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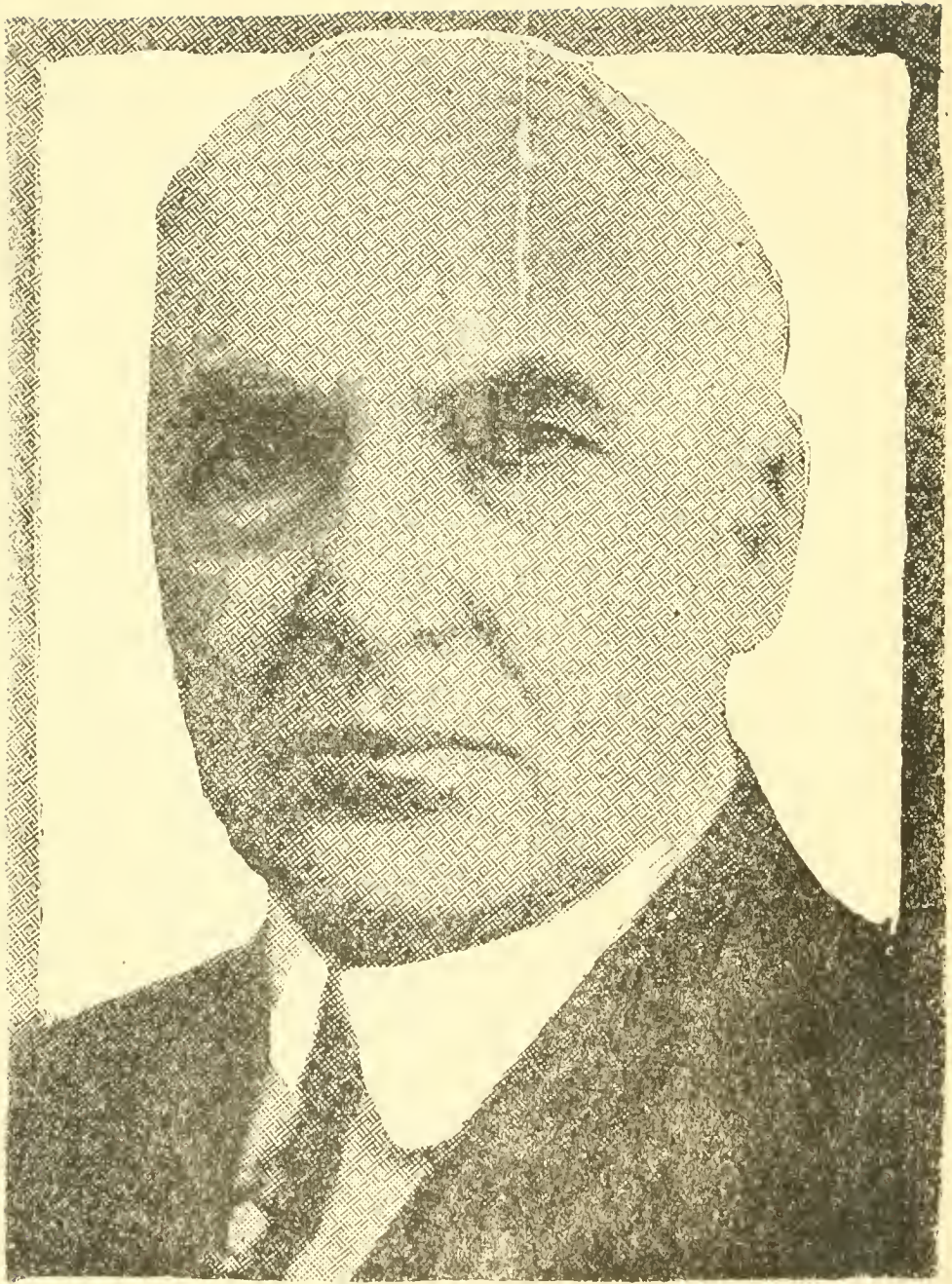
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PRESIDENT WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING.

WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

President of the United States



A REVIEW OF FACTS
COLLECTED FROM

Anthropological, Historical and Political Researches



—BY—

William Estabrook Chancellor

FORMERLY

Professor of Economics, Politics and Social Science of
Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio

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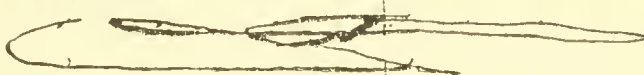
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It is a biological, likewise a psychological fallacy to assume that human traits admit of any abrupt adaptation to new environments or laws of physical or mental operation.

The Sentinel Press has acquired unreserved legal title to my original papers relating to my investigations into the ancestry and life of President Warren G. Harding. Such references as may be made to me as the source of information concerning facts therein should be credited as authentic.

William Estabrook Chancellor



PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

"The whole destiny of the world falls on President Harding's leadership; the fate of white civilization hangs in the crisis."

This is the startling assertion of Sir Philip Gibbs, the distinguished war correspondent, in a recent analysis of world conditions.

The very thought bids us pause. Undoubtedly the times are out of joint and a blind, selfish or false leadership will be calamitous indeed.

It is proposed to discuss the inherited and acquired traits of President Harding and those of some of his intimate advisers that the reader may know as he should be advised as to the kind of leadership that is now directing our destiny. Our story is also as an exoneration and vindication of Professor William Estabrook Chancellor upon whose investigations and writings the facts herein stated are based as is also much of the form of statement.

After reading these pages let the hesitant reader consider that selfish fear has closed the lips of many who, with Professor Chancellor, investigated and know the facts of the President's ancestry. It should not be forgotten that the tradition charging fusion of races is over one hundred years old and that legal proof of the existence of such tradition is over seventy years old and was presented as evidence in the Butler murder case in the courts of Morrow, President Harding's native county, by one of the most distinguished Republican lawyers and leaders in the history of Ohio, Columbus Delano, who was Secretary of the Interior under President Grant. Living witnesses also are to be found who testify as to the tradition. But why in-

deed hesitate when living witnesses will testify, as they have done, that they have heard the father of the President admit he is not of pure white blood. Most of all, let the reader remember that only scientific measurements and study of mental characteristics will be conclusive in these matters. All other testimony must be questioned in motives—of pride, prejudice or expediency. The challenge is here made to submit the Harding case to the test of exact science.

The most humiliating and fearful fact confronting the reader is the attempt on the part of the friends of the President and the Republican leaders through the agents of the Postoffice Department and the personal representative of H. M. Daugherty to suppress the publication of the facts by intimidating Professor Chancellor by use of an alleged warrant which he was assured would be quashed if he would destroy his manuscripts on the Harding Biography.

Thus a man who has written the recognized work dealing exclusively with the lives of the Presidents, which work includes an account of them all except Woodrow Wilson, is now forbidden on principle of lese majeste from revising his work on the Lives of the Presidents. Why?

The publisher has many reliable reasons for believing that the Republican leaders know that the statements of Professor Chancellor and others concerning the ancestry of the President are true and that the activity at suppression is due to the fear that the party will be rebuked at last for its imposition upon the American people.

On March 30th, 1921, Carl D. Ruth, Washington correspondent of the Cleveland News, owned by Dan Hanna, in a message to that paper calls attention to reprisals that were to be made against Democrats for circulating scurrilous reports reflecting on the ances-

try of President Harding. This threat was repeated in the same paper on three or more occasions as the determined policy of Senator Willis, of Ohio.

Evidently the plan was abandoned after wise reflection for at a later date the same Carl D. Ruth sent a message advising the News readers that the whole plan had been changed.

On March 9th, another Washington correspondent, Charles E. Morris, former private secretary of Governor James M. Cox, in a message to the Dayton News writes: "Since conferences here between Governor Myron T. Herrick, Howard Mannington, President Harding, former President William Howard Taft, Walter F. Brown, and others, there has been an abandonment of the policy of making vicarious sacrifices of a few Democratic office holders in Ohio—postmasters and internal revenue collectors—who were to be given the opportunity for immediate resignation in lieu of the more embarrassing experience of being summarily fired 'for having engaged in scurrilous propaganda' during the campaign."

"Requests for resignations have been made, and the requests may be met, but these particular charges are not to be pressed, since it has become known that the victims will fight back, and the fight may result in exposures decidedly embarrassing to several men now high in the councils of the party, members of the official family, personal counsellors, and even men who have in the past week figured in the gossip as recipients of the highest favors the President has to bestow. For a time it was assumed that the so-called 'offensive propaganda' had its origin in Democratic sources, but only a little investigation was necessary to show that before the general campaign it had been kindled to a glowing heat in the pre-primary campaign in Ohio by the sponsors for the candidacy of General

Leonard Wood, and that prior to that it had been agitated by men who for various reasons opposed Mr. Harding in the primary, and who now are accepted as his closest political friends." * * * "President Harding himself is disposed to forgive and forget and has frankly expressed his desire to let the animosities of campaign end with the contest. It is said that Judge Taft, Myron T. Herrick, Walter F. Brown, Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty and Howard Mannington counsel this course."

THE EDITOR.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The administration of President Warren Harding has now proceeded several months, and we can see, and according to our lights understand, what the policies are to be, for there are no principles anywhere in it.

Already Harding has done several things that ultimate history will regret.

FIRST, he has broken the heart of the world by setting aside the League of Nations and the machinery for permanent world peace. In doing this, he has broken his promises to millions of persons who in good faith believed in him. It is true that he could not keep faith both with Johnson and with Taft; he has chosen rather to go with Johnson, Borah and Knox than with Lodge, Taft and Root. It is a melancholy decision, based entirely on immediate expediency. He needs the irreconcilable bitter-enders and is more afraid of them than the reservationists. He has failed to understand the dream of Dante, Rousseau and Wilson, not to say of Isaiah and Jesus Christ.

SECOND, he has broken the hearts of the colored people of America, who were told explicitly by the Republicans that Harding has negro blood and would remember the negroes in his appointments. He has been ashamed of this element in his blood, ashamed of his own great-grandmother, Elizabeth Madison, so-called, and of the negroes that contributed their blood to his great-grandfather, George Tyrone (or Tyron) Harding.

There are at least fifteen million negroes in this country and it is a safe guess that, hereafter, some of

them will be Democrats. He has appointed so far but one person to any office of importance who has any discoverable negro blood; which is no better than other Republicans have done before him.

THIRD, he has shown by his messages and his letters to societies and to individuals that the Presidency has fallen into ignorant hands, that he cannot write English that is understandable, that the American political system is so rotten as to permit the election by an enormous majority of a person not competent to speak authoritatively upon public questions. His mental furniture, too, is that of a school boy. Europe and Asia now have us in contempt.

FOURTH, his Cabinet is shown already to be a cluster of unrelated and discordant minds, such as cannot be brought together into any system of statesmanship. Habitually all things to all men, his cabinet mirrors himself. Not one man yet in the Cabinet, which was supposed to be the acme of all in American history, a Cabinet of multimillionaires, has disclosed the leadership necessary to help our domestic situation. Except as Daugherty or Mellon deal with Penrose and Smoot the Cabinet will have no influence whatever upon the processes of the Senate or of the House because the President himself carries no weight there and never did carry weight, and because the same is true of A. B. Fall, which is fortunate because Fall is committed to the policy of armed intervention in Mexico. Hughes carries no weight because he is disliked and because he lost the Presidential campaign of 1916 through blundering. This involved permanent alienation from Senator Johnson. Most of the Senators are indifferent to Cabinet Secretaries; it is a strange man who would not prefer a Senatorship to a Cabinet position. To the Senate, even Hoover is of no importance; a Cabinet Secretary lives in the sunshine or dies in the shadow

of his Master, the President. Any elective office where there is no recall is better than almost any appointive office; among the few exceptions being Federal Judgeships.

FIFTH, he has continued to pose as a common man, anxious to please the common people by a variety of poses. But even the common people do not care for that sort of thing. The common people like to think that the President is a **superior** man; they like to feel that he has leisure and sport and wealth enough and lives above the common life. The common people do not like a man who tries to please them. Egg-rolling on the White House lawn, playing golf on the Potomac flat public course, opening the White House front lawn to the run of everyone, professing to wish to keep open house and see anyone who wishes an interview, writing letters to every society that sends an invitation and saying how sorry he is that he cannot attend, and all such doings and sayings, harmless enough in themselves, in the end contrary to the Harding fancy, do not "get" him anywhere; they are all of no importance. What the common people want is **prosperity**; they desire a **propitious** President, one who brings to them an era of plenty of work for good wages or fair profits from farm or trade. This alone counts with them. And when they see him trying to make himself popular otherwise, they laugh at him.

SIXTH, he has started to make appointments to foreign lands that show him, expose him as a dealer in offices, a political debt payer, not a single-minded patriot thinking first, last and only of America.

Already Harvey in his speech before the Pilgrim Club has offended the patriotic sense of his own party associates.

He does not understand the morality of a man like Rutherford B. Hayes, who upon becoming President

said: "Now I have no friends. I will appoint only the best men available." Instead of taking this, the only patriotic and honorable position, Warren Harding is paying his political debts at the expense of America, which is corruption at its worst. Open bribery, the direct sale of offices, is less dangerous than the course now being pursued. Daugherty has made him what he is, and, therefore, he names this low-grade man Attorney General of the United States, to occupy a place of very great personal power. The Department of Justice ought to be sacred from the presence of any such man, who is not fit to be even a clerk in it, or janitor of the rooms at K and 15th Streets, N. W. Harvey goes to England in payment for his services, for his betrayal of Wilson, for his leaving the Democratic party, and for revenge in becoming a Republican—a vile course. Harvey is the man who printed in his WEEKLY a sacrilegious cartoon against the League of Nations. He also is a man of low-grade mind and obviously low-grade character. Herrick, who is mentally a better man, is morally lower than Harvey; he is in politics for the same reason that he is in banking and journalism, to make money and to get power. Herrick goes to France whether the French really like him or not. D. R. Crissinger, who sold out also, as did Harvey, is already Controller of the Currency, in a position that should be filled by a high-grade financial and economic expert. He has recently relieved the National Banks from serious responsibilities. They now can report general figures—to fool the people. Father Dennison has gone to Rome to be consul. This is an insult to the Italian Government which is constantly in war with the alleged right of the Roman Catholic Church to temporal power. Now the Pope has a right-hand man in the American consulate. To the Catholics, this is one of the most important positions in our Government.

Yet Harding attacked Cox for having a Catholic son-in-law.

These are the worst cases; others might be cited—like that of George W. Aldridge, made collector of the Port of New York, one of the lowest New York State politicians and a shameless corruptionist. Why? Because at the Republican National Convention he voted on every ballot for Warren Harding and used Hamon money finally to win all the other New York delegates (46). Why has Harding done these things? Because he has no moral life himself, because he cannot see straight. The Presidency to him is a chance to reward his friends and to punish his enemies. We state these matters in the beginning to afford the readers of this book material for the consideration of the causes why Harding is what he is and is doing such things.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM ESTABROOK CHANCELLOR

Who is this man?

He is a native of Dayton, as was his mother before him; his father was born at New Carlisle. His grandfather Chancellor was born on the Wilderness trail in 1797. His grandfather Estabrook founded Brookville, near Dayton, and the linseed oil business of the Miami Valley.

He went to school in Dayton until twelve years old. Then he was educated in Northampton, Mass., Worcester, Mass., Harvard Law School, New York University, and spent a year in Europe. He took more prizes than any other man ever graduated from Amherst in the 101 years of its history to date, and was class orator. He was also President of the College Republican Club. He followed Roosevelt out of the Republican party in 1912, but became a Democrat then. He is the author of 38 different books, four on education, six on history, etc.

For sixteen years he was city school superintendent, part of the time in Washington as the head of all the schools, colored and white; he was also chairman of the District of Columbia Architectural Commission.

He founded the Teachers' College of George Washington University, and the Education Department of Johns Hopkins University.

He wrote and worked through the Legislature the teachers' pension laws of New Jersey.

The Ohio School Code is based upon the outline of one of his educational works.

For twelve years he was officially connected with

the College of Wooster, for over six of them being head of the Department of Economics and Politics.

He was a member of the New York Press Club for many years, and had written many long paid articles for the New York Times, the New York Tribune, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and other papers. As an economist, few men had equal standing in the world of journalism. He was a Wayne County delegate to the Ohio State Democratic Convention in 1916, 1918, and in 1920. He was Ohio Presidential Elector in 1916. He was a member of the City Council of Wooster, being elected in a Republican ward in 1919. He was the chairman of the Wayne County Four-Minute Men during the war. So impartial and fair was he in reputation that no less than six Ohio cities had him deliver the Roosevelt memorial funeral oration. This occurred before the William McKinley Club in Canton.

He has given paid public addresses in many different states upon over 4500 occasions.

He married a niece of Henry Ward Beecher. He has been a Presbyterian by church membership since 1878. At Wooster College, he had the men's junior and senior Bible class. Because he would not sign a lie as to his belief, he was ousted contrary to all the college statutes and since then has been forced to leave the country for parts unknown.

Can the Republican plutocracy destroy this man? We think not.

CHAPTER III

THE ISSUES OF THIS BOOK

FIRST ISSUE

There is a race consciousness that becomes a class-consciousness when the amount of traits of an individual from one race is superior to that from the race in which he prefers to remain as a member. There is no disposition on the part of friends of Professor Chancellor in publishing this book to insist that Warren Harding is by race a negro. It is evident to all that the man is mainly white. What we insist on is that the race consciousness of the Hardings in Blooming Grove caused them to remain negro; and that George Tyron Harding II never thought of calling themselves white until after the death of Amos Kling, father-in-law of Warren. Warren and his brother and sisters were reared and treated as colored people.

We agree that they have the right to ask to be considered white because racially they are mostly white; but we deny that they have the right to assert the lie that they have always been considered and have always considered themselves white. We assert that the rest of us have the right to ask whether they have had the rearing of white men and women. We assert the right of American neighbors of these Hardings to pass upon their qualifications social and moral and intellectual to be treated as all-white persons are. Pure white is not colored and is the opposite of negro. It is something that can not be claimed without being questioned.

The Republicans call it *les majeste* to raise the is-

sue; but we raise it, not feeling as yet that the Syrian notion of the apotheosis of the ruler, making him a god, is unAmerican and improper in our democracy. We notice that the Ohio laws and courts call it no slander to speak of a man as a negro; it is the truth when the fact, and the truth cannot slander especially when so used with the highest of human motives. If all men are created equal, why this Republican rage at telling the truth about their man in the White House? A people threatened by contamination of the blood ought to care for the truth about its head men.

SECOND ISSUE

We raise also a less important issue. It is simply whether or not the College of Wooster should be supported by public opinion in the violation of all its statutes and the suppression of truth in academic circles. A nation may recover from false notions, but it can never recover from contamination of the blood. Is it a false notion that a college professor who happens to be a Democrat has no rights? If so, the College of Wooster stands in a bad and lurid light before the world.

Professor Chancellor is an historian. As such he looked into the record of Warren Harding, but made no statement. By design or accident, a man with the first and last name, who is black and sixty-five years old, born and reared among the Hardings, had his name printed on millions of sheets of tissue paper and sent broadcast over the country with a title attached thereto that made ignorant persons think that William Estabrook Chancellor was the author of these slips. William Chancellor was a Republican and trying to help Harding.

First the Republicans sent telegrams to Professor

Chancellor asking him to deny that he had made an investigation into Harding. This he declined to do. He said nothing for weeks.

Then they sent to him and offered him ten thousand dollars to make a denial. This he refused. Then they went out and reported that he was in the pay of the Democrats. Even this did not smoke him out. He stood pat and silent.

Every day through even the summer vacation Professor Chancellor either taught the summer classes or gave teacher's institute lectures or taught in the regular autumn term; but the Republicans charged that he was out spreading these tissue paper slips. He knew nothing as to who was doing this. They made him, like God, present everywhere.

But on about October 10th, the Republicans prepared an attack upon Professor Chancellor and filed an indemnity bond of \$500,000 with the newspaper association in Chicago to protect themselves against any libel suit by Professor Chancellor.

On October 25th, they paid, in Columbus, in cash \$500,000 in care of a certain well-known woman, a certified check of a well-known Chicago millionaire to pay for the publishing of these articles throughout the country.

This millionaire is the husband of a woman whose father's memory, City School Superintendent Chancellor, when in Washington by order of the President, Theodore Roosevelt, had insulted by removing his mistress from the schools, and who is otherwise tied up with a Washington real estate group whom Professor Chancellor had angered by refusing to play their hands when on the District Architectural Commission.

These articles stated that, on October 28th, Professor Chancellor had been ousted from his chair by the College Trustees for libelling Warren Harding;

which shows that the spirit of prophecy rested upon the Chicago millionaire. This money was paid to those papers otherwise not willing to print them.

On October 28th, per order of the Republican National Committee, the Trustees met at Wooster. At 4 o'clock they asked Professor Chancellor to come to see them; he did not know that they were even holding a meeting. He had already, at the request of the then dean of the faculty, signed a truthful statement that he had circulated no papers whatever about Harding, which in letter and spirit was the exact fact. But he had been told by the dean that the paper was desired solely for the Presbyterian Church at Kenton. The dean also asked him to sign a statement that Warren Harding was ALL WHITE. This THE PROFESSOR declined to do for the professor of ethics in the College, since it was a lie as to his belief. (The dean has now resigned). There were present at this raid upon Professor Chancellor, five Republican lawyers, not members of the board, and one Republican National Committeeman. There were absent seven members of the Board of Trustees, including one Trustee who had told Professor Chancellor that he had a perfect right to make an historical investigation. (He was then making a new edition of his book on the lives of the Presidents). This man had received no notice.

The President of the Board of Trustees began by telling Professor Chancellor that he did not wish to know the truth whether Warren Harding was white or colored. What he wished was a denial by Chancellor that Warren was colored. This denial Chancellor absolutely refused to make.

The interview lasted fifteen minutes.

In the course of these fifteen minutes, Professor Chancellor had perhaps three minutes to give his denial. He offered to prove that only an illiterate negro

or some other such person could have conceived this campaign. They refused to look at his written evidence of misspellings, etc.

The meeting then adjourned, and the President of the Board, with another member, went down to the home of Professor Chancellor and then and there agreed:

1. To allow him to disappear without any action by the Board.
 2. Not to publish anything against him.
 3. He was not to do anything against the College.
- Then the meeting reconvened, but the Republican majority repudiated this agreement.

They called Warren Harding on the telephone and asked him to deny that he had colored blood, but he refused, saying that it would cost him the colored vote.

Then they wired to him, asking him again to deny this, but he did not answer.

After a late session, the President of the Board of Trustees persuaded them by a vote of 10 to 5 to repeal the action making Professor Chancellor a full member of the faculty for life; and sent identical telegrams to Judson C. Welliver, Will H. Hays and H. M. Daugherty, explaining that they had ousted Chancellor after a full hearing.

He then sent a telegram to the New York Press Club advising the Club that Chancellor had confessed libelling Harding. He lied and broke his promises, both.

Now who is this President of the Board?

He is pastor of the church where the Chicago millionaire worships when at home.

He was chaplain of the Republican National Convention.

What was the agreement between the Professors and the Trustees?

1. That an accused professor shall have **ninety days** to prepare his defense.

2. That he shall have the **charges in writing**.

3. That he shall have a **hearing** first before the faculty, and **lsecond** before the Trustees with **legal counsel**.

4. That if both faculty and Trustees agree, then he may be discharged, but only with a full year's pay in advance.

In this case Chancellor had no hearing at all; no written charges; no time to prepare; no legal counsel, and no salary. Later he was given a few hundred dollars to move away. The faculty has never acted.

It was given out by members of the Trustee Board that there were five charges against Chancellor, as follows, viz.:

1. He was a Democrat and as such has been elected to the city council; that this had given offense to many patrons of the College.

2. That he had made speeches for the League of Nations. He had done this by authority of the President of the College.

3. That he had written letters to others about Harding. One of these letters had been sent to the editor of a religious paper owned by the same millionaire, but by order of the President of the College who admitted it.

4. That he had built up a department so large as to be irritating to other men on he faculty and was too big a man to be employed by any college trustee board. In exact language, the President of the Board of Trustees said, "He is better known than all the College put together."

5. That he had written a New York Times-Annalist articles advocating the **gold** standard and attacking bankers' paper currency as dishonest.

There were defenses to each of these propositions, but they availed nothing except to hold five of the fifteen trustees in line to support Chancellor.

Professor Chancellor was ousted by ten men in a Trustees Board of twenty-two members.

One of the men who voted against him at the next meeting of the Trustees said that he had been grossly deceived by the others; but this availed nothing.

Such is academic freedom in a so-called Christian college that does not wish to know the truth. **God is truth.**

The friends of Professor Chancellor, handicapped by being unable to get the records or even to consult him, desire to have the American public look into this Wooster College case.

Are the teachers of the youth, all of them, to be the tools and slaves of these negro-loving plutocrats?

CHAPTER IV

THE NEGRO QUESTION

What are the grounds for believing that Warren Harding rightly classifies among colored people?

On what some regard as the "question" whether or not Warren is a negro or a colored man, Americans take one of many different positions.

1. Some do not care. The President might be a Hottentot or a German from Berlin, and they would not care. It is not a matter of any importance or even of interest to them. They have other business to which to attend. The Government is a thing apart. It does not concern them who lives in the White House. Presidents may come and go. The Presidency is a kaleidoscope. University graduate or a negro school attendant; it is all one to them. Why worry? We can not change him, and the case might be worse than it is.

2. It is a good thing to try the experiment. Let's all wait and see what the "nigger" will do! "There are fifteen million black and colored people in the country. Every race has a right to be tried out. He may prove to be a very desirable man. All races are equal with us. Black, white, red, yellow, we are all Americans. Back him up!

3. Some believe that government is bad, politics so rotten, that since the end of the world is coming soon, the worst that happens will only bring on the better sooner. Every wicked move by politicians is only an impulse toward the new day.

4. Some are interested and hesitant; they are disappointed that such a choice has been made; but it

might be worse. After all, a good negro is better than a bad white man.

5. Some regard the charge, as they call it, as pure invention of malicious politicians. It is not worth even noticing.

6. Some admit that Warren was once considered colored, but he has lived it down. He is not any longer a negro roustabout but our foremost man. Race means nothing when a fine specimen comes along.

7. Some think that even a little negro blood is undesirable, still with so much white blood, there is no harm in the choice—an octoroon is really, after all, a white man.

8. Some are horrified. The thing is too awful to even think about. His election is an insult to the white women of the South. He ought to be impeached; but who can start it when the Senate and House are his political friends? We must take to the woods and try to survive.

9. Some are anxious to know the truth, then they will try to prevent the recurrence of this outrage to the white race.

10. Many know the truth and are trying to get the proofs. They believe that white supremacy is the supremacy of patience and fair play.

On the negro question itself, North and South are hopelessly divided, and the wonder is that America has remained one nation. The South regards the black man as an evil presence. The white man must keep him under. While the blacks remain in the land, they must be treated decently. No one should kill an unoffending black or colored man or rob him of his goods or wages; but he should not vote. He should never be allowed to mate with a white woman. He should live in a separate segregated part of every city or of the country-side. He may individually work as a servant

or field hand, but all endeavor on his part to rise even to industrial equality should be frowned upon and when possible, defeated. These people do not hesitate to lynch an accused black or colored man on the same hypothesis that causes them to kill a wild beast.

There is much to justify this position of the whites.

A thousand instances of cruelty of the genuine blacks to one another might be cited. The black man will not lift a hand to help another black man in trouble. He will not work until driven by starvation to work. He punishes his own children so severely that it is not an unusual thing for a beaten child to die. He has no sex-morals.

There is a case of a black man working as a porter in a hotel who admitted that he had no less than twenty-six wives in the course of his sex-affairs. In one instance, he took a widow and her daughter both and lived with them at the same time.

In the official genealogy of the Hardings, which is included in the last chapter of the book, we have the printed statement that old Amos had one child born to one woman in November and another child born to another woman in April.

Of course, white men have often been without sex-morals. But the sex-looseness of the colored or black man is almost universal. With the black and colored women, the case is distinctly better; many being virtuous according to white standards.

The people who do not know these facts are simply ignorant of the negro problem.

Those who say that it is no worse for a black man to mate with a white woman than for a white man to mate with a black woman, are ignorant of a few very plain facts of human anatomy and of negro lust.

Many white persons who do know the facts, say because they believe that any black man known at

any time to have sex-relations with a white woman, should be forthwith legally killed by electrocution or hanging, whether she consented or not.

It so happens that the charge against the Hardings is that, being colored men, they took white women as mates.

This is not a medical book, but we suggest that those who wish to get the scientific facts ask medical men who have knowledge of the negro anatomy and physiology.

At a time when one person in every seven in the population is black or colored, when they have controlled one Presidential election, the people have the right to know these facts.

There are leaders of Southern opinion who think that every person with negro blood should be placed in a part of the South where the whites shall be excluded. They would set aside certain counties for blacks alone.

It is an unhappy fact that every human being desires a mate superior to himself or herself. This is the law of ascent. Colored women desire white men; black women desire colored men. Black men are "crazy" to get white women or colored women. Therefore, we shall have lynchings, and we shall have them until the whole population is all white or all black, for race instinct is behind the sins and the lynchings. Such is the antique fear of many Southerners.

The interest of Professor Chancellor in this, the worst of all American problems, did not begin in 1920 with the Presidential campaign. It rested upon four grounds.

1. He comes upon his father's side from old Virginia slave-holding families, the Warwicks, Madisons, Marshalls, Servisses, Pogues, Bollings and Chancellors.

2. He studied race anthropology in Europe, and has made many field studies in this country.

3. He was school superintendent in Washington, having there in the negro department of the schools 19,000 colored children, 670 colored teachers, and 260 colored engineers and janitors.

4. He has been a college teacher and writer upon these matters for many years.

When he heard that Harding had negro blood it aroused his established scientific interest.

There appears to be easily separable in the United States among the several hundred thousand negroes of pure blood—about one-sixteenth of them all—no less than fourteen negro “races,” using the word in the ethnological sense, so Professor Chancellor has written to his friends.

There are also classed among the negroes, falsely, groups of Malays, Berbers, Arabs and Moors. Even pure Indians have been so grouped by action of divisive forces of public opinion and of social taboo.

These so-called negroes, fourteen races in all, are Senegambians, Hottentots, Mosambiquians, Pigmies, Sudanese, Kaffirs, Zulus, Gold Coast, Plateau, Ethiopians, Abyssinians, Congoese, Senegalians, and domesticated negroes who for many centuries have been made the slaves of Moors and urbanized.

The differences between these various races of negroes are as great as those between the white races of Europe, in culture and even in external appearance; but they have one trait in common—long, narrow heads. This has been discussed elsewhere.

To say that Warren Harding has negro blood is not to assert that his ancestry is from the Senegambian negroes, or from plantation field hands enslaved to white masters.

Northern people who do not know many negroes, have a concept of the negro; according to this concept, he is kinky-haired, pot-bellied, black as coal, with big

brown eyes, a prognathous jaw, flat feet, and long arms and legs, the knees not standing straight.

There may be a few such negroes in the United States, but they are very few.

Were the question about Harding in this form: "Did his family rear him with the notion that he was a colored boy to be a colored man?" there could be in the light and truth of the opinion of the neighbors, a thousand of them in Little Africa, meaning the three counties, Crawford, Morrow and Marion, where the thousands of Hardings live, just one answer, "Yes!"

Doctor George Tryon (Tyrone) Harding, father of Warren, never would have considered himself anything but a colored man until his death if Warren had not married the rich banker's daughter. And Warren with his brothers and sisters would have all so regarded themselves. They would have gone back and forth to Blooming Grove and have shared the views of their colored kinsmen, who are half of the population.

But fate had something else in store. It had in store the effort of George T. Harding and of his children to defeat the truth of social opinion.

But again the question about Harding is not whether or not he was reared as a colored boy with the training and notions of colored people; he has escaped that social classification at last though not without having left some bitter enemies in Marion, where the better element never yet has had him in their homes, Senator or President, though he be, he will never again live in Marion. When he becomes ex-President, he will go to some city where his past will be ignored.

The actual question is, in the physical sense, has Warren any negro blood? If so, what is the proof of proof?

Socially, a man is what his neighbors report. He

has to take their classification or get out from among them. When they call him a negro, it does no good to sue them for slander; they still think so.

In September and October, when Professor Chancellor and newspaper correspondents and others by scores went to Blooming Grove, New Caledonia, Iberia and Steam Corners, no one of them ever found one man or woman who denied that the Hardings were anything but colored people. The Hardings themselves agreed that they were so called by everyone.

Of course, after the tremendous furor over the matter, and especially after Professor Chancellor was ousted from his position and after the rich Republicans had gone among them with threats and with money, the neighbors became silent—naturally. Many ignorant persons now believe that President Harding could put them in jail for telling the truth about him, and so he could with Daugherty and the secret service at his call.

But once that Harding ceases to be President, what will then happen?

Give the neighborhood time to recover itself. Especially bitter are the darker negroes whom the Republicans have failed to reward as promised. There will be scores to settle that will make the old feud—as Harding calls it—mild indeed.

For Warren Harding himself says that “The people have been calling his family and kin negroes for eighty years.” This was given out twice in a long interview.

Curious how the falsehood has lasted; but Harding does not dare to pronounce it a lie; he says that people have a right to their opinions and that he is sorry about their opinion.

Thousands of telegrams were sent to him from all parts of the country asking him to deny the truth about

his ancestry; but he never has yet said that he has no negro blood.

He deplotes the discussion of the subject.

Is he afraid of the ghosts of his negro ancestors? No man should ever deny his ancestors. That is like denying God Himself. No man should be ashamed of his forefathers. Some of them, perhaps a man who was hanged, may have transmitted to him some trait of exceeding value in his own life. It is easy to see that at least a few of the traits of Warren that have enabled him to "succeed" so well are negro traits.

What people call one does not make it so. All Blooming Grove may be wrong on Warren and his father, George T. Harding, and his grandfather, Charles A. Harding, and his great-grandfather, George T. Harding I, and the second wife, Elizabeth Madison, so-called, who was black. She was Warren's great-grandmother.

No Harding descended from this Elizabeth has ever had the courage to tell who her parents were. No picture of her is acknowledged to exist.

Yet this is the fact:

George Tryon, or Tyrone, Harding born June 5, 1790.

Married Ann Roberts, 1812.

Ann died in 1815.

Married Elizabeth Madsion, 1816.

Elizabeth died Jan. 6, 1869.

The children were Huldah and Phoeba Ann.

The children of Elizabeth were Oliver Perry, Charles Amos (or Alexander), Miranda.

No persons with ears can doubt for one moment what Elizabeth was; she is well remembered by eight old persons still living as late as October, 1920, in Blooming Grove and near by. One and all say that Elizabeth was black. One woman, past ninety, said that "she had eyes black as night." She was so dark

that she frightened white children of her neighbors.

Possibly se was a Moor? A Blackmoor? Or a very dark Scottish woman, say of the black Picts?

Country neighbors are not experts in such matters. Her son, the grandfather of Warren, lived till past 1880; he also is well remembered and there are pictures enough of him.

He had curly, kinky hair, and a swart complexion, and a wide, big body, and great nostrils. Also, he left a lot of children.

Professor Chancellor offered to take the Dean of the College of Wooster, at his own expense, to Blooming Grove and show these brothers, sisters and cousins born of Charles A. Harding and of his brother, Oliver Perry Harding, to the Dean in order to show the living proofs. But the Dean preferred to publish his statement that he had circulated nothing on the subject and let the country believe that Chancellor had "retracted" what he denied having done. Dean Elias Compton teaches ethics in the college, and was Dean then. Exigencies of politics require flexible ethics.

There are five of these descendants of Elizabeth in Blooming Grove and nearby. One of them is Mrs. J. C. She is a fine old dark colored woman, who never has offended any one; she is a good woman. She allowed Professor Chancellor to take six pictures of herself, for which courtesy he has refrained from printing them. She has a large heavy body, big brown eyes, very dark skin, and is typical mulatto. She had her pictures taken with her Bible under her arm, and that warded off evil spirits.

She is not a Moor, or an Arab; she is a dear old colored mammy, very dark.

In a letter to one of his friends, Professor Chancellor said that he could not bring himself to using those pictures, because she was so much like the old colored

woman who had always lived in his family, helping bring up the children.

One preacher asked him why he objected to having a colored President. "Do not these colored people go to Heaven?" He replied: "No doubt of it; but what has that to do with their intellectual fitness to bear sons to go to the White House? Not every Saint is fit to rule a nation."

There are four others, all of them darkies. Their names, like hers, might be given, but they live in Blooming Grove and Galion and can be seen at any time. One of them, smaller, is equally dark. All of them are plainly negro.

Such are the nearest living relatives of Warren Harding in that generation.

Let us proceed to the court records.

In 1849 one David Butler killed Amos Smith in this manner.

Butler and Smith were blacksmith partners at Blooming Grove. Butler's wife was a Harding woman. She owed some money to Smith's wife—fifty cents. Like negro women, she was thriftless. One afternoon as they were closing the shop, Smith asked Butler to ask his wife to pay the money to Mrs. Smith. Butler replied that his wife denied that she owed any money to Mrs. Smith. Thereupon Smith told Butler that he had a nigger for a wife. Butler replied by throwing a piece of iron at Smith—a piece about an inch square and ten inches long. This iron hit Smith on the side of his head, and down he went. Butler immediately ran to him and picked him up and carried him into a house nearby.

They sent for a doctor who treated the skull fracture. A few days later fever developed and the doctor bled him, the same doctor who afterwards taught

George Tryon Harding all the medicine he ever knew. A fortnight later Smith died.

In 1850 the grand jury of Morrow county, which had just been created out of Crawford county in the wilderness, indicted Butler for manslaughter, and he was tried.

The defense was:

1. He was justified in killing Smith because his wife was not a negro woman.

2. Smith died of malpractice.

3. He had no malice, because he immediately tried to revive Smith. It was only a hot instant of wrath between friends. He was a man of good character.

The prosecuting attorney was a famous lawyer, named Columbus Delano. We have sent men to a dozen states to find the copious notes that Delano kept of this trial.

We saw at Mt. Gilead the original brief records of the indictment and steps in the course of the trial which was in the court seven years. In the midst of the search of this record the investigator was confronted by a low-browed, square-jawed heckler whose only business apparently was to maintain the curtain of darkness over the skeletons of family history just as the same investigator found another busy guardian had extracted the pardon papers in the same Butler case from the files at the State House at Columbus, but fortunately too late to prevent photographic copies being made of the papers by the man who beat the vandal on the job. There was intense neighborhood feeling aroused, mostly against Butler. On this the Hardings countered as best they could.

The jury found:

1. That it was not slander to call Mrs. Butler a negro, since the Hardings were always so called. But even if untrue it was no justification for the act.

2. That Smith died of the fracture, not of the bleeding by the doctor.

3. That he was of good character and recommended mercy.

Butler was sentenced to the penitentiary for five years.

After two years he was pardoned by the Governor on a petition presented by the Harding relatives.

Two other killings have been charged to the same feud. The country people decline to take the Hardings as all-white. When they try to escape from this social classification, quarrels result.

As we have shown elsewhere, contrary to the supposition of our kind New England and other far-away Northern friends, it is NOT the presumption in Blooming Grove that every child is white until the opposite is proven. Blooming Grove is a Fugitive Slave district. More than half the people have colored blood. The presumption is that there is colored blood somewhere in the ancestry. This is not charged as a crime, but as a fact. There is nothing "bar sinister" about it. Warren Harding is not a white man's illegitimate son nor was his father before him. We are not engaged in slander and libel but in science.

If Warren Harding turns out "to be the best President since Lincoln, engaged skilfully in cleaning up the awfulness left by the Democrats and by the miserable internationalist and invalid Woodrow Wilson," as the Republicans say, then we should, all of us, seek to marry our sons to colored girls; though, of course, not our girls to colored men. The Dickersons have told us they were horribly shocked at what their daughter did. Nevertheless, if Warren proves to be a very great man, we may have to come to just this.

When the report went out through the country that Warren Harding has negro blood, the city editor of the

Republican POST INTELLIGENCER turned to his most experienced of reporters and said, "There is a niece of Warren Harding living here in Seattle: I don't know who she is or where she lives; take the photographer and find her; we will print her picture and show up the 'bughouse' professor out there in Ohio."

The city editor did not know that his information came from William Chancellor, colored, aged sixty-five, a Republican trying to get votes for his friend.

It took the reporter two days to find the woman. He brought back the photographer and had the pictures developed, but he refused to write any story, and the city editor was wroth within him. In an hour or so the developed plates came down from the sky room.

The city editor looked at them and he told the veteran reporter this: "That college professor out in Ohio is not so bughouse after all."

And the veteran reporter told this to the people of Seattle after the election!

But the people have not yet seen the pictures of the niece of Warren.

When Professor Chancellor was city school superintendent of Washington, Senator Joseph B. Foraker took very great interest in the colored people. He sent a letter of introduction for a woman to Professor Chancellor asking the appointment of the woman to a position in the schools, saying that she was a quadroon and desired to go into the colored schools.

She was a sister of Warren Harding.

Later she became a policewoman in Washington, where she served until Warren was chosen President.

In October, 1920, she was living in a colored boarding house with a colored landlady.

She is now in the soldiers' reconstruction work, and passes for white; that is, she tries to do so.

Would a white man allow a sister to be a police-

woman in Washington when he was United States Senator? We think not. Warren allowed his sister to do this dangerous and vile work—in Washington, one of the foulest cities on earth in sex-morals.

This sister is a far abler and better person morally than her brother in the White House.

We are not making war on women; if we were, we could tell much more.

It is, however, the black sheep of this family who has risen to the top, where Daugherty can be regent over him and President in fact

The husband of this sister of Warren's has never supported her, and told various persons that there were obvious reasons why he desired no children by her; they are childless by intention, he says. They do not keep house together as he is a white man, of French descent, the reasons are obvious enough. But he is low enough himself morally to bask in the sunshine of the favor of the President and get money through him.

It is painful to observe that Warren Harding and the Duchess do not invite these neighbor kinsfolk to the White House and introduce them to their friends.

The masquerader there is playing a very difficult role.

Warren Harding has alive now one father, ONE BROTHER, SIX SISTERS, and some thousand other kinsfolk descended from his own great-grandfather, Amos Harding, the man who had the two women at the same time bearing him children.

Why are they not often, many of them at a time, in the White House?

Several of them are very rich. One is a Chicago millionaire, C. E. Harding. Another has a fine store in Salt Lake City. His own brother is a physician in Columbus, Ohio.

Are they ashamed of him, or is he ashamed of

them; or are they all afraid of the CUMULATIVE EVIDENCE when viewed together?

On Thanksgiving Day, 1920, after election, Warren gave a dinner party to six men belonging to the Republican Associated Press. No women were present except the "Duchess." But old George Tryon Harding sat alone in a restaurant in a town famous among traveling men for its low-class eating places, and ate his dinner alone, the father of the President-elect. Was this the way a white man would have treated his divorced father, living in comparative need?

Why are these thousand kinsfolk alienated from this man in the White House?

Would the kinsfolk of a white man there be so afraid to exhibit their interest in him?

When William Henry Harrison was President, thirty-five of his kinfolk lived with him in the White House.

Zachary Taylor filled it with sons, daughters, cousins, aunts.

Jefferson made it a boarding house for kin and friends—free board.

Roosevelt kept a lot of guests going and coming, proud to have them all.

But there is a pall upon the White House now; it is not the pall of negro blood, but something worse; it is the pall of fear of exposure. Open, frank, honest admission long ago would have cleared the atmosphere; but Warren and Fall and Daugherty and the Duchess and Hays must play the game as it is. They dealt themselves this hand.

CHAPTER V

“HE LOOKS LIKE A PRESIDENT”

When Warren Gamaliel Bancroft Harding—for such is his name, if it is not really Warren Gamaliel Winnipeg Bancroft Harding, as his father first said in the Presidential campaign—first came before the country as the Republican candidate, the Republican proponents of this singular human phenomenon, a mestizo in American big politics, started a

BATTLE CRY

“Warren looks like a President.”

This did catch the people.

What is it to “look like a President?”

There were the big men physically, viz.:

	Weight	Height	Party
George Washington.....	200	6 ft. 2 in.	None
Thomas Jefferson.....	170	6 ft. 1 in.	Democrat
William Henry Harrison....	170	6 ft. 2 in.	Whig
Zachary Taylor.....	225	6 ft. 0 in.	Democrat
James Buchanan.....	180	6 ft. 0 in.	Democrat
Millard Fillmore.....	200	6 ft. 4 in.	Democrat
Abraham Lincoln.....	165	6 ft. 4 in.	Republican
Grover Cleveland.....	275	6 ft. 0 in.	Democrat
William Howard Taft.....	325	6 ft. 2 in.	Republican
Woodrow Wilson.....	180	6 ft. 1 in.	Democrat

It does not appear that there has been any monopoly of big men, physically considered, by the Whig-Republicans.

Nor does it appear that only big men have made good Presidents. The following were relatively small men, viz.:

Madison, Jackson, Van Buren, B. Harrison, McKinley. Roosevelt was a heavy man but only 5 feet 9 inches in stature. He weighed 225 pounds most of the time he was President, but most of his life he was under 200 pounds.

Warren Harding is 6 feet tall and weighs over 200 pounds. He has a large face and long narrow head: no other President looked like him. He has, it is said, dignity. So had, in a very marked degree, James Buchanan.

Is the requisite posture, tall, upstanding, eyes to the front, searching, self-reliant pose? Warren has it not. He does not stand well. He never looks anyone in the eye.

It is said by his admirers that he has "a beetling, craggy brow with deep-set eyes." Then he is compared with Black Dan Webster. But Black Dan had eyes on fire, black and alive, very wonderful eyes. He made all his great speeches without notes. He had the divine fire, no doubt. Put the two heads side by side in the front and sideways both, and see not resemblance, but the eternal differences. Black Dan was a Black Pict, straight from the purest blood of Scotland, and had brains that matched. The obscure gray eyes of Warren Harding contradict the craggy brow. Still people keep his face on view in their parlor windows even now; he saved the Republican party from defeat; he kept it together. The party was more important than the nation and the world.

Warren Harding is big; he is wide with a curved back; and with long prehensile weak hands but with heavy arms. His underpinning is frail relatively. He has a posture exactly the opposite of that of a well-trained soldier. Besides John J. Pershing, who is every inch a soldier, or Leonard Wood, he is a slouching civilian.

This brings up the question that was raised immediately after his election by his announcement in the press that he had ordered many suitable garments for his work as President. Afterwards he denied that he had ordered so many; the managers told him to do this. He had an idea that clothing makes a difference in Presidents.

George Washington loved good clothes. But Abraham Lincoln did not. Washington was born to good clothes. Theodore Roosevelt, who was by far the richest of the Presidents, had a great variety of attire, but he preferred his outing clothes to any other, and old clothes at that.

Jackson dressed well when on parade—otherwise he dressed in the plainest way—in old clothes.

Jefferson had no interest at all in clothes.

The man who thinks first of how to dress in a new office has something the matter with his mind. He sees the externalities of his functions. Arthur was afflicted with a passion for good clothes. So was Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Beginning at fifty-two years of age in order to fight arterio-sclerosis by advice of sanitarium physicians, Warren Harding took up golf; he can make a very long drive. His score being usually about 95. In other words, he is not a natural athlete; he does not ride horses, though brought up in the country; he does not swim or play tennis; or take long walks. He does not dance; he never has boxed or wrestled; he did not play baseball or football; of course, he never had the athletic training of college.

Like every other man, he is entitled to every ounce of credit that he can weigh in. What is this?

Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson drank no alcoholic stimulants and smoked and chew no tobacco. McKinley smoked tobacco. Harding uses tobacco in every form,

including even cigarettes, and, of course, he drinks.

The Anti-Cigarette League published a cartoon showing him caught in eight different poses smoking cigarettes. Since that time he has been careful not to be snapped with even a cigar in his mouth. He is very shrewd in such matters.

Experts in heredity have discovered a very important law; that a hybrid tends to slough off as he grows older the traits of the shorter-lived races that have entered into his making. This law is working for Warren. The negro is a short-lived race. That blood is dying in him. The question is whether if he lives to be a hundred years old, his Dutch or his Indian ancestry will win the mastery; both races are long-lived. To those who survive him the matter is worth following up.

The Indian has the trait of seeming to think hard for a long, long time; he requires a very long time to "make up his mind." His decisions in ages past have generally been far from wise; but he has acquired the reputation for being very wise all the same. Truth is that there is no rule about this matter; some men decide quickly, and are geniuses because they decide so many issues well. Few Indians have shown genius.

The Dutch have taken much time to decide and have generally decided wisely; but few Dutchmen are geniuses.

The long thinker is usually dull and stupid. If while he is thinking, he is getting new facts, then he does well to take time. Otherwise, long deliberation is stupidity or senility.

Before he became President, even in the campaign, in order to get votes, but sincerely, he told everyone that he intended to "keep the doors of the White House open for anyone to come and see him;" this has a beautiful sound. But no sooner had he come to the White House than like every other man since Jefferson he

found that the American people are too many for one man. He has had to make appointments and not many a day at that. He spoke derisively of the plan of Woodrow Wilson before his illness to allot two hours a day to callers, and just so many minutes to each caller, never over fifteen. On this basis he saw ten or twenty a day. But why not keep the doors of the executive offices always open?

Totally inexperienced in such executive work, never having managed even "THE STAR," Warren Harding was unaware that a President has from 300 to 1000 pieces of mail each day; that he is always getting resignations and making appointments to office; that he must read and sign no end of documents of all kinds. The clerical work is enormous.

Even in his convalescence, Woodrow Wilson spent four hours a day in merely signing necessary state papers, and did other work a few minutes at a time. Thanks to his wife and good medical care, he survived.

There is no way of turning this work off upon the Cabinet Secretaries; they are clerks by law and the President is solely responsible. The Controller of the Treasury must see the name of the President himself upon thousands of documents before he allows the Treasury to make any payment. It will take a change in the Constitution itself to change this.

But what is the personality of the President? Why is it that the Republicans are sending out so many "pen pictures" of the man? When the Wayne County delegation of Republicans—Ohio—300 strong, came back from Marion in the Presidential campaign, they were strangely silent. The people asked them to tell what Warren was like and they flunked out on this question. What is he like?

In his early days he applied for admission to a certain secret society; and he failed in three lodges. Then

he was admitted to one for one degree only. He was blocked for all others until after he was elected President. What is the personality of such a man?

The many "pen portraits" are due to the fact that he is an **enigma** to all those who do not understand a very simple fact; a mirror flat in the sunlight reflects all the sky and clouds; and it very closely resembles deep blue water. Jump in and what happens?

This is the trouble with Warren. A very great man, a candidate against him for the Republican nomination, went from New York to see him in an interview; after the interview he had nothing to say about Warren. He was baffled, as every other intelligent man is.

Warren Harding has no program; he has no depth; he reflects what is near him that appeals to a very few primitive instincts. He is genial enough; and, in a light way, affable; but how can a man who has never studied American history or government beyond the elementary school books converse on politics and jurisprudence and economics with a University President? He can seem to listen. As his pastor, Reverend Doctor McAfee, says in an interview in the New York World, he is an "eloquent listener."

Before proceeding, we have a word to say about this same C. F. McAfee. He is a Baptist who went to Marion to the church where Harding goes occasionally, just five years ago; that is, in 1913, when Harding was United States Senator. Being a preacher, he looks professionally for the good in men, and for nothing else. He knows nothing of the past of this man. He has no familiarity with his Washington life. Because Warren pays his church dues, or rather Mrs. Warren, he regards him as a useful church member, though admitting that he is never at prayer meeting, has no Bible class, and makes no personal contribution to the Christian World, Warren is a devout Christian, and

three days afterwards he had a stroke of paralysis. This is not cause-and-effect, but it shows the mental and physical instability of the man who is cited as authority for the fine Christianity of Warren Harding.

Of course, being a Baptist, he wished Warren to win. Even preachers are human.

But to go back to the question. It is "incredible" that a man who has so little mental life should have been Lieutenant Governor and United States Senator. Yet exactly this has happened. Those who are familiar with colleges know that the college president is often a distinctly confused and ignorant man; that is what the trustees desire in order to manage the college through a dummy. It even happens in business that a big man in the concern is confused and ignorant.

Warren Harding is very ignorant. He has asked many times—What is an association of nations? He knows no geography outside of the United States, and he knows this but little, as is shown by his going to Point Isabel in February.

He knows no Latin and no foreign language; he knows only English words, and not even English grammar and rhetoric. He did nothing in business as an accountant.

But a man may be both ignorant and confused and at the same time shrewd according to his own lights. When he was nominated so suddenly, he turned to his advisers and asked, "Is not this too premature?" He knew that the convention had been brought up with money, and he was afraid that Hiram Johnson, Wood and Lowden would "blow up" on him, as they did not.

Only Nicholas Murray Butler "blew up," and he apologized in order to save his Presidency of Columbia University.

Hunger, lust, vanity—these are the dominant instincts, together with a gaming passion, a love of play-

ing for good stakes. He is a born adventurer; does this show the truth of the story of the neighbors that his great-grandfather, Amos Harding, was a pirate? Warren is no open fighter; he prefers to get at the backs of men, as the Republican Convention proved.

We are very plain and direct here.

There have been several great public political crimes by great parties in the history of the United States, backed apparently by the people.

One was the Mexican War.

Another was the Fugitive Slave Act, together with the infamous Dred Scott Decision which made Abraham Lincoln President, because they permitted free speech in those days and lese majeste did not rule as it does today in our cowardly times. Stealing the Presidency from Tilden was a crime in 1876-7.

But a far greater political crime, organized by a great party, was the rejection of peace for the world and the setting back of the clock of time for all humanity a thousand years. The injury for the present is irreparable.

Therefore, bad as Polk was, bad as Taney and Buchanan were, politically bad as Hayes was, this Warren Harding will go down into history, the history of the world, as still worse. Perhaps a Harriet Beecher Stone and an Abraham Lincoln will arise to show the whole deviltry up.

The private morals of Polk and Buchanan and Hayes were spotless; and the only sin of Taney was that he had defended many smugglers of slaves when a young lawyer. Even if the private morals had been always what his pastor says he believes they have been, this would not save him from the condemnation of the just. Pilate appears to have been a very good man in his private morals.

Big, lazy, slouching, confused, ignorant, affable,

yellow and cringing like a negro butler to the great, such is the man who has been used by Lodge, Smoot, Penrose, Knox, Harvey, Daugherty, to ruin Woodrow Wilson for the time being and to crash the hopes of mankind for world peace.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLUTOCRACY

It was in the days of President William McKinley that Americans began to see the conversion of the American social order into a plutocracy, and when Theodore Roosevelt came down from Mount Marcy in the Adirondacks to succeed him after his death at the hands of a foreign-born and foreign-reared anarchist, the first question that was asked of him was what would be his disposition toward this developing plutocracy. What he said was very different from what he did—for which the would-be plutocrats never forgave him; but bided their time and waited, and plotted, until they made an election to order in 1920, of which we have spoken fully elsewhere.

But what is the **plutocracy**?

It certainly is not **capitalism**, which is a very good economic scheme.

Capitalism is a plan by which, through the organization of corporations, all, even those with but small savings, may contribute to the permanent tools of production—buildings, lands, machinery, materials, working funds, credits.

Plutocracy could exist even without corporations, through the very admirable system of private property personally owned with full liabilities for every debt against every partner. Nevertheless, corporate property lends itself easily to the schemes of plutocracy.

Far back in the nineteenth century, when Governor of the State of New York, Silas Wright, who had been a United States Senator, and who was the actual

author of the famous Wilmot Proviso against slavery in the free States, which was directed against the Fugitive Slave Act, but destroyed by the Dred Scott Decision in 1857, prophesied that **corporate property** would become a curse to America. This is why he was impeached by his Legislature and removed from the Governship. Unhappily he died in the very year when the common people were organizing to secure for him the nomination of the Whigs to the Presidency.

The great slaveholders were a plutocracy that held all the South and the great Atlantic Coast cities, including New York. All together the slaveholders had about one billion dollars worth of domestic chattels in human form, but more or less off color from Caucasian, though many of them had the best white blood of the South, a condition due rather to the race customs of the primitive negroes than to the advances of the younger white men. In Africa, as in Tahiti today, it is the custom of the girls to be promiscuous until after marriage. But small as a billion dollars looks to Americans now when single corporations are said to have that much and more of property, commercially valued, it was fully one-tenth of all the wealth of America prior to the Civil War.

A plutocracy does not necessarily own all the property of a people. It needs only to own the public press, the pulpit, the larger banks, and the larger business enterprises; thereby it owns the government.

Such was the power of the slavery plutocracy that in 1862 the Board of Aldermen of New York City voted to form the State of Tri-Insulæ in order to secede from the Union and to help the South overseas and by resisting the draft.

The end of the war broke that plutocracy and started new wealth, especially in great railroads to the Pacific.

Oil, steel, railroads and banks are now the main interests of the plutocracy that began to form in the days of McKinley when Hanna was the real President. Then we called them "trusts" and "syndicates" and "pools."

By no means all the rich are "plutocrats," and not all the plutocrats are very rich. Plutocracy is a system. Henry Ford is not a plutocrat, though undoubtedly one of the richest men in America. Truman H. Newberry, who ran against him and bought the election to the Senate and thereby defeated the League of Nations Covenant, is but a small multi-millionaire compared with Ford. But Newberry belongs to the plutocracy and Ford fights against it. The core of the plutocracy, of course, consists of men and of the estates of men of very great wealth. In order to avoid being misunderstood, we name a few of the very rich men and families that belong to the plutocracy: The Rockefellers, George H. Baker, the Guggenheims, Judge Gary, the Noyeses, of Washington.

Vast as is the wealth of the Morgan bankers, the firm does not belong to the plutocracy for the sufficient reason that it realizes the fallacy of the proposition; plutocracy in a free land under Magna Carta and the Federal Constitution, is certain to invite its own ruin. There are said to be now in this land seven men or estates worth over \$100,000,000 each; and 37,000 millionaires. When we have real publicity, we shall learn from the income tax reports just who these millionaires are. But it is safe to say that not one-half of them belong to or care anything about the plans of the plutocracy other than to prevent dog eating dog and being themselves devoured by yet richer men.

The plutocracy as a developed system now owns control of the major enterprises in—

1. Steam railroads.

2. Iron and steel.
3. Coal and oil.
4. Newspapers, magazines and books.
5. Meats.
6. Grain elevators.
7. Pulp and paper.
8. Money and banks.
9. The national government and many state and city governments.
10. The real estate of several great and many small cities.
11. National and city debts.
12. Many churches, but not all, nor half.
13. Many colleges and universities, but not all.
14. Wholesale trade.
15. Foreign trade.
16. Rubber.
17. Lumber.

It desires to own these enterprises clean through, and all others also. It desires to reduce the ordinary man to being an animal interested only in space and things and what and how, while it owns time and cause and why—that is, the future. It wishes to put all wage-earners where the colored slaves were in 1860, and to treat all poor men not on wage-payrolls as “poor white trash.” It hates trade unions, closed shops, collective bargaining, independent livelihoods, including small tradespeople.

The plutocracy is smart enough to spread broadcast such false ideas as these, viz.:

1. Paper money is just as good as gold. How can the people know? They never see gold any more.
2. The man who works hard can make a fortune and die rich. Give us all you’ve got. This is too obvious a lie to be worth answering.
3. Saving money is the highway to success. This

draws the herring over the trail of the men who grew very rich in totally different ways from savings their wages.

The poor have too many children. This is wicked.

5. In the next world God will right the wrongs of this one. Endure for this life—endure us.

6. Reformers are all weak-minded.

7. A bank account is a man's best friend. In view of the ease with which a rich man can seize legally the bank account of a poorer enemy, this is fraud. God, who is Right, is a man's only worthwhile friend.

8. Own your own home, and slave for us, because it will be hard for you to sell it when out of work and anxious to get to some other employers.

9. It is a good thing for a great nation to have a great national debt; it makes the government stable, and develops a class opposed to revolutions.

10. It is unsafe for the people to pick their own rulers; they do not know how to judge men; let us hand-pick them.

Such are the ideas that the plutocracy is forever having reiterated in its own papers and by its own preachers.

In your own town, no matter where that town is, you will certainly see the evidences of encroachments of the plutocracy. It destroyed Tom Johnson in Cleveland and made Myron T. Herrick and Mark Hanna before him. It fought James M. Cox in Dayton in 1920. It smashed Augustus F. Heinze in Montana and New York. It is after Henry Ford in the motor car business, of which it controls perhaps one-third, including General Motors.

In some lines, the plutocracy is having poor going; it cannot master the farm ownership and operation problems yet, nor does it have good success in the retail trades.

It does not own over one-third of the tobacco business. It is after the motion picture industry, but is making a poor showing as yet. It has done but little in gold and silver, though it owns copper mining. It has failed in every fishery corporation scheme. It has been buncoed by its own plans for the ownership of sea-transportation and makes generally but poor success in electric railways. It has failed to secure the California citrus fruits lands.

If America has actually the value of sixty billions of gold dollars in business of all kinds—measured by the gold standard, not by this pseudo-money of paper and ink—the plutocracy may have already the control of one-fourth and power in another fourth. America may be worth in gold in all \$150,000,000,000; but even now, most of this is free from the plutocracy. What the plutocrats wish is all of it.

What are the keys to the position of the plutocracy?

1. The Associated Press—news service carefully edited to help the plutocrats.

2. The U. S. Steel Corporation—our biggest business with almost two billions of assets in the watered currency of today.

3. The Standard Oil interest—thirty-two companies all owned by the same rich men. These spread into Mexico and Canada, into Mesopotamia and China, and all over the earth.

4. Certain great banks, including the National City Bank of New York, the Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, the Mellon National Bank of Pittsburgh.

5. The New York Central Railroad, the Reading, etc. (Not so much the Pennsylvania, which has 110,000 different stockholders).

6. Certain Protestant Churches and the Mormon Church.

7. Certain organs of opinion, conspicuously the Wall Street Journal, the Chicago Tribune, the Saturday Evening Post, the Philadelphia Ledger, Washington Post, the New York Herald, the Cleveland News, the American Magazine.

8. The Republican party.

Anyone who keeps one's eyes on these will know the plans and intentions of the plutocracy.

What does the plutocracy desire now?

The right so as to blacklist any man needing employment or credit in business that he will be unable to make a living under the Stars and Stripes. It is to be made free of libel to represent as dishonest, or insubordinate, or incompetent, or insane any man who resents his treatment anywhere by any employer. The blacklist is to be universal.

Private personal bargaining with every employer; as in one great business where the employment manager refuses to talk with any two men at any one time! Hire-and-fire at their own will.

Unlimited paper "money," inflated credits, inflated prices.

Liquidated wages—that is, deflated wages.

A subsidized merchant marine.

A higher protective tariff, always higher and higher.

Taxation on the poor; exemption for the rich.

Wars and munitions for war with a great government market, and with voluntary enlistments for the rich.

All higher teachers of "learning" to be Republicans.

No Democratic, Socialist, or reform magazines or papers of any kind; as a step thereto second-class mailing privileges only for the Republican papers.

Suppression of mail service of the first-class to all persons not recommended by the Republican National Committee as safe.

The present national debt to be refunded and continued.

How does plutocracy operate in the economic field?

By funding into the future all its hopes of gain and selling the securities—so-called—to the gullible people.

The plutocracy began to do this far back in the eighteenth century. But the present century sees this scheme in all its glory. Enterprises are capitalized at sixteen per cent, twelve per cent, ten per cent, six per cent, and in peculiarly audacious instances at even four, three and two per cent of the hope of gain. Take a case:

A man has an oil well and some leases. He forms a company and tells the suckers that his well is paying a thousand dollars a day profit; that is, a third of a million a year. At sixteen per cent, this would enable him to capitalize at \$1,800,000, which, as things go, would not be criminal if one could be sure that the well would operate (say) a hundred years. But the man never stops at this; he argues to the suckers that the leases will produce ten such wells, and that ten per cent on their money would be fine. The result is that he gets them in on the basis of a reliable income of \$3,000,000 a year, funded at ten per cent; and he sells out his well for \$30,000,000, less commissions to the promoters.

This is not an extreme case.

Or take the case which is historical—of the U. S. Steel Corporation. When its common stock was floated, it was not worth a dollar; the whole issue of \$600,000,000 was water. But the stock was sold at par!

Then the corporation, through its subsidiaries, went to work to put value into the common stock; and the

first thing to do was to get the Republicans into power under Taft to raise the steel tariff.

The next thing to do was to water the currency so as to make a gold dollar do the work of two dollars and get the earnings into the big banks.

This automatically inflated the inventories of the Steel Corporation. Soon every share of the common stock was worth in book value over \$100.

Where do the bondholders come in who paid gold dollars for the bonds? Well, Andrew Carnegie got the bonds, and he gave them away to colleges and libraries, letting the rich out neatly. That is why colleges with endowments have found their endowments so reduced in purchasing power. But only the insiders are supposed to understand such difficult matters.

The common people are too dull to see.

Such is the plutocracy and such are its ways; therefore, it had to make an election to order in 1920.

CHAPTER VII

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE PLUTOCRACY

The REGENCY—Florence Kling (de Wolfe) Harding, Harry M. Daugherty, Boies Penrose, Le Roi Faineant (King Donothing) Warren Gamaliel Harding, Speaker of the House of Representatives Frederic H. Gillett, steel multi-millionaire; Senators, who are millionaire plutocrats are, Colt, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Knox, Lodge, McCormick, McKinley, Smoot, Warren (father-in-law of General J. J. Pershing), Wolcott, Wadsworth.

Cabinet Secretaries—Mellon (multissimo millionaire), Hoover, multi-millionaire; Daugherty, Hays, Davis, Wallace, Fall, Weeks, Denby. Only Hughes loves personal liberty.

Where does the Supreme Court stand?

Holmes and Brandeis, both from Massachusetts, love freedom, and may be relied upon to oppose the Massachusetts bloc composed of Senator Lodge, Speaker Gillett and Secretary Weeks. Clark and Pitney have human feelings. The rest are plutocratic—White, McKenna, McReynolds, Day and Van Devanter.

On the same day that the United States Senate voted to “pay” Colombia \$25,000,000 blackmail, to help “oil,” April 20, 1921, the New York Tribune financial page published this, viz.:

Standard Oil in Colombia

“Evidence accumulates that the Standard Oil interests consider the Colombian oil fields among the most promising for future operations. Several months

ago the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey acquired control of the International Petroleum Company, Ltd., and yesterday came the announcement that this concern has acquired one of the larger islands in the harbor of Barranquilla, Colombia, at the mouth of the Magdalena River. According to reports in the financial district yesterday, the company will build a refinery with a daily capacity of 25,000 barrels. International Petroleum was formerly owned by the Tropical Oil Company, controlled by the Benedum-Trees-Treat-Crawford interests, of Pittsburgh."

Standard Oil represents billions of dollars of property.

The United States Senate is four times as powerful as the House of Representatives, and since it has only a fourth as many members, each Senator is sixteen times as powerful as a Congressman in the House. The Speaker is the third most powerful officer of the Government--the Chief Justice and the President alone surpassing him because of his power to form committees even under the new rules.

In the Senate, there are but few friends of human rights, only a few like Norris and Kenyon; though there are several who lean toward freedom as against plutocracy with this puppet doing the shadow work in the White House. Pomerene, to whom among others, Harding admitted his social classification as a negro; Borah, Cummins, Culberson, Johnson--these have not entirely gone over to the view that corporate property is immortal and divine.

The real hope for the friends of freedom is in the Supreme Court, and that may easily be overturned, now that five men are ready to quit. The best friend of the ordinary man in public life is Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the Federal Judge, which is one reason why he took the baseball supervision, knowing that he could

never become a Supreme Court Justice, as he merits becoming. Even Hughes may forget Nagna Charta and the United States Constitution in his present surroundings.

A PICTURE

Three thousand years ago, Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the Tables of the Law that were to end the CAUSES of personal hatreds among men. He found that while he had been listening to the thunders and to the voice of God, the people had made a GOLDEN CALF and were dancing, singing and shouting in its worship.

In April, 1921, President Warren Harding stood in a square in New York City and read a paper on the Monroe Doctrine, pledging that if any nation should attack the South American States, he would set afoot the army and hoist anchor for the navy and fight; and the great men of many nations looked up at him—university graduates, jurists, publicists, scholars—worshipping the GOLDEN CALF of today—oil, rubber, guano, gold in Columbia, Peru and South America. And Woodrow Wilson, who brought from Versailles a new Table of the Law to end the causes of national hatreds among men, sat remembering the thunders of German guns against Paris and the voice of God in the hearts of statesmen at the Peace Conference, sat quietly in his library in Washington and waited and will wait until the worship of the Golden Calf is exposed once more as a fraud and delusion and snare of the peoples.

Warren was thinking of the eighteen billions of dollars that Europe now owes to the plutocrats of America.

He was thinking of Japan armed to the teeth and ready to strike.

He was thinking of Mexico that he may yet invade, as Polk invaded that land to please the slavelords.

He was thinking of Great Britain, mistress of the seas, and of the American war program to build a navy as big as the biggest and the best of all.

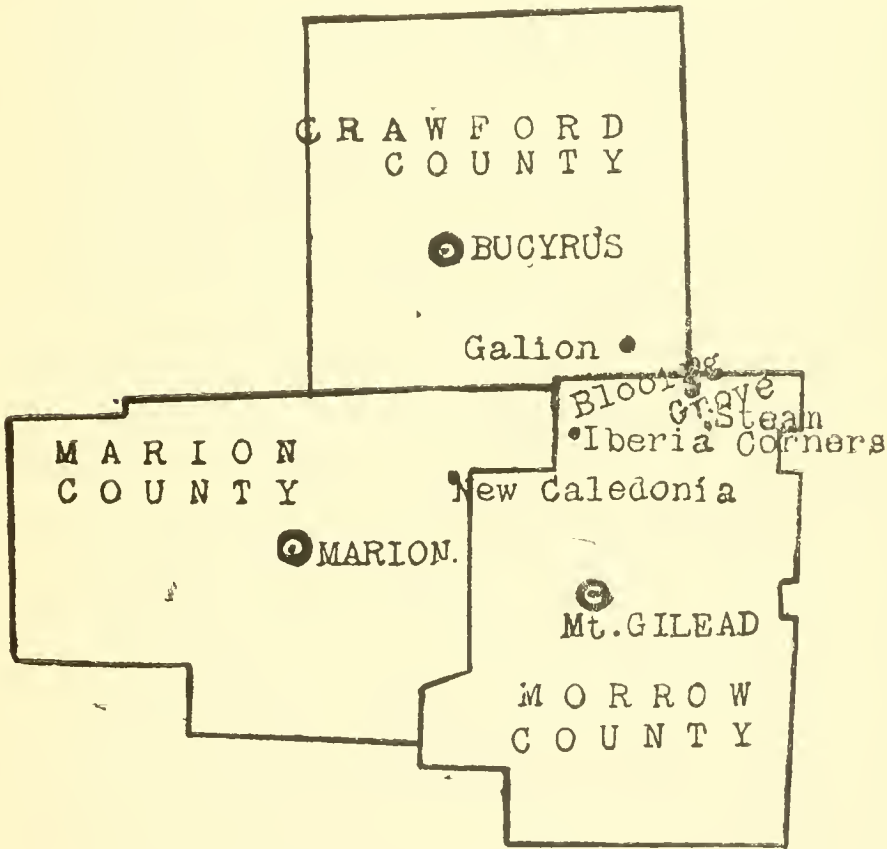
He imagined that wars must come and go forever,

BUT

Has slavery been outlawed?

Has polygamy passed from civilized lands?

Has the saloon been abolished from America forever?



LITTLE AFRICA—HARDING LAND

When will wars end? When will the God Mars be slain?

In the day that America joins the League of Nations and ceases to obey the plutocrats in worshipping their golden image.

But Warren has no son to go to war.

Little Africa consists of three counties, where for a hundred years has raged the feud between the whites and the mestizoes. In it live almost a thousand descendants of Amos Harding and ten thousand other hybrids.

At Blooming Grove Warren was born; here David Butler killed Amos Smith in 1849. At Steam Corners lives the mother of Warren's chauffeur; a woman who remembers him as a baby. Here also lives other people who know all the history of Harding Corners. At Iberia was the seat of the little teacher's school to train for rural work to which Warren went two years. It was called a college, but it did not require for admission even a rural elementary school diploma.

At Galion lives a man who went to school with him and roomed with him at Iberia.

At New Caledonia lives the bankers who remember him as a school mate there.

At Marion lives Dr. George Tryon (or Tyrone) Harding, Warren's father.

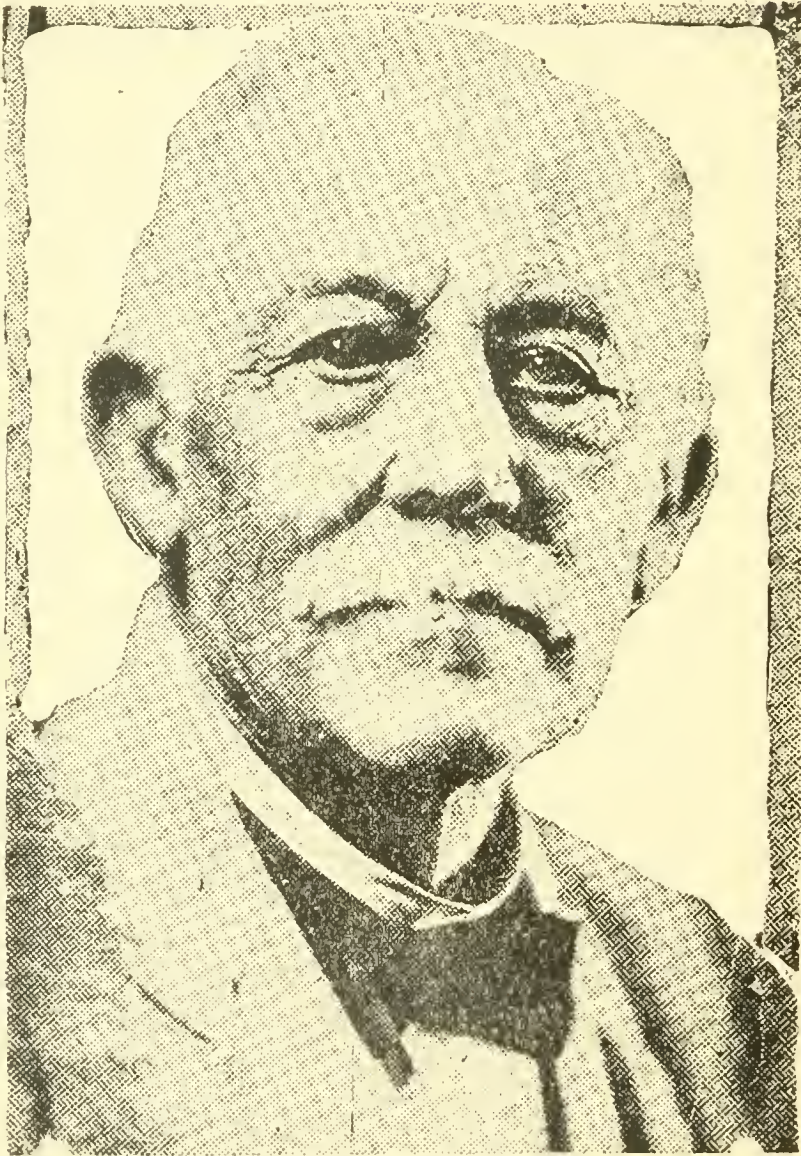
CHAPTER VIII.

FAKE BIOGRAPHS OF W. G. HARDING

We have printed elsewhere in this book the valid and various proofs that old William Chancellor, of Mount Gilead, negro, and the many other friends of "Nig" Harding in his boyhood days, told the truth to the negroes of America when they said, as they did in the pulpits of their churches that Warren Gamaliel Bancroft is a negro in part himself, and that he was perfectly willing to admit this until ambition to rise in politics got the better of what little sense of truthfulness he has. Here we propose to take up a few points from the various articles that have been printed about him in Republican and Baptist organs.

In an article published by the aged Abie Gunn Baker in THE CHRISTIAN HERALD during the campaign, she told a story of how the mother of the mother of Warren discovered at church that her daughter was deeply interested in George Tryon Harding, his father. (We assume here that Tryon is the right way to spell this middle name, though we have stated elsewhere that Tyrone appears to be the family name, not Tryon). It appears that one day at church the daughter, their youngest child, failed to enter the church with her parents, but lingered outside. Right in the midst of the service, in walked her daughter on the arm of her soldier mate. After church Mrs. Dickerson asked the girl what was the meaning of the affair. She replied that—so Mrs. Baker says—George was already her husband. This makes a perfectly good story, for Mrs.

Baker does not neglect to say that this young woman was a full year older than her mate, which, of course, was the truth.



DR. GEORGE TYRON HARDING,

Father of the President

But, unfortunately, this story does not “gee” with the interview printed in McClure’s Magazine after the

election from the lips of George Tryon Harding, father of Warren. This old man said to the interviewer that his wife was a year younger than himself, which was false, and also that he married her with the full approval of the parents on both sides.

Let us look into the war dates in order to get the truth itself from these conflicting yarns, and from certain facts that are indisputable.

Warren Harding was born November 2, 1865. His father was released from the army on furlough in March; it was a furlough, and he went back in the service. This credibly establishes the paternity of the boy, which no one doubts. But when did the marriage take place?

Old George Tryon Harding says that they had a long courtship and often went out together. If so, when? George served three years in the army.

Now the truth is that these two persons spent much of their later lives trying to agree as to dates, places, persons variously reported by them to have celebrated their wedding for them, and they never agreed. Nor did Mrs. Harding ever possess a marriage certificate, nor was any license ever issued by any court officer. This does not concern the legitimacy of the TEN children, but it happens to concern the fact that one was white and the other was not. It happens to explain why the Dickersons allowed their youngest child to stay at home with them for a half year after Warren was born; but then made her move out.

The true story of George Tryon Harding after this event when he got his white wife, without the courtesy of asking her parents, is this, viz.: They got a piece of land for him and made him work it. They got Doctor McCuen, the only white physician in the place, to allow George to study with him privately so that in the course of time George Tryon became first a veterinary

then a country doctor. When Warren was fifteen years old, the father adventured into Marion, where he got a practice with servants, colored people and cattle and horses, higher than which he never rose. We shall return to this later.

In these same two articles, according to Doctor George, he never had any other love than his wife, Elizabeth Dickerson. Yet the court records of Marion County, Ohio, show indisputably that no sooner was the old lady laid in her grave in 1907, than the old man married a widow who had a son and four thousand dollars. She is now living in Muncie, Ind.; three years later than the marriage, she got a divorce from George T. on the ground that he had been trying to cheat her out of her money. The court allowed her to take as her alimony a small house that belonged to one of the Hardings. She has come out with an affidavit that her real reason for desiring a divorce was that George T. was too much nigger for her to endure him. She has been seen and interviewed often by Republican and Democratic reporters, but it has seemed impolitic to their newspapers to tell the story. Of course, her last name is Harding now; her first name is Endora, and she can be seen by any one who cares to find her in Muncie.

So much for the testimony of George T. Harding that he never loved but one woman. This bears out her story that he tried to cheat the second Mrs. Harding. But it makes him out a gay deceiver of women once more in his old age. Of course, he deceived his real mate, Elizabeth Dickerson, by proposing to wish to support her.

The old man and the old writer of the Harding story have both tried to make out that he was a good provider for his large family, and that Mrs. Elizabeth was a very happy woman.

Unfortunately, for the beauty of this story, it happens that the very naive Warren has himself spoiled it by spilling some facts. One thing that he has said in an interview is that whenever the children got hungry, they either went down the road to Grandmother Dickerson, or up the road to Grandfather Harding and got food in plenty. Another of these naive statements was that they always ate at their grandparents on feast days and often on Sundays. Still another was that the children all worked at the neighbors' as soon as they were big enough to do anything at all. Still another statement was that their only real poverty was in respect to clothes. Now we have but to add two or three more facts to get the whole situation. One fact is that Mrs. Dickerson Harding, mother of Warren, went out as midwife and also as nurse and even as servant frequently. A second is that the George Tryon family got their little farms from their blood kin as tenants. A third is that all the children had very much cut-down educations. In other words, the father, mother and children were drifters in a rich countryside, protected from poverty by the good nature of all their neighbors and by the pity that they felt for a white woman with a black husband, so-called. Of course, this was unusual, though there were many negroes about. Mixed unions were not the common thing. Fifty years ago, more than half of the Blooming Grove people had negro or Indian blood, or both.

Another of the pleasant fictions in which the Republicans have indulged is the printing of the alleged birthplace of Warren. This is a house only thirty years old. His log cabin shack was burned down long ago. Indeed the family occupied it only a few months, and the truth is that his mother gave him birth in her own bed chamber at the Dickerson house, for at this time the two were not yet living in a home together.

We have the affidavit from the present Dickerson family that they acquiesced in the mating solely because their sister was pregnant when they found it out that she intended to consort with this negro youth from the army.

It is important here to recall that of the more than 3,000,000 boys in blue, no less than 275,000 were negroes, and no less than 700,000 were foreign-born. Colored men and boys with firearms helped to whip the Southern whites, who did not arm their loyal negroes.

Mrs. Harding herself often said that she "married" George T. only because he wore soldier stripes and blue.

It may be worth while to take the picture of her as she is portrayed, first, by the Republicans; second, by her neighbors; third, by the photographer.

Mrs. Baker says that she was tall and willowy, with a lovely singing voice, and very industrious. She had light brown hair, and was pale.

The neighbors report that she was always overworked; that she did not have very much interest in anything except babies and sick people; and that she was always penniless. They say that she was very amiable.

The picture of her that has come down shows her at forty years of age, with very dark hair, a thin, anxious face, and poorly dressed. On the other hand, her children are fat and cheerful in their early pictures.

Of course, Mrs. Elizabeth Harding was a very good woman, but having poor judgment; else she would not have taken up with this imposter. She had TEN children and was as good a mother to them as any woman in poverty can be.

She was the youngest of all her family, their pet; the Dickersons were among the superior people of the neighborhood, far above the Hardings. Her union with

this George Tryon was a heavy blow to her old parents. It came when she was twenty-one years old, and she was without anything more than a very elementary rural schooling. Her parents and her mate never cared for books; nor did she make a reading man of her son, Warren.

It is also to be remembered that these ten children were never at home together. Warren, the eldest, had cut loose long before the youngest was born.

There are, of course, hundred of stories afloat about how the President of the United States behaved when he was a boy, and what he did. These are not of the Lincoln type. There are no stories of study late into the night; or of kindness to animals. They are indeed the stories of a people who were crude and illiterate and who took some of the serious things of life as jokes. One Harding himself tells. Once when he was going to Grandfather Harding's to spend Thanksgiving with them, on the way near the farmhouse he saw the turkey gobbler that was to be the *piece de resistance* for the repast, and he threw a stone and killed it. His grandfather could not find the bird, and they had to have chicken instead; but later the dead fowl was found and they charged Warren with the killing. This he stoutly denied until they proved it on him, when one and all took the affair as funny. This does not strike one as a white people's way of dealing with such a matter; and when one looks upon the face of Charles A. Harding in his daughter's home in Blooming Grove, one does not take the face for that of a pure Caucasian, either.

All the neighbors report that Warren was very disobedient when a child and had to be soundly thrashed by one or the other parent; he had an especially violent temper. Once he was expelled from school, and the

teacher would not take him back ; but the family moved to another farm, and he started on again.

The peregrinations of these George Tryon Hardings were from Blooming Grove to Steam Corners, a mile away ; here now lives the very aged mother of his motor car chauffeur. She lives a widow with an old man a widower. This old woman is a chair-bound invalid of large size, with many stories to tell of Warren, whom she tended when he was a baby. There was a story diligently circulated by the Republicans throughout Ohio among the white people that their candidate was born in Pennsylvania and was not a Blooming Grove man at all. The women of several cities still believe this, and old Mrs. Blacksten, which is the name of this aged woman, was furious at the denial that this particular man, for whom her son worked, was the Republican candidate for the Presidency. She also insisted that she had often seen him naked and that he was dark like all the Hardings. But on this point, the testimony of all was unanimous.

She admitted, as did all the Hardings, that there was a story afloat that they had negro blood ; but this did not interest her. Negroes were too common to disturb her peace.

Another story is that when Warren was about twelve years old he was employed to do some field work in September ; he was to get fifty cents for the day ; and he worked just five minutes, saying then that the work was too hard ; it was shucking corn. This story is told by the son of the farmer who employed Warren, who at this time had no power to stick to anything. Perhaps if he had possessed this power, he would have not become useful to the Republican plutocrats later ; he does not possess much pertinacity even yet.

The rural schools lasted about five months in Morrow County at this period, and Warren went to them

until he was fifteen years of age, though he was not a regular pupil in attendance nor at all apt in his studies.

From Steam Corners he went to New Caledonia, where there still live many persons who remember his few years there quite well. Two of them run the bank there. He seldom knew his lessons; but big for his age and hearty. They always called him "Nigger," because he looked so black when wet with the water when they went swimming together.

At Iberia there was a small school with the grandiloquent name "Ohio Central College." This name has fooled all the Republican biographers of Warren, who imagine that he was very brilliant and got into college at fifteen years of age. These people do not know the educational history of Ohio, and they mean not to learn it.

This institution was founded in order to educate the fugitive slaves. It was a one-building philanthropic affair maintained by gifts from religious people in small sums. It never had any endowment. The whole affair represented an investment of but a few thousand dollars. To this day, a college can be founded in Ohio by any one who gets \$100,000 together. Iberia College never saw any such sum. It had sometimes two or three teachers, some times four or five. The boys and the girls had to room out where they could, except such as did manual labor for their tuitions, for whom there were provided in the recitation hall, the only building, some beds, occupied by two or three together. The school had a very general collection of studies. They took an illiterate and gave him lessons in reading. They took a big boy or girl who wished to become a rural teacher and taught him some United States history and grammar and arithemetic. This was the course that Warren pursued. In all, at this

time there were forty or fifty young persons all from the neighborhood going to Iberia College. There were no courses such as the title indicates; none. Even today, "a business college" is not a college.

At seventeen years of age, Warren quit this school and, according to his own statement, went to teaching winters and to doing teamster's work summers; and also did some railroading. Professor Chancellor and the investigators for several newspapers, after spending several weeks upon this phase of the matter after the election was over, and he was free to do as he pleased with their help, found that no school in which Warren ever taught could be located, which proves nothing, because many rural schools have been burned down. None of the country people remembered that he ever taught school. Nor did they remember that he ever did any teaming in that neighborhood.

What was found was that in this period, viz., while Warren was from seventeen to nineteen years of age, a man from Morrow County named Harding served in the United States army, but deserted in the very years that Warren says that he taught school. But this again proves nothing, for there were hundreds of Hardings; and the War Department has declined to furnish the evidence on the ground that it never helps to incriminate any man.

But it so happens that when Warren was seventeen years of age, he did not know how to play upon any musical instrument, but that at twenty years of age, he knew several. It also happens that he has a very good personal knowledge of many things about the army. It also happens that he hates military life and is a pacifist. All this proves nothing. A physician who had occasion to administer medical treatment to Warren for several years after he moved there, says that Warren had a military way with him and gave

evidence of having had troubles sometimes associated with military life. But there is no legal evidence on this point.

He did arrive in Marion when he was just about twenty years of age; he went there to join his father. The next five years are all within the evidence. Many persons have written them up. Jack Warwick, in particular, did so in Republican newspapers; he had been his printing partner for a while.

But hundreds of persons now alive in Marion and elsewhere remember this, the worst period of Harding's life.

He came to Marion to a family hard pressed to get food and shelter. He was a roustabout. He did whatever his hands could find to do, and he did not do these things well. He gave no evidence to anyone of having any future.

At this time, Marion was undergoing a very rapid industrial development; and there were many strangers coming into the city, especially foreigners and negroes. No one ever then thought of Warren as anything else than a colored man. He was still called "Nig."

He did not take up any regular work, did not try to become a machinist in the steel works. He felt out of the current. But he had plenty of muscular strength, and good wits, and by keeping on with his parents, to whom he had now returned, he managed to get along. He was a persistent frequenter of saloons and played all the familiar games, crap included. He liked to go to the skating rink, and get in with the various girls.

Marion never was a clean city, and Warren felt at home in it soon. A few persons were making fortunes in it; and they cared nothing whatever save for their money.

The man who roomed with Warren Harding for the two years that he spent in reviewing the elementary

courses in preparation for becoming a teacher, himself a pro-German during the World War, as he now insists, but who voted against him all the same in November, 1920, explains that the only peculiarities of Warren during the two years that he knew him were two: He liked to talk all the time in the debates that the boys had and to give declamations and to write, though no one could understand what he had to say, and he liked to make friends; he would make up with anyone. He had outgrown the childish hot temper and was notably affable. In other words, the higher instinct from his superior heredity in this respect were getting control.

Now this explains why Warren became a printer and joined with two partners in a little paper. The city had one paper, which was successful; but the Hardings were red-hot Republicans, as why should not all G. A. R. negroes be Republican? The leading paper was Democratic.

The Republican party has been a machine for extracting more than a hundred million dollars every year for the G. A. R. pensions out of the ultimate consumers for the benefit of the protective tariff lords and of the "old soldiers." It set free the negroes and it gave to them the franchise. Negroes belong in the Republican party.

The problem was how to get press and paper together and get out a daily issue.

Originally, it appears that the Hardings became associated with this fantastic enterprise in the following manner: About 1884 from a small printing office in Marion was occasionally issued a small paper dubbed the scandal sheet and whose proprietors were in financial straights. J. O. Sickles, with a little money, and Jack Warwick with a little experience, in a spirit of venture, took over the plant. As natives of Caledonia they knew Warren Harding, who at this time was

temporarily working on the Democratic paper of Marion. He also had a little experience and better acquaintance in Marion and having nothing else to offer him to join them in the enterprise, Sickles and Warwick offered him a third interest to join them in their shop. So the arrangement stood until Sickles withdrew full of experience but lighter in pocketbook. His interest was disposed of to Dr. George Tryon Harding for promissory note and several vacant lots of little value. Eventually the note was paid, which accounts for the doctor's claim to having financed the enterprise. The doctor admitted his inability to consider the deal for cash.

At this time he was forty-three years old, encumbered with a little real estate of doubtful value and the care of eight living children, a ninth and middle one having died just previously of diphtheria, under his personal care. The oldest man of the group was Jack Warwick, so far as we can find out. Warren set type, wrote news and fed the presses; occasionally he got advertisements. Their support, small as it was, came from three sources—soreheads against the Democratic daily, bitter partisan Republicans, and persons who sympathized with the young men. They were bucking a monopoly at a time when Marion had some ten thousand people.

What with paper to pay for even at the then low price of paper, and the small subscription list, and very few advertisers, generally the week showed no money to distribute for the livings of the partners. At this time, Warren borrowed money from friends—"hand-outs." There are persons who then lived in Marion and are still alive who say to this day Warren has never paid them back. True or false, such is his reputation. We have explained elsewhere how, with this

reputation, he was able, in 1920, to get a large majority of the votes.

It has been reported that the change in the original partnership was due to the progressive tendency of Warren and the disagreement about the installment of a telephone in the office, but his partner says that the change was due to financial causes of which one was the result of a trip by Warren to Chicago, taking with him \$150 of partnership money with which to secure a second-hand press for the shop.

He stayed ten days, came back penniless, without having shipped or paid for the press, but with the tale of a swell time. Jack Warwick then undertook the trip with complete success, at less cost of time and money. Not long after, Sickles left the business. Whether this or Warren's version is the real cause of Sickles leaving, one thing is true, and that is, that Sickles is the man who started Warren G. Harding in the newspaper game.

At this time there was in Marion a very rich man, said to have been at the time the richest man in the little city, a banker named Amos Kling. His age was about fiftyfive. He had three children, two sons and a daughter. This girl had united herself with a man named Harry de Wolf, but she did not take the situation as very serious, frequenting the skating rink of the little city and neglecting her one child, a boy, and this mate. What we here report is a court record.

So flagrant was her style of living that her father would have nothing to do with her. Unhappily, her mother was dead.

Harry decided to get an annulment of the mating. Each set up a date when an alleged wedding took place. Harry set a date that showed that the boy was born soon after the union; while Florence set up a much earlier date. In the court on the show-down, it ap-

peared that there had never been any wedding. The court would not even construe the case as a common law marriage, but did in a fashion release Harry, who soon after married and went to Colorado, where, after begetting two more children who concern this record, he died. He claimed he got tuberculosis from drinking, and that the conduct of his first mate drove him to drink.

At the skating rink long before the annulment of the relation by the court, Warren became acquainted with Florence, as did many other men. Gradually, in her way, but with inherited thrift, she acquired enough money to buy a house of her own. This house was not given to her by her father, as the Republicans falsely allege.

Years went by. Florence Kling de Wolfe, so-called, made it a habit to spend hours every day at the printing shop, often publicly caressing Warren. She begged him to marry her. Warren did not see this at first; but in view of the saving of rent, he did take her as his wife. Kling was even angrier than ever. He bought the mortgage on the building rented by Warren and his partners and tried to force them out. The legal contests resulting are a part of the common gossip of Marion to this day. Florence Kling became business manager of the paper to show her father what blood could do. She never went to his house, and Warren was forbidden to go there.

This warfare between Amos H. Kling and his son-in-law and daughter is what made each of them what they have become. To fight the richest man of a city is in itself a course that creates sympathy. New people came in who did not remember the old situation, and who would not believe the old stories. There was no sudden reform in the young man or his six-years'-older wife; but they had a fight to keep alive, to get

food and clothing. Warren never ceased to frequent the saloons and to play poker, which he played well enough not to lose money. But he began to see that work is a necessity. His notion that Amos would relent and give money to his daughter died out, and there grew in its place a desire to show the old man that he could get along without him. Florence went among the bankers and borrowed money to put the STAR on its feet. They sold stock on the co-operative plan to their own printers; mostly they employed women and young men; but they got a very good editor named Van Fleet. And the Republicans, needing an organ, helped them more and more.

There is one picture given by Warwick that helps to an understanding of the relations of Warren to the others. Every few days he would go out and invest a half dollar in chewing tobacco that he tied by a string to a post in the composing room, and he and the others would take their jackknives and whittle off a piece as long as it lasted. He was what in Ohio they call "common," meaning that he was just like the other fellows; he "put on no dog." There was a considerable income from job advertising—circulars, posters, etc.—from the tradespeople, theaters, etc. To this, Warren gave much personal attention, having almost nothing to do with the money affairs and the outer office.

Warwick left the business and moved on, as peripatetic printers will. He says frankly in the series of articles that the Republican papers ran, that he had no idea that Warren Harding would ever amount to anything or ever rise to great heights.

All Ohio people talk politics, and talk it most of the time. Poker games are a very common scene for political plans. Newspaper offices talk politics. These were the two great interests of Warren, who saw so

much of his wife at the printing shop that he did not bother to spend his evenings with her.

About the time when Harry de Wolfe died in Colorado, without accomplishing his threat to kill Warren before he did go himself, and the time when the one de Wolfe child died, who had been born to Mrs. Harding (though de Wolfe at times disputed its paternity, which he attributed to another man, however, than Warren), the big printer conceived the notion that he would like to get some of this easy political money.

It is well to pause here and consider some of the peculiar social ideas of Ohio. One is that teachers, preachers and officeholders belong to the inferior classes. There are but few States in which these three lines are held in as deep contempt as in Ohio. But editors were considered even lower, and printers still lower. The big men in Ohio, the high-class people, are the rich, especially the bankers. There were so many colleges—seventy-five at this time used the name—that educational degrees and diplomas were at a discount. With such an institution as Ohio Central College using the name we need not wonder at this. Warren thought that a political office would get him some money, and he desired office for this reason alone.

He was now thirty-four years old—it was 1899—and he happened to live in a senatorial district of the State where the Democrats always had easy pickings for election, but where the Democratic Senator was about through. Few Senators served over two or three terms. A very weak man was being put up by the Democrats. Warren had met Daugherty, and he now got some advice from him. Daugherty agreed to send out some fine speakers and to make a big fight for him. Even then Daugherty knew that Warren was a negro, but he thought that for this very reason, if

Warren should win, he would be a pliant servant for himself in the Legislature.

Warren got the nomination easily, and all the Republicans anticipated that he would be thoroughly licked, of course.

The Marion district lies just northwest of Columbus, the home of Daugherty. It was easy to send out many speakers. One more Senator for Daugherty at this time in but thirty-three in all meant a lot to him in his fight for power. Daugherty was then forty years old. There was a tremendous fight, but it was made not by Warren Harding, but by old Amos Kling against Daugherty and against his son-in-law as a nigger.

Amos was then about seventy years old. But he jumped into the fray and canvassed every county, taking several men with him. He had made many enemies by refusing loans to farmers. He was not a good public speaker. Warren was kept hidden from the people who had never seen him in order not to verify the charge that he was colored. He spoke only where he was already known. The people were told that the rich man was "a mean old thing," who had let his daughter go to work and would not help her in her financial troubles.

Negroes were all lined up *sub rosa* for their colored brother; and the foreigners were told to vote for the poor man against the candidate of the rich man.

The election was close; but the colored man won, as colored men have often won in Ohio. The talk of race prejudice was worked where it would work, and the color was denied wherever that seemed advisable. The result was that Warren Harding was put on the track that eventually brought him to the White House.

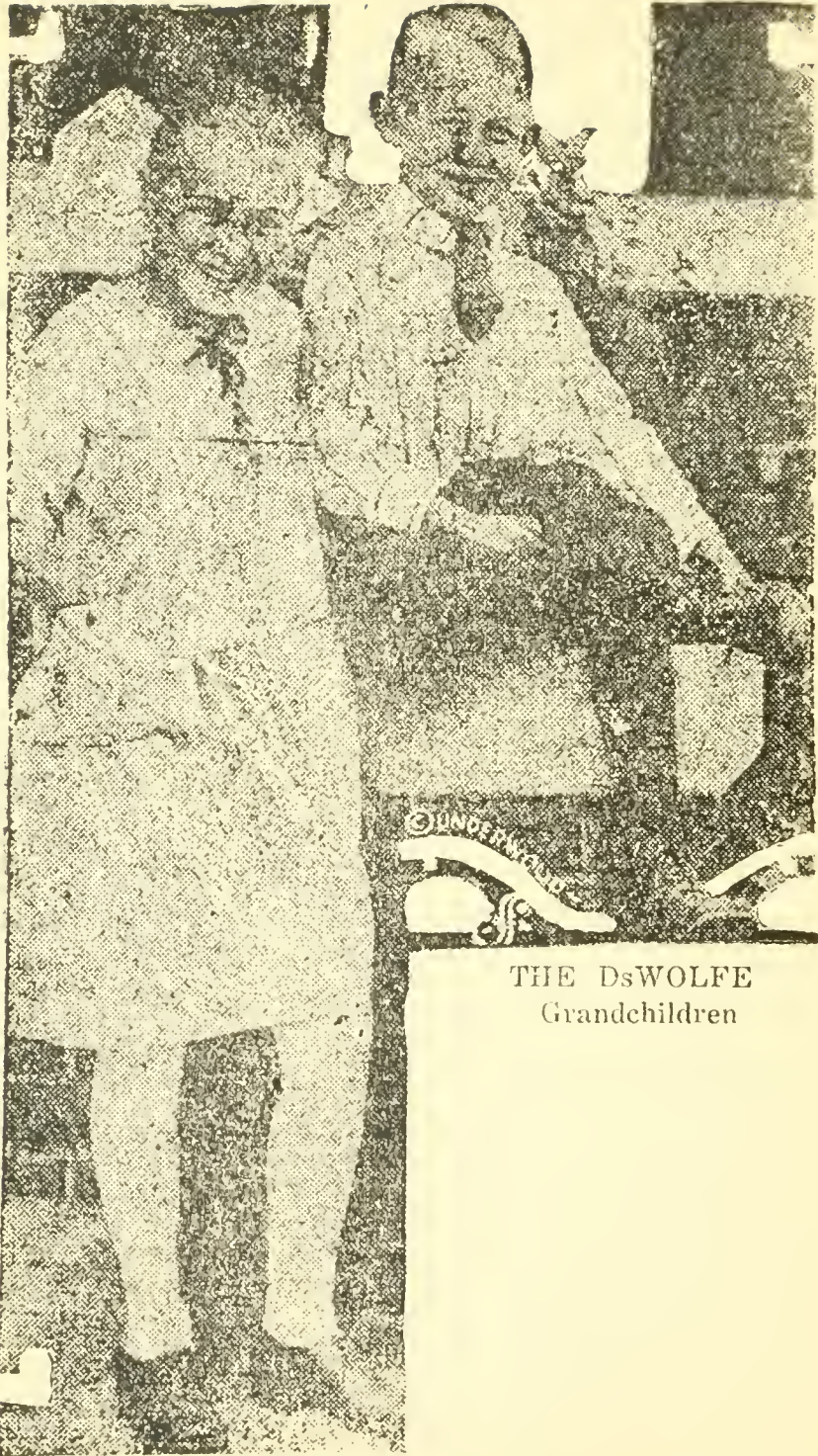
His nomination for Lieutenant Governor was brought about in 1904 in much the same way and he

was carried in on a Republican landslide to Roosevelt.

Save Warren Harding himself, no one knows just what he got financially out of these six years of office-holding other than salary and mileage—the total of which was about ten thousand dollars. After that his connection with THE STAR was not taken by him very seriously; he did some work as a printer, but in the main his time was spent in scheming to get into the United States Senate. He ran for the nomination several times, once against Daugherty himself—in order that one or the other should have it. Both lost. But the Marion newspaper man benefitted in indirect ways by all this political publicity. There are always interests that desire newspaper support, and he was given small holdings in various local enterprises for his influence—including a brewery and a bank. The total was not large, but it was all on the right side of the ledger.

His health was often in sour condition from heavy drinking and night excesses. Several attacks are known to have occurred of delirium tremens, when he was taken to the Marion sanitarium managed by Doctor C. E. Sawyer, now Admiral of the United States navy, and personal attendant upon his very distinguished patient.

Let no person imagine that THE MARION STAR was a great money maker. The Hardings together have never entirely owned it. There have been other stockholders and heavy debts. It is improbable that the average amount of money available to the Hardings from the property from 1904 to 1920 has been over three thousand dollars a year; and it is very doubtful whether in any year it ever has earned for them over five or six thousand dollars. It is no gold mine. And it is to be remembered that this represents



THE DsWOLFE
Grandchildren

the labor of Mrs. Harding rather than of her husband since 1899.

When Amos Kling died of the disappointment in seeing his plans to ruin his son-in-law defeated and to rid himself of the disgrace of having such a person in his family, he left an estate of over a million dollars; but not one dollar to them. The sentimental race equalitarians may object to this. Strangely enough, he made some provision for the other two children of poor de Wolfe, not much but enough to show that he had a warm heart after all. These are the two children whom Harding and his wife in one interview claimed as their own, together with the two little children of one of these two, already now married, but without a drop of Kling or Harding blood.

How can these things be?

How did Jezebel ever get to be Queen over Israel? How came Nero, Caligula, Galba, Claudius to rule in Rome? How did Catherine de Medici ever get her power? How did it happen that Aaron Burr was once Vice-President of the United States?

He was defeated for the Presidency itself by ONE VOTE.

There are many stories told of how seriously Kling took this marriage of his daughter to Warren Harding. To one sheriff of a county in the district he told that it was hell just to be alive with such a person closely related to himself.

A man who had been a business associate for many years, but who witnessed the wedding of the two (described by Kling in unprintable words), was ordered never to speak to him again; and shut out from all loans from the Kling bank.

Much has been made of an alleged reconciliation between Warren and Kling. The facts are that in his extreme old age, Kling decided to marry again; and the woman whom he chose, believed that his hatred for Florence was shortening his life. She persuaded him

to allow his daughter to come to see him occasionally.

At the time of his trip to Florida, the newspapers were told that many years before then, Warren had visited Amos Kling in his Florida home. This was not Amos Kling at all, but a son of one of Kling's brothers. And it was not a visit but a mere afternoon call for a few minutes.

Amos Kling had no Florida home; he went there several times to stay in hotels.

It will, of course, be said that he should have brought up his daughter better; if so, she would never have bought Warren Harding for a husband; and without her to pay his bills, he would have been a plain failure and soon out of life itself. She has been whatever good genius he has had. She has run his campaigns for him, and she has written the best speeches he ever read. The rise of Florence Kling will remind students of history of Theodosia, wife of Justinian, and of Catharine de Medici in their origin and success.

The campaign for the United States Senatorship in 1914 tells the inside of Ohio politics. Daugherty and Harding had been getting in bad for several years; 1914 saved them.

Until Judson Harmon became Governor of Ohio and Timothy S. Hogan became State Attorney General for various vicious election methods, Ohio had nothing to learn from, and something to teach to, even the Republican Gas Ring in Philadelphia.

Hogan now has a law office from which he can look down upon the State Capitol of Ohio in Columbus; in ability and character, in personality, and in his actual record until he was unhorsed by the righteousness that is in him, he is one of the best men Ohio or any other State has ever produced.

We hear much of the ignorance of the country folk in the Appalachians. They are far away from civiliza-

tion; but the ignorance of many country folk in Ohio is quite as dense. They read no papers; they have no books, perhaps not even a Bible; magazines are unknown to them. They do know that there is a Government at Washington, but its relations to themselves are unguessed at. They do not understand the government even of Ohio. One such county was Adams; not far from Cincinnati, upon the Ohio River. Here voters were bought not "in blocks of five" as in the old days of 1880 in Indiana, but wholesale; everyone sold his vote. This county was not the only offender; but it was one of the worst. Into this county Attorney General Hogan went and punished those who had broken the Ohio Corrupt Practice Act, the convicted offenders include both the bribers and the bribed. By it no one can legally talk about politics within a certain prescribed distance of the polling booth. And only the regularly appointed officers can help even a blind man to vote.

By convicting and securing the punishment of some hundreds of persons, Hogan made himself hated by politicians of all parties. He exposed too much.

In addition, he is a very brilliant speaker, and many leaders hated him as being far abler than themselves.

And he is a Roman Catholic. There is a notion in some parts of Ohio that a Roman Catholic is a good deal worse than an infidel or an atheist. In some parts of Ohio it is taught to the children that even an Episcopalian is a Catholic and an enemy of the Republic. To be a Roman Catholic Democrat is to arouse a fury of resentment in some persons who profess to be disciples of Jesus Christ. But the Democrats decided to risk the United States Senatorial campaign in Ohio all the same upon this glorious apostle of honest government; and Daugherty accepted the challenge by running Warren G. Harding against him. It

looked to many as though Warren was in for another defeat; but what with the anti-Catholics, the wets, the G. A. R., the negroes, the politicians of both parties, the hide-bound high-tariff and stand-pat Republicans, the race-sentimentalists who believe in race-equality provided it does not concern their own daughters, Daugherty proved to be the better guesser, and Warren Harding went in in the off-year

In commenting upon this result, Professor William Estabrook Chancellor, the white man, not the colored man named William Chancellor who worked for the Republicans, said in a letter to one of his friends in New England: "You say that the election of Harding as Senator proves that he cannot have any negro blood. Just how you figure this out I cannot understand. You are a Republican and in politics. Suppose that a brilliant Roman Catholic attorney, who hates corporations when they are dishonest, had shown up your party to the tune of several hundred bribers and bribed, would you have voted for him or for a colored man who was loyal to your party? You are yourself a rabid race-equalitarian. You belong to the people who voted to give the franchise to the negro because your fathers voted for Charles Sumner. There are 400,000 negroes in Ohio. Would you have played them double in this case? I judge not. What the vote for Harding proved was not that he has no colored blood, but that a majority of Buckeyes, of whom I am one by birth, and two generations of forefathers, like a complacent, convenient black Republican tool better than a fine-spirited white Democrat; and it proves nothing else."

They now have their black man in the White House, and after a while they will learn what this means. That light house will prove to be a track combers lure.

It is a curious thing that in every group photograph

ever taken where Warren appears he has shown the deepest color. This was commented upon even in 1914—what does it mean? When a person has negro color it shows in photographs because they register depth of pigmentation. There is no way to avoid this except to be skinned and have a new skin grafted on.

It was about 1906 when he left the Lieutenant Governship that Warren Harding began seriously to try to get rid of the story that he has colored blood.

Then also his father began to show some spirit in the matter. But when Warren arrived in Washington, he met there in the Senate several men who knew the truth. One by one he took them aside and asked them to keep the matter quiet, admitting its truth. One such was Senator Atalee Pomerene, who, however, has told many persons about the affair. Pomerene has now given out that he will not run again in 1922 for the United States Senatorship from Ohio. He cannot stomach the notion of serving in the Senate under a negro President.

There are many stories about this consciousness that they are now playing a part, both father and son.

In 1905, there was preaching in Marion a man who is still a preacher, but now located elsewhere with both Republicans and Democrats in his congregation. This good man reports that one evening in the year cited, Doctor George Tryon Harding told his wife, in a conversation not sought by her upon a public street corner, that because he was a negro, he found it hard to make a living, and asked her to ask her husband to recommend him to the people of their church. A very close relative of this preacher, then and now living in Marion, says that the wife reported this to her, and that she saw Doctor George Tryon Harding soon thereafter and that he admitted saying this, and asked her for help. At this time, his oldest son was Lieutenant

Governor, and a daughter was teaching in the Marion High School, where she still teaches.

When Professor Chancellor went first to Marion, on the errand of trying to find out the record of this man—he has often given public addresses there—five high school boys, all of the same car, told him that they always called Harding a “nigger,” and his sister also. One of these boys was himself a negro, and he was the only one among them who was not wearing a Cox button. As we have seen, Marion, however, went for Harding; and we have given the reasons.

Yet the Republican Board of Education and City School Superintendent have, since the election, named the city high school, the Harding High School, and thereby insulted all the white youth in attendance; they have done more than this—they have forbidden, in what was once free America, their teachers to discuss the politics.

It is perfectly safe to predict that—

1. The name of the Harding High School will be changed soon.

2. This order for silence will be rescinded soon, for it is not only infamous, but is also detractive to the Republicans themselves. It so happens that there is on the Marion (Harding) High School staff a woman who was Chairman of the Marion County Democratic Committee, and who in that capacity made speeches about the League of Nations; of course, she knew the truth about the color of the Hardings, and she told it. The order forbidding her to talk politics was passed after the election. Next time, the women of Marion County will vote Democratic because that order interferes WITH THE GOD-GIVEN RIGHT OF ALL WOMEN TO TALK.

Of course, this order is contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

So was the order to seize and destroy the manuscripts of Professor Chancellor.

Let the Republicans fill up the cup of their iniquity; they will drink it themselves. Like Haman, they have built a gallows upon which they themselves will be hung until they are dead, as dead as the Whig and Federalist parties.

There lives in Marion a native-born old man, who has been a judge of court, a cripple and an invalid in his old age.

After the election, getting a six-foot young pro-German, with a German name, to help him, Doctor George Tryon Harding, cane in hand, on a public street attacked this old man because he told exactly what the Black Republicans had been paid to tell other Black Republicans that the Hardings are niggers. This was fully reported in the newspapers, even the Republican ones, which took great delight in the anecdote.

But it made Democratic votes all the same. 1922 and 1924 will show a come-back.

Suppose that the Republicans could silence free speech in America, as they have gagged the press with money. Where would their own children come in? You can stop, let our Republican neighbors understand this, free public speech; but you can never stop mouth-to-ear gossip and slander; but can you stop *sub rosa* pamphlets? Try it and see. What tyrants have failed to do, the plutocracy will quickly fail in trying to do.

A gang of Republicans at night entered the office of a rich old Democrat in Marion and stole all his papers. He had been corresponding with other free Americans about the negro ancestry of Warren Harding. Cannot the Democrats retaliate? Where is this crime going to end?

Old Doctor George Tryon Harding, everyone of whose neighbors resents his presence on their street,

in his interview with McClure's Magazine ended the stuff by saying that he had some scores to settle with those who have been lying about him. He himself told one of the richest Republican women in the city that he knew that he had negro blood and that some people said that he had Indian blood. This same admission was made many times in the presence of former business partners of Warren. For what is he seeking Indian revenge? In order himself to be ambushed some night and taken away to some remote cave for a few years? You reap what you sow.

Truth is that the Republicans are sowing the wind, and that, of course, they must reap the whirlwind.

Already old Mrs. George M. Pullman has died of the shame of the discovery that she spent two million dollars trying to get her son-in-law chosen for the Republican nomination. Half-Indian Jake L. Hamon is dead in the same horrible mess. Where is this Republican horror to end? They are inviting the wrath of God.

What James I. could not kill; what cost Charles I. his head; this is the spirit of liberty. For this Peter Zenger, in 1735, made his fight in New York, for the right to find and speak the truth in the fear of the Almighty only.

Nevertheless pressed by his ambitions and by his brunet-aged wife, Warren Harding has been trying to convince himself that he has too little negro blood to count. He is too ignorant to know that **THE PAST IS ADAMANT**. It takes a dull man to try to change it.

In this fierce struggle in his mind, Warren went, in 1915, to Washington. He was absent in the next five years from 1300 roll calls for votes. He voted wet when he did vote, and he voted anti-suffrage. He made very few speeches, none of them long. Every time the tariff was mentioned he showed some interest. There

are several reasons for this. He stopped what little schooling he has experienced when he was seventeen years old, an epoch when the school world was under the control of high protective tariff teachers; and he has learned nothing since. The other reason is that the manufacturers of Marion are high protective tariff men, and own the banks also; he has always catered to them in THE STAR. That is why THE STAR exists. Every negro desires a master. He reverences the man who can tell him what is what and how to do it; he never asks why; that is too much for his type of brain tissue. Who has financed his political campaigns anyway?

No poorer record was ever made in the United States Senate by a man serving five and a half years than was made by this man; he was merely a creature of his creators, and not a good one in some ways at that. But he looked well, and he prevented a free trade Democrat from filling the place and the newspapers also with his arguments.

While much more might be told in detail of the record of Harding until the political campaign of 1920, there is nothing worth telling beyond more corroboration of the main point. He was in training, severe training for the business of doing just what his masters of the plutocracy were to tell him as President to do.

There were fully fifty thousand negroes in New England at the time when the Hardings say they moved out of Connecticut. Many other negroes also moved out.

There are still negroes and Indians of almost pure blood living in Caucasian clothes and according to Caucasian manners in New England. Proving (?) that they came from New England does not prove that the

Harding blood is all white. They evidently know nothing of New England.

It is quite possible that the Harding pose is a combination of Indian chief and Ethiopian chief also. It worked beautifully in the Presidential campaign of 1920. As it had also worked in the Senate.

CHAPTER IX

RACES OF MANKIND

It is wicked to assert the equality of men or of races.

The glory of men is in that all differ—one star differeth from another.

It is wicked to desire the amalgamation of all races; and only the unscientific imagine that this will ever come to pass in America.

Climates vary too much; the original germ plasms differ too much. Ideas differ too much. Abilities to make livings and other adjustments to one another and to the earth differ.

The man who believes that ultimately all Americans will be light saffron yellow knows nothing of historical anthropology.

The differences between men and the races of men concern everything that man is.

Men have different gods; they have different brains, different skins, different sense, powers, different instincts.

The wickedness consists in denying the truth; it consists also in asking one man to do something because other men can do it. It relieves the great and strong from doing what they should do for the lesser. It is thoroughly unchristian.

There are many races, and the men of each race differ from one another.

There are in America representatives of every race and hybrids of them all.

The so-called white race consists of brunets and

blonds and grades between—the melanchroics, the xanthrochroics, and the grades.

All whites have thin skins and can blush; that is, their blood cells fill up and make them redder upon the moment when there are strong emotions of certain kinds.

Negroes cannot blush; nor can Indians. This does not mean that they do not feel shame; but that they do not show it uncontrollably.

The true negroes are all black or brown. The true Indians are all reddish brown.

There is a typical negro head shape. There is a typical white head shape. There is a typical red head shape for the Indians. No pure negro has a head shaped like the head of any white man; the same is true of the Indian.

In America, there are very few true negroes; nearly all negroes have Portugese or Spanish blood, for the sufficient reason that the slave traders saw to it that every negress who came into America had a half-white child, white in the sense that the Moor or Portugese or Spaniard is white. This is all well told in the book on the Slave Trade by a great negro named W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, who has negro, French, German, Portugese and Dutch blood. Only five per cent of city negroes are all negro; and in the rural districts the proportion does not rise above twenty-five per cent anywhere.

To say in America that any colored man is all black is a very risky thing so far as the truth is concerned; he probably has at least some white blood of the brunet stocks, if not of the blond stocks.

The typical negro head is relatively long, often fully eight and a half inches long. The white man seldom has a head over seven and three-quarters inches long. The negro sometimes has a head even a half-inch

longer, while such a head is very, very uncommon among white.

The typical negro head is relatively not of large measure from the ear entrances over the forehead; seldom more than thirteen inches; most of them measure but twelve inches.

The white man's head is usually fourteen inches in this measurement.

The negro has a low crown; his head seldom measures over the crown from the ear to entrance over thirteen inches.

The white man seldom goes under fourteen, and often rises to fifteen and a half.

The negro has a large measurement over the back head at its greatest, often fourteen inches; while the white man seldom goes above this.

Under the back head of the negro measures entirely different from the white man; he has little or no lobes. His back head comes to a peak in the level of the ears. The white man has a square or round back head. Look at Warren Harding, side view.

Here the negro comes to about nine inches, while the white man goes to ten.

This peak is unmistakable.

Theodore Roosevelt was mainly Dutch and Kelt, partly Huguenot French.

The friends, so-called, of Warren Harding claim that he is also French, Dutch and Kelt-Scotch. Take their two faces, the two front views, their two side views, and see which is the truth.

No one imagines that Warren Harding is a black or even a brown negro. He has china blue white eyes; his flatterers call them gray.

These eyes are set deep in caverns under the eyebrows and this by analogy is not a human compliment.

There is typical negro body pose. Look at the side view of Warren Harding.



PRESIDENT WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING

In a social study more recently of Washington city negroes and colored men, it was found that only one in eight is self-supporting; the other seven live upon women, their mothers, their wives, their sisters, even their grandmothers and daughters.

Of these self-supporting city negroes, very few are self-directing, and he has never supported his wife.

The buck nigger does not support any one else even when he works.

It is when one gets into the psychic life that one realizes the differences between races and the individuals within the same race.

Take the dominant traits.

The dominant of the red man is revenge. Another powerful trait inclination to do as he pleases. But at home his squaw rules him, and hoes the corn in the garden while he hunts beasts and men. Why does Warren Harding call his wife the Duchess

Pride and vanity consume alike the black man and the red man; each must save his face from the shame of the kinds he understands. Each is a consummate actor; each is forever on the masquerade in public.

To work like a nigger means only to work hard under the lash. All blacks and all reds hate work. A humble delight in work is a trait reserved to the yellow man and the white man.

Very few white men have either pride or vanity; so rare are these traits in white men that one always notices and remarks them when present in individuals, and marks them with scorn.

The negro, especially the colored man, loves words; he is musical and loves the sound of long words, especially those with "r" and "l" in them. But he does not understand the meaning of words. One has but to read the writings and speeches of Warren Harding to see that he knows no grammar, has no rhetoric and uses words for their mellifluousness, not for their meanings. His message to Congress on April 11, fully illustrates this. For instance, the impossible use of derive, where he spoke, using derive intransitively, without any object.

1. "The remaining obstacles which are the inheritance of capitalistic exploitation must be removed and labor must join management in understanding that the public which pays * * *

2. " * * * the public to derive and simple justice is the right and will continue to be the right of all the people."

3. "The staggering load of war debt must be cleared for ordinarily funding and gradual liquidation. We shall hasten the solution and aid effectively in lifting tax burdens if we strike resolutely an expenditure."

4. "Less of government in business as well as more business in government."

5. "There is no challenge to honest and lawful business success, but government approval of untrammelled business does not mean toleration of restraint of trade or on maintained prices by unnatural methods."

We submit here a few gems from the message of Warren Harding to Congress when it met in special session in April. These are all taken from a single part of this very important document, which one Massachusetts Congressman pronounced as the splendid utterance of our great chief, the President, Allen T. Treadway.

1. What the great President meant by the first sentence is known only to himself. What are the people to "derive?"

2. Since when did the grammarians permit "ordinarily" to be used as an adjective modifier?

3. What is it "to strike" resolutely an expenditure?

4. What is this, a sentence?

5. The last sentence, like the first, is a meaningless jumble of words.

One can now tell an original production by Harding; it is a collection of more or less melodious words

that have no content, no grammar, and no rhetorical propriety.

The dominant trait of a white man is love of his own family, especially of his wife and children, but also of his parents and other near blood kin.

Another very strong trait of the white man is prudence, far-sightedness.

Still another is a genuine love of truth. He will work to find the truth, the facts, the principles, for the mere sake of knowing them.

The white man loves industry itself; he enjoys work.

He loves property; and keeps all that he can of what he makes.

He pities the poor, the sick, the unforunate.

One has but to think of the negro and of the Indian in these terms to see how wide apart the races of men are. Neither knows pity.

There is even a difference in respect to their sex life—all men have more or less lust. But with the white man it results, in nearly all cases, in a passion to possess one woman and to support her publicly—to own her through her affections.

The white man who is typical will not marry an unchaste woman. He may be terribly selfish about this, but it is his race-instinct that makes him feel so.

We hear very much about the enormous amount of divorce in America; but the common facts are these: It is possible to go into whole churches and into whole villages and not to discover among all the people there a single case of divorce or adultery.

It is sometimes urged that everywhere there is vice but that in some such groups this is hidden; this is pure cynicism.

While the white man is not universally chaste before marriage, he is seldom unchaste after marriage.

Other traits might be enumerated to distinguish the pure races by typical individuals.

It is sometimes said that there are no pure races. The anthropologists know the truth. There are in America entire families all of whose children will have within an eighth of an inch in every measurement exactly the same style of head, boys and girls alike.

Here it should be remembered that red and black Kelts are twins, the hair color being a mere trick of old MOTHER NATURE.

Anthropologists have taken many measurements, even of first cousins, to find that they are almost identically alike.

Where children in the same family differ radically, there is evidence of hybrid origin. Here again it must be remembered that national political names are meaningless. There is not the slightest difference, anthropologically, between a German Saxon and English Saxon; or between a German Wurttemberger and an English Angle, for these are the same people in different habitats, slightly different, not enough to modify the body or the mind.

The Keltic Pole is exactly the same as the Rhenish Kelt and the Irish also.

Anthropology cuts under governments to realities.

Now when one comes to investigate a large family such as the Harding kin numbering now almost or quite one thousand descendants of old Amos Harding, one discovers that he is dealing with mongrels, with hybrids with mestizoes.

This is apparently a hateful thing to say; but the people who started it were the Republicans who set out to organize every new woman colored voter for their man, on the ground that he had negro blood. Otherwise, it would never have reached the ears of the scientists.

You cannot eat your cake and have it; the price of the vast negro vote is white investigation.

When the tissue sheets prepared by the Republicans first went out, and the news reached New England, those provincials imagined that William Chancellor, Professor of Political Economics, Wooster College, which is the exact way that some of the sheets read, was asserting that some Harding white man had violated race ethics by perpetrating a white child upon an unfortunate negro wench. As we have said before, the name of the Professor of Politics who had been also Professor of Economics at the College, was William Estabrook Chancellor, and the real Chancellor who got out (or in whose name these sheets were gotten out) was a black negro in the Harding district. But to proceed to the facts. This black negro desired every one to know that all the Hardings were black; that there was no "bar sinister" about it; that this Warren Harding belonged to his race just as he himself did, and that they were all Republicans from boyhood up.

When, contrary to his desire, William Estabrook Chancellor became involved in this because he would not lie about his belief, for he believed that these negroes were telling the truth, as indeed they were, he soon discovered that the "bar sinister" was all a part of the New England tradition; that there had been in Ohio no white Hardings; that what these white-colored Hardings men had done was to take as mates the ignorant white girls of their own neighborhoods, and he found that there had been very little bother about marriage with any of them. They simply mated almost always for life. Morals were not involved save as it is immoral to mix races, and perhaps immoral not to have a public marriage.

In that back country they were not supporting

ministers or justices of the peace; they were busy trying to support themselves and breed children.

Now the evidences are many that all the Hardings, descendants from Amos, have negro blood, as we have told elsewhere. But to any anthropologist—we are quoting here from one of the hundreds of letters that Professor Chancellor wrote before he left for parts unknown in order to escape the lawlessness of certain persons nominally in the pay of the Government, but actually the tools of plutocracy trying to defeat his law suits—the best evidence is in the father and ten children born to him. These TEN offspring of George Tryon Harding II, could not have born of parents of pure race. No one imagines that the mother was the cause of the exceeding variety of types in this brood; she was at least nearly all white. She may possibly have had some Indian blood, but there is no direct evidence on this point. Any who read this must get over the notion that most of the country people around Blooming Grove were white people; mostly they were colored people like the Hardings.

Of these TEN Harding children, of whom Warren is the oldest, not eight as Warren, through Jack Warwick would have you believe, nor five as the Republicans falsely said in order to conceal the black ones from the public gaze, some were very black, and two were quite light, and Warren was almost as light as these two. One finds in these TEN children all shades from dark brown to very light yellow or lemon green or saffron, for the color of the three who are most nearly white is hard to name.

Color, though the popular means of discrimination, is by no means the most useful means to the anthropologist. Mental and moral traits, physical modes of functioning, and race consciousness count far more than color.

After he grew up why did not Warren Gamaliel Harding resent his nickname "Nig"? For the sufficient reason, as he has told United States Senators, that he is proud of having negro blood. Every man is secretly proud of his race elements, as he ought to be. The white man's notion that the black man envies him is silly in itself. The black man despises him; so does the yellow man, and so does the red man.

It is true that Warren has the eye of the white man; but his sister, Mary, had the dark brown eye of the black race. Would any one accuse her mother of having had sexual relations with any other man than her ostensible husband? One of the children who died was very dark.

Did Warren Harding keep his promise that he would bring together all his family and let them be seen at the White House, in order to satisfy the American people on this point? He did not. Indeed, such a course might have had most serious consequences. His father shows plainly in his color, his manner, his walk, that he is partly negro. But why was not all this discovered long ago? It was. The Hardings never passed for white and never tried to do so until after the death of Amos H. Kling in the period when Warren was Lieutenant Governor. Not even then was there any sudden move. Herrick would not have stood for this. But as the family fortunes slowly improved, Warren slowly dropped his colored kin.

At Blooming Grove, it is said, that in the past fifteen years, Warren has visited there but once, and even then he passed through on a motor car tour, and did not stop or get out of the car. His own relatives told this to the reporters of several newspapers as well as the friends of Professor Chancellor.

But Warren is not a pure negro. One finds in him many mixed traits with some dominant. The Ameri-

can people would like to know now at the beginning of his administration what his dominant trait is, and what his other influential traits are.

His dominant trait is a love of ease. He likes to be well provided for. To have plenty to eat, plenty to wear, warm housing, tobacco to smoke, chew and take as snuff, for he revels in tobacco and in times past plenty to drink, for which habit in its final stages he was, on several occasions, treated in the private sanitarium of Dr. C. E. Sawyer, who has just been made an Admiral in the United States navy, where at public expense he will continue as Warren's private physician. This appointment also conveniently limits unwelcome scientific observation.

Give Harding ease and he is at peace with the world. He cares nothing whatever how the ease is secured. Because he loves ease, he is the perfection of procrastination; he hates to come to the time when he must do something. Do-nothing would be a far better name for him than Harding.

His next trait is caution, which he gets not from his Dutch ancestry but from his negro. He has no prudence, no prevision; he never bothered to learn geography on the notion that some day he might be a member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee; he knows nothing of international law or of ordinary law, in the prospect that some day he might become the head of our foreign affairs as president. But he has caution; he looks about circumspectly. He does nothing but waits with his eyes half open and his ears wide open to adjust himself to the turn of affairs. He is the typical man to whom things happen but who is ready for them when they happen. These are jungle traits.

He loves to appear more than what he is. This is the negro again. He likes to be well thought of. He

is a born imposter, poseur, mimic, masquerador. But he has no taste in this show. His wife has tamed down his original love of loud clothes and loud colors.

His desire to keep out of trouble is another trait. He can sidestep all blows. He makes no decisions that can possibly be avoided. This trait is in subordination to his male trait of love of ease. He will move rather than take a blow.

He hates fight; in which respect he is no Kelt like Andrew Jackson; and no Dutchman like Theodore Roosevelt. These men loved fighting for its own sake; Warren hates it. He is a born pacifist.

The Phillips case illustrates his sex instincts. Mrs. Phillips is the wife of a dry goods man in Marion, very showy and vain, with a passion for men. Jim Phillips is a poor little fellow who is the part owner of a store there.

This woman has made herself useful to men of a kind. She got in with Warren, who as usual, paid no attention to his own wife who is passeé through years.

On frequent occasions, even after the nomination, he and Mrs. Phillips visited together at Upper Sandusky. It is said that Herrick, who knew about this, went to Jim Phillips and offered to send both himself and the woman to Japan, with an income guaranteed monthly so long as Warren was President. It was reported in every stage of the affair just what was paid. The stake was \$25,000 down, and \$2,000 a month. The Phillips went to Japan early in October, but not until Mrs. Phillips, who is a very talkative woman, had told all her friends just what she was to receive. All that Warren said even privately was that he could get another woman.

Some of Warren's affairs with the ladies were almost disastrous, as, for instance, in the case where the police of the city of Washington were called to the

house of his regular lady friend to sober him up and stitch the cuts in his back which resulted, according to her, from a dispute over finances. Those interested may find and read it in the police records of 1918. This woman, who is about thirty-five years old, was never even rebuked for this almost fatal attack upon a member of the greatest deliberative body of the world.

This matter was given to the Democratic National Committee by the Department of Justice and the Washington police; but the Democrats were too decent to use it, despite the intense provocation from the abominable stories told of Woodrow Wilson in order to counteract the truth of this incident, which was official.

In sex morals Warren advocates no reservations. His marriage itself is evidence of this, for he married a woman whom we saw in the earlier part of this book had lived with a man and born him a child without any marriage. It should be remembered that the marriage was due to no delusions on either side. Only in the sequel did it appear which had won the higher prize.

The passion to use plenty of words that sound well, and the total inability to use them correctly is another trait of Warren's. It is on record that he makes sentences several hundred words long without any subjects.

What are these psychical traits? Negro,, Portuguese, Dutch!

He has no thrift; he has no sense of property; he has never managed business affairs. He does not keep his own business accounts. His wife manages for him. As in many other negro families, the woman is the main works.

Are there any evidences of Indian blood of which he has admitted publicly?

A certain reticence and strutting pride in his big body.

We have discussed the latter trait elsewhere.

His reticence is what has misled some people to thinking that he has no negro blood; but here the Indian has mastered the black man.

It has been urged that Warren Harding cannot be a negro because he is "no fool." Who says that the full grown negro is a fool? Certainly not those who know the negro.

Not one fool in a million lives to be fifty-six years old and to weigh two hundred pounds and to live as master in a house that cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. Of course, Warren Harding is not only no fool, but he is one of the cleverest men in America. He has put it over on 110,000,000 people.

As John D. Rockefeller is the biggest man in property in the United States, so Warren is for four years the biggest in government.

As to instincts he is "deep," with the depth of the Indian, full of subterfuges and of ambush and of counter-marching. He lay in ambush and trapped the American people.

One day he called two small children in from the street in Marion and had himself photographed with them as Grandpa Harding and his two grandchildren; the parents were furious, but the newspapers ran the pictures in a thousand cities. He is a clever man.

But neither he nor Mrs. Harding love children. They lost her child by de Wolf. They have never adopted any other children, not even black ones.

Warren loves games of chance with all the passion of the negro; but he plays a good game of poker. This is Dutch.

In a certain stage of dissolution, the black pigmentation of the octeroon, hexdecaroon, which about

measures this man, the pigment breaks into blotches; these blotches can easily be observed on Warren's neck.

It is another trait of the thinly colored man to take on heavy tan; when he came home from the Carribean, all the newspapers, even the Republican ones, reported that Harding has a very heavy coat of tropic tan; he was swart and almost black. The same statements were repeated when he came back from Florida. But generally Warren resorts, as do his sisters, to cosmetics in order to make himself look more white than he really is.

When he was in Nashville, he had been so thoroughly bleached by his barber and so entirely covered with talcum powder and rouge as to appear like a man in a mask. His brunet wife has enameled when she travels in order to appear a very white woman.

His sisters always wear veils in public. They carry parasols even on cloudy days.

Of all his family of TEN brothers and sisters, only three have married. One is almost white, the brother in Columbus, who is said to have two children; a second is Mrs. Remsberg, who lives in California, and who married a German, is said to have three children. He is the third to marry. Two died as children. The other five never married. Why not?

There is a club of colored millionaires in Chicago to which only millionaire negroes whose wives are white women can be admitted. Does his second cousin, C. E. Harding, belong to this club?

This is the Harding who is now having the family genealogy revised at any cost in order to cut out all the evidence that he and the other descendants of old Amos Harding are all negroes in part.

This is the Harding who recently loaned a twelve-year-old daughter to the President to live in the White House for a while and fool the American people. She

appears to be a nice child, with curls. It is said that this Harding is very close to Mrs. Georgia Harding Hamon, who supplied a million dollars to the campaign for the nomination.

Until he found how angry the American people were at being fooled with regard to himself, Warren Harding used to boast that he was a man of the future and that in the course of time all Americans would be mestizos like himself and the rest of the Hardings. But where do the Puritans and Cavaliers come in from Massachusetts and Virginia? Is Old England to have no representation in the future American? Some of us who have English blood will take a look into this matter whether the Afro-American of no English blood permits it or not.

Take the Cabinet. Hughes is a brunet Welshman, insensitive to the color of the President.

Mellon is an Irishman. He hates the British.

Daugherty is an Irishman.

Davis is a Welshman.

Hoover is a German by ancestry.

Wallace is Scotch. So is Denby.

Fall, Hayes and Weeks appear to be Scotch-Irish.

Where is the Englishman?

Of course, it is easy to answer that they are "all Americans". Why then the appeal to the German vote, the Irish vote? To every race under the canopy except the English?

It was said in the campaign that Harding would appoint negroes to high office. He virtually promised this in the Oklahoma speech, and there are many negroes angered because so far he has not seemed to do so. But take the D. R. Crissinger matter.

Crissinger was born in Blooming Grove, and has always been a friend of Warren's and a Democrat. When Warren was nominated, he organized the negroes

of that section for Warren. He arranged the William Chancellor propaganda. He is now the Controller of Currency under Harding. Is he a white man? Few in Blooming Grove are white all through. He does not look like an all-white man. Blood is thicker than water; is race thicker than politics?

The law of Ohio says that the charge that a man has negro blood is no slander. The jury in the now famous David Butler-Amos Smith case, elsewhere told, said it was no slander for Smith to call the wife of Butler, a Harding, a nigger. The Constitution of the United States makes no discrimination between races. Why then does Warren now care? He does not care. The whole movement to suppress the truth about Warren is the work of the people who do not believe in the justice and the wisdom of the pronouncement of Harding in Oklahoma and elsewhere that no discrimination should ever be made; and Warren thereby gets everything coming and going. He professes race equality and practiced it in his own marriage; but he takes the help of those who hate the notion.

There will be a showdown; the state of public opinion in the Union demands it.

So long as instincts are registered in grey matter called nerve tissue, and so long as the distribution and the amount of grey matter in a brain do make a great difference in conduct, the American people will decline generally to endorse the notion that the negro is as good as the white man; and will resist all contamination of a people by inferior blood.

How is to be explained then in the light of Ohio politics that the people have taken no interest in the fact that Warren Harding has negro blood?

Many other negroes have served in the Ohio State Legislature. There were two in those of Harding's time who admitted this in their legislative directory

lives, and there were others who simply said nothing about the matter.

Ohio is full of sentimentalists who believe in giving the colored brother a chance—that is, a chance to rule the whites. A very distinguished preacher told Professor Chancellor, as he has reported to us in a letter in the period before he went away, that if the white women of the South will not receive colored men, so much the worse for the white women.

Men of this kind are sentimentalists. It so happens that this preacher never admits any negroes into his church, however. He is himself but one generation from the Old Country, which shows an important phase of the matter.

To most foreigners, coming into the United States, the Afro-American is a native, and because he knows the ropes, the foreigner often finds the colored man very helpful. The colored man plays up to him. Being socially inferior, he delights in the implicit faith that the "Dago" or the "Hunky" has in him. To the ignorant foreigner the color is meaningless. This is especially true of the brunet foreigner in dealing with the colored American, who may be lighter in shade than himself.

This does not mean that the dark brunet Welshman or Dutchman or Jew or Spaniard is lower than the colored man; far from it. What it means is that the foreigner has not learned to look at the brain case of the man, at his walk, or to consider the intelligence with which he speaks. More than this, often the brunet white man from Europe has married a colored woman thinking her to be white, from which more than one tragedy has followed under the Mendelian law. When the colored man or woman complain of social discrimination, the foreigner sympathizes, for to him all social discrimination is unjust. That there ought

to be race discrimination is beyond his understanding. Another factor has helped to make a mess of the dealings with the negroes by foreigners. There have been four sources of race contamination from negroes in the history of Europe:

First, from the very earliest ages, there were emigrants out of Africa, mostly slaves by capture in war, but not all. Homer in his first poem speaks of the "blameless Ethiopians," meaning that these blacks were so dull and ignorant that they could not be blamed for what they did. That was three thousand years ago. There were tens of thousands of Ethiopian slaves in Egypt when the children of Isreal were there. These slaves and others were constantly allowed to live everywhere among the whites; and though many of them were eunuchs, still some of them were able to produce offspring of their own pure negro blood or mixed with those of other slaves and occasionally with the native free persons. This contamination greatly increased among the Romans. And it persists to this very day when rich and powerful men bring up from African and Asian travels these blacks and after employing them for a time, let them go. One of the great Medici married a negress and the race showed the signs of it to its very end. Alexander Dumas had negro blood; so had Robert Browning, which is one reason why the father of Elizabeth Barrett objected to that marriage. Perhaps this is one reason also why Robert Browning is so obscure and uses words so strangely; there is a Browning cult that professes to get meanings in Browning that no one else of common sense can find; there is also growing up a Harding cult likewise.

There was one mighty delivery of negroes into Europe when Hannibal marched the Carthaginian troops over the Alps from Spain through France into Italy and kept them a year at Cannae; he had negro sol-

diers and negro slaves with him; and the marks of that migration are seen in Italy to this day in the appearance of the people, for these Carthaginians never went home again. They were defeated in battle and hid themselves in the mountains and swamps to reappear again as peasants and slaves. He had an army of more than a hundred thousand with many women camp followers. In a world that had only a few millions then, this was a proportionately very large number.

The same thing occurred when the Spaniards sent the Armada against the British. Their quarter of a million sailors and soldiers were shipwrecked upon the coasts of several countries, Holland, Scotland, Ireland; and these people in many instances were negroes.

Worse than these cases was the keeping of hundreds of thousands of soldiers in the Netherlands by Spain in the period that culminated with the terrible Duke of Alva. There are marks to this day in some parts of the lowlands and the Rhinlands that show what negro contamination may do. Now the only reason why the contamination has not gone farther is because of race instinct where these negroes went. Mostly they were men. Mostly when they were caught they were castrated; but in some instances they were allowed to marry and to breed. Some of the immigrants from Europe show the positive signs of negro blood; this especially is true of Sicilians and of South Italians and of the Rhineland peoples.

All such brunets, all who feel in their bones that their color and their peculiarities are due to negro blood have been eager to give the Afro-American a place at the very side of the true white man in America. They have done this in Ohio. In the last campaign many a man and woman who passed for white and whose origin is wholly European for hundreds of years

out of race sympathy voted for Warren Harding. And he knew this as has been shown elsewhere.

But perfectly pure races did the same thing. Why should not the Germans in America who still love Germany more than the United States not support the race contamination that this inter-marriage means? Why should they not seek the destruction of the Americans who are descended from the British Isles and Danish and Scandinavian and French stocks? Very few blond or tawny Germans themselves ever marry negroes or colored people. Why, in the competition of races should they hesitate to back Harding and break the power of their rivals? They believe in the long run America is to be Germanized. Of course, to the Germans who love our country, who are millions in number, the very idea of race contamination as a means of destroying British stocks is abhorrent. They also are loyal Americans to the core.

Many Jews have supported every negro that has run for office on the theory that it will forward the day when Jerusalem rules the world to have America made rotten. Good Jews realize their best hope is in pure American institutions.

Many very poor people of all races have supported the negro candidates, including Harding, because they hate the successful white rich.

Now in many states the contest is without interest; they have few negroes to consider. Their climates or their industries are such as not to give the negro any real foothold. But in other states there is a profound interest in the struggle. Ohio in the North is not favorable climatically for the negro; but all the state is favorable industrially to him.

In some states the negro, though numerous, is made into a caste and reduced to social degradation; in such state he is overpowered.

A state where he does not count because he is rare is Massachusetts; a state where he is in virtual slavery yet is South Carolina. A state where the question what to do about him is vital is Ohio.

The time had to come when Ohio and the Nation should face the issue and it arrived last November. We now have the issue with a negro as President in the White House and with messages coming from that White House that are meaningless in their content but ominous in their force for the future. Where there should be light and leading, there is nothing but confusion.

A gross insult has been heaped upon the white people of the South by placing this man there, but the sycophantish women of the Northwest seem to be doing what they can to ameliorate the social taboo upon the present residents **there**.

A recent picture of a visiting delegation shows something of the situation; the President is looking one way and the white woman another; it is the characteristic of the President never to look one in the eye. This is not a black man's trait, however, it is the trait of the thief, of the man who has looted something, as has looted the Presidency by lying about his ancestors.

To the negro, the uncured primitive, lying is not a vice but a virtue; and successful lying indicates far more ability and therefore more merit than successful truth-telling, which requires only memory and not judgment or shrewdness. How is this to be reconciled with the all-known Harding habit of reading his speeches, both those written for him and the few prepared by himself, which may easily be separated from the others by their superiority in singular inventions of words, grammar and rhetoric. Only Warren ever invented "involvement" and "normalcy." The explana-

tion is that in him the primitive negro is removed three generations back in one line and somewhat farther in another line.

Unlike his great predecessor, McKinley, Harding is afraid to trust himself to extemporaneous speech, because he loses his subjects and predicates, and contradicts himself within a few lines.

CHAPTER X

WHAT IS THE CABINET?

Reviewing the political scene after some weeks of the new administration, one finds that in order to understand it one must look carefully into the composition of the Cabinet, into the history of Ohio politics, and into the history of the Presidency itself. What has been taking place is the logical outcome of the past. The people are not now informed as to the inside moves nor have they been assisted in their natural desire to get under the surface of things into the realities of what really is theirs and of what they are paying for, with their own money. It is not a Republican notion that the Government belongs to the people.

It is commonly supposed that the causes for the appointment of Cabinet officers lie somewhere in some conception of the public welfare. It will, therefore, be profitable to look into these Cabinet positions for the truth. Three of these positions usually attract considerable attention—the Treasury, the State and the Attorney Generalship. In the case of the present Cabinet, they deserve much more rigid scrutiny than they have as yet received.

The oldest in seniority, as we discover upon turning the authoritative and learned pages of the college professors and publicists who have written upon the subject, are State, Treasury and War. State deals with foreign affairs and keeps all the archives of the Nation, so far as these are stored with the treasures of our history, including the originals of all treaties

and laws. It is relatively unimportant in financial charges, even now spending of this wild currency, unharnessed from gold, which is the only money, but eight or nine millions of dollars a year. But the Secretary of State does manage the Nation as a whole under the President, of course, in respect to war and peace; and in case of the demise of both President and Vice-President, would succeed to the Presidency itself. To the world outside of America, he is our greatest man, none other officer excepted. In almost every other government among civilized nations, this office would be accounted as the Prime Ministry itself. In social prestige, the State Department leads because the Secretary meets all the foreign ambassadors and ministers, including those from lands with kings, nobility and aristocracy, at social functions delightful to rich Americans and tuffthunters upon equal terms. The women make the Department of State the first in sanding; few women are really democratic.

According to the newspapers, with their carefully schooled reports, the reasons that forced the appointment of Charles Evans Hughes were as follows, viz.:

1. The administration needed for its chief secretary a man in whom the people had confidence, though just what "people" was not specified. On this basis, only two names were considered by the Cabinet makers—those of Hughes and of Elihu Root. There were many objections to Mr. Root; he had been in several Cabinets before and was far past three score years and ten. He had very much a mind of his own; and at heart was FOR the League of Nations.

2. He was very rich and had great wealth in tobacco enterprises, especially cigarettes; and the common people regarded him as essentially an agent of corporate property.

3. Mr. Hughes had been a very successful law

teacher, a very successful investigator of public scandals, a fairly successful governor, a highly creditable member of the United States Supreme Court; almost the winner of the Presidency when candidate upon the Republican ticket in 1916; and in the very recent years a very successful lawyer with inclinations toward honesty and toward fair treatment of labor and of those who claimed the right of free speech.

In truth, the moral position of Mr. Hughes is that of a lawyer trained in the principles of Blackstone and of the old individual freedom. He is a good man with a mind furnished with the notions of a hundred years ago. That he charged the miners of Indiana, according to report, \$150,000 but goes to show his moral position. He sold himself to them at a fair price, as great lawyers do, and he gave them value. He is not a philanthropist; nor as a lawyer does he play the part of Robin Hood, getting big fees from the rich and turning about and helping the poor freely. He is the very opposite of Robert G. Ingersoll, and, doubtless, congratulates himself thereon.

Personally, Secretary Hughes is reticent, modest, polite, intellectual, aloof, judicious, fair-minded, diligent, even-tempered, refined. In tastes he is domestic, and he loves music, playing a small organ and singing with his family in hours of leisure.

But to imagine that these were the moving considerations for his choice as the first man under the new chief is to give evidence that one is really "out of politics," for one then would disclose that one had no politics inside himself.

The new President is a Baptist, the first of his denomination to become the head of Government. Not only is Charles Evans Hughes a Baptist, but he is also the foremost Baptist layman in America, not excepting even the Rockefellers themselves, for he has been the

Moderator of the Baptist national meetings and in other offices and services has made himself their main layman. What he says goes in a denomination of many millions.

2. OIL is the key to this political phase; always in American politics, the speculative business man, by getting behind a candidate, puts him across. Oil went behind the Republican candidate, as the protective tariff men and the bankers got behind even Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and 1864. There is nothing wicked in this in itself; the speculative business man has the right to vote for his own pocket. But oil is Rockefeller. The Rockefeller interests desired righteous oil to win rather than unrighteousness tobacco as leader before the world. There is oil to be had elsewhere than in the United States, and the State Department should have the right views on oil.

3. It so happens that the Pulitzer Estate owns two great Democratic newspapers, the New York World and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and these two papers and others all led with them were the only ones that were fair to Professor William Estabrook Chancellor in the effort that he had made to get all the peculiar facts of the Harding ancestry studied by the American people. Moreover, the World had some special investigators out even after the election to look into all the facts. THE WORLD is an organ of public opinion that values the truth. It also so happens that Charles Evans Hughes has very close connections with the Pulitzer Estate due to the will of Joseph Pulitzer himself, and unless common reports err, he has been drawing the not inconsiderable salary of \$36,000 a year as the paid trustee and legal counsel of that estate ever since the death of Mr. Pulitzer. Reports on this point may be in error, but the fact that the Pulitzer heirs are tied up to Mr. Hughes is well known. The appoint-

men of Mr. Hughes would not in itself control the editorial opinion of those great newspapers, but since his appointment, the entire public that knows anything about newspapers knows that the edge of hostility to Mr. Hughes and to the Administration is off. The editorial and the reportorial staffs of newspapers owned by rich men are not wholly free, and no man of sense supposes that they can be free. Moreover, the search into the records of the Harding ancestry by that paper ceased after the announcement of the appointment of Mr. Hughes. To capture the two best organs of the Democratic party by one appointment was a very shrewd move. They remain nominally Democratic, of course. What in the way of awkward situations for Mr. Hughes may yet develop remains to be seen. He is not the owner of the properties; and the heirs are not at heart Republicans.

4. A fourth real cause for the appointment of Mr. Hughes was to weight the Cabinet against other persons who were to be in it; to draw the herring across the trail; to put up a smoke screen.

Nevertheless, Mr. Hughes is a sizable man, a credit to the Republicans, at least 75 or 80 per cent of what the Secretary of State should be; he is not a Webster or a John Hay; but he is on the whole satisfactory. Though neither energetic nor affable, neither scholarly nor profound, yet he merits classification as at least a Cabinet star of the second magnitude; the entire visibles being stars of six magnitudes. Some think that big men are again grooming Hughes for the Presidency.

Consider the case of Secretary Mellon of the Treasury; he was forced upon the President by Senator Boies Penrose, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Mellon is the richest man who ever drew a salary from the United States Government, richer than any Senator has ever been, even Senator Clark, of Montana, the copper king. No

one knows what he is worth, nor could even himself find out. He is too rich to make it worth while to estimate his wealth unless one is looking for his income tax returns. Like every active plutocrat in business, Mr. Mellon is richer some years than others. He was born rich, for his father made a great fortune. He has increased this fortune many times. He may be worth \$200,000,000.

The Mellon National Bank of Pittsburgh is one of the greatest of all the Standard Oil Banks of America. OIL spoke and Mellon went in. Almost three score and ten years of age, Mr. Mellon is a very great master of American business. He is a steel king himself.

In his defenses, to justify his appointment, it was said that no money will be wasted by the National Government while "Andy" Mellon is Treasury chief; but this statement assumes that the head of the Treasury controls the money affairs of the Nation, which is absurd. Of course, the influence of any plutocrat of his type would be for economy; but it will be influence only. A Government that spends four billions of dollars a year cannot be much influenced by any one officer of the executive branch.

What Mr. Mellon will do is to preserve the present money system by which banks get twice as much paper as they hold gold in reserve while it is illegal for any private citizen to have gold. This means that where a bank has five millions in gold, it may lend out ten millions of paper instead and of getting interest on five millions, which would be (say) \$300,000 a year, getting (say) \$600,000, which is very nice for the stockholder of big banks authorized to issue the wild currency known as FEDERAL RESERVE notes.

Personally, Mr. Mellon is a philanthropist; giving away vast sums of money every year. He has been, of course, a lifelong friend of both J. Pierpont Morgans

of New York and London. He is almost as rich as either of them was or is. He is morally a very good man according to the individualist scheme of things. He is shy, reticent, quiet, self-effacing, diligent, gloomy, patient, wise, far-sighted, far, very far, beyond most men. That he plays a gentleman's game of poker, he does not "bet a million" after the fashion of the late John W. Gates, was no objection to him on the part of the best poker player of Marion, and should not be any objection to him from anyone else. It is his only sport.

Yet, because he has had no public experience in office and is by no means a statesman, he must be ranked as a star of the second magnitude. He is no Alexander Hamilton or Albert Gallatin or William G. McAdoo.

The third appointment of importance was that of Harry M. Daugherty to be Attorney General. This is the most criticized and the most censured of all the appointments. It is purely personal. Elsewhere we have recounted the story of Ohio politics, which includes the story of Mr. Daugherty. Here it is enough to say that he is a business-getting lawyer. He knows how to go out and get suits and clients while his partners furnish the law service. During the World War, he and others built an envelope factory and got a contract to make envelopes for the Post Office Department. This contract with the factory he sold to Dayton envelope makers for just twice what the factory cost him, giving him a profit of \$300,000. How much of that he could keep for himself is unknown. No one ever accused him of being a book-learned lawyer. He has been a very shrewd party politician all these years. He made Senator and President Harding. He has long been his political Mentor; and in that he has made

good. He is an Irishman, of course, like Mr. Mellon, and he is vindictive against his political opponents.

He is the "star of bale" in this Cabinet, and he may prove the ruin of the man whom he has used so skilfully. He remembers both his friends and his enemies, which is bad for a man who has so much power as the Attorney General necessarily possesses. He is "the wettest of the wets." If he develops a sense of scrupulous honesty, it will be a miracle of regeneration. The best that can be made of the matter is to say, that the American people had full warning before the election in the columns of various papers.

There is a notion that a President has the right to pay his political debts by putting his lifelong friends into high places. It is a thoroughly wicked notion.

Believing what he does and cherishing his natural instincts to reward and to punish by using the Government itself to advance his own cause, Mr. Daugherty is a danger to the freedom of many individual Americans. With him, America becomes a land not of laws but of men. With a few more Irishmen like him—which many Irishmen are not—this country would become another Ireland, and the peace of our homes would be turned into chaos and fued.

He also is a poker player.

As the foundation for the Cabinet, we have, then, two stars of the second magnitude, and one star of bale.

The other members of the Cabinet are:

John W. Weeks.....	War
Edwin Denby.....	Navy
Hency C. Wallace.....	Agriculture
Albert B. Fall.....	Interior
James J. Davis.....	Labor
Will H. Hays.....	Postoffice
Herbert C. Hoover.....	Commerce

Secretary Weeks is a millionaire banker. He was

put in because he represents Massachusetts and therefore Multi-millionaire Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the personal enemy of Woodrow Wilson; and because he is very rich; and in sympathy with the Federal Reserve bloating of the currency. He is a star of the sixth magnitude. Of course, he has executive ability, and equally, of course, he is no statesman at all.

Edwin Denby is of higher material. He is a thoroughly trained man of affairs, a millionaire, very reactionary but very much of a patriot all the same. He had the personal courage to go into the fighting zone in the naval service, beginning as a marine, though well past forty years old then. He ranks as a star of the third or fourth magnitude. He was put in partly to catch the Loyal Legion men; but mainly because he belongs to the Truman H. Newberry wing of the Republican party in Michigan. Newberry is the multi-millionaire who defeated Henry Ford by spending a million dollars for the election. Was adjudged guilty in court, but who is too rich to be punished or even put out of the Senate. Denby's father was Minister to China, and he is himself well informed regarding the Far East.

Secretary Wallace is a man of personal charm, a millionaire, a forward looking man, an agricultural statesman, tinctured by some false notions of economics, such as price-fixing, but not withstanding this, very much of an asset to the Administration, a growing man. He is a star of the second magnitude or third. Unfortunately, he will not bear much weight against other elements in the Cabinet.

Next to Daugherty among the objectionables is Albert B. Fall, whose relation to the supporting situation has been recounted in the chapter upon the Hamon case. Fall is in OIL. No one knows how rich he is; by some he is styled a millionaire, which is doubtful.

He has been a war-with-Mexico jingo for many a year. Temperamentally, he is unsound. He has no guiding and controlling principles of action; but is the natural agent for the forces in whatever environment he may have about him. He thinks that Mexico will never be safe for American plutocrats until an American army has taught the Mexicans respect for American rights. He is, therefore, a natural imperialist. There is Oil as well as COPPER and SILVER in Mexico. He is a second star of bale.

If we have a war with Mexico, we may charge it to Secretary Fall and the Multissimomillionaire William Randolph Hearst. Fall is in the Cabinet to prepare the war for the lords of metals and petroleum.

Will H. Hayes is a nice lad who organized the nation for the Republicans by spreading agents provocateurs to lie about all the Democrats, especially about Woodrow Wilson and James M. Cox. He is suave, neat, a Presbyterian elder, a very handy clerk to the great. He has no intelligence, no sense of the public welfare, no ethics beyond small personal matters such as not swearing or playing poker. He has been put in to change as many postmasters as possible from Democrats to Republicans.

As the monkey who was put forward to do the dirty work of the Republicans, Hayes was apt. But he is not dangerous to the public welfare because he is not intelligent and willful enough to do anything alone. When he talks of "the Nights of Labor" in the P. O. Department, he is fooling only himself.

He is a very small star of bale.

One wonders how some men ever arrive; among such is the case of Secretary Davis, once a miner with a union card, now a millionaire and the national organizer of a great secret order. He is nobody. He can do nothing for the department; he has no views on pub-

lic matters; he fills in nicely. In such a Cabinet a real labor man would be as unhappy as a colored gentleman alone on an iceberg in the Arctics.

Last is Herbert C. Hoover, who might have been President, and who is playing now for the Presidency.

There were two reasons for naming Mr. Hoover, real reasons. He owns THE WASHINGTON HERALD, a small morning daily in the National Capital; that is, he owns the realty. The Noyes family owns the franchise of all four Washington papers; and the family is Republican, voting in Maryland, for the people of the District of Columbia have no votes.

This gives the Administration directly a Washington organ. Of course, Hughes is very close to two papers as we have seen, and Mellon is very close to the great Pittsburg GAZETTE-TIMES, which is owned by close business associates. Some other men have newspaper interests; but Secretary Hoover actually does own the HERALD.

The other reason is that public opinion requires a strong disinfectant in the Cabinet. Mr. Hoover has some false notions, such as the desirability of "exporting capital" from America to help the rest of the world, which, of course, only means that the labor of the poor in our land shall be exploited to help our plutocrats conquer the earth.

But even the sun has spots; and Mr. Hoover has shown in many fields superb executive abilities, a warm heart for all men, a tremendous talent for getting people together and, in short, genius. He is a star of the first magnitude—on next to the poorest ARC of the Cabinet horizon; but he was too decent to decline. He should have been either Secretary of State or of the Interior or of the Treasury. He turned to Harding, and if he had not turned to him, who knows what the result might not have been?

But individualities are not in themselves much; the real question is what groups and cliques will form in the Cabinet, which is already apparent.

Group 1—Hughes, Wallace, Hoover.

Group 2—Daugherty, Hays, Fall.

Group 3—Denby, Weeks, Mellon, Davis.

Mellon will, therefore, hold the balance of power, because of the size of his group and of his own prestige with it.

From their past records as the world viewed them these men ranked before they went into the Cabinet like this:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Hoover | |
| 2. Hughes | —High |
| 3. Mellon | |
| 4. Wallace | |
| 5. Denby | |
| 6. Weeks | —Fair |
| 7. Davis | |
| 8. Hays | |
| 9. Fall | —All below par as undesir- |
| 10. Daugherty | ables, pernicious. |

But like all men, they had their records to make when they got together and into their new lines.

When men do get together, strange things result from the social relationships that come to pass from personal likes and dislikes.

A strong illustration of this was the bitter political enmities of Cannon and Clark; but they happened to like one another and personally were on very friendly terms, when they could forget politics. Publicly, they said terrible things about one another; but privately they often hobnobbed together. This does not mean that they framed up deals against the world to help one another politically. Far from it. They under-

stood that they were enemies, and yet they had friendly feelings through it all.

It is impossible that men like Hoover and Daugherty ever could agree on much of anything political; they are as far apart as the Equator and North Pole. But even so, it is within the limits of possibility that they may become personal friends, though very unlikely.

What is impossible is that Hughes will ever be the warm personal friend of anyone in the Cabinet. He will not be the center of a Cabinet family. Mellon also is a person aloof from all others in that group. Nor can President Harding himself become the center, for no President can forget that these secretaries are clerks only. They are irresponsible to the public. Whatever they do, he must stand for, or fire them.

Weeks also belongs to this aloof and superior type of person, who is never a bond of union. Wallace is not a man of strong will power. If the Cabinet ever does come together, it will be through Hoover, or possibly Denby. Hays is laughed at quietly behind the scenes. Davis is nobody at all. Daugherty is the lowest of them all in character, and they all know it. Fall is not much better.

The question, therefore, is—How will the Cabinet function?

As a three-group affair, it must fail.

The question becomes that which is already suggested—which way will Mellon turn those who naturally are with him? Will he join the Hoover group, or the Daugherty group?

For Mellon to go with Hoover means that Daugherty will have to get out, as some years ago Ballinger had to quit the Taft Cabinet as an impossible. Ballinger, of Washington, had too noisome a past; Belknap in the days of Grant was a very heavy

load. A century ago, George Washington had to drop a man for the same reason.

Even so, Harding will have paid his political debt to Daugherty.

But if Mellon decides to be practical, then he will go with Daugherty; and Hughes will face the question whether or not a man is known by the company he keeps. Hughes is the titular head. With a majority against him, he would be out of face.

Weeks will incline to go with Daugherty; but Denby may hesitate. Either, however, will follow Mellon, the plutocrat.

The vast power of private wealth will steadily force Mellon to the front, and it may be that friction will result.

In respect to their private fortunes, the general opinion is that Hoover is second in wealth; but whether he is worth five millions or fifteen, no one knows.

Next comes Weeks, with several millions.

Denby is probably fourth in respect to private estate.

Davis, Hughes and Wallace are commonly supposed to be in the millionaire class.

No Chairman of a Republican National Committee needs to remain poor. But what Hays has now is unknown to the public. Daugherty is supposed to be worth less than a hundred thousand dollars in the present Cabinet; he is unknown to the public. Possibly, Hays is in this class.

The total wealth of the Cabinet is, of course, by far the greatest, many times as great as any other. Even leaving out Mellon, one learns that the Cabinet is a bunch of very rich men. Most Cabinets are made up of poor men. This is the Cabinet of millionaires. Certainly five are millionaires, and two are multi-

millionaires. How rich will they be if they serve four years?

It is unpleasant to think of a man like Daugherty in a position to exercise selfish use of power. The Attorney General can set loose tremendous forces. Nothing in the record of this man inspires confidence that he will not play the game to help the rich and to help himself. But which of the rich will he favor? To be rich is to be a contestant with many other rich men to gain more wealth or at least to hold one's own.

Suppose that a poor man, suppose that a poor college professor exposes or gets in the way of a man like Daugherty? What will happen to him? To his mail? To his personal freedom? Suppose that a newspaper should undertake to oppose this bunch? Would Hughes be of any avail to them? Hughes is set aside for international affairs. Daugherty and Hays and Fall will manage the domestic matters, the sources of supply, the enemies of the plutocracy.

Hughes is no Andrew Jackson to accumulate wrath unto a day of wrath and outbreak. What is Hoover, next to the tail-ender in the Cabinet. And he is too rich to see the world and human life just as the poor man seeking to be free sees it.

The great game of liquidating wages goes on: this means the reduction of wage-earners to virtual slavery. if the wage-earner is ruined, what will become of the retail merchant, the pastor, the teacher, the lawyer? Even the physician and the journalist cannot live in a mendicant world.

With such a Cabinet, one wonders what kind of a new Supreme Court, President Harding and the United States Senate intend to create after the very old men go, as five of them should already be gone?

Will "Injunction Bill" Taft be paid for allowing the

League to be defeated by being made Chief Justice? If so, how will that help labor and the oppressed?

The Republicans pronounce this "a great Cabinet;" it is great—for their purposes of forwarding the day when the plutocrats will snap their fingers at the laboring people and say safely, "Take it, or leave it and starve to death." An empire like that of the latter days of Rome marches on.

This Harding Cabinet is a reflex, of course, of the confused, unprincipled mind of the man himself. It contains good and evil unbalanced.

In age, it is excessive. Several are sixty and over. It is a Cabinet of OLD MEN.

Kipling once wrote of them, "They will take up the ropes that constrained their youth to bind on their children's hands. They will call to the waters below the bridges to return and replenish the land; they will harness horses, Death's pale horses, and scholarly plow the sands."

But Kipling did not know these Old Men, these Elder Statesmen of America. They are working for their own interests. Their game is to keep whatever for the past they can and to stop all the progress into a fairer world from happening, that they can.

Their god is Personal Success. Their country is the country of the rich.

THE WANDERERS

From city unto city, Homer, the sweet singer, begged
his bread,
Because he told the living the songs of heroes who
were dead.

Pure Dante, fate-announcer, went on exile for his God;
He ate their salt at others tables, and on their stairs
he trod.

“Oh, beggars, be damned!” so say the lords of power
 and fear and food,
 They left our country for our obedient country’s good.
 In brutal foolishness, we tramp the hearth-fires of the
 sages out;
 Comes patient Time, and puts the furious multitudes
 to rout.

Whom the fathers thought but “madmen” in their own
 dark night,
 The children crown immortal on radiant thrones of
 light.

They hated the lords of ill-got wealth and pitied
 poverty;
 They fought the cruel legal lawless and loved the tran-
 quil free.

Who were “the just made perfect?” The starved or
 jailed, exiled or maimed,
 The quarry of kings dungeoned, slain by cross or fire,
 or ashamed.

Behold! The Son of Man no place had to lay His
 sovereign head—
 Beyond the Gates of Pearl, He rules the living and
 the dead.

They yielded up the Present to make the Future theirs,
 and saw
 From far the glory of the shining of the moral law.

Now this is the Law forever—Only the best shall rule,
 And all the good shall be happy from Yuletide unto
 Yule.

What the country of free Americans needs are two
 PROCLAMATIONS upon every billboard and at every
 crossroad.

Proclamation 1.—INVITATION.

Let the rich come to the Executive Departments and let us, the rich, do business with them. What rich? Well, the protective tariff manufacturers especially, and the OIL men. We are rich, and we know how you feel. Be at home in Washington.

Proclamation 2.—WARNING.

Let the rich who are importers and exporters or international bankers, except the Morgans, stay away from Washington. Let the rich who manufacture in open competition with the world stay away. Let the rich who are merchants or landowners stay away. And let all the poor and most of the middle class stay away. This is not your day. Let the little bankers also stay away. Yours is to play our game for us, and profess to like it.

But where is Warren Gamaliel Harding in all this? Where has he always been? He is ready with the rubber stamp just behind the scenes. He is Warren Yealand-Nay-and-Wait till someone else makes up my mind for me.

Much has been said about the importance of geographical distribution of Cabinet members. In this Cabinet—

Pennsylvania has two, Mellon and Davis.

New York has one, Hughes.

Massachusetts has one, Weeks.

Ohio has one, Daugherty.

Indiana has one, Hays.

Arizona has one, Fall.

California has one, Hoover.

Iowa has one, Wallace.

Michigan has one, Denby.

Massachusetts, however, has Speaker Gillett, of the House of Representatives. A poor man is worse off in Massachusetts than in any other American State.

A creditor can seize even the beefsteak off his table or the clock on his wall, for debt or even claim of debt. The poor are slaves, white slaves, there.

But Mellon, Davis, Hays and Fall all mean Boies Penrose—Weeks and Denby mean Henry Cabot Lodge.

Only Hughes, Hoover and Wallace mean themselves. And of these Hoover in no sense represents California interests, for he is both a patriot and internationalist. Senator Hiram Johnson hates him. It is an unfortunate animosity, for Johnson is far from the worst of the Republicans.

Hughes never was a leader, though he has often four-flushed trying to lead. Hoover is a leader, and he has four-flushed but once so far in his life. But when did the haunch of the dog ever select his course? Davis is the tail of the Cabinet, the mixer and the jollier for that plotting group.

For seriousness, for gloom that actually dulls the knife that is used to try to cut it, where could we turn and get more of this than in Hughes and Mellon? There are but two really genial souls unafraid of anyone else, glad to welcome the next fellow in this lot—Davis and Wallace. Even Hoover likes to hide away with a few papers and statistics and frame up his plans alone. Hays passes for a mixer, but he mixes with rich and stand-pat Republicans only. As for Warren himself, whoever saw him in a crowd anywhere than hidden away from too close a view—if he could arrange it?

As for being spendthrift hosts at public functions, not these millionaires. They are one and all thrifty, even those who inherited wealth—Mellon, Weeks and Denby. This is perhaps well.

To understand this Cabinet, one must understand Daugherty; and to understand him, which he does not desire, one must understand Ohio politics.

CHAPTER XI

OHIO POLITICAL HISTORY

Ohio is the most political State in the Union. In Ohio, politics is the real religion. More persons talk politics in Ohio per thousand of the population (and they talk politics longer and with more acerbity) than in any other State. Everything in Ohio gives way to this first interest. If there were anything in the notion that public interest insures honesty and honor in politics, then Ohio would be the cleanest State in the Union. Of course, it is not the worst State, because in Ohio there is a fight between the two great parties for supremacy, and while in general the Republicans have been the winners, yet there have been enough Democratic periods to keep the war very much alive.

In Ohio, the Republicans start with two enormous groups behind them—all the negroes and most of the Grand Army of the Republic, who, until recent years, have polled a very heavy vote. The negroes number now about 400,000 of persons with race-consciousness and class-consciousness that they have colored blood. This means that they make one-twelfth of the population. In Columbus, they now number fully 45,000 in a population of 327,000. Of course, many negroes are members of the G. A. R., which vote accounted for about a quarter of a million until recently. Occasionally, when a colored man loses race-consciousness and class-consciousness, he may vote the Democratic ticket. In truth, there is no better camouflage for the light-colored negro who intends to "cross the line and

become white" than to become an open and ardent Democrat in some part of the State where his history is unknown.

When a party can count certainly upon fully one-eighth of the entire population as its own, it has to win only three-eighths more in order to establish itself in power.

The Democratic party has had as its center the War Copperheads, who thought that blood should not be spilled to keep the South in the Union. This element was small always.

For its economic composition, Ohio has a rural and a city distribution—fishermen on the lake, miners in the East and South, farmers everywhere, a wonderful development of railroads, surpassed by no other State in the Union in distribution per square mile, and six large cities, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Akron, Dayton and Columbus, third in point of numbers, at the very center. These are both industrial and commercial cities. The manufactures of Ohio run mostly in the metals rather than in textiles or paper.

In the years of the life of Warren Harding, Ohio has undergone a transformation from being mainly rural to being mainly urban. The earlier elements in the population were these, viz.:

In the North, New England settlers, largely from Connecticut.

In the South, Virginia settlers.

In the middle sections, these were infiltrated by the Pennsylvania Dutch.

At various points, there were Germans, such as Cincinnati and the Miami Valley, and in the middle counties.

The last part of the State to be settled was the northwest, including the marvellously rich Maumee

Valley, which was very densely wooded and was and yet is swampy.

But sixty years since the Civil War began have changed the scene. The New England element has spread everywhere, though but thinly, for the families are small.

The old German element has prospered and spread very widely, but has tended to spread not as single families but in groups and communities or wards of cities. For practical purposes, except in respect to the names, this old German element does not differ from the Anglo-Saxon New England and Virginia elements. It has, however, been reinforced by new German streams, some of which has tended to weaken their love of liberty.

In greatest part, the Virginia element has stayed in the south of the State. Great numbers of negroes and colored people have come in from the South. They have had but small families and poor success, but they have persisted in the immigration none the less. The climate of the State in the north is ill-adapted to the negro constitution.

Tens of thousands have come from the Old World—Ohio is a favorite point for Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Russian Jews, Greeks, but not for Scandinavians, Dutch, English, Irish, or the other peoples that in such numbers have come across the seas to try their fortunes in the New World.

There is a new Ohio—Industrial, urban, disorderly, ignorant, unambitious, inferior.

Unfortunately, the rural districts in many parts of the State have fallen into intellectual and moral decay through losing their ablest men and women to the cities; they lack their normal leaders born among them and familiar with their desires and notions. Rural Ohio is no longer full of reading people.

Three-quarters of all the college and university students of the State come from the cities and towns from four thousand to one hundred thousand in population, and not from the thinly settled rural districts or from the six great cities.

This change from the old intellectual and moral Ohio to the present social state has been attended by some very severe political struggles.

The first that may perhaps be mentioned is the struggle between the CITIES and the RURAL DISTRICTS, or FARMERS. This has been chiefly a struggle over taxes. The farmers have claimed that the cities have all the moneys and they have the most of the taxes. Of course, because the cities have the banks, they have control of the credits.

The second struggle has been between Cleveland and Cincinnati. Fifty years ago Cincinnati was the great city; now Cleveland has almost doubled the population.

The third struggle has been between the "drys" and the "wets."

The fourth struggle has been between the corporations and the citizens who have little or no corporate properties or claims.

A fifth struggle has been between old forms of wealth for the older elements in the population and the new forms of wealth; lands against paper securities.

A sixth struggle has been between the men who could vote and the women who could not.

A seventh struggle has been between the old families and the new immigrants.

All these struggles have registered themselves at the polls and in the State Legislature.

It was in 1899 that Warren Harding broke into Ohio State politics. Daugherty was already known

then; for he is half a dozen years older than the man whom he has made, and he began at an earlier age.

The Governors of Ohio since that time have been as follows, viz.:

George K. Nash, Myron T. Herrick, John M. Pattison (died in office), Andrew D. Harris, Judson Harmon, James M. Cox, Frank B. Willis, Cox again, Harry L. Davis (now in office).

Nash was a lawyer and a politician. He was part and parcel of the Hanna-Dick-Daugherty machine which was at bitter enmity with the Foraker-George B. Cox-Bushnell machine.

Hanna was a Cleveland steamboat and steel man, who made a great fortune, was amazingly energetic, fought Tom L. Johnson in Cleveland, put William McKinley into the White House, loaned to him enough money to pay his unfortunate business debts, and owned him body, soul and breeches, so that McKinley never named a man to office until Hanna had told him to do it, and finally bribed his way through the Ohio Legislature and became a Senator of the United States. He was a bitter, violent enemy of Theodore Roosevelt, and a warm personal friend of many of the vilest men and women in the part of the United States that he knew. Fortunately, he died at a comparatively early age, in 1904, and by being cleared away, left some opportunity for Roosevelt, when President, to get some good work done. He is the father of Dan R. Hanna, who owns the CLEVELAND NEWS, and is now divorced from his fourth wife; and also of Ruth Hanna McCormick, wife of United States Senator Medill McCormick, of Illinois, who is one of the owners of the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, said by itself to be "the greatest newspaper in the world," perfectly correct, though not unpatriotic a paper that fights Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago, millionaire boss of that

city, and now also of the State of Illinois; is not utterly hopeless as a moral agency.

Hanna was not quite the worst man that American politics has put forward; Burr was worse. Nor was William McKinley the worst or even weakest President whom we have had; in truth, he ranks well when compared with some. He was at least a gentleman by instinct. Hanna made him.

Who is the Hanna of Harding? He says that he desires to follow in the footsteps of the Martyr McKinley. God forbid that he should be required to follow all the way-

Hanna was "wet." He was a bulldozer; he was corrupt to the center; but he had intelligence and foresight and vigor. Like Boss Croker, he worked all the time for his own pocket. But he was an abler man far than the Tammany boss.

Dick was a machine man from Akron, who became United States Senator, an untiring worker for the Republican party, sometimes well-to-do, sometimes poor from bad business ventures. He was a man of but little natural ability. He was the typical party political worker.

Daugherty was the Columbus part of this machine; a man who knew the State Capital, and also worked hard for the party. He spent Hanna's money for him skilfully and hid the work well enough for the time being.

Foraker was the Cincinnati lawyer, a Standard Oil man, an orator, who had been Governor of the State in times past. He was always known as the leader of this negro vote, though himself a white man. He became United States Senator, and on the floor of Congress and in the lobbies and in the departments, he spent much time working for his various clients, personal and corporate. He was a natural born worker

for his friends, whether the public benefited thereby or not. He became rich through corrupt methods, but finally, through the efforts of Theodore Roosevelt and of William Randolph Hearst, he lost his seat in the Senate. It was a strange alliance, denied by both persons, but effective nonetheless. Hanna always claimed that Hearst aroused the enmity of the people against McKinley through attacks upon himself in order that Roosevelt might become President—a claim that enraged Roosevelt.

The frightful cartoons of Davenport against Hanna in the Hearst papers were cited as the moving cause of the murder of McKinley by Czolgoez in 1901. If big business had refrained from its efforts to make America a plutocrat's Paradise, the cartoons would never have been necessary to arouse the people. But as the murderer had never learned English and had been in this country only a few years, and had come as an anarchist with the avowed purpose to tear down the Government, the claim of Hanna is far-fetched. He probably never saw any Davenport cartoon.

Whatever else is true, this is true that the succession of Roosevelt to the Presidency was a most fortunate event for America at that time.

The succession of Johnson in 1865 to Abraham Lincoln was an unmixed calamity; and that of Arthur to Garfield in 1881 was very regrettable. But McKinley never really was President. Hanna was regent over him.

Who is regent over his disciple, Harding?

Hearst downed Foraker; but George B. Cox gave way only when the Angel of Death called. He was the boss of Cincinnati; very rich, living in a magnificent home without visible means of support. No city was ever owned by any boss more tightly than Cox owned Cincinnati. How he acquired this control is

mysterious but not impossible to learn. He kept all his promises, delivered the goods, told the truth to his friends was as silent as the grave; otherwise, was a cheerful, amiable, healthy person, who had a genius for getting offices and contracts for the faithful and for being paid himself as part of every bargain.

Bushnell has passed with very little record. He was State Governor once.

Such were the two machines in the same party. It was Cleveland and Columbus then against Cincinnati.

Nash was Governor while Harding was State Senator. He fell in with the Daugherty machine first; but was silent enough and hid himself enough in the background not to antagonize the Cincinnati people.

At this period, State Senator Warren G. Harding was about thirty-five years old, wife forty-one years old, who ran his business for him, and with a father-in-law who hated him and called him a "nigger" to his face and behind his back and who would not allow him to enter his home. He was always called by the nickname, "Nig," at this time; but if anyone had told him that he would be President of the United States, he would not have taken it seriously, for all that he already had, had been given to him by others. He was only a printer who did not try to edit or write for his own paper, which, in fact, was his wife's. There was an "able editor" in the payroll by the name of Van Fleet. State Senator Harding was the creature of the circumstances.

The issues in the period of Governor Nash were these, viz.:

1. Economy in State expenditures. This, of course, was pressed by the farmers.

2. Annual reports by corporations, which were still free from inspection. This also was pressed by the

farmers and likewise by the older property interests, such as lands.

3. Legislation to protect labor. This showed the influences coming from the new industrial life of the State. The cities and the miners asked for this.

4. Better supervision of penal and reformatory institutions. Back in 1900 conditions were even worse than they are now in these institutions in Ohio.

5. Reduction and abolition of the State tax levy and leaving all taxes to be collected by the counties as such.

6. An annual tax upon corporations.

7. Full immediate payment of the State debts.

8. Revision of the State game laws.

It does not appear that Warren Harding exerted or tried to exert any influence upon these matters, but he voted right; that is, he found out what Hanna wanted, and he filled in accordingly.

Then came what looks like an astonishing thing—Harding was nominated for the Lieutenant Governorship in 1904; he had been tried out as presiding officer of a State Republican Convention and found safe; he would stand without hitching and go without whipping; and do what he had been told to do. Myron T. Herrick was the candidate for Governor; and Theodore Roosevelt was candidate for President. Herrick and Harding went in on the Presidential tide. It matters but little now that in order to win, Roosevelt lied about the campaign contributions from the life insurance companies as charged against him by Alton B. Parker. Later he apologized, but Cortelyou had the money to use; and they won.

This raises the question who Myron T. Herrick was and is.

This man came from a family on a farm in the north of Ohio, without education, and almost without

morals. But he got in; he married a well-to-do lady of Dayton; he got into banking in Cleveland; and soon he was a millionaire. He is a positive person, of strong constitution, without the capacity of feeling any nausea over political rottenness. He has since been Ambassador to France, and confirmed to go again. He has become part of the vast banking fraternity of Cleveland, and is of unknown wealth, perhaps ten or twenty millions.

He is the larger owner of the DAYTON JOURNAL, which is published by the Burkham-Herrick Company, and which libelled Professor William Estabrook Chancellor in the last campaign, by charging that he had retracted that which he had not done. He had done nothing, and he retracted nothing. This is why he has been lost to the people and is living, if at all, in some spot unknown even to his own family. We have elsewhere explained who did publish the reports regarding the Harding ancestry.

Of course, as Lieutenant Governor, Warren Harding had nothing of importance to do with legislation. He was always addressed even at this time by Governor Herrick as "Nig" Harding. But the Governor was rich and Harding was really only a printer.

Though at this time there came a great change in Ohio politics through the grant to the Governor of the veto power, Herrick got almost nothing done. This Legislature over which, in the upper branch, Warren Harding presided, passed a law legalizing race track gambling, but Herrick was decent enough to veto it.

The Legislature was thoroughly reactionary. It killed a bill for improving the state banks, another to regulate the new interurban electric lines, a third to improve the state militia, and it brought together the State and the National elections, which has helped the bosses to control the State Government, as it was in-

tended to do. This bill was a measure to strengthen the political machines of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and Toledo. The more officers are voted for in one election, the less the people think about the minor ones. Then the politicians can do as they please about filling such offices.

The Herrick administration refused to revise the school code of the state. This code was in very bad shape. It allowed the poorer districts to have little or no schooling, and in most of the counties there was absolutely no supervision of any kind. Educators had been reading a famous book by City School Superintendent W. E. Chancellor, who afterwards became Professor of Politics and Economics at the College of Wooster; he had served in several large Eastern cities, such as Patterson, N. J., and Washington, D. C., and they wished to try out in Ohio his ideas regarding supervision and small school board. But Herrick passed all the subject up with the contempt that Napoleon displayed for Pestalozzi; it was a matter for children not for men.

For the new code, Harding had nothing to say. Himself not even a graduate of a rural high school, education was meaningless to him, as it is today. Has he not "succeeded" far beyond the college-reared men? Why get an education when by standing by at convenient places, one can do better still?

Of course, Boss Cox, of Cincinnati, was opposed to the school reform plans. Ninety-eight per cent of all the moneys spent by the Cincinnati school board for books was spent with one single book company, friendly with Cox.

In this period, both Herrick and Harding did all that they could to block a local option bill upon the liquor question, and what legislation was passed, was

entirely acceptable to the liquor people; it left all the downtown sections of the cities full of saloons.

After this, Harding went back to the city of Marion with the increased prestige of having served as State Senator and as Lieutenant Governor, and his father-in-law, Amos H. Kling, was dead. He tried to get nominations for various offices but failed. He even had one run against Daugherty; but it was all understood among friends.

Where was Harding and where was the MARION STAR while the great Roosevelt fight went on for better political and economic conditions in the nation, and while Ohio was trying under Pattison and Harmon to better its own state of affairs?

These were some of the reforms actually accomplished, viz.:

1. A two-cent a mile railroad rate for passengers.
2. Liquor licenses were raised from \$350 to \$1,000 a year.
3. A county local option bill became law.
4. The Smith One Per Cent measure became law. This was then a step in the right direction.
5. An employer's liability bill was passed.
6. Children were required to go to school until sixteen years of age.
7. The State Board of Public Works was organized.
8. A corrupt practices act tended to the improvement of conditions at elections.
9. Public service corporations were placed under government regulation.

Judson Harmon was next to the best Governor that Ohio ever had; the best Governor was James M. Cox. The former would have made one of the greatest of Presidents, and the latter was in fact the opponent of Mr. Harding. It is a main purpose of this book to explain how it has come about that a man without any

principles of thought or conduct or decision upon the really important matters of Ohio and National statesmanship became the head of Government when others vastly superior in each party were passed over. That Harmon is a really great lawyer and a fine business man and a statesman also, every intelligent citizen knows, and that he is a far more trustworthy person for the public interests than the man now in the White House is likewise plain; but the powers behind the scene do not desire the welfare of the nation, not even that of their own posterity; they desire power now. Through Harding, they have it. **HARDING HIMSELF ON MASQUERADE IS THE MASK FOR THEMSELVES.** He is the affable negro butler waiting at the front door of their palace of brigandage. He does not desire power or applause or even a front seat; what he desires are the comforts and luxuries of life; and these they have given to him for some years past.

The measures that were put through by Cox, who defeated Willis three times for the Governship and was defeated by him once on the claim that he had "made the Legislature a rubber stamp for the Governor," included these items, viz.:

1. A thoroughly workable employer's liability and workmen's compensation scheme. This is the best system in the United States. It is not popular with the very rich.

2. Better state highways and a county system to assist these highways. This slowly became popular with the farmers and was much desired by the merchants. It has made the motor truck a real competitor with the steam and electric railways.

3. Censorship of the motion pictures, not so good as it should be, but far better than in many other States.

4. State aid in the anti-tuberculosis campaign.

5. Supervision of wild-cat securities—the so-called “blue sky” laws.

6. A new reformed penitentiary and a very greatly improved system of paroling prisoners.

7. Restriction of the labor hours for women and children.

8. Municipal home rule.

9. A state liquor license commission.

10. Various legislative commissions, including one to study mothers’ pension, the State school system, and a farm credit system.

11. A State Department of Agriculture.

12. Decrease of the State elected officers in the interest of a short ballot with a few responsible men.

13. Increased suffrage for women.

14. Some financial relief to cities.

15. A State home for crippled children.

16. Creation of a bipartisan board of pardons and clemency of two persons under the governor to give all their time to this duty.

17. The whole movement for defeating pro-Germanism in the World War, so far as this was a State matter.

18. Complete prohibition.

19. Complete woman’s suffrage.

20. Actual economy under the supervision of the State Auditor, who became the candidate of the Democrats for the Governorship in 1920, but was defeated in the general debacle of the Democrats.

In the midst of all these Cox reforms, Frank B. Willis served one term during which his motto, “Let the people attend to their own business and the Governor keep out of the fray,” resulted in the fact that “What is everyone’s business is no one’s business.” He is commonly considered the poorest Governor Ohio

ever had, bar none, but he was elected all the same to the United States Senate.

The presence of this man in Ohio politics would be an enigma anywhere else than in this State of too much politics. It may be well to pause a few moments to consider the man himself.

Frank B. Willis served a term or two in Congress, and when he was defeated, he wept tears in public. He vowed that he would never go again to Washington until he went to some worthwhile office again. He is the sentimentalist supreme.

He has a wonderful voice, the best voice of any speaker in American public life excepting only William Jennings Bryan; it is loud and deep, marvelously loud, a foghorn voice, but pleasant.

He is a thorough gentleman.

He is and always has been an ardent prohibitionist.

He remembers the faces of his friends and acquaintances.

He once taught various subjects in a little college in the West of the State and filled every office that he could with its graduates. He is now its most prominent alumnus.

He has a passion to speak anywhere at any time, and is a very frequent speaker at educational meetings, especially high school commencements and women's clubs.

He knows the history of Ohio, and has a speech upon it that claims half the great men of America for Ohio. This is very popular.

He is scrupulously free from bribe-taking, and does not even associate with corruptionists. He is a very devout Methodist.

Why then is he not a valuable man in public life?

He is the man who nominated Harding at the Chicago Convention in a speech ending with the exhorta-

tion, "Come on, boys and girls, let's make him President!"

1. Frank B. Willis is to all serious and intelligent men a joke. Why? Because he is an undeveloped boy.

2. He has no knowledge of or interest in the larger problem of American life.

3. He has no knowledge of human nature; but assumes that everyone else is as innocent as himself. He cannot discern between man and man.

4. He is a total failure in getting anything done; he prefers to talk.

He has been a pawn upon the chess board of Ohio politics, and is now advanced to the King's row again in Washington. By being in the Senate, he has kept some abler man out, in this case a Cincinnati manufacturer, who is a philanthropist and a man of high attainments. Like a balloon, he has floated again into the National Capitol itself. This man expects to become President. After Harding and Taft, will America ever again tolerate an Ohio President?

Of course, he is not a personal friend of the present President; their tastes are too different; but he has played the game for him. A megaphone bass voice is a mighty asset. This man is like the late Julius Caesar Burrows, of Michigan, who rose to the Senatorship on his own wind.

Did Warren Harding put his shoulder to the wheel and work with the "drys?" He did not. Instead, he allowed the Marion Brewery to give to him three shares to keep him quiet as the ostensible head of the STAR daily newspaper.

Did Warren Harding give the women a lift toward equal suffrage? It might be supposed that with a wife who was his financial genius he would favor woman suffrage; but he did nothing for their cause.

Did Warren Harding at any time help the fight

against the seizure of the Ohio canals by the railroads and corporations gratis? No!

Did he work for the great revision of the State Constitution in the period when he was still at home in the State? He did not.

Did he ever at any time support any progressive measure? No!

What did he do all through these critical years? Wait. He did not even listen. He was not interested. It has been said truthfully of some men that they seemed to have a prevision of high destinies. Not so this man. Abraham Lincoln thought that some day he would be President. So did Wilson. Garfield had the same dream. Harding has had no illusions. Is this evidence of high powers? Some would have us think so. Some really profess to believe that great men do not know that they are great.

Of course, some great men do underestimate themselves. Napoleon did that. BUT George Washington never hid himself from public view. Except in seeking the Presidency, Harding has never overestimated himself; as he said, naively, after the election, more than once, "It was a bigger job than I thought."

Willis did not secure the Presidency for Harding by his speech at the Convention, though he seems to think that he did so. We have reports of many eye-witnesses that it was the saddest, most anxious, hottest mass of men ever gotten together for any such purpose. There was sadness because they realized what they were being put up to do; there was anxiety because they were afraid that they would be discovered in regard to what all the crooks among them were being paid for doing; and there was heat because it was less hot outside than in, terrific as the heat was, than the hotness of their souls at one another because

they were not being given a free choice, and because some were being paid much more money and were being promised much finer offices than others were. Willis cheered them a bit just as any other vaudeville performer might have done, and his speech required less real ability than do most of the stunts of acknowledged comedians.

It is well to go back for a brief second consideration of the Ohio State Legislature. No State Legislature in America is really free from bad influences and clear of bad methods of legislation; but few are worse than Ohio. So far as committee chairmanships are concerned, these are arranged before hand by the great bosses, seldom themselves members of the Legislature. In addition, there are steering committees that help the passage of some bill and block the progress of others. A few insiders run these steering committees. Then there are party caucuses at which the things to be tried in the name of the party are determined behind closed doors. What between the bosses, the steering committees and the caucuses, the welfare of the public becomes a matter difficult to remember even by the honest men in the Legislature.

Let us take an illustration. In 1902, the Hanna-Dick-Daugherty machine controlled the Legislature, and Nash was governor. Both Hanna and Boss Cox of Cincinnati were on hand. Hanna gave out the statement that he would regard every vote for a Foraker man as a vote against himself; he had been elected by one majority, to the United States Senate, and he had not forgotten what that had cost in money and anxiety. He meant to try for re-election in 1904. Foraker was trying to get into the Senate by getting Dick out. The State was to be redistricted for Congressional Representatives, and gerrymandering could be fixed in such a way to help Hanna or hurt him, help Foraker or hurt

him. Here Daugherty stepped in and made Hanna surrender to himself for his own two personal candidates, the speakership and the clerkship of the House, which positions men named McKinnon and McEleroy secured in consequence. But in the Senate, the Foraker men won. Then came on a struggle for the chairmanships and in the Senate Cox defeated all the plans of Hanna and Daugherty. In the House, the Daugherty men won. Speaker McKinnon was enabled, through his office, to gerrymander in a special bill the Twelfth Ohio Congressional District, exactly as Daugherty desired.

In 1904, Hanna got everything that he asked from the Ohio Legislature. After the death of Hanna in this year, the machine was taken over by Dick and Herrick. Boss Cox ceased to fight the men from the North of the State. In respect to one of the most important measures at this time—that of abolishing Spring elections in the State—the CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER said that it “brought out the most amazing example of subserviency to party bosses in the entire history of legislation in Ohio.” See issue of March 11, 1904.

While we are looking into this matter, it is profitable to remember that Hanna was a “wet.” Those who think that liquor destroys human abilities do well to forget the case of Mark Hanna; he was wet by example as well as by precept. Herrick was just as wet; perhaps this is a cause contributory others why he desires the opportunity to return to France as Ambassador from America. But, of course, the present crowd in control of the Republican party are all “wets”—Ambassador to Great Britain George B. McClellan Harvey included. Of course, also, the British and the French are “wets.” This makes these leading Republicans *personae gratae* in Europe. The pious hypocrites of

the churches who voted for the Republican party in the last election, themselves pretending to be "dry," knew what the truth was.

When Harry M. Daugherty as Attorney General of the United States declared recently that the only way he knew in which to make the States dry was to drink them dry, he was merely reciting his life-creed. Hanna, Herrick and Daugherty, the makers of Harding, were all "wets." But for the death of Hanna upon February 15, 1904, the Brannock Local Option Bill would not have been passed in April of the same year.

It is well to remember that Hanna was the enemy of Tom Johnson, the reform Mayor of Cleveland, who brought up Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War under President Wilson. This concerns the hatred of Dan Hanna against Wilson, which was personal because of his father. And as has been shown elsewhere in detail, it concerns the kind of attacks made by Warren Harding upon President Wilson.

It would be interesting to recount here something of the relations of Theodore E. Burton and of William Howard Taft to these matters in detail. But to do so would carry far afield. It is enough to recite that Burton is a **legal light**, a **scholar** and a **banker**, who has stood for clean politics so far as he has been able to do so within the ranks of the regulars of the Republican party. He is a bachelor and not rich. He attained the United States Senatorship and is now back in the House of Representatives. Burton has consistently opposed everything that Hanna stood for. There is a story of the time when Harding was chosen to preside over a Republican State Convention at Dayton twenty years ago. Everything that the bosses desired done was done, much to the disgust of Burton, who told this to Harding himself at the end of the affair in no uncertain language.

Burton almost belongs in the same rank with the late Allen G. Thurman, the war horse of the Democracy of Ohio, and a United States Senator two generations ago. But the Republican leaders in the interests of the plutocracy have taken up the little men and have turned down the great one.

It is an illustration of what Burton was and is, that when in Congress he came in his own person to Columbus and appeared before two committees of the House and Senate and argued for the adoption of the Australian ballot. This was just before the death of Governor Pattison, and according to the newspapers of the time, Hanna and Boss Cox then got the bill defeated.

As for Taft, he sold out to Harding in the last campaign, as he had so often sold out to the rotten powers of the darkness of Republicanism in times past, not for money, perhaps not from promise of place—though we shall see what comes as to that; but in the main, because he is at heart a complaisant man who prefers to keep on good terms with Brother Charles, the multissimo-millionaire, and with his wife's sister of the the steel independents, Jones & Laughlin, Pittsburgh. Taft has no capacity for self-sacrifice—such as Roosevelt certainly did have, nor has he the courage of his **very great** friend.

There was a fundamental difference politically between Johnson and Hanna as to the proper authority for the granting of street railway franchises. Johnson asserted that the cities where these were to operate should grant them, while Hanna asserted that every franchise should come from the State. Each of these men had large railroad interests; but there was this difference that Hanna was willing to pay money to legislators to get franchises while Johnson was not. On this point, Burton stood with Johnson, which did

not please Hanna. What Johnson was after was a three-cent carfare in Cleveland for his people there. Hanna was no philanthropist of this kind.

A tremendous home rule sentiment was built up by Johnson, which today controls Ohio, very largely. Burton stood for this also.

If we could trust the reports of the newspapers for the period when Harding was State Senator and Lieutenant Governor, the lobby employed by the great corporations numbered from 150 to 200 men, and the votes necessary to carry or to defeat single measures cost the corporations from \$500 to \$1,000 each. Of course, there were members who went down to the Legislature poor men and who remained such; but there were more men who grew comfortably well off by the sales of their votes. Such was the Legislature of Ohio at the period when Harding got his formative training. There is no evidence that he was even paid anything for any vote; or that he acquired any property through this period. He has never been well-to-do. The pleasure that his wife expressed at being allowed to go to New York to buy clothes after the election of her husband, and her statement that at last she felt that she "could afford to have nice things" was real. The newspapers reports that the Hardings were worth several hundred thousand dollars were absurd. The property that they occupied in Marion cost but a few thousand dollars, and the STAR building with all its machinery represents nothing in the nature of hundreds of thousands of dollars; it is dingy and small. They owned but little else in November, 1920. The Republican pictures of the Warren Harding as a great newspaper man of business was nothing but "campaign talk." The house in Washington owned when he was Senator is by no means a great affair.

The STAR is a co-operative enterprise and has many small stockholders.

We may take one more look at this Legislature in which Warren Harding sat as Senator, sat and did nothing but "vote right;" that is, as the bosses told him to do. The Senators were of an average age of forty-two years; the Representatives were two years older on the average. There were sevnty-five members in both branches together, a mere handful as compared with many State Legislatures. As **Harding never went to college, this was his higher education.** He was one of the younger members. In respect to their educations, there is this curious fact. Not much over one-third of them had been to high school; but most as many had been to college; this means that the men who had gone through high school had gone to college also.

Among so many who had nothing but elementary schooling, Harding was at home. He said but little, though he was usually present and voted. Almost one-half of all the Senators were lawyers, mostly trained in private law offices in country towns.

In this same Senate, twenty had had previous experience in the Legislature, while the other thirteen members were political neophytes "greenhorns."

The sessions lasted but three months nominally, though the actual committee and other work lengthened somewhat the time put in by the more serious and important men.

More than half of all the members were members of the Masonic order; at this period Harding was not a member of this order, though he became such later, and after his election, was raised to the very high degree of thirty-second at a special convocation. This was done regularly. It is said that all but two men

who have been inaugurated President were Masons; but this cannot now be verified.

After Harding ceased to be Lieutenant Governor, he seems to have lost what little interest he ever had in State affairs. Very few editorials that appeared in the Marion STAR dealt with State problems; and probably he wrote not many even of these, for he returned to his work as foreman of the composing room, where he was happy setting up type and seeing to the press work, while his wife managed the outer office and Editor Van Fleet, with his assistants, furnished copy.

When he became United States Senator, as we have told elsewhere, and went to Washington, Columbus passed out of his mind. He never tried to come back as did Hanna and Foraker and manage the State also. He had no light to throw upon State problems, and he had no axes to grind, for the selection was by popular vote.

Before leaving this phase of the matter, it is worth while to notice that if Governor Harmon had not forced the "corrupt practices act" through, Harding would never have become Senator, for this legislation cost Attorney General Timothy S. Hogan his defeat when he ran against Harding in 1914. Hogan was the man who sent several hundred bribers and bribees to the penitentiary in Adams County and thereby made himself very unpopular with politicians generally.

It is well to note also that Harding stayed generally with the politicians from the middle and North of the State, the growing parts, especially with the Columbus men. He did not consort with the rural people or much with those from Cleveland or Cincinnati. Indeed, in general, he kept out of the limelight and out of the centers of the conflicts and made but few enemies.

Whatever the other "boys" did, he did, from chew-

ing and smoking and drinking and and playing poker, to all the rest so far as he could afford their pleasures; he was no Puritan. There was some talk about his colored blood even then, but he was inoffensive and never resented his nickname. The richer men, who were few, saw but little of him. Week-ends he often went home to Marion. He never kept house in Columbus, but boarded. He had a brother and a sister both living there, one a physician and the other a teacher in the school for the blind, being herself blind. This sister, Mary, is very dark, and was never considered anything but colored. His brother is very light complexioned and only Southerners or anthropologists would question his white race. This brother, Charles, secured a very much better education than Warren ever cared to try to get. He is a reputable physician with a modest general practice, who, doubtless, exceedingly regrets that his brother has brought the family affairs to light. Indeed he has said so vigorously.

In a city of 327,000 people with 32,000 negroes who admit that they are negroes and with at least 12,000 more who have negro blood but do not admit this to others, this brother was getting along nicely until the exposures came through the over-zeal of other negroes, including his father's friend, William Chancellor, black, of Mt. Gilead. We have explained this elsewhere. It comes in here because Brother Warren went to see Brother Charles without talking about it very much to other Senators. With his nickname, "Nig" Warren, was something of a handicap to his more successful younger brother at this period. He was also much darker, which was unpleasant to realize. Mary, however, was not recognized publicly by the family; and when she died, she was not cared for by undertakers, but by the family itself.

CHAPTER XII

PRESIDENTIAL HISTORY

In the third place, as we have said, the policy of Harding in the White House cannot be understood without some knowledge of the history of the Presidency beyond what the pretty school histories report. Here we shall draw heavily upon a long article that Professor Chancellor wrote and published some time ago in one of the greatest newspapers of the Continent or the world, for he is one of the leading authorities upon the subject.

In this article, William Estabrook Chancellor—not the negro Chancellor, but the white man who was dragged into this thing by the black man who told the truth for the benefit of his race and as he believed of Harding himself—pointed out that the Presidents of the United States have been of three types—the leaders, he consultants, and the subservient. There is a saying that the Presidency is whatever any man in the office chooses to make of it—a power, an influence or a tool of the plutocracy. This is not wholly true, for when the President is not supported by a party behind him in both Houses of Congress, he cannot be a power in our Government of checks and balances, where responsibility is located everywhere and nowhere.

George Washington was a power, a leader. The Vice-President was John Adams, who often spoke on the floor of the Senate for George Washington and upon twenty-two important occasions gave the tie vote for him. Which shows how very difficult a position even Washington was in, and he was one of the four

greatest men that the Nation so far has produced in public life, the other three being Franklin, Lincoln and Roosevelt. No one else ever controlled Washington. He was a big man physically, the greatest athlete of his times when a young man, an incomparable wrestler and horseman. Washington was especially apt as a writer as the twelve volumes of his writings show, and he left as many that were never published. By profession he was a civil engineer, and he was fourth richest man in America as a business man and merchant in flour.

John Adams as President was a leader, but his following failed him. He had been a professor in Latin schools.

Thomas Jefferson was the greatest political philosopher of our history; he was the man who bought Louisiana. He liked to get advice and then to do as he pleased. He was a leader, a thinker and a power, and his memory yet lives green and fresh and will live forever. He believed in making America a **land for the common man**, a place where freemen would be happy in their freedom. He was an inventor, some of his inventions being the present wheelbarrow, the revolving chair now used in offices and the letter copying press. He was a first-class scientific farmer and brought many African and European farm plants to America. He had Congress with him. He founded the University of Virginia.

James Madison wrote more of the Constitution than did any other man. But in the Presidency he belonged to the consultant type and took too much advice from other men; he went to war with Great Britain because Henry Clay told him to do so. But he was not habitually subservient. He was a great political scholar, a thoroughly educated man like Jefferson.

In the succession to these great men, where is little

Warren Harding? It is a shameful thing to present such a contrast to the world.

James Monroe was merely a consultant President. John Quincy Adams wrote the Monroe Doctrine for him. But he was no one's tool.

John Quincy Adams was a born thinker and scholar, a great diplomat, a great lawyer; after he left the Presidency, he did the greatest thing for human liberty that has been done by any American, greater even than the preservation of the right to worship where and when one will, which was due to the work of Jefferson in Virginia. He preserved the right of petition to Congress and of having the petitions read before that body in House and Senate. He gave his life to this work for twenty years, and he died after making a speech there in the Capitol.

But he had no following as President. No one ever managed him for a minute after he grew up, not even his father, John Adams.

Then came the most terrific person that America has known in public life, Andrew Jackson, who, at a banquet, where he was too sick to eat, told the Southerners this: "The Union, it must and shall be preserved." This was the man who brought the new West and the common man into public offices. He broke the bureauocracy of the past, the officeholders' ring.

Andrew Jackson is the general whose soldiers at New Orleans shot 1200 Britishers in the foreheads, and who lost but seven men themselves in that fight. He reduced the Southern Indians to subjection to the American military power. No man ever controlled him. By killing one man who slandered his wife and by threatening to kill others, he made it unsafe to slander women falsely.

Martin Van Burean was one of the greatest lawyers

in America. He was a power in the Jackson period. Because of the Democratic two-thirds vote rule, he lost the renomination to the Presidency.

He always did as President what "Old Hickory" told him to do; otherwise, he was a power. He did not, however, take the bit in his teeth and run, as the forceful men have done. He, like Jackson, believed that **Gold is the only money**; and in their time the United States was entirely out of debt. He is the man who caused imprisonment for debt to cease in New York State and eventually throughout the Nation. He was true democrat. He would be remembered even if he had never been President, as most other men in the White House would have been remembered by Americans for a century or two.

After serving thirty days, William Henry Harrison died. He was an energetic old man, and would probably have made a name for himself as an independent person. At the very first Cabinet meeting, when his Secretary of State, the great orator, Daniel Webster told him something that he did not like, his reply was, "William Henry Harrison is President." He had been a military hero, winning the battle of Tippecanoe against the Indians.

John Tyler was nobody, a mere subservient tool of the slavery interests.

James Knox Polk had been Speaker of the House in Congress. He also was the tool of the slavery lords. And he died of mortification one month after he left the White House because so many decent men thought that the Mexican War should never have been fought.

Will Warren Gamaliel Harding also let the lords of power lead us again into a war with Mexico? Mexico has oil, rubber, copper and silver, and the lords of power could have new and greater palaces and finer

yachts if we should let a few hundred thousand of our boys and men die in the dust and heat of that terrible land.

Taylor opposed the slave lords and died after two years' service; he was a very independent man, a rich slaveholder himself and a war hero, but no coward when big men of business talked to him. "Old Rough and Ready" was a man whom Warren Harding might well study now.

Fillmore advocated the Fugitive Slave Act. No more needs to be said.

Notwithstanding a fine name, Franklin Pierce was nobody.

James Buchanan also was a mere abject tool of the slavelords; and because Abraham Lincoln showed him up in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln became President.

Lincoln is now the most beloved of all Americans, and is considered the best writer also. He had a great way of consulting everyone and then doing exactly as he pleased. Often he did what every big man of the times told him not to do. Will Harding ever do this?

Johnson did as he pleased, not wisely.

Is Warren Harding a Lincoln in the making, or a Buchanan?

Is this period one when the lords of money and currency and securities and labor slaves must be shown up? It is well to remember at this stage that Lincoln was very unpopular with most big men.

The most corrupt of all Presidents was Ulysses S. Grant. He was merely the tool of the men who had made fortunes in the Civil War. He did whatever the Drexels asked him to do, and Belknap with the Star Route Ring wrecked him historically. He admitted "borrowing" of the Drexels on his own account while President at one time \$150,000. But the G. A. R. still

calls him "a great President." He had been a "great" General with five times as many soldiers as Robert E. Lee. That is, he had great armies.

Hayes was no fool. He was rich enough to do what he pleased. He never talked with any one without having a shorthand writer on hand keeping notes. No man could see him quietly alone.

Garfield died soon after his election.

Arthur was a pleasure-loving gentleman, who did what the New York politicians asked.

Cleveland was a terror in the White House. He went in for Civil Service reform. He was a powerful man who worked harder than any other President before him except Washington and Lincoln. He did take advice, perhaps too much, but he was not subservient. He believed in gold as the only money and revived the Jackson traditions.

Only great bankers now have gold; what will Harding do about this? Jackson broke the United States Bank because it also believed in having "real money" only for the rich.

Benjamin Harrison came in between the two terms of Cleveland, who had a majority of the popular votes, however, in all three elections. He added six Republican States to the Union out of the territories in order to control the Senate in Congress. He was the rich man's President. But he was also a great lawyer.

The modern time in American history began with McKinley and world expansion.

In order to understand it, we need to consider what, in the light of the present, has been the most important American public question, and what the other great issues have been.

By far the greatest question has been, of course, how to realize democracy, how to give, as Lincoln put it, "to every man the equal chance."

Who have stood for this?

Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt.

Who have been the agents of the aristocrats?

Conspicuously, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan.
Grant, McKinley, Taft.

That is the one first and main issue.

Where will Harding stand?

The second great question has been how to bring prosperity to the land, how to make Americans generally happy.

The leaders in this movement have been

Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren,
McKinley, Roosevelt, Wilson.

The men who have stood not for the the general prosperity but for the power of the great and rich and well-born, have been

John Adams, Monroe, Tyler, Polk, Fillmore,
Pierce, Buchanan, Grant, Taft.

The third question has been how to expand our lands.

The leaders in this have been

Washington, who tried to get Canada to come in; Jefferson, Madison, Polk, Taylor, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, B. Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt.

The opponents of this have been, curiously enough, Lincoln, who opposed taking Mexican sessions, and Cleveland; and outside of the Presidency, two very great men, Hamilton and Webster.

The fourth question has been whether to go abroad and get International power.

The leaders in Internationalism have been

Jefferson, both Adams, Monroe, Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Lincoln, Grant, B. Harrison, McKinley, Taft, and by far the greatest of them all, Wilson.

The opponents have been
Washington, Hayes and Cleveland.

The fifth question has been that of honest gold money instead of mere paper currency.

The leaders of this have been
Washington, Jackson, Van Buren, Hayes,
Cleveland.

Those who have sinned against the pocketbooks of the common man (who is no banker) have been Lincoln, Grant and Wilson.

Here let us record the names of three great statesmen who have cared to keep America gold honest—Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin and John Sherman.

A sixth question has been how to raise money for the National Government and whether in doing so to have a protective tariff.

Before the Civil War, the protective tariff was relatively unimportant, because the Government spent but little money. The only man who cared much about it and who became President was John Quincy Adams. All taxes were low.

Since that time, the advocates of a strong protective tariff have been Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, B. Harrison, McKinley, Taft.

The opponents have been Cleveland and Wilson.

The question of an income tax was never important until very recently when much more money was demanded.

Wilson advocated this, and McKinley and Taft were against it.

No President has ever favored prohibition of the liquor traffic. Wilson and Harding are both "wets."

Another tremendous question now looms before us, and the question where Harding stands will have to be answered by him at once. What about paying the

present National debt; is it to be a burden upon our children's children forever like the British consols and a means for establishing and maintaining a moneyed aristocracy? There are individual men who own each more than one million of these more than twenty billions of dollars of National debts.

The Victory Loan, the fifth war issue, comes due in April, 1923. Does Warren Harding intend to repay it or to refund it, and if so, at what rate of interest?

The amount is about \$2,225,000,000.

To own one million dollars of this debt means to have an income of \$47,500 a year from the taxes and toil of the American people.

Of course, long ago, the Constitution of the United States ceased to be anything more than a fetich, for the Supreme Court has become a perpetual constitutional convention deciding as it will what accords under the new conditions with the old letter and the old spirit and what does not. Abraham Lincoln and the "implied war powers" ended all the old philosophical liberals; the latter won out of hand. When Theodore Roosevelt made his immortal speech in Kansas on "the new nationalism," he but put the seal of his statesmanship upon the matter. Strict construction in a work of international trade, of wireless telegraphy, of great newspapers is impossible. It means that, except for wars, money postoffice, and a few such matters, each State could and should go it alone.

That is now undesirable, of course. Still, there are echoes of the thing. There are still citizens who do not believe that because it is unsafe to put liquor in the South and in such negro States as Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, it is therefore also wicked to allow the people of Massachusetts and of California to have wine at their meals or beer.

The foodless saloon always was a crime. But that

does not make the farmer who has cider criminal morally.

Strict construction would have made the discussion of uniform divorce laws and a national statute on the subject a real issue. It would have allowed the various States to make experiments in many lines in order to find what legislation is really best for the American people in each part of the country and in each epoch of development.

What will Warren Harding make of the problem of the construing of the Constitution? He has never studied Latin, nor law, nor jurisprudence, nor economics, nor anything above a rural school course in a back country district plus some pedagogy in order to teach in rural schools; and there is no evidence whatever that he did teach even one day.

There is a myth that one of the greatest of Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, "knew nothing." This is a vicious lie; for he studied the entire high school course in Springfield, Ill., under the veteran high school principal evenings for four years, and he was also one of the best lawyers in Illinois. To compare Harding with Lincoln is deliberate endeavor to fool the American people.

The Nation now has \$6,250,000,000 of currency out in circulation, of which over \$3,000,000,000 is new currency compared with a total of but \$2,250,000,000 nearly all gold and silver in 1913.

This means that the bankers have a vast amount of currency without gold backing that they lend to the people at six and seven per cent, and costs them only the government charge for printing. It is a scandal. What does Harding intend to do about this?

It should be slowly but steadily retired within not over ten years. What will be his policy? Does he

think that the more paper currency a Nation has the richer it is?

Ask the Russians who now have \$65,000,000,000 in circulator, yet are in desperate poverty. Paper currency impoverishes any nation.

We may now return to McKinley and to the beginnings of modern times in the United States. With him, America expanded into and across the Pacific and into the West Indies. A great President faces all the major questions of his times with full front.

The greatest question of the times for McKinley was whether or not to help Cuba and the Philippines to go free from Spain; he answered affirmatively; in the main, because men like Roosevelt were ready to act under him. He did a statesmanlike thing then.

The worst fault of McKinley was that he filled every office at the dictation of Mark Hanna, and that only toward the end of his life did he see our world relations as unfortunately influenced by a too high tariff. But we have had poorer and weaker Presidents. McKinley grades well with the whole list. He was a good lawyer; an excellent public speaker; not afraid to stand upon a platform without notes and tell his story.

To equal him Warren needs to study law five or ten years. This is the first but not the only requirement. It would be wise for him also to pick out a Regent with the abilities of Mark Hanna.

Roosevelt undertook more things than any other President save Wilson. He taught the plutocrats that the Government OF the people belongs TO the people, not to the plutocracy. He did a hundred other great things. He had a polyphase mind; he was a hunter of game, big and small; a historian and naturalist and essayist; a world traveller, a loud, if not very effective, public speaker; though easily in the second rank, far superior to Harding; a thorough business man who left

the largest estate of all the Presidents by far; the father of many children and grandfather of many more; with a very admirable record as a man in all his dealings with women.

Warren Harding in his seat is morally a crime. What will he do about the conservation of natural resources which Roosevelt began? Warren Harding plays golf; T. R. did not play golf; he was no old man. He rode horseback; he played tennis; he walked and swam streams, when they got in his way; he went camping and delighted in the storms that drove Warren out of Point Isabel because they were "too severe." Roosevelt did not know what bad weather was.

Roosevelt read books; old books, new books, hundreds every month. What books has Warren Harding ever read? Roosevelt did not play poker all night.

But Roosevelt was a poor judge of men, being too generous in respect to them. He selected Taft for the Presidency and it was a very bad blunder for himself. Taft was a very good executive when he had a right-minded man to tell him what to execute. Taft is of the judicial temperament, and he has too many rich relatives, though honest and poor himself.

Even Taft, however, being a first-class lawyer, is a head, shoulders, trunk, limbs to the knees, higher than Warren Harding; but has he sold out to him in order to become Chief Justice? Did he sell out the League to Enforce Peace? He organized this and was President of it. If he has done so, and it looks like it very much, for the League to Enforce Peace is dead, then he classes with the most despised history.

The accusations made against Woodrow Wilson by the plutocrats who have captured, piratically, the machinery of the once good Republican party, are these, viz.:

1. He went it alone; he consulted none.

2. He got very rich through the war.

3. He is morally vile and always has been.

4. He lives remote and above the rest of us, an isolated hermit of a man.

5. He is only a professor, a bookman, a scholar.

6. He wrote too much, he sent too many letters to Germany.

7. He cares too much for the peace of the world; and is willing to sacrifice the interests of America to the good of humanity.

8. He bossed the peace conference, and made the Allies do just what he wished.

9. He spent too much time in gayeties in Paris, and was too much flattered by the common people.

10. He has been too much under the influence of women, especially his two wives, and the wives of other men.

11. He is sickly by nature.

12. He has done too many things to do them all well.

13. He is pro-British and anti-German.

14. He was flimflammed by Clemenceau and the rest.

Such has been the program of ruin that the plutocrats accomplished. It sounds like just what it is, bedlam. It sounds like a reflex of the minds of Warren and the Duchess.

This book is not a defence of Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Presbyterian elder, and once President of Princeton University. Time will judge him. Time will show him as one of the world's great thinkers.

But there is required a mere statement of the truth.

So far from going it alone in the Peace Conference, he was attended by more than a hundred experts and by many clerks; he had made the most elaborate preparation of all the statesmen present.

It is silly for men to write books and articles trying to show that Woodrow Wilson did not avail himself of ALL THE INFORMATION that a man who lives on 24 hours a day like the rest COULD GET as he moved along. Many a night he had almost no sleep for month on month. He was in conference or preparing notes for conferences and committees. For shameless paid mercenary mendacity the work of such men as Judson C. Welliver, who became head of the publicity work of the Republican National Committee after serving as critic for them in Europe, passes the dreams of Munchausen and Machiavelli. He did this for money. As for Robert Lansing, what he has revealed is that he is a sorehead and that Wilson saw how incompetent he was. The same is true of the Englishman, Keynes, whose ax Wilson would not grind for him. Andrew Tardieu has exposed all this lying in his book on the Treaty.

If he got very rich through the war, where is his wealth? His second wife, the widow of the jeweler, Norman Galt, of Washington was a woman of wealth before he married her. There is not the slightest evidence that even with the savings of a salary of \$75,000 a year, Woodrow Wilson and his wife together are worth even a million dollars, and of this total the Galt estate accounts for nearly all. Norman Galt died childless and left all to his widow. The Republicans, as we saw in the account of the campaign itself, instructed their paid agents provocateurs to say that Mrs. Wilson was worth twenty million dollars and Woodrow himself as much more. Where is this forty million dollars hidden? It would take the brain of a mestizo to trump up such a story. Or, possibly, Will Hays invented it. He was Chairman of the Committee that hired these agents to lie.

Forty million dollars represents the total wealth of

the ordinary city of 20,000 people. Or all the farms of a county with a farming population of as many. Who paid this to Wilson? Is it in his vest pocket? No, indeed, but the lie is charged up against Welliver, Scott C. Bone and Will Hays on the Book of the Day of Judgment.

Wilson is a Presbyterian elder. So is Hays. If Wilson is morally vile, why does not Hays undertake to have him removed from his eldership? The proposition that a university president in America can be morally vile is itself detestable. Warren, who never went to college, may believe this; but no college graduate will.

There is, of course, a cult in America that tries to make out that Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Ann Arbor and all other universities are abominations. This cult is a curse to the land. Those foul parrots say that Mrs. Wilson I. died because Woodrow Wilson was unfaithful to her. If so, why did her death cause him to be so ill for months that he contemplated resigning the Presidency? Why did not his grown daughters repudiate him? Why did his wife's family immediately publish contradictions of all the stories of inharmony? Why is Professor Anson, of Texas, still one of Wilson's closest friends, being his first wife's brother? No, these stories were all hatched in the disgusting experiences of such people as Mrs. Warren and her paramour, and duly proven in her divorce from De Wolfe in court.

If Woodrow Wilson lives remote from the rest of us, how would these Republicans wish him to live? In an apartment house or in a tenement in some slum? They charge in the next breath that he frequented the vile places of Paris. If he went alone, remote and aloof, how do they know it at all?

It is quite true that he is now a cripple for life from a form of paralysis. Does no decent man ever

have a stroke of paralysis? He got this while on a speaking trip among American people, believing that he must come into close contact with the millions. He was driven to do this by the hideous flood of calumnies set on by the Republicans, whose names will be forever anathema maranatha to decent posterity. We mean Lodge, Penrose, Harding, Knox, Smoot, the Mormon, and all their like.

If Woodrow Wilson had been "only a professor," the Republicans would never have feared him. A "professor" is a kind of Ichabod Crane, a ridiculous person who, because he can do nothing, teaches how to do it; so they say.

The letters sent by Woodrow Wilson did more damage to the German cause than whole mountain piles of bombs; they broke the morale of the German people, and made them doubt their rulers who were quite as abominable as the Republican plutocrats. They broke the support behind the lines, which is more important than the lines themselves.

The peace of the world is the peace of America; when the world will not fight because it hates war, then my son and your son will not have to fight.

He did boss the Peace Conference; and the Republicans are now trying to unscramble the eggs, as J. P. Morgan put it. The Covenant is the whole of the Peace; without it, the Peace is but temporary.

Woodrow Wilson spent no time in the gayeties of Paris, because there were no gayeties. All that is mere pro-German talk. France lost a million dead and two million more wounded in a population of but fifteen million adult men. Of course, to save time, the diplomats did eat together.

It is quite true that Wilson has been much under the influence of good women, his mother, his first and second wives. But for his second wife, who has nursed

him faithfully and attended to much business for him, he would have been dead by now, and a great man dead is a statesman, of course; then Henry Cabot Lodge could have delivered a funeral oration grandiloquently.

If being influenced by good women is a crime, let us have more of these crimes. All these Mrs. Wilsons, all three, were very smart women, it so happens, especially the last. When a man is loved by very smart women, who have the right to do so, is that a sign of incompetence?

As to his being sickly by nature, perhaps. So was Roosevelt as a boy. In college Wilson was the best boxer among the thousand men; Princeton has men students only. After he came out of college he was the football coach for two years. Physically, he bears a very close resemblance to the ex-champion, Willard. He is tall and very strong muscularly.

It is true that at the end of the Presidency, he broke down in health.

So did Theodore Roosevelt at the end of his seven years.

Polk survived but one month.

The average expectation of life for the man who leaves the Presidency after two terms is fourteen years; the actual realized average is seven years.

The Presidency of the United States is the biggest job in the world.

The giant Washington lived but three years after leaving the Presidency and died at an age not much greater than that of Wilson now. He was very ill while President for more than a year.

Taylor died from the work while in office; so did William Henry Harrison. The record is really far worse than the statistics sound. We have had but two men survive two consecutive terms of office since the Civil War, Grant and Roosevelt. Each lived about ten years.

Each was a young man when he finished, for these two were the youngest of all the Presidents. Grant was but fifty-three at the end of his two terms and Roosevelt but fifty-one. Cleveland had two terms, but not consecutive; he also survived about ten years. The surgeons said that McKinley died when he was shot because his health had been broken by his toils of office. His constitution had no vital reserves.

All this, of course will be made use of by Republicans who will argue that now that Harding is in office, we should praise him with the loot. McKinley did not lie himself into office. On this argument, the burglar and murderer would always be safe. Mrs. Harding already complains of unpleasant stories. Why did she use such against a good woman, the real First Lady, Mrs. Wilson?

No doubt that Wilson had done too many things to do them all well. So has every other great man.

As for his being pro-British and anti-German, what should he have been? Neutral, while our boys were being shot down? Gassed? Starved in prison camps?

At a Jackson Day banquet in Ohio, Professor William Estabrook Chancellor, the white historian, and not the black neighbor of Warren Harding, made a speech, which is reported to us as follows, viz.:

“Ladies and Gentlemen: We have heard much as to the causes why the Democrats were beaten by the Republicans in the last election. But in one aspect of the situation I rejoice. The Republicans lied about the situation and about the men. They bribed many. They terrorized the women by telling them that the League meant war. They predicted that our factories would close down because the Republican capitalists would not use their funds if Cox should be elected. They appealed to every mother and wife whose man had been drafted. They appealed to the farmers who de-

sired a better price for their wheat and wool. They told the postal clerks that Burleson was a Democrat and their enemy. They organized the negroes by saying that if the Democrats had their way, they would disfranchise them. They told the League advocates that Warren was a pro-Leaguer. They told the anti-Leaguers that Warren was for America only first, last and all the time. They told the big capitalists that they would reduce the income tax. They told the rail-roaders that they would raise their wages. They tore out of the Democratic party every man and woman whom fear, self-interest, greed, "patriotism," fasely so-called; pride of country, any and every class interest could reach. They told the ministers that all the leading Democrats were on the straight road to hell. We have left a period when Woodrow Wilson was holding high ideals of a world of peace and righteousness and humanity and world brotherhood before us into a period that reminds me of Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. There is a story that no living creature can cross that Sea. Its waters are pestilential; its heat is terrific; its ordors cut the lungs. But I for one rejoice that I belong to the irreducible minimum of the Democrats who could not be bribed, terrorized, seduced, misled to the shores of that Sea down, down, down to its abyss twelve hundred feet below the decent levels of Old Ocean and more than a half mile below the Holy City. Nevertheless, as I stand with you upon the high hills of Mount Zion, I watch with interest the flight across the Dead Sea of one Black Crow."

The achievements of Wilson during his eight years read like romance.

He led an army of two millions across the Atlantic and organized a reserve of two millions more, the best equipped army in the history of the world, and next to

the largest, the only larger army being that of Germany itself.

He secured within a few years \$32,000,000,000 of funds for the war, by far the great supply of currency and bonds that the world ever saw.

The percentage of graft in the spending of this money was so small as to be negligible. Many of the men who spent money were Republicans. He used men from both parties freely, too freely when their ingratitude to him is considered.

Pershing is a Republican, and has a father-in-law worth twenty-five million dollars, a United States senator from Wyoming. He commanded the troops. On the ocean, Admiral Sims is a Republican. Benedict Crowell, who was the head of army purchases, was a Republican. Gates who headed supplies in Europe was a Republican. Hoover was a Republican, and so was Garfield. Yet all the errors of the war are charged to Wilson and the Democrats.

Nevertheless, Wilson was the head of the Government, and Wilson won the war so far as America ever did win the war.

He organized the Federal Reserve Banking System that has taken the money power from Wall Street and distributed it in twelve regional cities.

He began the Farm Loan System.

He made prohibition effective, though opposed to it on principle.

He worked hard for and helped woman suffrage win.

He put across the income and excess profits taxes that made the rich bear the heavier burdens, as they can. Thereby he relieved the poor.

His worst mistake was in permitting the inflation of the currency with paper.

It has been said that he blundered when he asked

the American people to elect Democrats to Congress. What has the history of the past two years proven? What is the present opinion of America about Truman H. Newberry, of Michigan, a Republican? His vote defeated the Peace.

Wilson obeyed no man, and he made the Presidency powerful.

The Constitution in Article II says that "The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States." Where do we wish the power vested? In a Regency to be managed by Mrs. Warren Harding, the Duchess; H. M. Daugherty, and Boies Penrose? Or do we wish to have the Senate run the country?

The Presidents look like this: USED ALL THE POWERS OF OFFICE WELL: Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Wilson. BADLY: Polk and Grant.

Very few others, possibly Madison and McKinley, will even be mentioned in the histories of five thousand years from now except by mere name to fill the list.

Where is Warren Harding headed? For the same oblivion as the rest? He has already pledged himself not to act precipitately. This means not to act without finding out what the big men desire. That is what every negro butler instinctively does; he wishes to have his master decide for him.

No President has ever resigned and no negro ever commits suicide; we tried to mpeach one man but failed. Reform is possible. Most Presidents steadily grow less and less popular; what will be the fate of Harding?

J. Adams, J. Q. Adams, Van Buren, Pierce, Polk, Buchanan, Hayes, who was not elected properly though he got the legal papers; B. Harrison, Taft, each served one term. What is to be the case with this man who

went in by the methods of an election made to order for him by the looters of America?

The Peace Treaty will gradually fade out from the views of man, as nations and world conditions change; but the League of Nations, with already forty-two actual members, will never die out. Clemenceau and Sonnino and Lloyd George may have controlled the terms of the peace, but Woodrow Wilson laid down the railroad tracks into the far remote future of the human race. This part of their work will be forgotten like all peace treaties, but the League will no more be forgotten than will the Code of Justinian, Magna Charta and the American Federal Constitution, the ground-work of all modern democracies. In the storm of present day politics, Wilson at home was apparently beaten—on the theory that Cox was “his man,” but in the long run of humanity across the ocean of Time, Wilson will be remembered as the man who charted the course. So far from being beaten at Versailles, he won.

Wilson stood for these things, each eternally right. viz.:

1. The principle of self-determination for all peoples, which means the right of little nationalities against great empires, the conformity of boundary lines with race and other natural delimitations.

2. The necessity of machinery and organization to bring the nations of the world into parliament with one another, and thereby to establish a confederation of mankind.

3. The paramount wickedness of war—to avoid, which is the first business of mankind.

On this subject we have found two pieces of verse by William Estabrook Chancellor, which we reprint here:

The League is Dead. Long Live the League

They said, "His day is done, and all he sought
Forever into vanity has passed."

Lo, History to her verdicts comes not fast!

The troubled people oft for a time are caught
In snares that crafty men have wrought.

The clock ticks on, and only right ways last.
He set mankind upon a program vast.

What others dreamed, he shaped, and for it fought.
Was he defeated? The battle comes and goes.

Empires and nations in the chains of peace
He helped to harness. Though him we failed.

His plan is fact, which shall dissolve our woes.
Inveterate thinker, thou shalt give surcease

From care, and men will say, "His soul prevailed."

CHAPTER XIII

HAMON AND HARDING

The relation of the now world-known Hamon murder case to the Harding candidacy is orally familiar to most intelligent Americans; the story is told here with much brevity, though in itself the most interesting phase of the whole political history of the Presidential campaign of 1920. It so happened that the mere fact that Professor Chancellor, through his many newspaper acquaintances and friends, was thoroughly informed about the Hamon phase was a potent cause, perhaps the most potent cause, of his being encouraged to get out of the reach of the Republican plutocrats for a time.

Jake Hamon was about forty-five years old at the time of his murder by Clara Smith, who was acquitted for reasons and from causes of the most exciting nature. As the people of Ardmore and Rankin and Oklahoma City, where Hamon was best known, put it to Professor Chancellor, when he surveyed the field: "Someone had to kill Jake; perhaps it was best Clara do it."

Jake was a big-bodied man some five feet nine inches tall, claimed German and Indian blood, and had an indescribable complexion, like the Mississippi in a freshet at sunset. He may have had Spanish or Portuguese blood. According to the business standards and practices of Oklahoma and the Oil country, he was an exceedingly able business man. At any rate, being on the ground floor from the start, he made and lost millions, and died with an estate and reported in

the newspapers after appraised at \$5,000,000 assets, to \$1,800,000. Public opinion credits him with having conveyed, in trust, at least ten millions in assets to others, as anchors to the windward in the event of a smash-up of various speculative enterprises; but public opinion may be totally wrong. At the worst, he died worth three millions and more.

Ten years ago, he already had a wife and children in Kansas, the wife being Georgia Harding, cousin of Warren G. Harding, then a politician of Ohio. She was colored like himself and made no claims to being anything else. They lived in a world of all races and of all mixtures of all races, Chinese included, and Mexican. Color was nothing—a joke.

But Jake had the traits of his primitive people; one trait being that he was a born polygamist and woman-chaser. Already among other women he had taken Clara Smith. This was as deliberate on her part as his; he saw her in a store tending a customer, followed her up took her to his office, and made a deal with her to educate her as his private secretary for the usual consideration exacted by loose grls. She was then eighteen and understood what the affair was. He sent her to a private school in Lawrence, Kansas, and while she was still in that school learning English and shorthand, sent for her often to see him in Topeka, for purposes easily surmised.

Clara was a brunette and slight in person, and has negro blood. She used rouge and cosmetics and got herself up regardless of expense. Jake was “making a million” a year and often that much a month.

Among all the women Jake fancied, Clara developed most ability.

When not drunk, Jake was not only amiable, but even agreeable and polite. He was seldom more than a quarter drunk. “He could stand as much likker as

any man in Oklahoma," was the way the men on the street put it. But occasionally he did get very drunk; then he was a demon, all-furious Indian. Then Clara was the only one who could even partially tame him. Such sprees lasted usually several days.

They drove over the praries and planes together, looking up petroleum and refineries and pipelines and railroads and markets. They occupied adjoining rooms in hotels, or when hotels were crowded, the same room. At last some of the rich eastern operators who were using Hamon to stalk yet bigger prey objected, and for appearances sake Jake married Clara off to a worthless nephew whom he prevented from ever seeing her alone. After that they traveled as uncle and niece, a very raw proposition, but in a very raw land.

Occasionally Jake visited his legal wife with the result that she bore one more child to him. Clara had no children. Mrs. Georgia at last agreed to accept a fine apartment and plenty of money and to live in Chicago without her man.

Jake L. Hamon built the city of Rankin. He helped make the city of Ardmore. He was a power. He even went in for Boy Scouts and Y. M. C. A.'s. He was a spender and a mixer. When people complained about his morals—for he had women friends besides Clara, stationed at various points, though Clara was the head of the harem—men said, "Oh, it's Jake's way; we can not change him." They ate together in hotels; they even went together to the homes of friends. Every one knew the situation. Jake gave to Clara the finest of motor cars and of clothes. She worked hard for him when with him, writing his telegrams and letters and mending his clothes. She developed an expert knowledge of oil and oil men.

Then came the amazing news to Georgia Harding that her cousin was going to try to become President.

Jake also heard of it. They had never broken with one another; they met and talked over what they could do. Then they went to Ohio to see Warren. Both of them knew him, of course. Warren sent them to H. M. Daugherty, who said that what he most needed was money. Jake said he had enough. We have been unable to get all the details of what was actually given by Jake to Warren Harding's nomination campaign and later spent by him for the election, naturally. Jake did not much care; he had enough to see it through.

But the common report is that H. M. Daugherty got in all for the nomination campaign in Ohio two hundred thousand dollars, and won most of the delegates with this money. He admitted spending one hundred thousand dollars.

There was a hot fight for the Oklahoma delegation. Jake won the State Committee Chairmanship at a cost of forty-six thousand dollars. But Lowden got the instruction to the delegates to support him for the nomination.

Meantime, Daugherty had opened offices for Harding in Chicago, with more of Jake's money. It is believed that the direct office expenses were seventy-eight thousand dollars.

Then came the Convention. For a money consideration, the Oklahoma delegation, after a few ballots, abandoned Lowden for Harding; this is said to have cost in all directly another \$50,000.00. Other delegations were bought; other Harding votes were secured; and of the total how much came from Jake is unknown. The total was something like \$300,000.00. It was not a convention of "cheap skates." Some delegates went home with net profits of \$25,000.00.

Jake went into the campaign with the definite promise of being made Secretary of the Interior in the

event that Harding won. With this power American Oil would win Mexico.

In all, Hamon spent from \$900,000 to \$1,500,000. We give the two extremes of the Oklahoma estimates. There are three living persons who know how much Hamon spent—H. M. Daugherty, Clara Smith Hamon, now in the vaudeville field, and Ketchum, the manager of the Hamon estate. This raises the question of the debts of \$1,800,000.00. It appears that Hamon borrowed from Standard Oil Banks and companies all the monies he spent with the understanding that when he got to be Secretary of the Interior and opened up Mexico to the Standard Oil Interests, the notes were to be charged over to profit and loss. On this claim, since by being killed, he was unable to become Secretary of the Interior, the Hamon estate is trying to get the notes cancelled for the benefit of Georgia Harding Hamon and her three children.

Harding did win, and Harding went out to Oklahoma to see his cousins. Already, the word had reached himself and the Duchess that Hamon had an inamorata who might be in the way in Washington; they desired Georgia to get the limelight, not Clara. Eastern women disfavor the Clara Smiths of the oil country.

Hamon had for his cousins a fine banquet at Oklahoma City, and at this affair Mrs. Warren Gamaliel Harding put her right hand upon the shoulder of the oil king and called him "Our dear Jake," and told the people how grateful she was for the terribly hard work he had done to win Oklahoma.

They took Jake, but not Clara, down to Point Isabel, Texas. There was a big storm down there but the external storm was not so great as the one inside the fishing camp, where Senators Fall, Hale and Frelinghysen told Jake Hamon to go back and clean house, while Warren and Florence Harding sat sadly by and

watched Jake's Torment, for, as we shall see, Jake loved his tall, lithe, clever, attractive quadroom woman. But he wished to make a very great fortune, and he wished the honor of being in the Cabinet. Really, he thought, "Where do they get that stuff? What is the matter? Ain't Clara satisfied?"

But he went back home, first, to Rankin and told the city officials to send all the "Dames" and "Skirts sky-hooting," which they did. Then he went down to Ardmore and he saw Clara and he told her. All that she asked was this: "Her clothes and motor cars and jewelry and \$1500.00 cash to begin again."

This made him think that Clara did not love him, and he went out and took several drinks. When he came back he was somewhat drunk. He went to Clara's room and expostulated with her. But she only sent him away again. Then he took some more drinks. By this time anger at her and desire for her had gotten the better of his temper, and he started to whip her. She resisted. Then he hit her again; and she took up a little pearl-handled revolver and pointed it at him. He seized a chair and rased it. Clara swung, like a cat, behind him, and "plugged" him one. It entered his back behind his liver and he ran out into the hallway and into another room. Clara rushed after him, and put her arms around him; but others who had heard the shot came in, and he said to them: "Well, the girl has got the old man at last."

A few days later Jake died.

All this might have come out at the trial, but the Standard Oil Company said "NO."

Only that part was allowed in the record which explained why Clara had the revolver. And how she shot him. And what he said.

The jury had no desire to hang a woman or even put her away for life; also she might run around and

tell all she knew. Therefore, they made her and her parents comfortable by acquitting her on the ground of self-defense.

She is now at large and she may tell her story. This is the story we have told.

This is no Evelyn Thaw ruined girl story. It is merely the brutal outline of the plutocracy and its tools in the raw west.

And Senator Fall, who did the advising of Hamon, will have to answer in the highest court where all men have their Great Assize, how he adjusted his own conscience to his part in the business. He asked Hamon to do something which was virtually suicide.

Through this dead man's money, or that of the Standard Oil men, many of whom are very religious, Warren Harding lives in the White House. It is a sickening fact for decent men to endure. How the White House can ever be cleared of the odor of this pertroleum is a serious problem for the future of our American social order.

Hamon, bad as he was, was a better man than the man whom he placed there in the White House, and he played a finer game.

The American Press all know this story; but they have preferred to let the friends of Professor Chancellor here and now tell it.

We dare them to start a war in Mexico, once that the public knows this story.

Will the nerve of the Secretary of the Interior hold out?

CHAPTER XIV

THE ELECTION MADE TO ORDER

In the first place, it is desirable to make clear why the Republicans were so tremendously concerned about winning the election of 1920. They made an extraordinary effort, an effort hitherto unequalled in American political history, and there was a campaign unequalled in its violence of street and countryside gossip and final newspaper filth, whence the sluice gates of Republican billingsgate were opened upon a man in no way responsible for telling that which was charged against Harding.

The Republican campaign really began as soon as Woodrow Wilson decided to go to France to represent the Republic as he had the full constitutional right to go. He was the head of the Government, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, head of foreign affairs, head of expenditures. First, the Republicans tried to show that legally he could not go outside of the three-mile limits of our coasts; if he did, the Vice-President would automatically succeed him, but it was shown that Theodore Roosevelt had gone outside of those limits, and this settled that notion. Then in succession came arguments that it was unwise to do so, unsafe lest the chief be assassinated, undignified, impracticable, monarchical, etc. This line of argument showed that the real trouble lay in the desire of the Republicans, who, in the election of 1918, had won control of Congress, to control the foreign affairs through the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

But there was more behind the situation than the

surface revealed. There were ancient grudges. Woodrow Wilson was an interloper upon the national political scene, while some of the Senators had served for many years. The Democrats never were good diplomats; all the brainy and nice-mannered diplomats were Republicans. It was true years and years ago that Thomas Jefferson had gotten the Louisiana Territory for the Republic, and that Polk had gotten a big slice farther southwest; and a few details like that; but in general the Republicans were far more competent than the Democrats in foreign affairs. Also, they took more interest in the commerce and finance of the foreign lands than did the Democrats; they cared more about the welfare of the business interests and of the business men.

There was another bunch of ancient grudges. Woodrow Wilson was a graduate and former President of Princeton University, while Henry Cabot Lodge was a graduate of Harvard. It was intolerable, it was even unseemly for Princeton to head the diplomatic business of the nation when a Harvard man was available in the person of Henry Cabot Lodge. Moreover, the Massachusetts Senator had been the maker and adviser of no less than Theodore Roosevelt, greatest of all Americans; he had far more experience than Woodrow Wilson had, and again, Senator Lodge had written many histories in competition with Wilson, which histories, until Wilson became President, sold decidedly better than those of Wilson. Moreover, Lodge came from old New England families and had the colonial hatreds and distrusts of Europe and especially of England in his bones. It would never do to send over Wilson, when it was so much better to send over the very distinguished Senators. Again, Lodge was very rich, worth millions by inheritance and natural increase, while Wilson was worth nothing and had a wife in business,

a wife who indeed had gone every year to Paris to buy jewels and jewelery at wholesale, a business woman; it was shocking. She was behind it all.

The far worst of all, if a Democrat made the Treaty of Peace, it would be for FREE TRADE among the nations, and that would ruin the rich protected manufacturers of New England and of Pennsylvania.

But Woodrow Wilson went.

In 1918, the Republicans had filled the ears of the common people and society folks alike with gossip of the horrible moral character of the sage from Princeton, hoping thereby to elect Hughes. But what they said in 1916 was nothing to what they now prepared to say in 1920.

As soon as Wilson landed, Judson C. Welliver was there also. Then began at once a series of defamatory articles of subtle and even open attack upon Wilson such as the world has never seen since the days of the Roman Empire..

It is unnecessary here to repeat the calumnies, for they have been told elsewhere in this book. Wilson was wholly unfit. The world had gone after another false Messiah.

This stuff was sent home daily to the great Republican magazines and newspapers. It was talked of in the Senate and House, especially in the lobbies. There is a saying in Scripture Revelations, last chapters, that perfectly fits their case, "They had made and they believed their own lies."

In the meantime at home, they were working out several problems, and they were doing the work well.

They hired agents **provocateurs** to go about among the people at their daily tasks and tell them that Wilson was this, that and what else. They went out among the Republicans and told them to organize and save the country (?)—Oh, no, SAVE THE GRAND OLD

REPUBLICAN PARTY. This phrase began by the Autumn of 1918 to have the sanctity of a religious confession—We must save the party.

It had split under Taft into two parties, and it had been defeated under the leadership, so-called, of Charles Evans Hughes. It looked like a dead cock in the political pit.

They went out among the rich and began to raise funds through various appeals to restore the business men's party.

They found a cheerful youth who had the air of sanctity from being an elder in a Presbyterian country church in Sullivan, Indiana, and who had a name that suggested the amiable and the easy and the bucolic—Will H. Hayes, not William. He knew Indiana politics which are not less bad than Illinois politics and almost as void of ideas as Ohio politics. This man they made Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and they gave him money to go around everywhere and get the boys together.

Raise the money. Get the money. Send in the money. These were the slogans. Of course, this reiterated suggestion worked. The Americans are an impressionable people.

There was another problem—Whom to nominate? The managers did a very clever thing here; they decided to permit an acrid, vigorous, determined and costly lot of pre-convention campaigns in order to create the impression that only the Republican nomination was worth anything. It would not matter whom the Democrats named.

They had another aspect of this plan. If the campaigns for nominations cost a lot, the people would get used to the notion that the election must cost a lot more.

And there was a third aspect also. The candidates

would get so tired fighting one another that they would all fall in behind the winner, and make it a united, harmonious party, because no one had money or nerve enough to bolt.

By the advice of Scott Ferris and of Carter Glass, when he went into the Congressional campaign in 1918, President Wilson made the very great technical blunder of asking for a Democratic Congress to support him in the Peace dealings. This was very important to have, as the event showed, but it was very bad politics to say so.

President Wilson went to Paris and around in Europe twice and in all was there about six months. He did not spend his entire time as President there, as the Republicans tried to make out. Nor did he lay aside all domestic business, as they alleged. He was attending to the most important governmental proposition that the world ever faced—its lasting peace through a machine to permit the keeping of peace among the nations forever.

Remember these dates:

Wilson-Taft-Hughes campaign, 1912.

Wilson-Hughes campaign, 1916.

War declared against Germany for cause April, 1917.

Armistice and victory, November, 1918.

Congressional election, November, 1918.

Wilson in Paris December, 1918, to February, and April to June, 1919.

Wilson stricken on tour, September, 1919.

Active campaigns for nominations began December, 1919.

Republican National Convention, June, 1920.

Democratic, July.

Election, November, 1920.

President Wilson came home from his terrific

strain in Europe worn out physically, and he found that this personal prestige had been broken by the infamous gossip from the organization headed by Welliver. This Welliver became Publicity Director of the Republican National Committee. Therefore, Wilson went out among the people from Coast to Coast to let them see him, and seeing him, hear his argument.

It is historically false to say that if he had been a stronger man he could have endured anyway. Abraham Lincoln, as his portraits show, was a broken man in April, 1865, when he was assassinated; tradition calls him a very strong man. The mighty Washington, compelled to endure violent and merciless detraction, died but two years after he left the Presidency. We have discussed this elsewhere. Whatever such creatures as the aristocratic Lodge, the plutocratic Penrose, the Mormon millionaire Smoot, and the rest of the group that set about to ruin Wilson, may think regarding themselves, historians will record the truth, which is that:

1. They set power and success above truth and right.
2. They attacked a man morally better than themselves for political purposes only, knowing that they were lying and organizing lies.
3. They set the interests of the Republican politicians above the interests of the American people.
4. And they defeated world peace.

They have filled up the cup of their iniquities, and we have set them in condemnation.

There were several great campaigns organized for the Republican nomination.

First comes Leonard Wood, Major General of the U. S. A., long-time friend and military mentor of Theodore Roosevelt and Progressive. He advocated

1. The League of Nations.

2. Universal military training.

3. Moderate tariff and world trade.

He had a fine record as an executive in many capacities.

He was supported by most of the Eastern Progressives, and in particular by Colonel Procter, of Cincinnati, the soap multi-millionaire and philanthropist.

Professor William Estabrook Chancellor gave out early in the Spring that if Wood did secure the Republican nomination with a decent Vice-Presidential candidate, he would turn Republican. He did this from personal regard for General Wood, his education and ancestry in New England.

This ends the Republican falsehood that Professor Chancellor was a hide-bound partisan Democrat, which everyone who knows him, knows is utterly false.

He is, however, now a party Democrat since his treatment by the Republican National Committee and present Administration. He believes that the Republican party has sold out to the plutocracy.

Second comes Governor Frank A. Lowden, of Illinois.

He is a lawyer who never practiced much, but who married a daughter of the great builder of sleeping cars, George M. Pullman, and who has attended to the business affairs of the Pullman estate since then, a genuine plutocrat of the plutocrats. He is, of course, a very industrious, capable business man, not without ability in politics.

This man represented the standpatism of the Republican party in the Middle West. He began a great campaign. He spent in all some two million dollars, which happened to be thirty-three per cent more than William Cooper Procter spent for Leonard Wood; but unfortunately, being a business man, and not a public leader, he did not use the Procter-Wood methods.

Procter went in for publicity for his man; he opened headquarters, had an enormous amount of posters printed setting forth the excellence of his candidate, advertised him in a thousand or more newspapers and magazines, sent him on a tour of the entire country and bought up no delegates. Lowden did but little publicity work. Instead, he bought up political bosses right and left and delegates galore; he was caught in Missouri getting two men for the low price of \$2,500 each, which was absurd. This got into the newspapers, and the publicity was damaging. Unfortunately, the CHICAGO TRIBUNE was not for Lowden, but for Wood, and allowed the information to get wide reading. Lowden desired what the Republican plutocrats all desired, which we have shown elsewhere.

Then, third, there was Hiram Johnson, who broke Hughes in 1920 in California, and who beat Herbert Hoover in the Republican primaries out there.

Johnson is a United States Senator and for a time he was Governor of California, with a very fine record of performance for the public welfare. He had a real program.

He supported several measures in 1920 in the very wide speaking campaign upon which he went.

1. He favored no League whatever with European nations. He was nationalistic in an extreme form. "Let America stay at home."

2. He favored legislation to help the wage-earners.

3. He looked upon the Non-Partisan League of the Dakotas with pleasure; the farmers could trust him not to let the grain elevator and railroad men take all the profits.

There were other candidates before the people, but these three were the leaders; they had most of the delegates. The others included Nicholas Murray Butler, who had been a friend both of Roosevelt and of

Taft, and is President of the greatest university of the country, and Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, who had raised against the Boston police the slogan, "Law and order!" And among the "others" was Warren G. Harding, of Ohio. Few imagined that he would win.

Not trusting at all the amounts given by the various managers, it is still true that relatively the sums expended for Butler and Coolidge were negligible; perhaps a hundred thousand dollars each. Why anything at all?

We have told elsewhere how vast was the sum secretly expended for Warren Harding. Harding had no program. He supported nothing. He was "available" for any platform whatever.

Johnson was an orator, a demagogue, perhaps, but an orator. Side by side with him was United States Senator William E. E. Borah, also an orator. Butler was an educator and philosopher, incidentally himself rich, a good speaker, a better writer, a political expert in New York State. Coolidge was a fair lawyer, a life-long officeholder, poor in purse, and no plutocrat. We have tried to show elsewhere abundantly what Harding really was.

The real strength of the different men among the delegates as among the people was by no means shown at any time by the votes cast in the Convention. The delegates had been chosen in general in two different ways—by old-style state conventions and by new-style party primaries. In some cases, the conventions or the primaries had instructed the delegates for whom to vote in the convention.

The strength of Wood consisted in the fact that most of his delegates actually did believe in him and came from States that had instructed them to vote for him as nominee. The weakness of Johnson con-

sisted in the fact that though his delegates were instructed for him, generally they were ready to abandon him. Politicians are not generally men who fancy Hiram Johnson.

Lowden was strong at first because his men had been bought and paid for, and had to deliver their votes accordingly.

But Daugherty, of Ohio, who had most of the Ohio votes for Harding, seven only being for Leonard Wood, had predicted two weeks previously that "at 2:11 a. m. in some hotel room a dozen men sitting together would pick the man, and that day the Convention would nominate him." What Daugherty predicted, he knew would come to pass.

Let us now take a glance at some things that Professor William Estabrook Chancellor knew already. Business took him to Lima, Ohio, early in June. At a hotel there, he sat at a table next to the table where was seated a party of men whom he knew. One of these men was the paid agent of the standpat Republicans who happens to be president of a small college and also of a national association dealing with world questions, his name is familiar to many, John Wesley Hill. This man, long in the pay of the Republicans, goes about the country making speeches ostensibly for religious ends, but always containing attacks upon Democratic interests. This Doctor Hill at his table arose and in a very loud voice, told the entire roomful of men eating, "Well, I wish everyone to know that we are going to have a safe and sane President next time; he is an Ohio man, and his name is Warren Harding. I have just seen him; I am on my way to the Chicago Convention, which will certainly nominate him."

This was not a banquet; he said it because he was being paid to create sentiment for Harding. He won.

In another chapter we have told where the money came from to nominate Harding.

Professor Chancellor was present at the Chicago Convention all day when Harding was nominated. He talked with many of the delegates. He saw what happened. But not until March of the present year did he get the whole inside of the case; what we now tell is the substance of what was told to him by Oklahoma oil men, members of the Oklahoma delegation, and what Professor Chancellor himself saw at the Convention.

There is nothing in this report that should surprise any intelligent man who read the newspapers of the time. It explains the inside of what occurred.

The last day was smelting hot; after a very hot night.

All night long, in rooms taken by Colonel George R. McClellan Harvey, the insiders had been working out the plan to land Harding that day. It cost them \$50,000 to turn the Oklahoma delegation from Lowden to whom it was pledged to Harding. The runners came in from time to time to tell Harding and Harvey and Daugherty and the others present how the business of getting the delegates was going forward.

One Republican leader came in at midnight and said that he had three questions to ask Harding before he would let his State swing to Harding. Harding asked what the questions were.

First, the man asked, "Have you ever been bankrupt?"

Second, he asked, "Have you ever had any trouble, public trouble, over women?"

Third, he asked, "We hear that there is a rumor among the Johnson men that you have negro blood; what about this?"

To the first question, Harding answered a point-blank "No."

He had a long answer to the second, which went well enough.

Daugherty answered the third by saying: "Ohio elected Harding United States Senator. Is not that enough?"

The State leader went out and aligned his men for Harding; since the election, he has been doing some tall swearing. He handled a lot of the Harding money.

At 8 o'clock a. m., the delegates had already been told that on the day they would be able to go home, for Harding was "the man."

At noon they were a wretched, gloomy lot, anxious, fearing exposure, and many of them really fearing defeat in the Autumn. They have experienced something worse than defeat; they have experienced the chagrin of discovering that under Harding, they have but a shadow for President.

As soon as the Convention was called to order that morning, the colored delegates of whom there were in attendance 176 in all, not counting the alternates, in a total of not quite 1,000 delegates, withdrew as usual to the sidewalk, leaving their proxies in the hands of the chairmen of their State delegations. They were to be voted in blocks according to the number of their State delegates. This solved the problem for the bosses in respect to one-sixth of all the votes, or one-third of the number necessary to nominate. No one knows how much these colored brothers were paid for their votes each except the bribers and the bribed; but a group of told Professor Chancellor that they were anxious to get home and spend their money; and when he asked them how much they got, they said their travelling expenses, their board bills, their incidentals and their wages. None came away emptyhanded. They were serving the interests of their common country and ours by making a living in politics. They were **handled by**

Frank H. Hitchcock, former United States Postmaster General, who makes a specialty every four years of fixing the Southern delegates in the Republican Convention. Hitchcock went to Washington to be a Government clerk at \$1,600 a year about 1900; and when he got through with the Taft steamroller work in the Republican Convention of 1912, he was rated in Washington at \$600,000; he is a bachelor who has found his proper work in the field of National politics. Southerners and New Englanders traded in negroes for plantation slaves and for breeding stock; Hitchcock has a new wrinkle. He trades in negroes for political slaves to use in Republican Conventions. It was with very great pleasure that the negroes did vote for Harding, because they were told—

First, that he has negro blood.

Second, that he would appoint negroes to many more offices than any other President has ever done.

But they were wise enough not to vote for even their colored brother until they got the cash for doing so. The negro is not in politics for his health.

No negro ever gets a place as a delegate in a Democratic Convention. When the negro race learns to split their vote, then Democrats will give some of them places in their counsels. But while the race votes solid, it can be nothing but a chattel of the party for whose candidates the race votes.

Ballot after ballot was taken. Slowly the strength faded away from Butler and Johnson and Lowden to Harding, who came through with a small majority in sight at the beginning of the eighth ballot. There was a swing to Harding, but no stampede. Slowly the votes bought were delivered, and the delegates looked sicker and sicker.

To appease their angry consciences, they stampeded to Calvin Coolidge for Vice-President.

The Wood delegates never abandoned their man. It was a question for several days whether the General and his followers would not bolt.

Nicholas Murray Butler advertised the Wood campaign as one financed by the war munitions manufacturers; but for this he apologized, bringing out thereby the fact that the Wood campaign, wise or unwise, was a philanthropic effort of a multi-millionaire to make a good man President. Whether Wood decided to remain in the Republican camp because he was already promised something or not, only he and a few others can tell. But he was soon publicly announced as the head of the Philippine-Japanese inquiry and not much later the prediction was made that he would become the head of the Republican-managed University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. Both predictions came true. He is now in the Far East on the Government business indicated and he has already been elected head of that great University, which he will adorn and manage, as well as any Republican can manage a university.

Republicans do not believe in truth and freedom; otherwise, they have many good qualities as educators.

The delegates went home, and going home, they expressed many a fear that they were in for a licking. But Will H. Hays and Judson C. Welliver and the plutocrats told them not to be afraid; that victory was certain.

Harding announced his front porch campaign and his desire to meet the people at his own home. Then began the most deliberate lying of a continued and systematic kind that America ever saw in any Presidential campaign.

When a train of visitors ran to Marion, it was credited with many times the actual number of delegates. One afternoon a delegation entirely failed to

show up, but all the papers next day printed the speech and told about "the applause of the great crowd."

All the Marion tradespeople were coerced into placing many pictures of the black face of Warren in their windows. The slogan was, "Elect Harding and bring business to Marion."

Doctor George Tryon Harding buttonholed all his neighbors and many others, begging them to "Help elect my boy." In some instances, Democrats protested that the "boy" was a negro, but the old man nevertheless persisted in his appeal.

The banks kept at it; they even sent out letters to other banks. Inquiries started regarding the colored blood, but the banks in order to "bring business to Marion" either ignored the inquiry or denied the truth.

When the local Democratic newspaper printed 10,000 copies of the true photograph of George Tryon Harding and needed more, the photo original was stolen in the office of the rival newspaper to which the postcarrier had delivered it by "mistake." When the Democratic Postmaster was asked by other postmasters and others also as to the truth about Harding, he was told if he told the truth and the Republicans won, he would lose his job.

THE STAR got all the Associated Press news on time; but the Democratic paper found itself in many difficulties, even to spies among its own employes, paper upon which to go to press, etc.

The Republicans set out to prove to America that Marion was "all for Harding."

They promised to Father James M. Dennison, of the local Roman Catholic Church the consulate at Rome, Italy, for his support; which brought in the Catholic vote.

They threatened the employes of the iron and other

works in Marion with business depression and no wages if the Democrats won.

They sent men out among the farmers to tell them that Wilson was the cause of the low price of their wool.

This is told at the present point in order to show how the Republicans succeeded in making all the visitors feel that Harding would win his home town, and therefore was not a negro.

At this very time, at one and the same time, they were sending light-colored negroes to every part of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to tell the colored people that Warren was one of themselves. This was preached in many churches.

We may turn from this now to the Democratic situation. The doctrine of Fate is an easy one; the Democrats are now trying to comfort themselves by saying that they never had a chance. What is the truth?

Neither Republicans nor Democrats foresaw that Tennessee would confirm the Amendment for equal suffrage. If they had foreseen this, neither would have dared to nominate the men they did. Not foreseeing the woman vote, the Democrats thought only of what the men would say about the candidates.

There were three leading candidates, and really no dark horses anywhere on the horizon or in the woods.

One was William G. McAdoo, "the Crown Prince." He was the son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson, and Wilson himself was never popular with the leading Democratic politicians. He was popular enough with the working people; but he had no other strength. The politicians believed that Wilson would kill the chances of the Democrats with McAdoo at the head. America desires no dynasty in the White House, though the Republicans are now heading T. R., Jr., who is rich, for that

place. T. R. left almost three millions of an estate, and his children by marriage are worth fifty or sixty millions. T. R., Jr., has a very rich wife. We say this in order to get the minds of Americans ready for an attempt to create a Roosevelt dynasty.

McAdoo was "dry" and pro-suffrage. The Tammany outfit of New York "had no use for him."

A. Mitchell Palmer, the handsomest man in politics, was frightfully handicapped by coming from Pennsylvania, being in the Wilson Cabinet and being bitterly anti-Boche.

He was "impossible" according to the politicians. W. G. McAdoo had money, and though not of the plutocracy, could get a big campaign fund; but Palmer could get no money for the campaign.

Then there was "our own Jimmy Cox" of Ohio, from Harding's own State, the best Governor Ohio ever had, worth "millions" and a great campaigner. Cox was "it."

There were but two possible objections to him: one was that he also reputed to be "wet"; and the other was that he had a divorced wife living, a cousin of Warren Harding's. In all other respects, he filled the bill. He could carry Ohio surely.

They would capture the progressives by naming Franklin D. Roosevelt, cousin of T. R., whose wife also was a cousin of T. R. It was certainly a fine-looking team.

But the women got the vote.

Then the Democrats dug up the unpleasant fact that the wife of Harding had been "married" before, and was a "divorced" woman. This the Republicans answered truthfully enough by stating that Mrs. Harding was not running for President, that her "first husband" was dead; and in fact he had not been

married to her, and therefore could not have been divorced from her. This has been shown elsewhere.

The religious sentimentalists are now face to face with this problem—whether to vote for a divorced man or for a man who had married a discarded woman. They decided quite generally to do what looked best, what “public morals” required; they decided to vote for the colored man. They were much disconcerted about this color business from the fact that the white Republicans told one story and the colored Republicans another; perhaps, Warren would not put colored people into high office at least.

It was proven that Warren Harding owned brewery stock; but the sentimentalists swallowed this fact. The stock was only three shares anyway and had been donated to him for his influence.

The Democrats figured that James M. Cox, owner of two newspapers and of a line of oil stocks, would be treated sympathetically at least by American newspapers and by the plutocracy. Here they made a great mistake. The Associated Press does not like the Cox syndicate, and the Standard Oil Company does not like the Pure Oil Company. Each desires a monopoly, of course.

More than this, the plutocrats resented the things that Cox had done for the workmen’s compensation acts that have made Ohio rightly famous in all the land. Cox had been “too good to labor.”

The Republicans discovered that Harding had a printer’s union card, while Cox had none; this they used with great effect. Never does the richer man defeat the poorer when the people find the comparative facts out. The Republicans asserted that Cox was worth twenty millions of dollars and was trying to buy the Presidency. In 20 out of 23 Presidential campaigns, the poorer man has won, since 1828.

Cox himself made three moves that look to many now like serious mistakes.

First, he chased the wild goose in Washington, Oregon and California. He imagined that he could carry the Coast. This took him away from the East where Warren was doing the front porch work. The trip around the circuit, getting out to see the people, looks well; but few future candidates will try it. Cox made votes out on the Coast; but he lost more votes in the East by leaving the battle ground.

Second, he relied upon but one issue. No candidate ever wins with one issue. It is true that the League of Nations Covenant was worth all the time that he gave to it; but the voters did not see this.

Third, he asked the Democratic platform men not to mention the colored blood of the Hardings because it appeared to involve his three children by his first wife. He thought of his posterity rather than of his country. The Republicans falsely charged that the Democrats were secretly using this story; but the truth was that the Democrats frowned upon it.

There were doubtless other Democratic errors. One may have been the failure of Cox to declare himself on the wet question unequivocally; he said only that he would "enforce the laws." If he had gone either way, to say that he disliked prohibition, as Wilson did, or that he firmly believed in it, he would have kept more votes. It is true that Harding was equally equivocal; but Harding had the inside of the running.

It is also probable that the Democratic Management at headquarters was incompetent. It had no policy; it had no faith in victory; it would spend no money beyond what was in sight; it used too few speakers and too little ink and paper; it was loyal to Cox; but it was the loyalty of a very conservative, rich business man who would not risk too much.

George White is still in charge of the Democratic National Committee affairs; but he lacks steam and will to win. He is temperamentally too cautious.

When Cox got back from the wild goose chase, full of wrath that the newspapers had given to him so little space, he made a few speeches that drove Warren off the front porch; Warren got a speech from Wallace, the agriculture man, that he read out in Minnesota, and that pleased the farmers.

In the East every week after his return, Cox did gain ground; but he was totally in error when a fortnight before the election at Baltimore, he predicted his own victory, and actually believed that himself. A campaigner never can tell what the people are really going to do.

At the Baltimore meeting, a woman judge there, after hearing him, said to her neighbors this, "My, that was a fine speech; if he were not so bad a man, I would vote for him." Asked wherein he was bad, she replied, "He has two wives."

Nine million women voted; perhaps three million of them voted for Cox. Except the poor white trash, so-called, all the white women of the South stayed at home. This is why Cox lost Tennessee. Wherein lay the Republican vote?

In the North, about seven million women voted, probably at least one million of these being negro or colored, all of whom voted Republican. Of the six million others the Republicans probably had, on the argument that Cox was a bigamist, morally at least, four million votes.

The women voters netted to the Republicans about six million votes, or three million of their total majority of seven millions. The G. A. R. women, the W. C. T. U. women and the women allied with K. C. voted Republican generally.

On the sex question, the women may be counted to go for "public morality", so-called—that is, the man who is a sex-offender must be outwardly decent. A divorce is politically a heavy handicap. Harding had not been divorced. In this fashion, the instincts of women have gotten into politics. But the women vote did not decide the election.

Where were the other Republican votes

Many women and some men were resentful of the universal draft. The United States is no warlike nation universally. Many people believe that when it comes to fighting, one should have the option whether or not to fight—even for his own protection and that of his family. This is a very general opinion among women. It is called "conscientious objection to war," but it is nothing else than self-protective fear, intellectualized and made hypocritical.

The man who sets up a conscientious objection to his own fighting is a coward; we ought to have a conscientious objection to war itself; but not to fighting when there is war on between right and wrong and we are needed by the right.

These conscientious objectors all thought that Warren Harding was really a pacifist; they judged this from his war-record, whether truly or falsely is not in the present argument. He was the anti-war man, and Cox was the War Governor of Ohio.

The fathers, mothers brothers and other kin and friends of the soldiers or the released who objected to the draft may have numbered half a million in all, of whom perhaps two hundred thousand might have voted otherwise for the Democratic candidate. To them the Republicans sneered, "Woodrow Wilson won the election in 1916 on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Well, did he?

The fact that the German power went on doing

things to us, and compelled us to go into war; the fact that Theodore Roosevelt and other Republicans were much more keen for the war than ever Wilson was; the fact that most munitions manufacturers were Republicans, all these facts were ignored; and these people crucified the cause of peace out of a grudge against the Government in power during the War.

Every genuine pro-German in America without exception, whether ordinarily Republican, Democrat or Socialist, voted for Harding. The Republicans got together on this count every traitor to our country. They ought to hang their heads in shame for this; but instead they think that it was smart.

Only a few Germans who are "German" from long descent voted pro-German, but most of the recent immigrants loved the "Old Country" more than the new. This made net at least two million votes for Harding.

The anti-British voted for him. Wilson comes of ancestry direct from England; therefore, he is "pro-British", these Sinn Feiners assert. These are the people who read the school histories seriously and imagine that our country is still hated by Great Britain. These are the people who believe that J. P. Morgan is a citizen of Great Britain, which the agents provocateurs told them.

There are in the United States many persons ignorant enough to believe that J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller own it all; and both of them are Democrats when there is a Democratic President in Washington.

This anti-British vote was carefully nursed especially by Henry Cabot Lodge, who has written in most of his book how terrible the British have been to us. He is kept in the United States Senate by the Irish Catholic vote of Massachusetts.

This vote of the anti-British netted Harding a million or so.

The male negroes of the United States cast about three million votes, nearly all of them in the Upper South and in the North, very few elsewhere. Every such vote went Republican, of course.

A majority of the farmers of the North are Republicans on the argument that a protective tariff makes the workmen rich so that they pay good prices for the farmers' products. It is an interesting argument because it catches the gullible. Leaving out the tradespeople of the rural districts and others not engaged in farming, there are perhaps of the men on the farms in all ten millions, of whom two-thirds went Republican.

For the whole land outside of the South, the tradespeople and the jobbers mostly went Republican because they have always been told that "a Republican administration means good prices, big profits and prosperity." Their number is about a quarter of a million.

The wonder is that Cox got any votes at all.

The Republicans took the Bible, and the dictionary, and the encyclopedia and found converts for any and every cause on both sides. They promised sea trade to the seatraders and home manufactures to the manufacturers, big prices to the farmers and a reduced cost of living to everyone; they promised lower taxes, economy, a big navy, social progress, etc., etc., et infinitum, et nauseam.

But nine million people voted for Cox on the old argument that it is the business of the people to support the Government, not of the Government to support the people.

What did those who went to Marion see?

They saw a big office run mainly by negroes, with

a staff of secretaries writing the daily speeches of Harding.

They saw him read speeches in type that he had never looked at before.

They saw Mrs. Warren Harding running about even in the street itself to interview people, not once but systematically stopping even the merely curious as they went by.

They saw the great men of the Republican party in twos and sevens and with the delegations greatly exaggerated in the reports, come to the prophet, "the Marionette of Marion" as Oliver Herford put it, in his home town.

But they did not see any enthusiasm; they saw a system at work; all the enthusiasm was Republican political bunk, written in t oorder by the paid prostitutes of the Republican press.

We come now to what Wood did to help elect Harding, and what the others did.

Wood went to Marion, and saw the man who had beaten him in an unfair fight. He saw a man markedly inferior to himself, uneducated, affable, full of promises, adroit with the mysterious adroitness of a race that has not built the British Empire or the American Republic as has his own race—the men from the British Isles. Wood then released a few friendly speeches in his behalf.

Johnson also was reached; he was lined up even to making speeches for Harding. At the present time, it appears that Harding under compulsion of the Senate situation, is keeping his promises to him NOT to stand for the League of Nations.

Taft was brought in with Elihu Root; and both were told that Harding was for the League with reservations. Taft as yet has not received any reward for his betrayal of the great cause for which he organized

the League to Enforce Peace (upon the official staff of the which now defunct League as a speaker Professor Chancellor served and still nominally serves).

Only the credulous, however, believe that these were the real means relied upon by the Republican managers to win the election.

There was set in operation a system of spies, informers and agents provocateurs the like of which has been known but twice before in the history of mankind, once in Rome, once in France, which system is still in operation, and is part of the "overhead cost" of operating the present plutocratic social order.

We have no qualms about telling the American people the stories invented by those paid agents of Satan. They had to do cuttle fish inking of the seas in order to conceal their own candidate, to send up a very dense smoke screen to hide their own CLOUD. They had to enable Mrs. Phillips, the inamorata of Harding, to make her getaway.

But we can save time and paper and ink by advising the readers to read instead the stories of crime in the Old Testament and then to have these told about Wilson and Cox, their wives and children.

Wilson and Cox, Sodom and Gomorrah were linked up closely by these devils.

The Republicans relied upon money to get all this work done.

They now wish all this history forgotten; but it is not forgotten or forgettable. They intend to play the same game in the Congressional elections of 1922. Let Americans be ready to meet them intelligently now.

We may take as an illustration of their methods the work in the Congressional District of Ohio where Professor Chancellor has his voting residence, the Sixteenth. This District covers four Counties with an

area somewhat larger than the entire State of Rhode Island. It includes the County where William McKinley lived and the city of Canton in which Professor Chancellor has made for all the people many public addresses including the Memorial speech before the McKinley Club and the public on the occasion of the death of Theodore Roosevelt.

There was to be a new Congressman, for the former Republican Congressman Roscoe C. McCullough had decided not to try for Congress again but for the Republican nomination for Governor which he failed to get, losing to a far inferior man, Harry L. Davis, now Governor. The nomination was won J. H. Himes, a young enormously rich war slacker for the Republicans and by Captain John McSweeney, hero and wounded in the World War for the Democrats. Himes spent a million dollars; but he reported no expenses at all. He had over one thousand paid workers in one county alone for over three months, who did nothing but run around to see individuals and get or keep them in line.

Captain McSweeney spent eighteen hundred dollars. Himes made two or three speeches, McSweeney many.

Himes had his portrait upon every other telephone and telegraph post and upon every billboard in the County. He advertised constantly in every newspaper. He had not voted in any election for nine years, but he represented himself as a very public spirited man because he had given money to the Red Cross.

His paid agents in every county told the people, by the whisper route, that McSweeney, who is an Episcopalian, is a Roman Catholic.

So high is the standing of this war-hero with the two thousand graduates of Wooster College, Presbyterian and Republican, that they elected him President of the Alumni Association; but the paid agents of

Himes went about saying that he was boyish and immature and without executive ability.

The result was that where McSweeney was well known personally, he carried two counties; but he lost the other two, and the election through lying by his opponent who had all the money he could possibly let loose at work against the better man. His wife boasted that "It was worth a million dollars to be able to spend two years in Washington as a Congressman."

Of course, if there had been a Democratic victory, there would now be a Congressional investigation of this election; but plutocracy makes it safe to buy elections.

Reports from the mountain districts of Kentucky indicate that wealth also there did some great work. It may be that some investigator will have the money and the time and the courage to go into every State in doubt in 1920 and find out just how the Republicans spent their money.

In Oklahoma, Jake L. Hamon, whose story we have reported elsewhere, now dead under the law of Nemesis, imported from Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Mississippi, some 30,000 negroes to vote for Harding—at a cost estimated to have required more than a million dollars. That there will be a come-back from this in the next election in that State is certain; already it has had direful effects upon the general disposition of the farming people toward the Republicans. There the Indians, such as could vote, mostly half-breeds, so-called like Jake himself,—the oil men, the merchants and the negroes voted for Warren Harding. It was perhaps the most disgusting exhibition in all the States except Ohio. The stench of it has been so severe as to spread even to Europe. Famous writers and journalists have found Oklahoma in the sun of a frightful exposure of demoralization. What with sex-

vice, fake stocks, gambling, farm tenantry, negroes, half-breeds mushroom oil men, and the endemic malaris, Oklahoma has had a blow to its reputation that will be remembered against the State for many a year.

We come at last to the last phase of the election.

D. R. Crissinger of Blooming Grove had been brought up as a neighbor with Warren Harding, but had remained a Democrat. His racial origin is uncertain but his vouching for that of Warren Harding raises doubts; but he found that membership in the Democratic ranks was a perfect camouflage. Still, when Warren got the Republican nomination, and had \$25,000 to spare, Crissinger saw the light of the Republican noonday, and went over to Warren.

Knowing all the people, he organized the whispering gallery, tissue paper, vest pocket, blind telephone, Sunday sermon, campaign for letting the negroes know that Warren had negro blood. This went along very well until the people of the countryside who were white began to get angry. It so happened that one of the negroes who was working this campaign had the name of William Chancellor; he is sixty-five years old, and black. To the black Republicans and to the White Democrats alike it seemed a smart thing by the middle of September to try to get the people to believe that this William Chancellor, black, was the William Estabrook Chancellor, who was Professor in Wooster College, editor of an educational magazine of wide circulation in Ohio, and frequently speaking on the platform. We have elsewhere described the rest of this affair. But the time came for the Republicans to repudiate this line of negro propaganda—not so long before the election that the negroes who live by their ears should hear of it, but just before the election when only the whites who read should hear of it. They had William Estabrook Chancellor ousted from his

college chair and from the New York Press Club and falsely published in thousands of papers that he had retracted that which he had never done. As he himself told the Trustees, he had "ceased beating his grandmother." But the Republican Trustees needed to find for the Republican party a scapegoat on whom to load their own sins, and they unloaded them on him.

It might be supposed that Professor Chancellor would have some remedy; that he might have denied the negro blood in Harding; but why should he deny what William Chancellor and many others were paid by the Republicans to assert? Is truth naught? Not until January 5, 1921, did the St. Louis POST DISPATCH and NEW YORK WORLD special correspondent who was putting all his time on this work uncover the existence of this conspiracy and of William Chancellor of Mt. Gilead, who then proudly claimed that he had "licked the white men."

How many votes were actually changed by this propaganda and by the alleged "retraction" of the negro story may not even be estimated. Democrats say in Kentucky that it stopped the Republican landslide, defeated all the inside work done by National Committeeman Hart, and made useless the campaign of young Theodore Roosevelt in the mountains where the name of his father was popular. Republicans claim that it added millions to their vote in the North because it was "a dirty Democratic lie."

Possibly, the Professor himself may have some testimony on this point worth looking into—he received some 240 telegrams within two weeks prior to the election, and ten thousand letters before he had to depart; during the last fortnight when the Republicans were most active among the whites, he spent on the average of five hours a day in long distance telephoning with strangers among whom was one man

who lost his job for lying about what the Professor actually did say to him. Professor Chancellor has had only one story to tell; he believed the truth of the Republican missionary work among the negroes, he made his own investigation, he made no statement whatever on the subject until he was attacked by the Republicans themselves and urged by them to lie in order to save his own job. This is more fully stated elsewhere.

But in the final outcome, the Republicans are left with a vast expense and with a very rotten record on this point.

“Twas a victory, sir, but it cost them dear!”

It is possible to win a battle and to lose a campaign. The Republicans lost the campaign when they won the November battle. They are now exposed to all the world as the makers of the first negro President and lying about it as well as breaking their promises to the negroes.

In all probability, James M. Cox will long outlive Warren G. Harding, who has arterio-sclerosis and a blood pressure of above 200. The man who survives his enemy has an enormous advantage over him for the purpose of terrestrial reputation. Cox will write the epitaphs for Harding.

It may even be that the semi-invalid Woodrow Wilson, ex-President, will outlast Warren Harding.

At any rate, Cox and Wilson and Professor Chancellor have many descendents each, and they will keep the memories of the year 1920 green; what persons will care anything at all for the reputation of Warren Harding after he leaves the Presidency?

The election of 1920 was made to order; it became a vast hysteria; it was thoroughly disgusting; it has left after-effects that will last a long time. And it placed in the Presidency a man—

1. Without a program, ashamed of his ancestry, and afraid of exposure.
2. Ignorant of history and international affairs.
3. Who already has brought down upon America the contempt even of the Japanese.
4. Who has already persuaded America to blacken her own reputation by paying \$25,000,000 to Columbia in South America.

CHAPTER XV

MRS. FLORENCE KLING (DE WOLFE) HARDING

Professor Chancellor wrote this letter to a Southern lady at her request; wife of a Justice of the State Supreme Court and mother of a Congressman.

Dear Madam:—

You say that you have seen Mrs. Harding but cannot understand her. You describe her as wearing a heavy coat of enamel upon her face and as being overdressed for her age. It will not be possible for me to tell any lady what is the inside explanation. But I can clear up some matters, and keep within bounds of polite correspondence.

I ask you to think of Madam Sarah Bernhart, who has three gifts, viz., personal beauty, dramatic genius, and executive ability, including no small talent for business. As you know, great changes have taken place in the character of Madam Bernhart in the course of her life. Early instincts have been suppressed, and the best in her has come out splendidly. By race, she is a French Jewess. How much of her blood is really Hebrew and how much Gallic, no one knows.

The Klings were Rhinelanders; some believe that they were originally Jews.

Florence developed at an early age an inability to go to school; she became a horsewoman, a race-track and skating rink frequenter. In another social en-

vironment, she might have gone upon the stage. She always had a gift for getting on with men. Where others wasted what they got in this fashion, she saved her money. Her father was a banker, but she early left home. Her only child was born when she was about twenty. She asserted that Harry de Wolfe was its father, and he agreed to call the boy his son. But she tired of Harry; and they were separated by the Court, though no marriage was proven.

She saw in Warren Harding what no one else saw—great possibilities. Obviously, she was right, and every one else was wrong. He is now President-elect of this land. Like her father, she could read character; but in this instance she surpassed him.

Once that they were married, Warren became her hobby; she poured out her life for him and for the newspaper on which she worked like a slave. Her neglected son died.

Whatever her race, she has had one power, that of persistence; she has stood for every fault of her husband, who in turn has surrendered to her calling her The Duchess—surrendered everything except certain habits, such as midnight revels, cards, women and drink. She has run his business, paid his bills, advertised him, praised him as the greatest man living, run his political correspondence, written his speeches even.

Being six years older than he and far abler, she has had him in tutelage. Often she has been ill, often discouraged, but never baffled.

You say you do not understand how she could have taken a man of color? Though she is of European ancestry, she is as dark as her husband. The color has meant nothing to her. She knows nothing of the Southern views of the negro, and will never be able to understand your views. She has never seen in the

mass the genuine blacks. At the same time, she has admitted that fear of her father made them avoid parentage.

You have probably seen the interview in which she described herself, not naively as her husband has so often described himself with his "printer's rule and union card," but shrewdly. She says that she is naturally a business woman, without any interest in philanthropy, loves beautiful things, likes action, delights in getting things done, does not prefer much domesticity; and is something like a man. She is a woman of the world, and more than a match for her husband who is a man of the world.

I venture to remind you that Martha Washington "made" George, that Mary Todd "made" Abraham Lincoln, and that often what we ascribe to the man is to be credited to the wife.

Warren Harding is a good elocutionist, has a big figure, is solemn and reticent, and was born to order for her management.

You speak of the moral character of her husband; it as good as her own; and his sex-character is as good as that of Benjamin Franklin and many another man of fame and power in business and politics. As to "the social taboo", it is wholly for the women to decide that. The Northern women will probably swallow the situation.

We must number Florence Kling among the prophets. She has won.

Very respectfully,

PRESIDENTS AND GOVERNMENTS

To a former Student:

I appreciate very heartily what you have written to me; many of my students have written to me in

the same spirit. What you say is a very great comfort to me in these circumstances . But I find some remarks of yours that, if you will permit me to do so, I should like to comment upon briefly.

Government is simply a device to enable people to live together peacefully in law and order; it exists by force. The State is its chief form for men, but Church and School and Industry all govern to an extent each. It puts man into power, some good, some bad; but thereafter they govern.

When the Reverend Doctor John Timothy Stone led his "lynching bee," as you call it, he was exercising in School and Church—for the College of Wooster is a church school—his undoubted legal right to govern the institution. The only questions are two. Did he act according to law and order, or not? And in the long run will the denial of the right of academic freedom serve the interests of the nation and of the church schools in particular? He denied my right not to sign a lie that he desired signed for the advancement of the Republican party. He invaded my citizenship. He denied all the rules and regulations governing the college and governing ordinary relations between man and man. He denied to me the ordinary rights of the Anglo-Saxon law, being himself a red Kelt. He conducted himself like an angry chief of a clan offended by the unwillingness of a clansman to accept his feudal overlordship. He said that I was "his man." I replied that I was "an American citizen."

It is far from true, as some assert, that "the powers that be are ordained of God" in the sense in which lords use the statement, which is falsely translated for their benefit. **A text without its context is a pretext.** In this passage, Paul is considering the principles of right, the master ideas, as opposed to the wicked notions of rulers, and what he actually said

was this: "The ideas that endure are ordained of God" as they undoubtedly are. That text, falsely translated, would have kept slavelords in power forever. **The powers that exist in a democracy are ordained of men, and they change frequently.**

The Reverend agent of the Republican party in the Wooster College Board of Trustees has been there but two years. Trustees come and go in a democracy. Like the ambitious man in the Scripture, the word translated "rich" means "bounder", the Reverend politician came "running." It is of such enterprising men, full of pep and business beyond their capacities to understand, that Jesus said, "It is easier for a rope to go through the eye of a needle than for a bounder to enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

It is a deliberate attempt to indoctrinate youth with wicked and silly reverence for men in power that causes the schools to teach youth that all Presidents, Governors, Senators are fine men. The American people have decided otherwise. They refused to re-elect as President more than half of them all; and even so they have re-elected some that should not have been tried even once. The apotheosis of men in power must be offensive to the Almighty. Rich persons, pastors of big churches, famous men, generals, it cannot be doubted, are in many instances very bad and deserve reprobation, not worship. As for the recent idea in America of *lese majeste* in respect to the President, it has one purpose—to enable scoundrels to terrify their adversaries.

When you wish to know the truth, to get the facts, in order to conduct your life wisely and rightly, go to the place where the facts are; never trust those interested, the great men or their agents or clerks, for the truth is not in them.

For myself, I delight in remembering Ben Frank-

lin; there was a price on his head for many years, offered by the great. Yet he was the smartest man this continent ever saw, and one of the most useful to America; if the King that was on the throne whereon he should never have sat one moment had won, Ben Franklin would be remembered in history as a very wicked rebel.

You comment upon the fact that at the worst anyway America is superior to Russia. I doubt very much whether Harding is superior intellectually to Lenine. It may be that in future histories Lenine, who is a fine scholar and a Russian patriot, who is organizing a new type of human society, will be called the George Washington of the New Age. It is true that Lenine has set wars on foot; but if we have wars with Japan and with Mexico and with Great Britain, wars that are ripening now, whose fault will it be?

God forbid such wars; which is why I am FOR the League of Nations. But the man who has been the figurehead in the political campaign against the League of Nations, will be held responsible for future wars if they come during his lifetime. Harding played the game for those who are willing that America should go to war again.

Yours faithfully,

To a Genealogist:

I was much indebted to you for your suggestion in November that I send a man to the Wyoming Valley and also to Orange County, N. Y., to look up the assertions of the Harding "genealogists", so-called. He has spent two weeks in the Pennsylvania field and one week in the New York field, and he has found no evidences that any Ohio Hardings were ever in either Wyoming Valley or Orange County. In view of the many murders in the Wyoming Valley the notion appears to be to charge every hiatus in a record to the

Indian massacres. In this way, the Wyoming Valley has come to be populated with hundreds of thousands of ghosts who never saw it in the flesh. This man also went over to New London, Connecticut, trying to find traces of Huldah Tryon there; but failed. That also appears to be a myth.

I am convinced that there was a Huldah in the Harding ancestry; she appears to have left her mark upon the descendents; but in appearance, it is the mark of Indian and not of white blood. Over in Georgia, there is a town called Tyrone, and it is interesting to note that when the first of Huldah's descendants got her name, they spelled it Tyrone. This town was settled in part by people from County Tyrone in Ireland. It was the center for the Shawnee Indians, who were moved in a lot to middle Ohio. Just why Warren Harding should prefer as ancestress a woman who had the horrible blood of the Tyrone monsters of the Carolinas rather than the respectable blood of an Indian woman, one wonders. That Colonel Edward Tyrone to whom he is trying to link himself through Huldah was the frightful beast who sent Traitor Benedict Arnold on his raid into Virginia that cost Thomas Jefferson the lives of his wife and one of his daughters and also his country mansion, which the traitor burned.

The Harding "genealogists" are very inexpert. They do not seem to understand that it is not worth while to establish an ancestry unless that ancestry is honorable. So far they have failed to connect themselves with any worthwhile family among the old English, the French Huguenots or the Germans who emigrated in 1850—all splendid people. They have found some Dutch and Scotch forebears of good repute. It is as clear as day that they have but one notion—that is, to establish all White Blood, of any kind and any country.

It really gets them nowhere to prove, which they have not yet done, that they have New England blood; there have been plenty of white rascals in New England, negroes and Indians also. What the genealogists have done includes some very ridiculous things; they show that in three successive generations the Harding men married at the ages of eighteen, twenty and nineteen years, and had children one year later. Did they marry? Were there any such men?

They publish no genealogy for the Dickersons; yet Elizabeth was their mother. They appear to be respectable and intelligent white people. They publish one back generation for Mary Ann Crawford, the grandmother of Warren, who married his grandfather, Charles A. Harding, who undoubtedly had negro blood. It seems that her mother was a Crawford. These Crawfords claim Indian blood. The famous William H. Crawford, commonly known as "Jack Crawford," who was burned at the stake, dying an heroic death, left no children; every pioneer thought that he had Indian blood. The back generation gives them the Dutch blood of the Van Kirks; this is a good name; but it has no ancestry, and may have been taken by persons not of Dutch descent.

We are unable to escape the portraits of the ancient worthies whom Warren claims as his forebears; nor the memories and pictures of his people in the flesh still living in Harding land. The picture of George Tryon Harding I. represents a terrible person, like a pirate indeed, which they say that his father really was. This George Tryon (or Tyrone) was born in 1790 and died in 1860, and spent the first thirty years of his life in Virginia, so they say. But Professor Chancellor's own people live in that very part of Virginia by the thousands, and they have no records of any such family. Tidewater, Virginia, had thousands of slaves who

had run away from their masters, who were the constant prey of pirates, smugglers and slave traders, and it so happens that there is a tradition of Hardings who were French West Indian slavers; this happens to be exactly what the Blooming Grove people on the white side of the feud say was the origin of the Amos Hardng tribe that migrated there in 1820. These neighbors insist that Amos spoke French.

Of course, much of this popular interest in the Hardings springs from total ignorance of the principles of heredity. The popular notion is that a man springing from a white woman and a negro man would be half-white and half-black. Then if this man took a white wife, their children would be quadroons, three-fourths white, one-fourth negro. This is the stage of George Tryon Harding II., perhaps.

So they go on in their classification—mulatto, quadroon, octomoron, hexdecaroon, steentharoon, until they think that a descendant may be all-white virtually because the fraction of negro blood becomes too small to count.

But heredity works in no such way, and all laws based upon the octoroon as being seven-eighths white and only one-eighth negro are absurd.

Traits generally descend almost *in toto*. They either are or are not in the succession; and they may disappear in a child to reappear in a grandchild or great-grandchild.

I remember well a very brilliant negro mathematician in Washington, coal black, whose father was a white man, a brilliant attorney at the bar, unmarried. The mother was not a coal black negress but a hybrid, passing as a quadroon. This man had inherited *in toto* the black skin from some remote forebear of his mother.

How then explain the saffron lilies—the persons

with negro blood who are light lemon yellow? Was not the pigmentation diluted? It does not pass as white or as coal black. The answer is simple. Most pure American negroes are not coal black themselves; only the Senegambians are coal black, and the North African pure Moors who are not negroes at all.

A colored man may inherit a black or dark brown skin, a straight, white right angle face and head, planitoid feet and a love of work, a big chest and a big abdomen; that is three Gold Coast negro traits and three Saxon traits. He will be a husky, ambitious, able man; but this does not qualify him to be the father of children by a white woman. Yet this man will certainly aspire to a blood white wife, being just as unfit to marry a brunet Caucasian, of course.

Or take the case by traits, and say that the father may transmit "A-b-C-d-e-F" traits: A, strong; b, weak; C, strong, etc., while the mother is a carrier of "a-b-C-D-e-f" traits.

One child may inherit like this:

a-b-C-d-e-f.

But another may inherit

A-b-C-d-e-F.

But it is altogether unlikely that any child will inherit traits

A-B-c-d-E-f,

for the sufficient reason that strong leads of B and E are not in their germ plasms within recent generations.

Apply this to Warren Harding. He has a strong musical interest, playing several instruments. So had his mother, while his father comes in part of a musical race, the negro. But search these ancestries, both mother's and father's, in Warren, and there is no case where the forebears were strong executive managers of men. Warren is subservient to an extreme degree, subservient to his wife and to all strong natures with

whom he comes into contact. Now the Indian is not subservient. But looking into the line of his brothers and sisters, we find one of the children at least—the brother, who is strongly marked by personal independence and a distinct desire to be left alone to live his own life, to be out of all this wrangle over the ancestry, and it is easy to see that he has a very different force of hereditary and instincts from those of his brother, Warren.

The policewoman sister helps to interpret Warren; most of the time she has not lived with her husband, though not actively hostile to him during the nearly twenty years since they were married. Is this the trait of an all-white woman? If there is any person with more conflicting traits than this sister, she would be hard to find. She likes to corral criminals and the accused. At the same time, the police records show that she has been very sympathetic with wronged girls in the city of America, where more illegitimate children per thousand of the population than any other in the land—a record as true of the whites there as of the colored women. She takes marriage lightly for herself—though strictly virtuous—and lightly also for these unfortunate girls. (How this sympathy works in her is shown in her recent advice to Justice P. Stafford in a matter of the Cole divorce case, which forced Warren to disavow the act and send her to a Battle Creek sanitarium. Mrs. Cole is a Cuban Mestizo, with whom Mrs. Votau boarded while acting as policewoman).

Remembering the parental disregard for marital forms and ceremonies may not this indifference to marital relations be classed with inherited traits and traced to George Tyrone Harding II., and Elizabeth Dickerson?

I must close with this final statement; my belief is

that Warren Harding and his wife have been allowed to get into the limelight in order to emphasize the importance to the American people of knowledge of anthropology and heredity for our own future and as clinical material for the study of our most serious social questions of marriage and sex generally.

The social taboo upon these matters is off so long as they live in the White House.

Scientists are seeking some keys to his intellectual positions and why he prefers brunets so close to him. His wife is brunet. George B. Christian (Cristiano, Portuguese, translated), his private secretary, who can "kill" correspondence and deny opportunity for an interview, is a brunet. D. R. Crissinger, of Blooming Grove, a very intimate friend, is brunet. Why does he avoid blond Anglo-Saxons and blond Saxon Germans? And, why * * *? But scientists have too many questions of this kind to set down here and now.

To a Legal Friend:

Your letter was duly received among thousands on thousands. In this vast outpouring, only a dozen or so of all the writers have censured me for what I have done and failed to do; and your censure takes such a peculiar form that I am answering it in detail fully and out of its due order in time. You say that I managed my case badly and should have conducted my course very differently. In this censure for "failure so to spring the attack on Harding" and yet save my "college chair" for my "later work," which you set up, you make several assumptions.

1. You assume that, being fully informed as to the existence of the negro organization, including one William Chancellor, black, aged 65 years, I should have countered at once say, as early as July. This assumption fails because it is false as to TIME. Until January, 1921, I was unaware of the existence of William

Chancellor. I did not know who wrote the papers about Harding's negro ancestry.

2. You assume that as early as (say) August, I had proofs that Warren Harding is colored. This assumption also is false as to TIME. Until December, 1920, I had not heard of the Wilbur-Smith murder case; nor until late that month did I learn that Georgia Harding Hamon, wife of murdered Jake L. Hamon, was Warren's own cousin, and a negress and where Harding got his campaign money.

3. You assume that the Wooster College Board of Trustees in ousting me from my chair as full professor for life did so on grounds after proof that I had circulated malicious libels of Warren Harding and followed the college rules in so doing.

I circulated nothing prior to that meeting when I was removed without a hearing. Here your assumption that the Wooster College Trustees acted legally and regularly is false; they acted as Republican politicians, as a branch of the Republican National Committee, in order to cover from the public their own use of William Chancellor in getting the negro vote. This assumption of yours is false because they did not act as college trustees, but as Republicans aiming to win.

4. You assume finally that I, a college professor, was engaged in a political game; that I had something to "spring;" that I staked my college chair to win or lose.

This is so totally false an assumption that it is difficult to deal with. Why should I have lied as to my belief regarding Warren Harding—to the Wooster College Trustees? Why should I have tried to save myself by lying? A college chair has pleasant features. The Wooster College faculty declined unanimously to ratify my ouster. The Dean who was used

as a tool by the Trustees has resigned, being utterly unable to reconcile himself to their perversion of a document that they purloined from me through him into a "retraction" of what I never did. He cannot yet reconcile the three virtues, viz.:

1. Truth; which he told.
2. Loyalty to Wooster College; which he showed.
3. Honor as a patriot; which he betrayed.

He is man enough to live without being Dean; no other confession would have been enough; he gave up the second highest college office.

A college professorship that requires a man to sign anything that a Board of Trustees demands reduces the professor to a slave. The Roman Senators and plutocrats bought and sold Greek teachers as slaves. Shall the American Senators and plutocrats make slaves of our college teachers?

You are a lawyer; I have known you many years. My impression is that:

1. You should review Greenleaf on Evidence;
2. Read fewer Republican and plutocratic newspapers.

You cannot understand my case and my course until you rid your mind of what the newspapers said. Are you aware that **The New York Times** sent out to Marion to investigate the negro situation a reporter who had been in this country only two years, educated and trained in Norway? This man told me that he could not tell a colored man from a Chinaman. I asked him what investigation he made; and he said that he had asked Harding's secretary! Yet **The New York Times** printed a statement that Professor Chancellor had circulated sheets against Harding for months; and did not know William Chancellor from William Estabrook Chancellor. Notwithstanding which facts, it printed on its front page the statement that it had

made a thorough and complete investigation and that Professor Chancellor denied, in October, what he did in the preceding months; that is, my dear sir, what black William Chancellor did for pay for the Republican party to get negro votes.

Possibly the fact that the McCormicks, of Chicago and Washington, once gave \$5,000 to Wooster College and might give more made it seem judicious to get rid of Professor Chancellor. Rev. Dr. Stone had to think of the money involved. Wooster College is heavily in debt! But is Gold—God?

Yours sincerely,

THE PARENTS OF HARDING

To a Fellow Psychologist:

You may remember my article on the Hypermoron, in which I diagnosed the hypermoron as being the victim of morinoia, habit-mindedness. This article was originally printed in the *New England Journal of Education*, Boston, but was extensively reprinted, one issue being in the *LITERARY DIGEST*. For a while all the world talk of it.

You have asked me to describe Warren Harding intellectually to you from my personal study of him.

Let us begin with his parents, and especially, his mother, for Warren is more like his mother than like his father which is fortunate for America.

Elizabeth Dickerson was born with the same notion that TEMPLE THURSTON advocates in the now famous novel, *THE GREENBOUGH*, and that has been advocated by such novelists as Herrick in *Together*, and the woman who wrote *Three Weeks*, Elinor Glyn, a notion that would fill the world once more with bastards. Her notion was that she had the right to motherhood, no matter what. On this basis she united

herself to the soldier, George Tryon Harding, who was a year younger than herself. When pregnant she woke up, at her mother's and father's loud lamentations, to the full-grown men's and women's notion that marriage is a condition *sine qua non* to maternity. But George Tryon did not see it; therefore, she invented the lie that they had really been married, but she did not know when or where. On that bass, she bore to him TEN children, three boys and seven girls, a most kaleidoscopic lot, three of them black and most of them are good specimens of the human race.

Now the hypermoron is an adult who thinks in the terms of fourteen years normal mentality, which is the trouble with these novelists and the free love advocates generally. The traits of the hypermoron are these, viz.:

1. No self-alienation; they cannot see themselves as others see them.
2. They cannot understand full-grown minds.
3. They follow habits and routine.
4. They obey others.
5. They live in the nearby facts and have no principles of action.
7. They love companionship and cannot live happily alone.
8. They follow their instincts implicitly.
9. They live in their senses, often are musical and artistic.
10. They cannot conceive of human society, the nation.
11. They are full of memories.
12. They have no long foresight, and never imagine themselves forward into the future.
13. They are full of fears.
14. They may have wit but they never have a sense of humor.

15. They are self-sacrificing to others near them.

16. They love home and kin.

17. They are amiable until crossed; then they show violent temper.

18. They are talkative.

19. They are naive.

The hypermoron is the near-adult, the first-class fool, the almost full-grown man. It is harder to discriminate the hypermoron from the adult than any other variety of fool.

Such was Elizabeth Dickerson.

Such was not her husband, so-called.

He has managed to live on others skilfully. His daughter, Abigail, has supported the little Marion home in the cottage on Church Street, and Mrs. Harding has allowed him to have rent-free an office in the STAR BUILDING.

He is no hypermoron but a full-grown adult, shrewd, cautious, cruel, lazy, vain, an imposter in recent years, a divorced man now, bold or cunning as the case has required. Though very ignorant, ignorant even of medicine and surgery which he professes, he is far from a fool. On the contrary, he has negotiated a crooked course with marvelous skill. The hypermoron never really lies; he does not know how, or see why it may be useful temporarily, to lie; but no one takes the word of this man, George Tryon Harding.

The mother had frail health but great power to work; the father has had fine health, but no disposition to work.

If you will consider the lies that Harding told during the campaign, you will see where to draw the line and find in Warren the traits of both parents. Most of us have lived down and risen out of the period of hypermorinoia. We can remember when we fought the instincts in ourselves and defeated them.

Warren, who believes in the high protective tariff and in the Monroe Doctrine and in subservience to the great, who lets others decide for him, is, just now, at fifty-five years of age, trying to evolve into adult manhood.

Very truly yours,

TRUTH

A Letter to a Christian Friend:

You are the pastor of a church supposed to be dedicated to Jesus Christ, and I have your letter accordingly. What is it that Americans do to men who tell the truth? Do they boil them in oil? If so, when the souls arrive at the Gates of Pearl, distilled from the boiling oil of their mortal bodies, what do the Angels of the Gates say to them? Is it a bar to the Gates that one tells the truth?

But suppose that these souls only believed that they were telling the truth—that they tried to find the truth in every way they could, but were baffled by other men in this earth. Still they told only the truth as to their belief or refused to lie about their beliefs. What do the Angels of the Gates say to such souls?

In point of reason, can the Angels of God damn to the fires of eternal punishment any persons who for truth give up home, children, kindred, property, country and all familiar things? If Angels can do this, are such the Angels of God who creates men to love truth?

Is there any virtue higher than Truth by the test of which the Gates of Pearl alone open? If so, name it. You object to my telling the truth about my beliefs. What is it you wish me to do? To lie? I prefer to take my course. If I have made a mistake about what the Angels of the Gates will do, it is a mistake

so vast and terrible that every really good man has made it. If all such go to Hell, I shall have excellent companionship there.

You say that my telling the truth has damaged the cause of Christian education. If so, I am content that "Christian" education should be damaged and utterly annihilated. If a college dedicated to Jesus Christ cannot stand the truth, then it ought to perish—Even Christianity itself must perish unless it is the truth.

I notice that Jesus said of Himself—"I am the Truth." I notice that Pilate asked—"What is Truth?" I may be wrong; but my own guess is that the Walls of the City of Gold are laid upon one clear, solid, universal, uniform rock and that this rock is Truth. If I am wrong, and Truth is not the rock on which the New Jerusalem rests, then I must go below, deep enough to find the rock; it may be Hell is on the rock of Truth. But I repeat; my guess is that the Gates open to those who love Truth.

If this is error, and I must submit to be called, "Raca, thou fool," by you, I venture to ask you to read the rest of the passage. If only fools love Truth, and live and die for it, then I am content that God made me a fool.

Death and Hell with Truth are better than any Heaven to be won otherwise than by Truth.

Yours, sincerely,

WHAT IS A WRITER?

To a Fellow Member of the New York Press Club:

I received your letter and thank you for being plain with me. You regret that I was expelled without a hearing and without notice from the Club of which both of us have been so long members; but you see no way to straighten the matter out.

I see by the papers that Warren Harding has declined to go to New York and address the Club because of your internal troubles.

Your Club, that once was mine also, will have more troubles before I get through with this thing.

You ask me to try to forget that I ever was a member and say that "the Club is in bad odor just now anyway." Perhaps so. But the public regards me as properly blacklisted, and I propose to pursue my policy of letting the public know the truth, which will take a long time for a man who is forbidden to use the mails even for private letters. You will, however, get this letter, for there are ways to come through.

You tell me that my income from writing was not very important and that probably I can get another teaching position anyway.

Evidently, though you do know me quite well personally, you know nothing about my financial affairs, except that I have written many articles that have been published in newspapers and magazines.

First and last, I am a writer. In the middle, I have done other things.

The Republican Trustees of the College of Wooster have undertaken to destroy a writer—that is some undertaking, even for multi-millionaires who own the present Government.

Writers live by what overthrows other men; their troubles are their assets. They sell their books and articles because others are interested in their lives and opinion. The more trouble they have, the better their writings sell.

Only God Himself can overthrow a writer; He can overthrow even plutocrats through writers. By writing, Woodrow Wilson broke Wilhelm Hohenzollern.

To keep me alive God needs to do just three things, that is all:

First, keep my brains at work.

Second, keep me human.

Third, see that I have food and shelter and a very few necessaries of life.

After doing this, God can trust me to do the rest. But He must keep my mind going, keep people interested in humanity and see that I have the means of mere life.

Then I will write and write.

The millions hate and distrust the millionaires; the whites fear the contamination of the blacks. All men desire peace and comfort, and most men desire justice. Therefore, they listen to what the writers say. I foresee an effort to colorize America. I foresee that the next demand by the many millions of Afro-Americans will be this, viz.:

A Force Act for the South in order that the negroes may gain control once more of the State Governments of the South. This will mean at least seven million more black votes of the men and women, and the suppression of the white Democrats of the South. The negroes do not care about plutocracy; they are willing to obey the business overlords provided that they can have white women for wives. That is what race quality means, the defeat of the white South and the drowning out of the white blood, which may God forbid!

Once let the negroes vote generally, and there will be an avowed negro for the Presidency, who will pledge placing many negroes in high office—on the Supreme Court bench itself, in the Cabinet, in the Senate, not merely one or two, but many. Through these negroes, the plutocrats then can work their will upon the rest of us.

That is the game, and that is the game the New

York Press Club played when it threw me out without notice.

Which raises the question what American journalists really now are.

I have a pretty fair knowledge of American journalism, magazines and books. Some men have a more intensive knowledge, of course, of particular enterprises than I have, but my general knowledge is fairly complete. I have been in every large city in America and in most of those of Canada, and in many European cities also.

Some time ago a New York paper of wide circulation, asked me to write for them an account of my actual personal relations with journalism and replied that it was ten times greater than they had supposed. They wished me to work for them at a salary that was ridiculous. In order not to destroy my market for the future, I refrain from particularizing now; but it may amuse you to know that the writers in the New York Press Club who moved to fire me out came from a paper that offered me only a few years ago \$150 a week to go to Europe for them—and all expenses, of course.

I cared a thousand times more about being of a New York journalistic standing than about being a professor in a Republican Presbyterian College.

I have published thirty-eight books and have edited for publishers more than a hundred other books.

One of my students once undertook to make a list of all my signed published articles and gave up after tracing three thousand.

Because I was a writer, the College of Wooster employed me, and for no other reason; and because I was a writer, they fired me, and for no other reason. I wrote an article that was published in the **Times-Annalist**, in which I advocated gold once more for common circulation; and that was resented by the plu-

tocracy. A man who believes in **honest money** and in nothing else is a Bolshevik-anarchist-revolutionist-lunatic NOW because the bankers of New York desire all the gold for themselves, and the rest of us are animals feeding at **THEIR** tables.

Shades of Andrew Jackson! Shades of Albert Gallatin! Great shades of Honest John Sherman! Pretty soon it will be a crime to wish to **OWN** a home, because then one who is honest will be able to laugh at the **LORDS** of Land. Still, then the plutocrats will find a way to steal a man's home just as they stole my professorship and my membership in the New York Press Club.

But who are the journalists?

A few are themselves millionaires—like Charles H. Grasty.

A few write so well that they write rather freely like Sir Philip Gibbs.

A few are so scholarly that they are respected enough to have the entree to almost any paper or magazine of their own party—like Talcott Williams, who knows everything.

A few write on papers that are, though rich, free and honest, like the New York World.

A few papers try to be free, like the **NEW YORK TIMES**.

A few are free, though not rich, like the **CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER**.

But most journalists

1. Earn so little that they live from hand to mouth and do not dare to think; they write to order. Only a very brave man writes what he thinks unless he has **TEN THOUSAND** dollars in cash in a good bank, where the plutocrats do not know that he has the money.

Such a man often cannot sell what he thinks.

2. Are so young and ignorant that they have no machinery with which to think.

3. Or have come so recently into America that they do not know us; there are too many foreigners on our papers and magazines. They work cheap and destroy the wage and piece-rate scales for native Americans.

Let me tell you a few instances of fact:

1. The business manager of a great paper received his discharge by telegraph, went to see the owner at his home, who refused to see him. To his death later, this journalist never knew why he had been discharged after years of success.

How can a profession be free when such things happen?

2. A freelance writer, blacklisted by several great papers, sent a dispatch through regarding which the city editor wired, "That is a peach of a story!"

He waited and waited and waited two months for payment, and then got a check for \$300. But they never used his story. It cost him \$150 just to wait.

3. A man sent to a very great newspaper a fine article; it was accepted; it did not appear. The writer read the paper diligently, and at last a paragraph came out. Then another. In the end, it was all printed; but it had lost all its force. And the business office never paid him.

4. A man wrote an article that soon appeared. He was sent to a distant city; and he was never paid.

5. A man was ordered to go for a determined sum to a foreign land to write up some newsy stuff. He sent back one article that appeared; then he sent five others in succession that never appeared. He asked for an explanation and pay, which he never got. The paper had changed his business manager, and that ended his claim unless he sued, which would have caused him to be blacklisted. Later he found that an-

other writer on the paper had objected to his articles because his own opposed his views. This writer at home, who did not know the facts, killed the stuff from the field, and BROKE the outside man, who did know.

I might give many other cases.

You say that such things are the ordinary conditions of human life; they are. Newspapers should be superior to ordinary methods and conduct. The world needs truth; it **needs truth far more than it needs shoes and oatmeal and coal.**

In the present situation with slaves for writers, with frightened men with eyes bulging lest the front office or the downstairs office or the capitalist behind the works GETS him, the newspapers are not telling the truth to us Americans.

“First of all the truth” is a blind to fool us. They put this on the corner of their front pages; but the truth itself is not in them.

What is the remedy? The ownership of the papers by the men who write them, and then an enlightened public opinion to back up the writers.

You will say that the country newspapers are so owned. Possibly in some instances; but while the Associated Press is itself plutocratic, the country newspaper can be truthful only in the “hay fields,” where they operate for the “hay” facts.

America is an empire of great cities. Forget the State lines. What counts is what New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Washington tell us. You can test a great civilization by its great cities, and nowhere else. The farmers cannot save the nation. The cities rule us. To them the farmers send their best of all kinds and sorts—their sons and daughters included.

I now ask the merchants of the OBVIOUS who run most of our newspapers to observe and consider that a CLOUD looks like MASS and SUBSTANCE; but it

floats and is lighter than air, for it floats high, and the aviators fly through it.

It was **OBVIOUS** that some man named "William Chancellor" was being used to circulate tissue paper sheets, etc., throughout the land from Pittsburgh to Chicago.

It was obvious that this name was attached to the title of Professor of Political Economics, Wooster University.

It was **not obvious** that the first wife of James M. Cox was herself a Harding and that therefore HE would not back such a propaganda.

It was **not obvious** that Professor William Estabrook Chancellor, Professor of Politics, NOT Political Economics, which is illiterate, was too much the friend of James M. Cox to go into any such thing, and had too much common sense to do it anyway.

It was **not obvious** that this was amove of the negroes themselves, backed by local Republican leaders, such as D. R. Crissinger, and known to Harding himself, in order to get the negro vote all out and the sympathetic white vote with it.

It was **not obvious** that the argument to Chancellor of Wooster, that in order to save his chair he must call other men liars, when he believed them to be telling the truth, would not work. The Trustees of Wooster did not go to Wooster that afternoon in order to oust Chancellor; they went in order to get him to sign a lie as to his beliefs. Therefore, the New York Press Club, under orders direct and indirect, from Medill McCormick, of the **Chicago Tribune**,

Myron T. Herrick, of the **Dayton Journal**,
 Theodore N. Noyes, of the **Washington Star**,
 Edward H. McLean, of the **Cincinnati Enquirer**
and Washington Post,
 Dan R. Hanna, of the **Cleveland News**,

on the *ex parte* evidence of one Reverend Doctor John Timothy Stone, that the Wooster College Board of Trustees had ousted Chancellor after trial, which was a lie, and believing in the *obvious*, which was another lie to the effect that he had "retracted" that which he never did, expelled him *instanter*, which was an offense to Anglo-American law.

When the right time comes, I propose to get this fact before the bar of American public opinion. In the meantime, I watch with interest the investigation into the affairs of the New York Press Club.

If that turns out well, I intend to ask the Club this question: How does it happen that there has arisen in very high public life at last a man who for the first time in American history is so peculiar that a writer must be PREVENTED from writing his life, prevented by all the vast resources of the Amerocan government? No other President ever objected to anyone's writing his life.

It is said in reply that the writer intended to prove that this President has a peculiar ancestry. Is this President sacred like Nero in a Golden Palace? Can truth be written of all white men, but not of men NOT ALL WHITE? Is Negro Blood sacrosanct from publicity? Are the negroes our overlords? It is objected that the truth would cause public indignation or worse. No, not the truth in th words, but the placing of such a man in supreme power, that is the cause of this fearful dread; it is *exposure* that they fear.

But if this man is not exposed, he will be re-elected, and others like him and worse will follow. The plutocracy needs rubber stamps and tools.

Very sincerely,

To an Amateur Anthropologist:

There are, I believe, less than twenty men in America whose opinions on race questions are worth

any thought at all—men who have grounding in the science, and who have made field studies. The notion that head forms may change within one generation is too baseless in fact to be considered seriously; race is permanent, lasts untold generations. I have seen in the Near East and here in America persons who look exactly like the representations upon the Egyptian monuments, and others like those upon the Assyrian monuments.

Some so-called “races” are not races at all. And some apparently different “races” are really one race. The red and black Kelts are one race, differing in hair color only; often of Keltic twins, one is red, the other black. Why? Possibly the race was formed two (thousand) years ago by combination of Mediterranean black stock and Teutonic blond stock; but, however formed, it is now permanent. The genuine Saxons are one race, appearing with either blond or tawny hair. In each of these cases, the cephalic indexes respectively are always the same— 80° for male Kelts, and 78° for male Saxons. This index is as reliable as the law of gravitation or the law of atomic valence. Almost all-white Americans until 1880 were either feudalistic, clannish Kelts or Anglo-Saxons, a special offshoot of the Saxons, with Anglo impusiveness and love of freedom and energy forced into Saxon friendliness and sympathy, or else Kelto-Anglo-Saxons and hybrids, good when the Anglo elements remained dominant.

When a man sets up to be ALL-WHITE, he must establish his race or races scientifically by measurements and historic records in order to satisfy an anthropologist. We are dealing here with **truth**, not with pride and assertion. There is no more reason for taking at face-value the genealogical assertions of a suspected family than for taking their promissory notes

at face-value without inquiry; and so far as the interests of the human race are concerned, there are a thousand reasons why the stocks in a man are more important than his property assets. Every fertile human being is a potential father or mother of ALL LATER humanity. Assume that a man has three children, nine grandchildren, twenty-seven great-grandchildren, eight-one great-great-grandchildren, he will have in a thousand years no less than 500,000,000,000 descendants; in other words, if the earth's civilization improves and races intermarry freely as equals, which many advocate, his blood may be in every human being of that period. It so happens that Amos Harding, of Blooming Grove, has established so far a ratio of four, not three, for his descendants. I consider this interesting and important to America. Within a few centuries, every American of that period may have Harding blood.

There are already known to be 20,000 descendants of one Francis Powers who came to this country in 1656. It happens that they display a remarkably high average of abilities, much in the same line; he evidently was a carrier of dominant traits. But in the Harding instance, the dominant traits appear to have come down through Huldah Tryon, said to have been the mother of Amos. Naturally, I am interested in Huldah and her descendants. One thing is certain—every man who has many descendants may be sure that his descendants at some future time will either come into severe competition with her descendants or will unite with them. Moreover, the present case is one where every living human being is interested, for the present character and ability of Warren Harding now involves the welfare of all mankind.

The day has passed when biographers will say that a President had such and such a father and such and

such a mother, and let it go at that. We shall take the interest in such matters as the subjects of monarchical dynasties take in their sovereigns. We are learning that hereditary traits are ninety-eight per cent of life. When a family is notorious for doing no reading, for not entering into the methods of a **civilization of the written record**, and known public law, we shall be forewarned. When it is notorious for being **short-sighted**, for having only near-range views, we shall be forewarned. When it is notoriously subservient, we shall be forewarned. You cannot force into a brain anything for which the tissue as prepared by heredity is incompetent to get.

Yours sincerely,

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE PRESIDENT

The latest apologist for the President now in office is one William H. Crawford, who describes himself as "a life-long Democrat," who has known him for twenty years. This writer has an article in *THE WORLD'S WORK* for May, a magazine that in its editorials of the same issue deals manfully with the inability of the President to formulate a policy in foreign affairs.

Mr. Crawford ends by describing the President as "A man under whom the power of the executive will voluntarily fall lower than it has for the last twenty-five years. Incidentally there are many who believe with Mr. Harding that the reduction of Presidential authority is urgently necessary for the preservation of our democratic form of government.

If the Presidency under Harding falls lower, any lower than it fell under McKinley and Taft, God save the American people!

Earlier in the article he said, "Furthermore, Mr. Harding has no desire or intention to dominate the en-

tire government. We will have for the first time in many years three separate, distinct, and independent branches of the Government.”

Now this statement is nothing less than subversive of the Constitution itself. There was no intention to make the President “coordinate” with the other officers. It is true that the Presidency is confined by “checks and balances,” but the President is not set up as merely the equal with others. A rigid examination of the Constitution and of the statutes carrying it out, and also of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court shows this, viz.:

As compared with the President, the Supreme Court, which is nominated by the Presidents, confirmed by the Senate, is more powerful than any man in office—this is the peculiarity of our American Federal system.

As compared with the Senate, through his veto, he equals seventeen Senators.

Through his power to nominate or withhold nominations and his power to make recess and *ad interim* appointments, the President is ten times as powerful as the Senate.

Through his power to initiate treaties and to manage all foreign affairs, he is ten times more powerful.

Through his “implied war powers,” he is infinitely more powerful.

Being Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, he is all-powerful as compared with the Senate. It is true that he cannot “declare war;” but Polk showed that he can “make war” and that the Congress must back him up. Only one power really confines the “war powers” of the President; that is, **public opinion**.

In respect to the House, the President is again, through his veto, equal to many Representatives—mathematically considered, to seventy-three of them.

But the House has only one-fourth of the power of the Senate anyway. The President is very much more powerful than Congress, on the whole. In respect to Mrs. Harding, the writer of this apology says: "There is evidence everywhere that she has been a helpmate and advisor to the President in his upward climb."

Then he adds, "As an admirer of Wilson I was more than exasperated at what I consider the unjust calumny heaped upon him during the campaign for partisan political purposes and was inclined to attribute it partly to the nominee of the Republican party; consequently, I came to my task certainly with no prejudice favorable to the new President."

Professor William Estabrook Chancellor, when at Marion, himself heard Mrs. Harding tell some visiting ladies that she was "afraid that those dreadful stories about Mr. and Mrs. Wilson were true." In a letter to one of his friends, he said that he was within fifteen feet of her when she said this, standing on the sidewalk, talking to visitors in a motor car. It was abundantly in evidence that the **agents provocateurs** of the Republicans, both men and women, were in the closest relations with the Hardings.

Early in this article, Mr. Crawford said, "Previous to his nomination, my study of him was superficial, for, to be perfectly frank, I have never considered that he was sufficiently important as a national figure to merit a closer scrutiny." There is a notion frequently expressed that in the Presidency men often display unexpected powers. Perhaps so. But in that office, they never display knowledge that they never had. The Presidency does not give to a man information and science. When the cold historians of later times tackle this man, they will write something worse than the expressed fears of this apologist. They will recount the ruin his election brought to the world.

CHAPTER XVIII

PROFESSOR CHANCELLOR AND THE PEOPLE

Objection has been made to one taking part in politics by Professor W. E. Chancellor on the ground that he is "ignorant of the American people." This is exactly the opposite of the true objection, which is, that he knows the American people. The only cause why he is not now out lecturing among the people before large audiences is because the present Administration is afraid of him and is illegally using its power for its personal politics. If Professor Chancellor does not know the American people, who does? Notice **these** facts:

1. Ohio: Lived in the State from birth till twelve years of age; and in adult life nine years.

2. Massachusetts: Studied in Worcester, Amherst and Cambridge; taught in Watertown; ten years.

3. New Jersey: City School Superintendent in Bloomfield and Paterson; nine years.

4. New York: Married a native of New York City, where he lived five years as student and teacher and editor. Member of New York Clubs. Many business connections. Wife, a niece of Henry Ward Beecher and related to other famous families.

5. Washington, D. C.: City School Superintendent, Chairman Architectural Commission, university teacher; three years.

6. Connecticut: City School Superintendent at Norwalk four years.

7. Nebraska: College President at Lincoln, one year.

8. Illinois: Taught in Chicago at the University of Chicago two summers and has visited the city two-score times.

Professor Chancellor has given courses of lectures for six weeks in the States of Washington and of Iowa, each. He has given lectures in nearly every State of the Union, including every county of Vermont, fourteen counties in Pennsylvania, etc. He has travelled nearly 400,000 miles in the United States. His ordinary mail even when in the quiet life of a college professor averaged 20 letters a day, or 6,000 a year; he received over 10,000 letters in his political campaign.

No, the trouble with Professor Chancellor is that he knows too many persons and too many facts, knows America too well. What we desire is to let the American people know the truth about his treatment by the politicians of the present Administration. We are certain what the people will think, feel, say and do.

Is this the American form of a Dreyfus case? France saw the light at last.

CHAPTER XIX

ACCEPTED GENEALOGY

The Family Genealogy of Warren Gamaliel (Bancroft Winnipeg Harding) as prepared by W.J. Harding, of Keystane, Iowa, and handed to the staff correspondent of the New York WORLD as the authentic genealogy. When shown by..... to..... on October 18, 1921, he said: "As a man born a Virginian, I can have but one answer: white people in Virginia did not give such names to their children, nor have so many wives per man.

1. John, b 1567, d 1637, wife unknown.
2. Richard, b 1595, d 1657, two wives, second name Elizabeth (last name unknown).
3. Stephen, b 1623, d Feb. 20, 1698, wife Bridget Estance (French).
4. Abraham, b date unknown, d Nov. 23, 1694, wife Deborah (last name unknown).
5. Stephen, b 1681, no other record.
6. Abraham, b June 14, 1720, d 1788, wife unknown.
7. Abraham, b 1740, d date unknown, wife Huldah Tryon (Tyrone?).

Children of John were Richard, Amos, John, Lemuel, Oliver, Joseph.

Children of Abraham and Deborah were Israel, Stephen, John, Mercy, Lydia, Deborah, Thomas.

Children of Stephen, wife unknown, were Abraham, Stephen, Thomas, Israel.

Children of Abraham, wife unknown, were Abraham, John, Amos, Lemuel, Oliver, Rice.

(According to the investigation of Professor Chancellor and of the WORLD, all the foregoing "genealogy" is faked).

8. Amos, b March 10, 1764, d July 10, 1839, wife Phoebe Tripp, married 1794. Migrated to Ohio, 1820, by which time "they" had seventeen children. (The record shows that one of them was born November 18, 1795, and another March 15, 1796. It also shows that Phoebe bore one child in 1785 and the last in 1813. But the neighbors say that the man had two mates, which explains the phenomenon of two children born within 117 days of one another! The second mate, who was the widow, was a comparatively young woman, at the death of this interesting Amos.)

The names of the children of Amos were Abigail, George Tryon, William Tripp, Solomon, Mordecai, Rice, Wealthy, Ebenezer S., Benjamin F., Huldah Jane, John, Chauncy, Mahala, others unknown to genealogist.

Abigail, b 1785, d 1861, m James Sterns.

George Tryon, b June 5, 1790, d Jan. 9, 1860, first wife Ann Roberts, b date unknown, married 1812, d 1815, second wife Elizabeth Madison, b 1800, d 1869, married 1816.

William Tripp, b July 15, 1792, Hindale, married date unknown; second wife Mary Otis, married date unknown.

Solomon, b Jan. 31, 1794, d Feb. 17, 1872. Three wives, dates of marriages unknown. Their names were Anna Wheat, Eliza Lathrop, Susan Mason.

Mordecai Rice, b Nov. 18, 1795, d March 15, 1870. First wife Susan Newton. Second wife Martha Steel. Dates of marriages unknown.

Wealthy, b (note the date and compare with above) March 15, 1796, d 1887. Two husbands, dates of marriages unknown; names, Joseph Baker, Hiram Wells.

Ebenezer S., b 1799, d 1882. Two wives; dates of

marriages unknown; names, Mary Webster, Naomi Wilson.

Benjamin F., b 1801, d April 13, 1838. Wife Anna Jackson. Date married unknown.

Huldah Jane, b Ppril 10, 1805, d Sept. 13, 1877. Married Amos Webster, date unknown.

John, b July, date unknown, 1807. Married Alvirah Dunham, date unknown.

Chauncy C., b Jan. 14, 1809, d Dec. 8, 1880. Married Rachel Story, date unknown.

Mahala, b 1813, d date unknown. Married Richard Fields, date unknown.

(This very remarkable Amos who had seventeen children, the birth dates and names of the third, fifth, eleventh, fifteenth and sixteenth being unknown to the genealogist, had no less than nineteen son-in-laws and daughter-in-laws for the known twelve children, and he had ninety-eight known grand children by these twelve children. It will be observed that in but few instances is the date of the marriage known. The date of the marriage of George Tryon (Tyrone) II., to Elizabeth Dickerson is also unknown; why?)

Children of Abigail were Amosa, Justice, Lydia, Rhoda, Silas, Mercenam Otis, Wealthy, Polly, Phoebe, (Stearnes).

Of George Tryon by Ann were Huldah, Phoebe Ann; by Elizabeth were Oliver, Perry, Charles A., Miranda.

Of William, who though having two wives apparently died young, Eloridge T., Eliza F. Rice, Lois U., by which wives unknown.

Of Solomon, who had three wives, A. Major, L. Lothrop, Tary, Alexander L., Delilah, Charlotte, George Washington, Harrison, Alfred Avery, by which wives unknown.

(Some of these names bear out the contention that Amos came from Virginia, as the neighbors say.)

Of Mordecai, by two wives, Thos. Newton, Jas. Harvey, Lucinda, Susan J., Mordecia, Rice, Rosalinda (who was coal black); Edward S., Louisa J., by which wives unknown.

Of Wealthy, by two husbands, Har. A., Emily Ann Stephen P., Emmans Artemissa John M., Susan, William, Sidney, Corydon, Charles E., Mary E., by which husbands unknown.

Ebenezer S., by two wives, Wealthy, Charles, Clement, Mary, Ebenezer, Lewis N., Lydia, by which wives unknown.

Benjamin, by Anna Jackson, Benjamin E., Philena, and two names unknown. (He died young, which may have saved the life of his own wife.)

Hildah Jane, by Amos Westley L., Welcome A., Wilson J., Hilah Jane, William W., Celestia, Zoradia, Amos G., (Webster).

John, by Alvira Thomas D., Lucius T., Merrit, James, Benjamin, Solomon, Mary, Sarah, Martha.

Chauncy, by Rachel Nehemiah, Horace H., Harriet S., Jotham D., Amos J., Hiram R.

Mahala, by two husbands, the name of one unknown, James E., Mary A., Mahala S., Lorenzo, George Washington, Joseph E., Artemisa J., John D., Julius E., Lucius T., Wilson W., Margaret A., Richard A., Florence C.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND COMING WARS

The left wing of the coalition styled in November, 1920, "the Republican party," told the people that the League of Nations meant wars and more wars in which America would be compelled by the Covenant to engage. The right wing denied that the Republican party was opposed to the League, and asserted, as did the Democrats, that the League meant peace for all the Nations that joined it as concerns one another. There are now forty Nations within the League; the larger

ones not in it are the United States, Russia, Germany and Turkey. Smaller ones not in it are Austria and Hungary.

Now what are the facts at the time that this law suit is being prepared? Premier Hughes, of Australia, is urging the entire British Empire to arm itself on sea and land against the United States, and the Dominion of Canada Government is debating whether to follow Australia; while the British Imperial Government at London has announced that if America adopts the policy of "ship for ship, man for man, with every other nation," the British will none the less pursue even as against the United States, their policy of "twice as great as any other nation."

At the present time, these are the wars threatening or now preparing, viz.:

Out of the League of Nations	versus	In the League of Nations
1. U. S. A.....		Great Britain
2. Germany		France
3. Russia		Poland
4. U. S. A.....		Japan
5. Turkey is now at war with.....		Greece
6. U. S. A. is trying to bulldoze Mexico, which may mean "armed interven- tion."		
7. Russia is fighting Persia.		

This means that there are now going or threatened no less than seven (7) wars. But there is NOT ONE WAR going or or threatened between Nations within the League as against one another.

In 1914, 1915 and 1916 most Americans insisted that the United States would never become involved in the World War; but the Lusitania and the one-ship-a-week order of the German Kaiser in January, 1917, brought us in all the same.

What are some of the causes leading to wars now?

1. Japan resents our international attitude on the race-question. We have race-equality in the United States for Caucasians, Ethiapians and Indians; but not for the Japanese and Chinese. Yet the yellow men regard themselves superior alike to the Indians, the Ethiopians and the Caucasians.

Japan must find room for a truly surplus population. They have 60,000,000 in an island less than the area of New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, with a poorer range of natural resources and a worse climate. Manchuria and Mongolia are impossible because Nature forbids a large population there. China is already overcrowded. Japan desires to expand into the Philippines, into Mexico and into the United States. Victory in war is her only way of escape.

Japan believes in the Divinity of Kings and in military power, and hates our democracy and looks upon our claims to being "peaceful" as hypocritical. She means to get the help of Great Britain and to whip us thoroughly.

Japan regards our claims of race-purity and race-supremacy for the whites as hypocritical and sees in our President a colored mestizo like the Presidents of most of the South American Republics.

Japan grew rich through the Russo-Jap and World Wars, hates and fears Christendom, is heathen at heart, and anxious to try out her strength against the boastful white peoples.

2. Great Britain resents the superiority now of New York in the commerce of the world. Canada is trying to clear with London direct through Quebec instead of as now through New York. Great Britain cannot destroy the United States, but by victories on the

sea and on the coasts she might destroy the prestige of the United States as the foremost of all nations.

Canada resents the Young Tariff Act furiously, as a direct attack upon her western farmers. She is trying to get "nationality" by having an ambassador in Washington, which we have already questioned on the ground that she has no independent sovereignty, and therefore cannot have diplomatic recognition of ambassadorial or even ministerial grade.

There is, so it is declared by some, no real similarity between the people of Great Britain and those of the United States other than blood and a few such matters as language and literature. The entire British Empire recognizes social inequality—nobles, middle class and peasantry. The British are an aristocracy with the pronounced social ideas and customs of an aristocracy. The United States may have an economic aristocracy, but everything else is democratic. The nobility and upper classes of the British Empire from England out into every possession would rejoice to see American democracy set back by a war-defeat.

And, unfortunately, upon this side of the United States, there are many persons, many forces, many causes making for war with Great Britain. Among them are these, viz.:

Oil in Mexico and elsewhere.

Sinn Fein.

Pro-Germanism.

Tradition regarding the War of Independence and the War of 1812.

Sensational newspapers trying for circulation.

American tariffs.

3. Russia will go on fighting for many years to come while she eases out into a totally different social state from that under the Romanoffs. We may become involved in such warfare, however, sincerely we

seek to avoid it. We are after international trade, and the masters of such trade will not stop at so small an obstacle as the objection of humble persons against being soldiers in their wars of business.

Analysis similar to these might be made of the other wars now brewing, while the Harding Administration tries out his revolutionary notion of a Secretary of State carrying all the burdens of foreign policy without direct responsibility to the people and the chief of the Government evades all the burdens and overthrows all the precedents.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT

A man is known by the appointments that he makes. Warren G. Harding has appointed as District Commissioner a man now seventy years old, who has been a candidate for this high office in Washington continually for over thirty years, the overlord of the colored people in the largest population of colored people of all the cities of the world, Timbuctoo included. Born and reared in the District, two years in attendance at a Catholic school, with no other education—he has never voted, for, much as Vice-President Coolidge was astonished at this information, no native resident of the District can vote; yet, calling himself “a Democrat,” he bolted Cox and supported Harding, to the extent that talk in Washington can support anyone. His power is due to his control over the blacks in Washington, which in turn is largely due to the fact that he is of enormous size, weighing in his prime 350 pounds. He owns real estate connected with the night life of the National Capital, and can afford underground passage to the President if required.

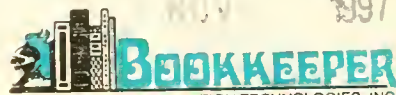
Roosevelt tried to suppress him; Taft laughed at him; Wilson made his life miserable by trying to enforce the laws against him; but now he is in power over the police and the teachers and everyone else.

This man will have charge of the expenditures of twenty and more millions of dollars a year. He is so ignorant that a few years ago, he made a protest against the teaching of algebra and of psychology in the public schools as a waste of money. The Republican party and the President can make this man useful in many ways to themselves. He has long been a tool of the District grafters in real estate, contracts and other corruption. Of course, he has ability; as every political boss must have. His name is a joke, and disgraceful—James F. Oyster—but his present power will make his appointment a serious matter to Americans. He is crude, profane, a heavy drinker, vile, and in all ways an example of the “powers of darkness,” but Harding likes him.

Toutfini.



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