who talk pessimism into the ears of the unstable, who claim everything is all wrong, and propose to establish the institution of socialism on earth, a system that will make it unnecessary for mankind to strive to attain. That system is already working in Russia. How does it work? They ceased to attain and ate up the surplus, then starved by millions. There is only one way out of the awful dilemma in which Russia has placed herself, and that is the Lord's way. They will have to return unto the Lord, which is a return to constructive principles, to individual effort, which in turn means collective

effort, and when they make the necessary effort the great responsive system, the Lord's supply house, will supply all their wants. They will have to give constructively to receive constructively. As long as they give destructively they will receive destructively.

The spirit of the present destructive movement has always been at work in the world. It has been confined to local disturbances in past generations, but the great increase in knowledge of the last half century, which has brought all nations together in a mighty co-operative system, through the instrumentalities of the speedy ocean liners, cables underlying the ocean, a wonderful system of railroads, telegraph, and communication by wireless, together with that mighty institution for good and evil, the newspaper, with its wonderful system of gathering world news and giving information to the people of every community, its aptitude to impart more than it knows as well as its inability to prevent unscrupulous and Satanic individuals from taking advantage of its functions to teach sedition and viciousness,—this great increase of knowledge has made it possible for this movement to become world-wide, with Russia and North Dakota leading. Mighty influences of world-wide scope together with Russia's past mental attitude have brought about her present condition. The fact that North Dakota is populated by a people of a single vocation, who have been catered to and babied for years for selfish purposes, until they have been thoroughly spoiled, has made it the most excellent field in all the states in the Union for the necessary propaganda. Hence it became the home of the Bolsheviki movement in the western hemisphere.

I have a thought in closing that is far-fetched, perhaps, but we are living in momentous times and it may not be amiss to mention this thought. There are many people who believe in the law and the prophets. Some religious sects forget the main issue and get off on a tangent. Certain people have prophesied the end of the world time after time, yet it hasn't arrived yet; not as

they expected it. But perhaps the end did come, the end of all things as established in the world thought before the war, for surely the world will never be the same again. We are already living in a new world, as it were. Now, I have no emphatic statements to make on these points, because I don't know anything about such things, but it is possible that I know as much as some others who have voiced their opinions in print. Prophecy states that knowledge would increase in the world in the last days. It has increased in our own generation. It has increased wonderfully during the past forty years, amazingly during the last ten years. The inventions of man make it appear as though there isn't anything impossible. It is definitely stated that chariots were to run to and fro as flaming torches. They do! The automobiles with their glaring headlights. A great calamity was to visit the earth, such as never was before. It did! We have seen terrible times such as never were before. We have seen fighting above the clouds and under the oceans; with liquid fire and poisoned gas. There was to be a pestilence follow the great calamity. It came! We experienced the pestilence and it claimed more victims than did the war. Then the Anti-Christ was to come and reign for a season. He came and is reigning now! People who read the Scriptures literally expect some very wicked personage to rise up from among the nations and be a king among the peoples; but it isn't a personality. It is a psychological condition. It refers to a mental attitude, a mental condition among the peoples of the world, in the minds of men.

The great prophet revealer on the Isle of Patmos saw all the future before him and he styled the condition to come as the Anti-Christ. Why the Anti-Christ? Because Christ was the revealer of God's law. The Christ explained the fundamental principles of the law of creation and proved that it is spiritual. He established the truth that man must toil and strive individually, hence collectively, and thereby is privi-

leged to work out his own salvation, to attain according to his striving. All this teaching was very fresh in John's mind. The Christ had lived in that generation and John was not only an acquaintance, but his favored friend. So, when he saw a condition arising in the minds of men in the distant future that would attempt to upset all this arrangement by Almighty God, by an all-wise Creator, he referred to it as the Anti-Christ, because Christ had taught the ethical construction of the law, therefore, it would be better understood by the people of that time, as the Anti-Christ. It also means Anti-God Almighty; anti-Creation. This Anti-Christ spirit is very prominent in Russia and in North Dakota.

At the present time we are confronted with the spectacle of this movement in full blast, a movement started by a bunch of men who are so materialistic they only use dollar-and-cents intelligence and that of a mean order. A company of malcontents and theorists who would usurp the prerogative of the Almighty and destroy creation. It is aggravating and pitiable to see our prosperous citizens catering to these emissaries of Satan. It is positively loathsome to see business men and professional men subordinating principle and self-respect in order to receive some of the material spoils, or an elevated position for a fleeting period. The former class, not possessing full knowledge of world affairs, or perhaps it would be nearer right to say, not possessing any knowledge of world affairs, comes under the head of those individuals described in the old saying, "He that knows the least believes the most." That is the reason why a majority of our people believe the tales these fellows preach to them. Then there is another reason, a reason purely psychological,—they judge other people by themselves. That is why big business is mistrusted in their minds. That is why the arguments of the agitators find a lodging place in the mentalities of a majority of our farmers. Big business, the railroads, etc., have been abused so much in argument to the farmers that it is

now a righteous act to beat a railroad or elevator company. Why this abuse of big business? Because it was what they loved to hear! They craved it! It was a soothing balm with hypnotic influence. It buffaloes them into being easy-marks.

Our people can be deacons in the church, they can attend divine service with sanctimonious mien, and then beat a railroad or an elevator company the next day with genuine enjoyment. It never dawns upon their intelligence what the effect of the thought and act itself will have on their own character. The railroad or elevator company so robbed, has only lost a few dollars, or cents, which at best are only material things. The personnel of these companies has not been injured. But what has the man lost who deliberately makes a thief of himself in order that he may perform a righteous (?) act against big business? He has lost all that a man should hold dear: truth, honor, integrity. He is not only a petty thief, but a hypocrite. And, he has brought this condition, this mental attitude upon himself, thus verifying the truth of the old Jewish proverb, always symbolized in Jewish Courts of Justice by the judge washing his hands when pronouncing sentence, "I do not condemn thee; thou hast brought condemnation upon thyself!"

We have now reached the last analysis and we find that our former statement relative to ignorance being the cause of the deplorable condition was correct. We have reached a condition in this country, the entire country, when constructive education and practical knowledge is trampled in the dust and ignorance reigns supreme.

ADDENDUM

How singular is the thing called pleasure,
And how curiously related to pain, which
Might be thought to be the opposite of it;
For they never come to a man together;
And yet he who pursues either of them
Is generally compelled to take the other.

—Socrates.

Since the completion of the manuscript for the foregoing pages, events in North Dakota have been coming thick and fast. To chronicle all of them would require space sufficient to make another volume; however, inasmuch as many of these events verify predictions, or statements made in the major portion of this book, it will not be amiss if I mention briefly a few of the events which have recently occurred.

In September, a deputy examiner, without warning, entered the Scandinavian-American Bank, at Fargo, and proceeded with an examination. Please observe that this examination came without warning, and therein lies the trouble. It was gross insubordination on the part of Mr. Halderson, the examiner, to his chief, the State Examiner. Mr. Halderson acted on instructions from the State Banking Department, which was controlled by the Attorney General and Secretary of State, the minority on the board being the Governor. It will be seen that this act of the deputy examiner was the rankest kind of lese majeste, a procedure without ethical consideration of the fitness of things. It didn't give the bank any chance at all to prepare for an examination, and no man with the interests of the farmers at heart would be guilty of such unethical conduct, and, therefore, is not fit to be associated with the personnel of the Nonpartisan League; so he was summarily dismissed.

The unfairness of the action of the banking department, through the swiftness of Mr. Halderson, caught the bank napping; and red handed. The examination showed divers strange conditions. Under the state

banking laws this bank could not loan more than \$9,000.00 to any person, company or corporation. Yet, in violation of the law this bank made the following loans:

Consumers United Stores Company.....	\$170,000.00
National Nonpartisan League.....	148,824.26
League Exchange.....	66,182.00
Publishers' National Service Bureau.....	47,950.00
H. G. Hagerty.....	47,088.00
No. 6	33,088.98
H. C. Knaack.....	23,000.00
No. 8	22,200.00
No. 9	26,861.50
A. M. Grosvenor	29,426.33
Porter Kimball	15,066.57
No. 12	13,462.50
No. 13	11,324.00
United States Sisal Trust.....	12,000.00
O. K. Hanson	16,847.89
P. R. Sherman	12,998.50
H. J. Hagen	10,060.97
No. 18	9,159.78
No. 19	9,129.31
No. 20	9,523.89
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$734,194.48
Amount allowed by law to above parties....	180,000.00
	<hr/>

Excess loans\$554,194.48

The Consumers United Stores Company is capitalized at \$10,000.00 yet it borrowed \$170,000.00 at this bank. It does not require a large capital to operate some big business ventures among the farmers, because "they make the farmers pay it all." The Consumers United Stores Company has collected a million dollars from the farmers for the privilege of buying goods for cash at stores they paid for but do not own. It really didn't require any capital at all, but of course it looked better to have a stated capitalization. The National Nonpartisan League, the League Exchange,

the Publishers' National Service Bureau and others are all of the same nature and are manipulated by the same coterie of experts. The four companies above mentioned were allowed by law loans aggregating \$36,000.00. They were extended loans to the amount of \$432,956.26.

It was found that there was \$169,000.00 in past due paper and a large portion of the securities of the bank was in post dated checks and unsecured notes; that in violation of banking principles, stock purchased in the institution was used as security in payment of the same. Mr. Townley was a large borrower. His plan was to have employees of the league, clerks, organizers, etc., make individual loans, thus twenty-two individuals, without established financial standing, affiliated with the league, had loans at this bank amounting to \$158,824.26. An employee of the principal borrower was permitted to remain in the bank and have charge of the security of that borrower, even to the extent of removing half of the security from the bank and giving nothing but a receipt for it. It is passing strange that the management of an institution would allow nearly \$300,000.00 worth of security to be removed with only a receipt to show for it.

The bank was declared insolvent, closed, and placed in charge of Mr. Halderson, by the State Banking Department. The Nonpartisan press made an awful fuss, declaring the majority members of the banking board to be bank wreckers, traitors, etc.; that the bank was solvent; in fact was in excellent condition. The socialist press was doing excellent work with this propaganda, when the banking department published certain letters that had been found in the files of that institution. These letters show conclusively how the Nonpartisan League protects its own:

OFFICE OF STATE EXAMINER

State of North Dakota, Bismarck

J. R. Waters,
State Examiner

E. A. Thorberg,
Chief Deputy Examiner
June 10, 1918.

Mr. J. J. Hastings,
Scandinavian-American Bank,
Fargo, N. D.

Dear Mr. Hastings:—

“Mr. Waters submitted to an operation at the hospital here today. While the operation is not serious yet he is not very well and will be laid up for a while. This is the reason that you and Mr. Semingsen were not able to get him over the 'phone.

“He has asked me to write you regarding the extra help you have at your bank just now making an examination. He has been sick since last Thursday or he would have headed the thing off. Being that Mr. Schoregge, Mr. Semingsen and Mr. Halderson are there now to make an examination in behalf of the Commission, he does not care to create any antagonism over this matter at this time and get as good report from them as possible, so they won't have anything to hand the opposition parties over league finances and business methods, or criticise the amount of money or paper carried there. It appears quite evident that this is a political play for thunder. You see the opposition parties are a little short on real sensational thunder, and they are trying to scare up something for the last act, and, I don't suppose the other banks in Fargo are just what you might term Crazy about you. Mr. Waters wishes me to advise you that if the examiners object to any of the paper carried there, you are to tell them that it will be removed at once. The plan for taking care of objectionable matters is to shoot it out to the other league banks—Grand Forks, Lisbon, Hillsboro, Buxton, Hatton — these banks are practically all new banks and have been passed by the Commission, which will leave them in a position to do this. They would not have anything that the Commission would object to just now. Anything that you send them could be taken back later on, if necessary. Of course, we don't want you to move any more than is absolutely necessary to get by with a clean report. Mr. Waters is satisfied that with this information, you

and Mr. Semingsen will be able to handle this matter satisfactorily to all.

If anything further develops, kindly write me.

Yours very truly,

RMH

(Signed) _____ Deputy
SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN BANK
Fargo, N. D.

May 26, 1919.

Mr. A. C. Townley,
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Townley:—

“Agreeable to your request, to inform you when we were in need of funds, etc.***

“Mr. Hagen tells me that you were to get us \$500,000.00 in addition to the State deposit which we received and urges that you give this immediate attention and assist us promptly.

“Awaiting your early consideration, etc.,***.”

Yours very truly,

PRS-J

(Signed) _____ Cashier.
SCANDINAVIAN-AMERICAN BANK
Fargo, N. D.

April 16, 1919.

Mr. A. C. Townley,
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Townley:—

“I called at the hotel to see you today but the clerk informed me that you had left for St. Paul.

“I wanted to tell you that we have received the \$50,000.00 from the State treasurer, but they have drawn \$30,000.00 so we now have about \$70,000.00. Also wanted to inform you that as yet we have had no settlement with the Hagerty bunch, who owe us an aggregate sum of \$40,000.00. I have written them today, and enclose a copy of the letter herewith* * *.

“As far as I can understand the delay is in the settlement with Mr. Hastings. Mr. Hagerty claims that he and Box have drawn money on the Company by himself and also by Mr. Box. In fact, Mr. Hagerty told me that the books of the company that was kept

with Mr. Hastings, shows where he made entries that he had drawn checks and used the money for his own personal use, and Mr. Hagerty claims that the aggregate of this amount is about \$25,000.00. Mr. Hagerty intimated to me that Mr. Hastings being an officer of this bank and an officer of their company, he thought they were justified in the position they were taking, and that the bank should assist them in the settlement with Mr. Hastings, under the circumstances.

"I am giving you this information because I believe it is of sufficient importance for you to know, and there is a large amount of money involved in it, and also that we are badly in need of available funds at this time. We are working hard to convert paper so that we can have available sufficient to meet our demand, and we have done well to meet it at all, when you consider our deposits have slumped \$300,000.00 in a month and a half, the principal accounts effected of their heavy local demand.

"We are relying on you for assistance and co-operation in carrying this burden. We appreciate what you have already done in directing funds and also the enforcement and hope that you bring to me from time to time. *For us not to worry but that you are in a position and have matters in hand where you can render assistance and leave us comfortable.*

"I trust you will devote a part of your valuable time now to bridge over this dangerous period, that we may not fear embarrassment and disgrace.

"Trusting that you will be successful in your noble work that you are now engaged in, lifting humanity into a higher sphere of culture and enlightenment, which results in a life of comfort, enjoyment and peace, I beg to remain,"

Yours very truly,

HJH-J

(Signed) _____ President

"Ye Gods and little fishes!" Read the last paragraph of the above letter again. It would indeed be beyond the comprehension of some of us to understand how men of seeming intelligence, of education,

are possessed of ethical standards that would prompt them to utter such sentiments as the above paragraph contains, were it not for the scientific fact that each human mind develops itself; that each rational mind is allowed, yes, condemned, to work out its own salvation, or to create its own code of ethics; hence, so many different opinions. But, there is often the possibility that such good wishes are not sincere; that better natures, or superior intelligences are subordinated to the more powerful for material considerations. In the above instance, the writer was angling for \$500,000.00 with which to avoid a calamity.

At this point in the proceedings it became necessary that drastic action be taken to avoid the pending calamity. Mr. William Lemke, high Bishop of the league, got very busy to find ways and means of saving the situation. The supreme court was called upon to issue a temporary injunction prohibiting the banking department from further action and compelling the Attorney General to return all evidence, data, correspondence, etc., to the bank. They succeeded in preventing a trial by jury in the regular courts, also prevented argument before the supreme court with all evidence of the prosecution forcibly appropriated by arbitrary power. The case was presented by affidavits of accountants imported from other states.

In making permanent its temporary injunction restraining the banking department from probing further into the affairs of the Scandinavian-American Bank at Fargo, a majority of the members of the Supreme Court of North Dakota said:

That such action is illegal and beyond the powers of the state banking board.

That such action was unwarranted, illegal and neither within the spirit or letter of the legal powers conferred upon such board.

That such determination is wholly arbitrary and without foundation of fact.

That the finding of insolvency is not justified and was unreasonably so determined.

This opinion was written by Justice Bronson and was concurred in by Justices Grace and Robinson. It seems strange to the average layman and school-boy that several hundred thousand dollars carried, being in post-dated checks and unsecured notes, over half a million dollars in excess loans, \$169,000.00 in past due paper, and twenty-two individuals of limited financial standing having loans aggregating \$158,824.26 together with much further evidence not mentioned, does not constitute a cause for a declaration of insolvency.

Dissenting from this opinion, Justice Birdsell, (a leaguer) contends:

That there was no trial of the case on its merits.

That due judicial process was denied the defendants.

That if considerations of this character are once made controlling to the extent of precluding trials, then government by injunction will become the accepted rule instead of the odious exception.

"Viewing the matter as I do I can only regard the final judgment as being void for lack of a trial conducted in accordance with due process of law."

Chief Justice Christiansen also dissented in an individual opinion.

While vigorously protesting against the action of the banking board, and vociferously declaring that the bank was solvent, the Nonpartisan League made October 21st a great rally day at Fargo, called by the opposition "shake-down day." In one column they would declare the bank solvent and in another they would appeal to the farmers to come to the rescue of the Scandinavian-American Bank; that the very life of the League and the farmers' industrial program was at stake; that unscrupulous traitors backed by big business were endeavoring to destroy the farmers' program. On that day special trains were run to Fargo and the highways were crowded with touring cars headed for that city. A good promoter knows that stock sells best on a rising market. These gentlemen have been successful promoters, of the Wall-

ingford type-plus. So they offered \$100 shares of the bank stock for \$210. per share. There were evidently some buyers, because the bank opened up again and is now doing business at the old stand. No doubt they have less fear of an examination at the present time than was formerly the case, thanks to the action of the banking board that came to the rescue, instead of Mr. Townley.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Nonpartisan press emphatically and persistently declared that the bank was not only solvent, but was in excellent condition: that the action of the banking board was the result of the high-handed work of destruction by big business, the President and the Cashier of the bank were arrested on a charge of making false statements to examiners, and the President was declared guilty by a jury in district court, seven of whom were farmers. The case against the cashier is pending.

Following the examination of the Scandinavian-American Bank, at Fargo, and learning of the unprecedented method of "shooting it out to the other banks," the banking board thought it wise to make an examination of The Bank of North Dakota. This was before the temporary injunction and while the banking board was rightfully searching for evidence pertaining to the affairs of the insolvent bank at Fargo. There had been sufficient evidence unearthed there of unscrupulous methods to warrant an examination of The Bank of North Dakota,—the people's bank. So, on Monday, October 6th, the State Auditor with three assistants began an examination of that institution. When the examiners arrived at the bank the following morning, they were handed the following letter:

THE BANK OF NORTH DAKOTA

Bismarck, N. D., October 7, 1919.

Mr. C. R. Kositzky, State Auditor,
Bismarck, N. D.

Dear Sir:—

"Due to a false statement to the effect that the Bank of North Dakota was carrying \$325,000.00 of the Scan-

dinavian-American Bank's paper, we permitted you to examine the rediscounts and bills receivable to satisfy yourself of the falsity of the charge. You completed that examination Monday afternoon and discovered none of the items you came here to find.

"There are reasons why your examination of The Bank of North Dakota should not continue. First, you have no legal authority to examine the institution. But, principally, The Bank of North Dakota recognizes that its confidential relations with its customers must be protected. Furthermore, The Bank of North Dakota has undertaken to keep clear of political entanglements and has adopted a policy in line therewith. Your record for falsifying and misrepresenting in other matters, therefore, makes it imperative that we prevent you from going further."

Yours very truly,

F. W. Cathro.

Mr. W. G. Worner, of Mr. Kositzky's staff, made an affidavit that they had only checked the rediscounts and half of the bills receivable; that none of the other several accounts had been reached.

On November 1st the miners of bituminous coal in the central competitive district went out on strike. A few days before the strike order was to go into effect Mr. S. S. McDonald, President of the North Dakota Federation of Labor, and a Frazier appointee on the Workmen's Compensation Commission, which is taxing North Dakota three-quarters of a million of dollars annually, issued a statement to the effect that the strike in the central field would not affect North Dakota, inasmuch as the workers in this state were covered by an entirely different contract, and that they had nothing to do with the disagreement between the bituminous coal operators and their employees.

Mr. McDonald, radical labor leader, asserted of his own volition in an interview published in the state press, and not contradicted to this date, that the only excuse which North Dakota miners could find for striking would be a sympathetic one, and he expressed

the opinion that a sympathetic strike would be justified only if the product of North Dakota lignite mines were shipped into other states with a view of taking the place of bituminous coal usually supplied to those states.

Mr. McDonald knew, and Lynn Frazier knew, that it would be an utter impossibility for North Dakota to produce enough coal to supply its own customers, and that North Dakota had never produced within one to two million tons of its own requirements, notwithstanding the fact that its fertile acres are underlaid by more than 700,000,000,000 tons of lignite coal.

The day before the strike order became effective Governor Frazier wired President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, for "permission" to operate the North Dakota mines.—Do you get it?

This was the second time that a North Dakota Governor ignored the Federal Government, and repudiated the authority vested in himself as Governor of one of the several sovereign states, by appealing to private citizens for authority. In a former case it was still more pitiable. In 1893, during a railroad strike, a populist governor of North Dakota wired Gene Debs for permission to transport state troops, the National Guard, home from encampment. In the present case, President Lewis, of the Mine Workers, replied that North Dakota miners were under contract to remain at work until September 30th, 1920, and that the miners would not violate their agreement. He advised however, that if he, Frazier, was insistent upon the state's operation of the mines he could take the matter up with President Henry Drennan, of Billings, Montana, head of the United Mine Workers for the 27th district. This Mr. Frazier did, and Mr. Drennan immediately arrived at Bismarck, and secret conferences began. They later called the operators in and demanded a sixty per cent raise in wages. Briefly, their plan was to make the people pay from \$1.60 to \$2.00 per ton more for their fuel and to pay this as a tax, the money to go into the

United Mine Workers' strike benefit fund. The miners, the workers, were not to benefit in the least by the arrangement; they would be obliged to continue work at the former scale of wages; they would benefit only in case of a future strike. Thus \$48,000.00 per week was to be collected from the people of North Dakota, or from that portion of the people that burned lignite coal, and be paid into the pockets of striking miners in other states. Ostensibly it would seem that the money was to be used that way, but if the workers would use a little consideration they would notice that a large portion of these funds finds its way into the pockets of their supposed-to-be "saviours." Thus it is that these saviours of the laboring classes become very rich, even millionaires, without doing much in way of constructive work themselves. Then there is another reason. It is the same reason that has caused the law permitting picketing and idleness to be placed upon our statute books, which is because of the ambition of the socialistic masters of Governor Frazier, to name the Presidential candidate of the new labor party. This party has called unto itself all of the radicals of every class and race and faction which have been permitted to thrive and fester in America under our beneficent democratic form of government.

The Governor allowed three days to elapse following the calling out of the organized lignite miners before he attempted to do anything to relieve a serious situation which he alone, apparently, had created,— a coal shortage, closed schools, etc., and the terror of death by freezing facing many people. Then he issued a proclamation in the Townley press giving the operators twenty-four hours to capitulate, declaring that if they did not yield he would take over the mines for the state.

The operators were advised by U. S. District Attorney, M. A. Hildreth, of Fargo, that such agreement would be in violation of the federal injunction then pending, and that it would subject both the miners and the operators to prosecution and imprisonment.

Thereupon the operators refused to rebel against the court decrees of their country, Mr. Frazier declared martial law and took over the mines.

As manager in the state operation of the mines, a Townley man, manager of a Townleyized coal property at Kenmare, was appointed. As local managers, a group of clerks from the Capitol were selected, most of them mere boys without experience. The governor advised the operators whose average profit per ton has been forty cents, that they must accept from ten to twenty-five cents per ton from the state, and that the state would operate the mines until the operators had made an agreement with Mr. Henry Drennan, of Billings, Montana.

At one of the mines, or rather, at a property yet in the development stage, doing development work, were several union men. The strike call came and they quit work. They were off duty two days when they presented themselves to the Superintendent and stated to him that they were not engaged in mining; that they were developing, and that they couldn't be kept off the job for that reason, and they returned to work. This is a case where the men themselves found a technicality whereby they could continue at work. This case shows very plainly that it isn't always the men who are so discontented; that the men would be industrious and good citizens if they could be left alone and not be everlastingly tormented by agitators. It is a serious condition when the governor of a state becomes the chief agitator.

· Nero sent ships to Alexandria, not for foodstuffs for his people in need, but for sand for the floor of his arena, and he fiddled while Rome was burning. Lynn Frazier sent to a private citizen in Indianapolis for "permission" to create a coal strike, and not to the Federal Government at Washington for instructions as to how to avoid one, and he fiddled for days with Drennan, while streets were dark, churches and schools closed and some of his people actually chilly, with the terror of possible freezing a stern reality.

Martial Law was declared while the people were at peace. Not a vestige of violence or disturbance of any kind, and the mines were taken over by the state.

The situation was serious. It meant that in a very few days some people would actually be frozen. The operators asked Judge Nuessle, of the District Court, for an injunction restraining the Governor in his action in taking possession of the mines and demanding that he show cause. Judge Nuessle granted an injunction restraining the Governor, or the State in its action. In handing down his decision, Judge Nuessle said in part:

“If the executive of this State can in his own judgment form a conclusion as to what is necessary, not to quell insurrection or breach of the peace, but to prevent suffering in the future, at some time more or less remote; if he can by reason of that judgment not only call out the troops to seize private property and compel men to work and operate that private property, even though to prevent the occurrence of that suffering we have referred to, that is a most astonishing condition, abhorrent to every citizen and repugnant to every constitutional principle.***

“If he seizes the mines, he may need mules and horses to operate them, and he can go out to the adjacent farmers and commandeer these mules and horses and say that the state requires them; if he needs hay and oats to feed these mules and horses, he can go to the next farmer and seize that property; he can seize the railroads and operate the railroads and distribute the coal that is mined. He can compel men to labor in these mines and produce that coal under pain of imprisonment. It seems to me that it means on the one hand confiscation, and on the other involuntary servitude and that the courts under the constitution must have the power, even though they cannot enforce the mandate consistent with that power to pass upon and review such action.

“It seems to me if this is not the case, the governor can, when he deems an emergency arises, set aside all

constitutional restraint, not only to preserve the peace, but to do that which he thinks he should do in order to effect such purpose as he thinks should be effected regardless of how that purpose may be viewed by the courts or by the people.

"I appreciate that any mandate that this court may issue, unless the Governor sees fit to recognize that mandate, cannot be enforced without civil war if the thing is carried to its logical conclusion. I do not want that.

"I believe in the case of great business such as railroads, coal mines, public heating and lighting plants, water systems, or any of the great quasi public enterprises, *that the public is a third party to a three cornered compact; and that its rights are greater than that of either labor or capital operating the business in question*, and I do believe there is inherent in the government powers given to the judiciary by our constitution, both state and federal, a power which may be invoked to right any situation such as we may have, and to right it in a manner consistent with the constitution and consistent with the powers given by the constitution to the other departments of government.***

"With reference to the matter of whether or not this court has jurisdiction against these defendants as officers, I must hold that it has for the reason, that as I view it, these acts and things which were done were done during a time of peace, with this court and all other courts in the state functioning, and that therefore these acts are illegal; that they are in violation both of section fourteen of the constitution of this state, and of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States.***

"I shall make the order provide that these things the defendants are commanded to do, shall be done not later than two o'clock next Monday afternoon. That, I think, will give them time to get into the supreme court and have it determined."

The fuel shortage was so acute that a day's delay was a serious matter, so the supreme court gave the

case precedence over all cases pending and handed down a decision immediately. The supreme court sustained the mandate issued by the district court and the mines were returned to the operators and all trouble was over.

In compliance with instruction of one of their imported hirelings, one who was all-important as an advisor for a time, but who left these parts for other fields some years ago, they proceeded to elect a supreme court that would sustain the laws which their legislature would enact. They elected four of the supreme court judges. Their own court sustained the mandate of the district court by a three to two decision, the pendulum swinging back the other way again. This decision by their own elected judges, two of them deciding against the high-handed work of the administration, was a deadening blow indeed, but as it isn't at all fashionable or comfortable to call supreme court judges traitors and tools of big business, enemies of the farmers, etc., there wasn't anything said about "a travesty on justice."

The Hon. James E. Robinson, the venerable justice of the North Dakota Supreme Court, is a Nonpartisan leaguer. Justice Robinson was elected a leaguer and, being a law partner of William Lemke, he was supposed to stay put; but far from it. He has time and time again proved to have opinions of his own and the courage of his convictions. Only once has he grievously disappointed the opposition, when he concurred in the majority opinion in making permanent the temporary injunction restraining the banking board in its action against the insolvent Scandinavian-American Bank at Fargo; it being so difficult for the average individual to understand how a banking institution can be solvent under the circumstances heretofore enumerated. On nearly all important cases he has favored righteousness. Justice Robinson has inaugurated a system quite unknown in this state before his time on the bench, that of writing a Saturday evening letter, giving a summary of conditions pertaining to

the court and the administration generally. These letters are often very interesting reading. The following are two of Justice Robinson's communications to the public:

Bismarck, N. D., Oct. 4, 1919.

"Glad am I that we are soon to have an extra session of the legislature to correct and undo several measures passed at the last general session; also to fix a schedule of the maximum and minimum prices, to end or give check to profiteering and the high cost of living. A good statute to repeal is the one which invites picketing and striking, loafing and idleness. Any party is free to quit a job, unless when he is bound by contract, or when he has no regard for his contract, but he is not legally free, and the law cannot make him free, to conspire with others to carry on a kind of civil war against his employers and their workmen. And if picketing and striking is to merit the approval of the law makers, why should not the law give to pickets and strikers their daily bread and butter, with a fair compensation for their time? Then there would be less reason for a resort to lawlessness. And, of course, the farmers should be treated in the same manner, in case they determine to strike and grow only such food as they need for themselves. For a short time the state may give to every man a pension or permit the general looting of those who have laid up a store against the lean years which are sure to come. This they did in ancient Rome but soon the state became bankrupt and went under. No country can hope to succeed and prosper unless the great majority of the people are given to habits of thrift and industry. Our Indians were good socialists; they had all America before them and under their control, and yet they roamed over endless wealth, living from hand to mouth or starving because they knew nothing of thrift and industry, and because they knew not the means and the benefits of securing individual titles to property. No man will sow that another may reap the harvest. Were it not for the ties of home and

property in one generation most of the humans would revert to the state of the American Indians. In the human race, as in the lower animals, it is much easier to breed down than to build up. Our statute on picketing and striking is no compliment to the wage-earners. It classes them down as infants by permitting them to disregard their contracts and to assume a state of idleness and lawlessness, whereas, the power to make a valid and binding contract is a blessing to every honest and intelligent person. What if Jacob had not been able to make a binding contract to work seven years for Rachel and then seven years more for her sister? Why, we might never have heard of the Jewish race or Moses and the Prophets.

"Yes, I am glad we are soon to have an extra session to make laws regulating the state funds, state industries, the appropriations and the taxes. To a great extent Mr. Kositzky, the state auditor, is right in trying to show that taxation and the state expenses are running wild. In time I purpose to write that up and to give the exact figures that no man can dispute, and to do it especially for the good of the league, because the league cannot live and prosper without reducing taxes and expenses. With the exception of interest on the state debt—a very small item—the state tax is limited to four mills on the dollar of the assessed valuation of taxable property in the state. Now, regardless of the four mill limitation, we have a motor vehicle tax amounting to about a million a year, enough to meet all the necessary expenses of the state; also a money and credits act of three mills on the dollar, a per capita tax on lawyers and dentists, and the income tax, which of itself may produce four mills on the dollar. True it is that some of the taxes may be held and adjudged to be void, but that does not lessen the force of the argument.

"The state expense, look how it climbs up: F. W. Cathro, Director General, salary \$10,000.00 a year. August 23 to September 23, room and board at the McKenzie Hotel, \$157.00.

“Yearly salary of employees appointed under new regime, \$185,000.00. Appraisement of Drake Mill, \$503.96.

“It must be that the Director General is an awfully wise man, with a salary twice as much as the Governor and the Judges of the Supreme Court. He knows enough to charge the state for his room and board at the grand McKenzie Hotel, while I—a jurist of fame and fortune—go round looking for crusts to rebuke the high cost of living. But in future, I may profit by his example. Then to think of five hundred dollars for an appraisal of the hinky dinky Drake mill? To make public ownership a success the special session must arrange to put a strict limit to salaries and expenses. If public service cannot be made as cheap and as efficient as private service, then we must look for the wreck and ruin of public ownership.”

James E. Robinson.

For the past several months the Nonpartisan press has been painting the state auditor in darkest hues. He has been held to be a monster traitor to the farmers, subsidized by big business. No opportunity has been lost to stigmatize him, as the Cathro letter quoted above implies. The following letter to the public gives a different color to the course taken by the auditor:

Bismarck, N. D., Nov. 18, 1919.

“Kositzky is a second John the Baptist—‘the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.’ Believing that honest confession is good for the soul he exposes the wrong instead of cloaking and covering it up. Very justly he cries out against excessive taxation and public extravagance. He shows how the last assessment of land was increased more than fourfold over all other assessments and how there was then added a general average of about thirty percent. This more than doubles the taxes for the coming year in addition to all other levies.

“By excessive and illegal taxation Charles the First lost his royal head, Great Britain lost her American Colonies, and the State Administration is in great danger of losing the next general election. But there is still time to undo the wrong, to pass a statute with an emergency clause reducing the tax levies fifty per cent, and permitting payment in two equal installments on or before March first and November first, the same as in South Dakota. There is time to repeal some bad statutes such as those to encourage strikes, picketing and martial law; and to repeal the statute to prevent men and women from exercising their inalienable right to acquire property by doing an honest day's work***.

“Now in a few days the solons and wise men from the east (St. Paul) meet at the Capitol to correct their own errors and to restrain and curb those young thoroughbreds who despise correction and who are continually “kicking over the traces.” But Kositzky, he must be given a clear bill of health with due commendation because he is a good worker; he does not fear to speak the truth and he has done the people a great service by continually pointing out the rocks on which the ship of state is in danger of being wrecked.

“Under the new laws and assessments we have new boards and bureaus and new ways of making lavish expenditure of public money. We have methods of taxation unknown to the Constitution. There is a motor vehicle tax sufficient to pay all the necessary expenses of the state; a tax on incomes; a special tax on lawyers; a three mill tax on debts, money and credits. In short, it seems that every device has been resorted to for the purpose of increasing the tax burdens.

“Then in their unbounded confidence the solons and wise men have given the Governor, his boards and bureaus, authority to fix salaries and titles, to incur expenses without limit. Hence, the new annual payroll is nearly \$300,000.00 in addition to the regular payroll. For the first time in the history of the state

we read of men getting \$10,000.00 a year; and three, four and five thousand dollars is quite common.

"The motor vehicle tax law gives the Secretary of State power to expend all the tax for the purpose of collecting it. That part of the statute, our court has held void. The law gives the Highway Commission the power to expend as they please so much of the tax as may be put to their credit.

Thus far it is.....	\$550,000.00
The expenses for road work.....	55,000.00
For salaries, engineering, clerk hire and general expense	231,000.00
The Attorney General's pool hall funds amount to	35,000.00
The expense is	16,000.00

"He is free to expend every cent of the money. Now, I think it clear that such laws are not constitutional. The state may not levy a tax and say that any person may expend it according to his own good will and pleasure.

"When the present state administration took office, it was thought well to reward the faithful handsomely by putting no limit to their power. The Attorney General was the pet of the household. He was the one whom the wise men delighted to honor. He was given for his department the free use of nearly \$50,000.00 a year, and a prerequisite of about another \$50,000.00. He was put on the banking board, the auditing board, and in short, on every board. During the first two years he kept strictly in line and never once crossed the powers that be; but during the past year he has thought himself strong enough to go it alone and to resent correction. If he has erred the powers have got nothing only what they deserved. It is downright folly to make a king of a man who is a public servant, without proper restraints and limitations. It is folly to give a compensation bureau power to pay \$5,100.00 or \$10,000.00 for a lumbering rate schedule, when in a few days a competent board could have made a proper rate schedule.

"Now, at the coming session of the solons we look for them to make a proper and just schedule of compensation rates; to classify the civil service, and fix a just salary for each appointee; also to limit and safeguard the expenditures of public money; to provide for a monthly examination and accounting and for more efficient public service; and, above all, to cut down the taxes.

"In the banking, the milling and in all the public utilities there must be a strict and faithful system of accounting without any whitewashing; there must be no attempt to cloak and cover up wrongs. If mill managers pay \$500.00 for the inspection and valuation of a small mill the public should know it and should know if such payment is in accordance with good business methods.

"By Chapter 6, Laws of 1919, the business of pool halls, dance halls, theatres, taxi cab stands, etc., is made a perquisite of the Attorney General and all taxes upon the same are placed at his disposal. Of course, that is dead wrong. The state management of local affairs is always bad and expensive, and it is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

"Corliss, ex parte, 16 N. D. 470.

"Heed, oh, heed Kositzky's warning."

James E. Robinson.

It is rather inconsistent of Mr. Robinson to insinuate that there might be something wrong with the insubordination of the Attorney General when the very letter in which he casts the insinuation is as damaging, if not more damaging to "the powers that be" than the actions of the Attorney General; when his own words make a noise like insubordination beyond the limit reached by the Attorney General. The Attorney General is charged with insubordination. He was elected on the Republican ticket, which was the Nonpartisan ticket in disguise. We don't know of any reason for his being under obligation to any one other than the people of North Dakota. Mr. Robinson was also elected on the same ticket. If he doesn't see

fit to "keep right in line" then isn't he as guilty of insubordination as Mr. Langer? But, it isn't always policy or healthy to accuse a judge of any court of being a traitor and a tool of big business. Mr. Robinson sees fit to think for himself and he has the courage of his convictions. He ought to extend the same privilege to Mr. Langer.

He mentions the Attorney General keeping right in line for two years. Let us remark that Miss Minnie J. Nielson wasn't elected state superintendent of public instruction in 1916, but in 1918. Mr Taylor, the predecessor of Mr. Macdonald in that office didn't refuse to vacate the office to Mr. Macdonald, the duly elected superintendent of public instruction in 1916. There was no occasion for any display of righteousness against unwarranted, high-handed contempt of the people of North Dakota at that time. He wasn't called upon to sustain the Constitution and a majority of 7,000 electors during the first two years. He was called upon, however, to give an opinion as to the constitutionality of the infamous House Bill forty-four, and said opinion was handed down, apparently to order, with the "full approval" of the Attorney General. This opinion must surely make its appearance at regular intervals in the mind of the Attorney General, like Banquo's ghost that would not down. However, the dastardly treatment of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the perniciousness of the soviet legislature of 1919, fully justify the insubordination of the Attorney General.

Mr. Robinson recommends the "passing of a statute with an emergency clause reducing all tax levies fifty per cent." My, that sounds good! But, he doesn't tell us how to get the money to offset the amount saved (?) by reducing taxes; for to reduce taxes will create a deficit. This much is sure: The lavish expenditures caused by the incompetency of dreaming theorists are so great that if taxes are not collected this year, they will have to be collected some other year, for the people must pay. The proposal to reduce taxes sounds

like many other dreams that have been preached to us. Violation of economic laws means taxes for the people of North Dakota.

He refers repeatedly to the "statute which invites picketing and striking, loafing and idleness" and recommends its repeal. The extra session of the "solons" and "wise men from the east" has passed into history, but the statute wasn't repealed. Neither was the statute permitting the flying of the red flag (except as danger signals) repealed; but a bill for its repeal was defeated. Does the venerable gentleman know why it is so essential that these laws must not be repealed? It isn't because there is any need for such laws in North Dakota. No, it isn't that. But, it is the finest kind of propaganda material to carry into other states. In other states which have a larger proportion of the laboring classes to whom they can preach about the wonderful laws which the Nonpartisan League has passed in North Dakota for the benefit of the laboring man. So it is very essential to the hoped-for success of the Nonpartisan League in other states that these laws shall not be repealed in North Dakota. So it is that these laws on the statute books of North Dakota, are a detriment to the social and economic welfare of such other states.

He refers to the necessity of a faithful system of accounting without white-washing; that there must be no attempt to cloak over or cover up wrongs. Why does he make such a statement? Because he has seen so much of it. His insubordination appears less consistent than that of the Attorney General.

On November 25th the Sixteenth Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota convened in extraordinary session. It was the second extra session during the present administration, yet the farmers wanted control of the state so that they could save millions of money. This session was indeed extraordinary. It was called ostensibly for the purpose of extending relief to the drouth stricken farmers in the western portion of the state. In this respect a law

was enacted providing for the payment of taxes semi-annually. Also an Act providing for the extension of notes given for seed grain and feed, said notes not to be renewable beyond the limitation of the bonds issued by counties. Also an Act providing for the purchase of a dairy cow by farmers in such counties.

As to the first measure, the semi-annual payment of taxes may be an accommodation but it is in no sense a relief of the burden. As to the second measure, it would simply be a matter of business necessity to extend payment of such notes. Such notes could not be extended beyond the limitation of the bonds, because no business man, or no man with any idea of credits would make such an extension. An extra session of the legislature was a mighty expensive method of arranging for a procedure that could not be avoided. As to the additional credit, permitting the purchase of a cow, there are more cows in those counties than there is feed for. If perchance, certain farmers are in need of a cow, any banker would see that he got the cow, providing he had feed for her. The following from the Dickinson Press gives some light on this subject:

“An urgent appeal was made upon Governor Frazier by the Stark County American Red Cross, at the time of the special session of the legislature, for state aid for the drought stricken farmer and rancher of the Missouri Slope, many of whom will be unable to seed another crop or carry their stock through another season without help. A deaf ear was turned to the appeal, however. The league program had to be carried out—and that takes oodles of money. There could be nothing done at this time for the needy farmer and stockman.

“Minnesota, the much abused seat of ‘big business’ is coming to the aid of the drought stricken areas through the medium of the Red Cross. Thanks to the help of eastern states, funds have been placed at the disposal of Red Cross chapters of western North Dakota for the care of the needy and destitute, and to

provide medical and hospital attendance for the sick.

"Townley's much heralded 'New Day' has come to North Dakota all right, but years without number will pass before the stain of that 'New Day' will be wiped from the good name of our state. Millions for socialistic propaganda and instillation of class hatred—not one cent for the aid of the struggling farmer or rancher who has his back to the wall in a losing fight against the grasshopper and drought.

"Mr. Farmer, is the 'New Day' worth the price?"

Before proceeding with the story dealing with the real cause of the calling of the extra session, it might be well to mention an incident that occurred in the library department, which is under the supervision of the Board of Administration. This incident was merely an accident that came about through the calling of the extra session; a discovery, the importance of which is worth the cost of several extraordinary sessions. Representative O. B. Burtness, of Grand Forks, dropped a bomb into the House chamber one day and the shock of the explosion was felt in the remotest parts of the state. Mr. Burtness had chanced into the state library and there looked over some books which were selected and in a box ready to be shipped out to the public schools. There he found such books as, "Ethics of Love," "Love and Marriage," by Ellen Key. Books which ask such questions as, "Are modern marriages good enough for the needs of society?" and "How can we find a more efficient ethical code than the present one of improving the species?" And such statements as, "unity of the soul and the senses can already be laid down as the condition of true chastity in the union of the sexes in or out of marriage." And, "From the point of view of the good of the species, the legal and ecclesiastical form of morality cannot hold its ground against the most highly developed sex consciousness of today and its ethics." "To think of insisting upon a great lifelong love as the sole moral standard for this varied life," cries Ellen Key to the children of North Dakota.

The above quotations are sufficient to convince anyone not conversant with the writings of Ellen Key, what the library commission, under the direction of Governor Frazier's board of administration, proposes to disseminate for the purpose of instilling the Ethics of Free Love into the receptive minds of the growing children of North Dakota, and it is also intended for the nation.

Mr. Burtness also found in this circulating library box, and in the state library several dozen books on socialism by such authors as, "Ferri," "Pleeharoff," "Russell," "Spargo," "Trotsky," "Sinclair," "Vander-vachen," "Labriola" and "Myers," on such subjects as "Socialism and Modern Science," "Anarchism and Socialism," "Class Struggles in America," "Positive School of Criminology," "The Evolution of Property," "Bolshevism," "The Bolsheviki and World Peace," "Our Judicial Oligarchy," "The Profits of Religion," "Socialism vs. the State," "The Old Freedom," and "Puritanism."

As proof that the above named volumes did not come into the North Dakota state library by chance, an invoice was found dated November 26, 1919, the day following the convening of the special session, which invoice showed a list almost identical with the list given above.

There was a vacancy in the state library. A new librarian must be selected with care. Finally, one suitable to North Dakota's needs was found in New York. During the interval one Chas. E. Stangeland was engaged to revise the books of the library, and was placed in charge pending the arrival of the librarian. The exposure of the methods used by the Board of Administration through the instrumentality of Mr. Stangeland, caused such consternation and condemnation that even league leaders joined in the chorus,—at first. Even the Governor seemed to experience a keen sense of the fitness of things and was indignant,—at first. After an investigation by a commission from the House, Mr. Stangeland was dismissed for

being "indiscreet." Mr. Totten, the mighty one of the Administration Board, declared that if Stangeland went he would go too, but he hasn't gone,—yet. The dismissal of Mr. Stangeland seemed to appease the wrath of the people into a state of tolerance, but verily, he is only the scape-goat, lost in the wilderness, bearing the sins of the administration upon his head.

To give a clear insight into the doings of the Department of Education I will quote a statement by Miss Nielson. When working with fire one must needs be very careful; wearing asbestos gloves. Miss Nielson knew well with whom she was dealing and advanced cautiously, saying, "I said" and "He said," so that there could not possibly be any misconstruction placed upon her statement by the manufacturers of news in the Nonpartisan press:

"I went into the Board of Administration room yesterday afternoon, Dec. 2, about 2 o'clock and found Mr. Totten, Mr. Hagen, Mr. Muir and Mr. Casey there and also the Secretary with a pile of correspondence before him.

"I said, 'I have heard the Board is in session this afternoon and was in session this morning and as a member of the Board I feel I should be notified when a meeting is being held.'

"Mr. Totten replied: 'You have another hear coming. This Board is not having a meeting and did not have a meeting this morning.'

"I said, 'What do you call this, four members of the Board and the Secretary present?'

"He said, 'It is not a meeting.'

"I said, 'Oh, possibly it is a conference.'

"He said, 'No, it is not a conference. We are just here as individuals.'

"I said, 'Evidently you are considering something relating to this Board of Administration, and as a member of this Board it is my privilege to be present at all your deliberations concerning matters pertaining to this Board.'

“Mr. Totten replied, ‘We do not intend to chase after you every time we have a meeting. If you want to be at the meetings, you will have to do the chasing.’

“Then Mr. Totten decided the matter and the board was in session until about 6 o’clock and seemed to have many things to consider. When an opportunity presented itself, I said, ‘I would like to ask a question for information,’ and stated that during the past few days I had been asked several times, as a member of the Board of Administration, regarding the list of books which had recently been added to the library. I wanted to know who was responsible for those books being there. I said, ‘Did the Board of Administration order these books placed in the library?’

“Mr. Totten said, ‘No, they did not, neither the Board nor any member of the Board.’

“I said, ‘Who then ordered the books?’

“He said, ‘The authority vested in him as having charge of the library.’

“I said, ‘What function has Mr. Stangeland to perform?’

“He said, ‘He was hired to make a survey of the libraries.’

“I said, ‘What authority had he then to order books?’

“He said, ‘He later was put in charge of the library while they were waiting for a librarian and therefore he had the right to order the books and the Board of Administration therefore was responsible for the books being there.’

“I said, ‘As a member of the Board of Administration I want to state that I am not responsible for those books being there. Do you consider those books in the library proper books to be in the libraries?’

“He said, ‘Yes, absolutely. People should be broad in their reading.’

“I said, ‘Then any book you consider a fit book to be in the library.’

“He said, ‘No, I would not say that.’”

"I said, 'What books, then do you consider unfit to put in a library?'

"He said, 'Any book that is immoral or vicious.'

"I said, 'Then you consider these books are not immoral?'

"He said, 'They are not immoral!'

"I said, 'What do you consider an immoral book?'

"He said, 'A book that the intent of the writer is that it shall be immoral.'

"I said, 'Then the reader is to be the judge of an immoral book?'

"He replied, 'No, I would not say that.'

"I said, 'Then who is to be the judge of whether or not a book is immoral?'

"He said, 'The librarian.'

"I said, 'Where did the present librarian come from?'

"He said, 'New York City.'

"I said, 'How did you get her?'

"He said, 'I got her.'

'How did you locate her,' I asked.

"He said, 'I wrote to Dr. Beard of New York City.'

"I said, 'Who is Dr. Beard?'

"He said, 'A noted educator.'

"I said, 'What does he do?'

"I do not recall his exact reply, but it was to the effect that he was versed in political or social science and was at the head of the Municipal Research League of New York City.'

"I asked why a librarian was not obtained sooner. Why did they wait such a long time after Mrs. Budlong's removal from the state before appointing a librarian.'

"Mr. Totten replied, 'Because librarians seem hard to find.'

"I said, 'Is Dr. Stangeland still working for the Board of Administration?'

"He said, 'He is.'

"I said, 'What is he doing?'

"He replied, 'Getting out our annual report to the

Governor. We are too busy to do that work; and by the way, Miss Nielson, I'll be candid and inform you that in that report we are advising abolishing the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction.'

"I said, 'I am not surprised. You have done your best to do that as far as you could at present by taking away all my duties. So the Board of Administration is recommending doing away with the State Department of Public Instruction's office.'

"He said, 'We are; it is in line with progress.'

"I said, 'May I have a copy of that report?'

"He said, 'It is in the hands of the printer.'

"I said, 'I would like to see the manuscript.'

"He said, 'The printer has it.'

"I then asked for the report Dr. Stangeland had made out in reference to the survey of the library.

"He replied, 'That is also in the hands of the printer,' so I was not able to get either of these reports. I might add that I have had no opportunity to examine any of the reports made to the Board by Mr. Stangeland, and the proposed report of the Board to the Governor has not been submitted to me for my examination and approval."

This plan as outlined by Mr. Totten, failed in its purpose, owing to the indignation of the people, brought about by Mr. Burtness' exposure of the proceedings in the library, and, the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction is still in existence and will come into its own again.

Mr. Chas. E. Selden, in a full page article—plus, in the New York Times, in mentioning the matter of "Free Love" books in the North Dakota State library, says:

"The indignation of North Dakota lawmakers over Ellen Key's books may provoke a smile in the more sophisticated East, but there is a pathos in the very simplicity of these farmer citizens and legislators in view of the plight into which their eagerness to accept promises to help has got them."

I wish to call attention of the "more sophisticated

East" to the fact that there is a vast difference, whether such books are placed in public libraries, or in circulating libraries that are sent out to the public schools as soul-food, character-forming, for boys and girls, and I would advise the more sophisticated East to have a care.

We now come to the real cause of the extraordinary session. Certain state officials, elected by the Nonpartisan League, who proved to be "those young thoroughbreds" who persisted in "kicking over the traces" were pounding the dashboard into pieces and the flying splinters were very dangerous to the driver. The pole-straps had parted and to pull on the lines only brought the vehicle up against their heels and that aggravated the situation and caused more intense fright and renewed efforts to get away, and in kicking and plunging, their sharp-shod hoofs threw chunks of mud from the highway into the driver's face. Something had to be done.

There has been much said in the Nonpartisan press about the probable impeachment of these officials, Secretary of State Hall, Auditor Kositzky and Attorney General Langer, more especially Langer. During a discussion in the Senate, Mr. F. E. Ployhar, of Barnes county, asked Mr. Cahill, of Grant county, why they didn't go through with their threat to impeach the Attorney General. Mr. Ployhar stated, "I will tell you why. You dare not do it! You dare not do it!" No, they dared not allow the evidence which the Attorney General would produce to go before the Senate, which in turn would go before the people of the state. They had to endure the dares put to them by the minority in this respect.

But there were other ways and means whereby they could lasso these "young thoroughbreds" and get them into a corral and there brand them with a red-hot iron,—singe them. All three were removed from all boards, and, good, up-to-date dependables substituted for them on such boards. They packed the state auditing and accounting boards. The people

must rely upon hand-picked individuals for the protection of their public funds; individuals selected by Wm. Lemke and A. C. Townley.

As a further means of putting a quietus on the insurgent officials, the extra session created a Commission for the purpose of maintaining a watch on rebellious state officials. This commission is known as, "The smelling committee." It is authorized to act individually as well as collectively. This Act is also known as, "The Liars' License Law," as it gives a license to those who do not condemn the actions of the administration, or any of its bureaus, to misstate facts as much as they please,—if they boost the program. But it makes lying by rebellious officials a felony punishable by a fine and a term in the penitentiary. The majority members of the session must have really believed that the rebellious officials were telling lies or they would never have passed such a law. True, it was great medicine at the time; it sounded a terrible insinuation that they were such prevaricators in their statements to the people that a special law was necessary to curb their untruthfulness. But the law hasn't in any way interfered with the activities of these "renegade" officials; they are as obstreperous as ever, and their statements to the people in public addresses are now given the color of truthfulness. They are now indeed "carrying the truth to the people."

Twenty-five thousand dollars was appropriated to pay the expenses of this committee. The committee is not asked to issue receipts for expenditures, or to make any report. They were very careless in making arrangements for the financing of this committee, and, the soviets are usually quite informal about money matters. This is but one of the number of instances in which no accounting or auditing in the established manner is required from men who handle the public funds. There is one redeeming feature about this carelessness in money matters, however,—the less they do the less they will be obliged to spend; a con-

dition which sometimes leads to inefficiency in public service, but, nevertheless, a condition which might work a blessing, as no action is often a blessing under the present regime.

The fact that this law which was meant to suppress the activities of the rebellious officials has only added force to those activities by giving their statements the proofs of truthfulness, gives the law the qualities of a "boomerang"; a twenty-five thousand dollar boomerang while other states send aid to the drought sufferers west of the Missouri.

To act in conjunction with the smelling committee a State Constabulary was created. House Bill 54, created the office of State Sheriff, which office takes over and performs certain duties formerly under the supervision of the Attorney General's department. Most extraordinary authority is conferred upon the State Sheriff; power slightly limited as compared with Trotzky's. It is so arranged that we can have our red army, not quite so red as Lenine's, but one whose hue may become more and more sanguine.

The appropriations for the Auditor's, Secretary of State's and Attorney General's departments were slashed mightily, leaving insufficient funds for the proper functioning of these departments, especially the Attorney General's department. Provision was made for the appointment of special assistants attorneys general by the Governor, and depriving the Attorney General of that prerogative. Such provision is highly and gleefully satisfactory to the many prejudiced farmers; many of whom have openly stated that they would like to help hang Langer. But, what does it mean? This matter is so serious that the Attorney General decided to depart from precedent. Inasmuch as his department was to be deprived in a few days of sufficient funds to pay for extra assistants attorneys general, and, whereas, the authority to appoint such assistants was to pass out of his hands, he immediately appointed two special assistants and paid them one year in advance, taking surety bonds for an amount

approximately a fourth over and above the stated remuneration.

There were many of the league opponents who were prompt to condemn this act of the Attorney General, but when one understands the inner workings of the league, it is difficult to do otherwise than to agree with the precaution taken by the Attorney General.

There are certain cases pending on appeal. The two lawyers engaged as special assistants, are not only two of the best lawyers in the state, but they are conversant with the cases pending. The Attorney General purposes that these lawyers shall go through with these cases to a successful conclusion, if possible, instead of the governor stepping in with an appointment of Bill Lemke as prosecutor while Jim Manahan defends.

Mr. Manahan is strong on "Travesty on Justice." Whenever a case goes against the league, it is a "travesty on justice." An arrangement that would result in such procedure, which the new law makes possible, would indeed be a "travesty on justice." This man Manahan is hot stuff. The writer was in St. Paul one Sunday during the autumn of 1917, when Mr. Manahan addressed a gathering in a public square there. Inside of a half hour, immediately, that crowd smashed twenty-eight street cars on Wabasha street. Everything breakable was smashed and Wabasha was carpeted with broken glass. We have no knowledge of Mr. Lemke's ability as a prosecutor, but appearances are that he would be mild.

Section 67, of the Constitution of the State of North Dakota, states: "No act of the legislative assembly shall take effect until July first, after the close of the session, unless in case of emergency (which shall be expressed in the preamble or body of the act) the legislative assembly shall, by a two-thirds vote of all the members present in each house, otherwise direct."

During the extraordinary session there was sufficient change in sentiment in the House to make it impossible to pass emergency measures on all bills. But

they found a way to get around such a little matter as a Constitutional provision in this respect; very simple. Just pass a legislative enactment declaring all bills passed at such extraordinary session to be emergency measures, effective in ten days following the adjournment of such session, as per House Bill 60.*

It follows that this bill will be submitted to the supreme court to test its constitutionality; however, the Initiative and Referendum law was also invoked. The law requires signatures of seven thousand bona fide electors to petitions on bills passed without the emergency clause attached. Petitions were immediately circulated and fifteen thousand electors signed same, which were filed in the Secretary of State's office. This action to refer the bill to the people automatically suspends its operation pending a decision of the people at the polls. But neither a pending decision of the supreme court, or a pending decision of the people has any deterring effect upon North Dakota's governor. All laws passed by the special session were declared in force by the Governor, regardless of law or the Constitution.

What purported to be the most vicious act of the recent session was an Act permitting absent voting of women and all living more than a half mile from the voting precinct. It was openly stated in the halls of the legislature and in the Nonpartisan press that it applied to men and all living more than a half mile from a voting precinct. This bill also is so carelessly drawn that it looks as though it is going to fail in its purpose. This bill will no doubt be submitted to the Attorney General for an opinion or to the Supreme Court for a decision. By provisions of this bill electors are to be allowed to have "friends" assist them in marking their ballots any time after thirty days preceding any election. Judging by the returns in a special election held in Towner county, to elect a Senator to succeed the late A. S. Gibbens, in which

*The Supreme Court declared H. B. 60 unconstitutional.

the League was defeated, and which election showed a perceptible loss in league strength, it is quite necessary that this Act permitting soliciting of votes for thirty days preceding any election should be declared an emergency measure, because the Primary election comes in June. Of course such "friends" would see that such ballots, so marked, would be duly filed with the county auditors. In this way their state organization could get busy thirty days preceding any election and solicit votes with the same persuasive powers as used in soliciting customers for the Consumers United Stores.

Do you see what it means to live in a free country? Free to perpetrate any rascality regardless of the rights of the people as a whole. Under this proposed law there cannot be an unbiased election. People will be unduly influenced, not by public argument, but by private insidious persuasion; even brow-beaten and coerced into voting against their better judgment, if left to decide for themselves, or made to see the way of darkness instead of the way of light. Electors would be made to decide without their own free will and accord.*

During the closing hours of the regular session of 1919 the majority members of the House of Representatives passed a resolution condemning certain members of the minority; a proceeding unknown in any previous legislative body in any land. In the last hours of the recent extraordinary session, the majority of both houses passed a concurrent resolution of condemnation, condemning the Attorney General, the Auditor and the Secretary of State, as traitors to the farmers; tools of big business; etc. Condemned them without a hearing; without any opportunity whatever of presenting their case,—a cowardly proceeding. So endeth an extraordinary session of the North Dakota legislature.

There are many people in the land who demand license instead of freedom,—individual license regard-

*The Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional.

less of the welfare of country or state. They are educated and encouraged in such opinions by walking delegates of socialistic and anarchistic persuasion. North Dakota establishes the spectacle of a state administration that advocates disregard of law and the Constitution, as reiterated by the Governor in a recent address before a so-called reconstruction convention, held at the State University. A convention held without much noise. A convention that the people learned about after it had adjourned. Of course the student body of the University was advised of it, and, no doubt it was hoped that they would be influenced by it. It was a reconstruction convention with only one side argued; one set of opinions projected into it, ostensibly the affirmative side, but in reality the negative side. Among other speakers was Mr. Plumb, who advocates a plan for the people to purchase the railroads and turn them over to the employees for operation. At this convention Governor Frazier stated: "Mr. Smith is right, Labor must get into politics. Unless it gets its rights by the ballot it will get them some other way. I have been criticized for making this statement, but I intend to keep right on making it." How different these words from the words of Abraham Lincoln on the same subject,—“Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet.” Yet, this man who openly casts insinuations, at least, that sound like advocating the use of bullets, has been mentioned as possible material for President of these United States!

It would appear on the surface as though the majority in the legislature stood for the things they voted for, but such it not always the case. It is stated by men who were formerly freely admitted to the league caucus, that members are entitled to voice their opinions in the caucus, but must abide by the will of the majority of the caucus. Sometimes the majority is opposed to league measures. When such a condition exists, Mr. Townley, or Mr. Lemke, or Mr. Mills, or Mr. Manahan, or Mr. LeSueur, or Mr. Somebody ad-

dresses the caucus, and, after such address a majority is in favor of the league measure. Then each member of the caucus takes with him a card with notations marked thereon, showing how the Yes and No is to be applied the following day in legislative halls. A precaution during the 1917 session was,—when the red haired clerk reads the bill, vote yes; when the dark haired clerk reads the bill, vote No. It is not that they are so grossly ignorant, but it is to avoid any possibility of confusion of implicit instructions.

No one outside of the league caucus knows how this whip is manipulated; whether by binding oath, or simply by prejudice against everything. During the blood and thunder age, the writer read the history of Quantrell's Guerrillas. The story goes that Clark William Quantrell, just out of college, and a brother, were traveling westward across the Kansas plains on their way to California, when they were attacked by a band of Kansas "Jayhawkers." The brother was killed and Clark left for dead. An Osage Indian found them, buried the body of the brother and nursed Clark back to health. Quantrell decided that he wouldn't go West, but would stay and get the bunch that had so mistreated him, and he got every last man,—thirty-two of them. In organizing his gang, he made every man sign an oath written with his own blood. I have read that oath. It was an awful oath. There was no getting away from it. It would seem that a similar oath so administered had been demanded at Bismarck. (It may be endorsements of goodly amounts on Nonpartisan paper.) However, the roll call doesn't indicate the opinion of individuals. For instance: two-thirds of the House of Representatives is seventy-five. They failed to have seventy-five. They usually voted sixty-nine in test measures. At a caucus, thirty-four may have opposed certain measures. Perhaps a majority opposed but were persuaded by oratory. They would go into session the next day and vote solid for the program, which would be nearly two-thirds. The minority in the House,

voted thirty-five or thirty-six. Add the minority of the caucus, say twenty-five, to the House Minority, thirty-five, and we have sixty, a majority. It is thus that a minority is made to control a majority and govern a state.

What must we assume from all these things? Does it not appear that a North Dakota legislature and a North Dakota governor have absolutely no regard for the law or the Constitution if the law or the Constitution stand in their way? Is not that the attitude of mind everywhere where socialism and its associates, anarchism and I. W. W.'ism have made themselves known? There are many movements but they are all the same in principle. The movement is not intended for North Dakota alone; it is a world movement. The Nonpartisan League is already claiming several other states at the coming elections.

That it is world-wide in its scope can be seen by the many utterances of the Nonpartisan press. Following the recent raids upon the Russian Reds throughout the country by the Federal authorities, the *Courier News*, Fargo, issue of January 4th, 1920, stated editorially:

"That latest raid against communists is hailed by the intolerant as a triumph of 'Americanism.' On the contrary, it is the sign of the Russification of America. Time was when men might preach anything they chose in America, as long as they did not commit overt acts of violence. For a whole generation, for instance, Berkman and Emma Goldman have been preaching anarchy in the United States. And they did no harm whatever. They merely acted as a safety-valve for people of effervescent mentality."

"And they did no harm whatever." How about the shooting of Henry C. Frick, by Berkman? How about the assassination of President McKinley? It was known at the time that Emma Goldman was indirectly if not directly responsible for the act of Leon Czolgosz. "They merely acted as a safety-valve for people

of effervescent mentality." Doesn't that sound academic?

What is to be expected even along material lines if these movements are all combined and are allowed to have full sway? We find "intellectuals" who sympathize with the communists who are being shipped out of the country; who believe them to be "advanced thinkers." But if we will look back into history we can find many instances which prove that they are very much behind the times, and in fact are only following after the behests of that old sinner, who poses under so many different names, "Satan," "Beelzebub," "Mephistopheles," "The Devil," "Old Nick," etc., etc.

The Virginia Colony experimented with communism over three hundred years ago. All shared in the work supposedly on an equal basis, and all shared the products of labor equally. In those days, moreover, there was a most powerful incentive to work. The little colony was beset by many perils from wild beasts and Indians, in addition to the absolute necessity of storing up food and fuel for winter use. The colony was small, and shirking must have been difficult, yet, when Sir Thomas Dale became governor in 1613, he gave each colonist his own plot of cleared land. His reason for doing so is contained in the following quaintly worded document, which may be found in Mary Newton Standard's "Colonial Virginia":

"When the settlers fed out of the common store and labored jointly together, glad was he that could slip from his labour or slumber over his task; he cared not how, nay, the most honest among them would hardy take so much pains in a week as now themselves they will do in a day."

New Zealand has been held up before the people of North Dakota as a land of milk and honey; just as North Dakota has been held up before the people of other states as a paradise for farmers and the workmen because of the wonderful laws enacted there. Yet, the fellows who sing the praises of New Zealand to North Dakotans seem to prefer North Dakota

rather than New Zealand. But perhaps another side of the picture might be interesting. It is given, not by a representative of the "capitalist class," but by Mr. E. G. Jellicoe, a prominent English labor leader, who was candidate for Parliament on the labor ticket in 1906 and 1910. He visited New Zealand in 1904 and wrote a glowing account of the Socialist-Labor program. He has since visited Australia and New Zealand a second time, and on his return to England made the following statement:

"When I left New Zealand in 1904 the colony was prosperous in every way * * * During the last eight months I have revisited the Dominion. All my political views have been falsified. The development and working out in New Zealand of socialistic reforms under manhood suffrage and the universal female suffrage, led by professional politicians and demagogues, and the spread of silly theories about the relations of capital and labor, have resulted in bringing a country possessing all the potentialities of prosperity almost to the brink of financial and industrial ruin. Individual enterprise and individual thrift have been substantially annihilated; capital has been withdrawn or is withheld from enterprise; and employment, as a consequence, has slackened and in some places ceased; the cost of living has increased enormously; the community, as a whole, lives on shoddy, and labor is really having a very bad time of it.

"A similar wave of mad socialistic and labor legislation in both the Commonwealth and New Zealand today are working out not only their own destruction but the destruction of all their fellow citizens. A man who is a non-unionist is not allowed today to earn a livelihood. After all I have witnessed during the past eight or nine months in New Zealand and Australia of the tyranny of ignorance and laziness, colossal insolence and absolute fraud of labor collectivism, I have determined henceforward to resist to the utmost the detestable and abominable crusade which is being waged in this country to achieve a similar social up-

heaval by fostering and making political capital out of class prejudice and class rancor, and destroying the institutions of which the country is so justly proud."

Besides the proofs found in such instances as above described, we can recall the days of panic in our own time and land. The writer has lived through two panics. In 1893, Peter positively would not loan to Paul. Values depreciated, stagnation was everywhere and great business houses failed, and the workers lived on soup dished out of the public trough. Time and time again the discontents have had their innings, but the proletariat has never seen fit, or were not ready, to take advantage of their opportunities. Their long hoped-for pleasure of seeing capitalism crushed and prostrate has been experienced over and over again, yet they never have been able to supplant capital and set up a model government of ease and pleasure where no effort would be required. They were usually too hungry at such times to think of such a government, instead they would think of soup, free soup, which they were always thankful for. Whenever the goose that lays the golden eggs has been put out of commission, standing in line at free soup dispensaries becomes the sole idea of the proletariat, until the goose revives again. The proletariat usually becomes devout, patient and thankful for small favors under such circumstances; it is then they return unto the Lord by a return to constructive principles. The world cannot be reorganized by mere man, not fundamentally. The great law of economics, the law of compensation, will prevail. The laws of the Creator cannot be declared unconstitutional, nor can they be violated without a penalty being exacted.

Farmers are seldom or never driven to such dire extremities as people in cities sometimes find themselves, for no matter how destitute the proletariat in cities find themselves when panic occurs in financial circles, it has little effect upon the farmers. Farmers always have their own soup-bones, raised right on the farms, and potatoes and other vegetables grow with-

out cost. Only continued crop failures, usually caused by drought, can bring destitution to the farmers; or loss of health, but there is comparatively little trouble on the latter score in the land of the Dakotahs.

It would be a blessing indeed if something could happen that would bring home to the farmers the knowledge of the debt of gratitude they owe to the people who think out their needs, and manufacture the many different classes of machinery which make it possible for them to accomplish so much with a minimum of effort; that would cause them to realize that they owe something to the manufacturers and all the other people who take part in the scheme of things that brings everything they require, made up ready for use, to their very doors almost; that without these people and these things their money would be of little use to them; that would make them realize they could not get along very well alone; to make them thankful that there are so many other classes co-operating with them, all contributing something to their well-being.

The opponents of the League in North Dakota are still following the old tactics; they don't seem to have observed the most potent cause of the great misunderstanding existing among the farmers; therefore, they are still following the old habit; that of catering to farmers. Newspapers speak editorially of "the honest farmer that they double-crossed," and speakers in public addresses declare, "They double-crossed 'the honest farmers' who trusted them." Such statements carry insinuations that the farmers are always getting the worst of it; that other classes are continually abusing them. Such is not the truth and these writers and speakers know that it isn't the truth, yet they continue to shed the crocodile tears. Why? To get something in return. They know that the farmers have been trained to believe that they are abused and that they won't buy anything, or do much of anything unless they are reminded of the condition in which they believe, and which they love. Sympathy is an

imaginary thing. It is without substance. Yet its potency for destruction is unlimited to those who accept it and live with it. Even if it were good, the farmers who trusted them are not entitled to any of it. But the farmers who didn't trust them are entitled to commendation. If it were only the farmers who trusted them who were stung, well and good, nobody would need to complain, it would be a situation in keeping with the fitness of things. But the farmers who didn't trust them are stung as badly as "the honest farmers" who trusted them, and still trust them.

The following conversation which took place over four hundred years before the Christ, reads as though Ancient Greece had its experience with the same evil thing:

"Theodorus: If you could only persuade everybody, Socrates, as you do me, of the truth of your words, there would be more peace and fewer evils among men.

Socrates: Evils, Theodorus, can never perish; for there must always remain something which is antagonistic to good. Of necessity, they hover around this mortal sphere and the earthly nature, having no place among the gods in heaven. Wherefore, also, we ought to fly away thither, and to fly thither is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like Him, is to become holy and just and wise. But, O my friend, you cannot easily convince mankind that they should pursue virtue or avoid vice, not for the reasons which the many give, in order, forsooth, that a man may seem to be good;—this is what they are always repeating, and this, in my judgment, is an old wives' fable. Let them hear the truth: In God is no unrighteousness at all—He is altogether righteous; and there is nothing more like Him than he of us who is the most righteous. And true wisdom of men, and their nothingness and cowardice, are nearly concerned with this. For to know this is true wisdom and manhood,

and the ignorance of this is too plainly folly and vice. All other kinds of wisdom or cunning, which seem only, such as the wisdom of politicians, or the wisdom of the arts, are coarse and vulgar. The unrighteous man, or the sayer and doer of unholy things, had far better not yield to the illusion that his roguery is cleverness; for men glory in their shame—they fancy that they hear others saying of them, 'these are not mere good-for-nothing persons, burdens of the earth, but such as men should be who mean to dwell safely in a state.' Let us tell them that they are all the more truly what they do not know that they are; for they do not know the penalty of injustice, which above all things they ought to know—not stripes and death, as they suppose, which evil-doers often escape, but a penalty which cannot be escaped."

Theodorus: What is that?

Socrates: There are two patterns set before them in nature; the one, blessed and divine, the other godless and wretched; and they do not see, in their utter folly and infatuation, that they are growing like the one and unlike the other, by reason of their evil deeds; and the penalty is, that they lead a life answering the pattern which they resemble. And if we tell them, that unless they depart from their cunning, the place of innocence will not receive them after death; and that here on earth, they will live ever in the likeness of their own evil selves, and with evil friends—when they hear this they in their superior cunning will seem to be listening to fools.

Theodorus: Very true, Socrates.

Socrates: Too true, my friend, as I well know; there is, however, one peculiarity in their case: when they begin to reason in private about their dislike of philosophy, if they have the courage to hear the argument out, and do not run away, they grow at last strangely discontented with themselves; their rhetoric fades away, and they seem to be no better than children. These, however, are digressions from which we must now desist, or they will overflow, and drown

our original argument; to which, if you please, we will now return.

Theodorus: For my part, Socrates, I would rather have the digressions, for at my age I find them easier to follow; but if you wish, let us go back to the argument."

When people become so self-centered and self-determined, that they depart from the constructive principle in nature, which is the fundamental law of Creation, they can only do one thing; they can follow the destructive principle, which is antagonistic to the fundamental laws of creation.

The fundamental laws of creation have been taught through the centuries as the laws of God. Therefore, any action on the part of mankind to set up laws that are contrary to the fundamental laws of God, cannot be construed as anything else than,—Anti-God.

Since the Christ was the interpreter of the laws of God, it follows that such departure from the laws of creation, are Anti-Christ.

It therefore follows, that all the different movements that have as their aim a determination to destroy existing governments and institutions which God has set up during the evolution of the centuries, for the purpose of setting up, in a day as it were, new governments and institutions entirely man-made, by deplorably superficial men, cannot be considered anything but one thing,—Anti-God, Anti-Christ.

It is true that the North Dakota farmers didn't know that they were furnishing the means of support to one of the greatest movements in this respect that the world has ever known, second only to that of Russia. But their ignorance of the fundamentals doesn't excuse them, in the sight of man at least, for the part they have played; for they did what they did maliciously. They had never heard of a "Soviet," yet they gleefully joined a soviet movement,—a state government for farmers,—a government builded round and for the farmers,—to the detriment of all other classes. Many are learning; others will learn,

that they have builded up a great boomerang. Some readers many not know what a boomerang is. A boomerang is a peculiar crooked stick used by native Australians. When thrown properly it returns and strikes an object, or the ground behind the thrower. In ordinary use it means any thought entertained, or effort made, that starts a movement intended to work hardship or injury upon another, that instead, redounds upon the one who maliciously started such movement. In such cases it usually comes back hard. This psychological law has been literally fulfilled in North Dakota. The movement was intended to strike the people in the towns and cities, but business in the towns and cities hasn't suffered in the least, but the farmers are paying from three to four times as much taxes. This is natural, because the farmers own the land and property. If the movement is allowed to go on they will lose their lands. It is thus that the pleasure we find in planning pain for others, turns into pain for ourselves.

The Sawyer, N. D., Telegraph:

“We have stuck and stayed,
And even prayed
For the new day to dawn.
It has dawned all right
And it is a fright
How we swear, tear and frown
Because our taxes are high.
But there is no reason why
We should kick and fret,
Put on a smile
And wait a while
And they will go higher yet.”

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