

PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL FILE

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PREFACE

If Hitler and his Huns are enemies of the United States and are planning to bring the war to the Western Hemisphere, if and when they destroy the British Isles, and if treason consists of aiding and giving comfort to the enemy, by what contemptible epithet should patriotic men and women call the sadistic superpariah of American journalism, Robert McCormick, who uses his great power as owner of the Chicago Tribune to mould public opinion against our Government's lending aid to those who are holding the German hordes in Europe? By the same token, William Randolph Hearst, Moe Annenberg, Roy Howard and other owners of newspapers who are giving aid and comfort to Hitler every day, have earned the contempt of right-thinking Americans. The isolationists, der Fuehrer's best friends in the United States, including Burton K. Wheeler, Gerald P. Nye, Champ Clarke, Rush Holt, Hiram Johnson, Worth Clark and other political morons in the Senate, who provide copy for reactionary newspapers every day, deserve to be whipped like obstreperous school boys for their childish tirades against the President of the United States because he sees the need for aid, short of war, to Great Britain in order to prevent the invasion of the Western Hemisphere by the combined forces of Germany, Japan, Russia and Italy.

Of course I do not mean to advise that any legal action be taken against the pariahs of the press who prostitute the profession of journalism for profit, or to

destroy those who differ with them in politics, because technically we are not at war with Germany; ~~nor do I suggest that they should be dealt with illegally by mobs;~~ but something should be done with owners of newspapers which incite their readers to hate the President of the United States and those in authority in Washington when our country is threatened with war.

There are millions of people in Chicago and Illinois who despise Robert McCormick and everything that he stands for; but that does not deter him from libelling the President of the United States every morning. He evidently considers himself above the law, and what does public opinion mean to the arrogant and avaricious owner of a newspaper which is making ^{profits of} \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000 a year?

In every large city in the United States there are newspaper owners of the Robert McCormick type who mistake the license of the press for what they call "freedom of the press"; and who, deliberately and with malice aforethought, incite hatred of the President of the United States and those in authority in Washington even while we are preparing for a war of defense to protect our own shores from invasion.

Moe Annenberg's Philadelphia Enquirer, the most influential paper in Pennsylvania, prates about the freedom of the press perhaps

~~perhaps~~ more than any other newspaper in the United States; yet this newspaper ^{"lord"} ~~pariah~~ abuses the privileges of the press to stir up hatred against the President of the United States and those in authority in Washington, because he blames them for passing income tax laws and other laws which have stopped him from conspiring with racetrack gamblers all over the United States to swindle the public.

Moe Annenberg is in the penitentiary for violating the income tax laws, yet nothing is done with him as an undesirable citizen who, through the editorial and news columns of the Philadelphia Enquirer, is instilling into the minds of the gullible people who read his paper hatred of those who are trying to conduct the affairs of the Nation justly and honestly.

There are thousands of otherwise good citizens in every large city in the United States who have been incited by newspaper pariahs to hate the President of the United States so intensely that if they had the opportunity they would shoot him down like a dog. I have had good men tell me that they feel just that way towards President Roosevelt.

Reactionary newspapers in the United States incited hatred of

three other great progressives, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson until men of unstable minds, and therefore easily influenced by what they read in newspapers, instigated plots to assassinate them.

In this volume I present facts to show the truth of this statement. In the case of Abraham Lincoln, the assassin was successful in carrying out his plans; the attempt to assassinate Theodore Roosevelt failed; and the plots to assassinate Woodrow Wilson were foiled by efficient police.

Millions of people in the United States carry their hatred of the President so far that they also hate and would destroy their best friends should they believe in the honesty of the man in the White House. Unfortunately, a large proportion of those who are called the "best people" are among the Roosevelt haters. They unconsciously day after day have been deceived about the President with what they read in the newspapers, until they believe that the person who differs with them is a fool who should be kicked out of society.

A Chicago man recently said to me, "Freedom of speech, thought

and action does not exist in Chicago. My wife and I have been ostracized by our social friends, the wealthy Roosevelt haters, because we admit that we admire President Roosevelt and say that we intend to vote for him. I sell life insurance, and in calling on wealthy men who have been my friends if I admit that I intend voting for Roosevelt, I am almost kicked out of their offices and they become my enemies for life."

Another Chicago business man who has a responsible position in the offices of a large Chicago firm, said: "If my bosses knew that I intend to vote for Roosevelt, I would lose my job in a month. Of course they would not admit that they would discharge employees who will not vote for Willkie, but every man in the office knows that he cannot express an opinion favorable to Roosevelt without the risk of being discharged."

I, myself, have lovely friends, wealthy and influential people who are good citizens, but who practically insult me every time I see them by their tirades against Roosevelt whom they know I admire. I try to avoid the discussion of controversial subjects with them but they invariably abuse Roosevelt whenever I see them. I have to

deny myself the pleasure of being with friends, whom I love and who love me, because they never fail to blame all their business and professional difficulties upon the President.

I charge the owners of the metropolitan newspapers with having disturbed the peace and comfort of millions of their readers by inciting them to hate the President of the United States until they consider him as a dictator and a communist who is trying to take away all the money of rich people to waste in building up a beaurocratic government in Washington.

Edward Bok, a very great man, who thought clearly and wrote forcefully, has left a heritage of great value to a free people in the books he wrote. "The Americanization of Edward Bok" and "Twice Thirty" should be required reading in every high school in the United States, not only because of their historical and inspirational value but because they teach a philosophy of life which should be inculcated into the minds of the youth of the United States. No man or woman, boy or girl, can read Bok's books without becoming a better American with higher ideals of the duties and obligations of citizenship than he or she had before reading them.

Bok was remarkably free from prejudice and entirely fair to those with whom he disagreed in any way; but he hated sham and dissembling. Bok's remarks on the license of the American press apply to this hour in the greatest crisis in the history of the world. He said: (From "The Americanization of Edward Bok"):

"And as I grew into manhood, the newspapers rang on every side with disrespect for those in authority. Under the special dispensation of the liberty of the press, which was construed into the license of the press, no man was too high to escape editorial vituperation if his politics did not happen to suit the management, or if his action ran counter to what the proprietors believed it should be. It was not criticism of his acts, it was personal attack upon the official; whether supervisor, mayor, governor, or president, it mattered not.

"It is a very unfortunate impression that this American lack of respect for those in authority makes upon the foreign-born mind. It is difficult for the foreigner to square up the arrest and deportation of a man who, through an incendiary address, seeks to overthrow governmental authority, with the ignoring of an expression of exactly the same sentiments by the editor of his next morning's newspaper. In other words, the man who writes is immune, but the man who reads, imbibes, and translates the editor's words into action is immediately marked as a culprit, and America will not harbor him. But why harbor the original cause? Is the man who speaks with type less dangerous than he who speaks with his mouth or with a bomb?"

Illustrating the hatred of Woodrow Wilson while conducting the World War, Bok relates that the principal speaker at a large Americanization Conference was an educator who later in private conversation "launched out on a tirade against the President of the United States; the weakness of the Cabinet, the inefficiency of the Congress, and the stupidity of the Senate. If words could

have killed, there would have remained not a single living member of the administration at Washington."

Reactionary newspapers and the isolationists prate about communism and charge the President of the United States and others close to him with being communists; but it is noticeable that they have little to say about Naziism and Fascism. One wonders if deep down in the hearts of these few powerful propagandists they would rather have Hitler conquer Great Britain than to see Franklin D. Roosevelt re-elected President of the United States?

No one would accuse fifth column newspaper owners and their puppets in the United States Senate with actually conspiring with Hitler and Mussolini to conquer Great Britain, which might mean a later conquest of the United States; but in their hatred of the man in the White House and in their insane desire to get control of the United States Government, they have become blinded to the Hitler menace to the Western Hemisphere and have used their great power to mold public opinion against the United States lending aid to France and Great Britain.

I am not a politician and am not a party man. I have never

held public office and my only ambition is to humbly practice the duties of my chosen profession, that of medicine. After three years of study, research and writing, while at the same time engaged in the active practice of medicine, I have completed a medical book which is now in the hands of the publisher. I came to a north shore suburb of Chicago for a month of rest and relaxation. My peace and comfort has been disturbed every morning by having to read the only morning newspaper in Chicago, the Tribune.

How the good people of Chicago tolerate a newspaper like the Tribune is beyond my comprehension. The druggist from whom I buy a paper every morning calls it a "propaganda sheet," my barber calls the owner unprintable names, and I have not heard one kind word spoken about the Tribune by any man in Chicago. Even partisan republicans admit that it is unfair and unreliable. The general impression is that if ^{an editorial writer, or} a correspondent from Washington should submit copy to the Tribune which tells the truth he would be discharged immediately, "if not sooner."

While Chicago is cursed with "the world's worst newspaper," as George Selders calls the Tribune in his informative book, "Lords

of the Press," and the world's worst afternoon paper, William Randolph Hearst's Herald-American, it is blessed with two of the greatest afternoon papers in the United States, one supporting Willkie, Colonel Frank Knox's Daily News; and the other supporting Roosevelt, S. E. Thomason's Daily Times. It is a joy to read newspapers whose owners do not abuse the privileges of a free press and whose ideals of journalism are above selfish interests; and for that reason my afternoons and evenings during a month's sojourn on the shores of Lake Michigan, have compensated for the mental trauma inflicted on my tired brain from having to read the sadistic trash, called editorials, in the morning Tribune.

For a long time I have thought that I should join with others in a crusade for clean journalism and state facts as I know them regarding the owners of venal, servile and decadent newspapers, the greatest curse to the United States today. The actual casus belli, or "the straw that broke the camel's back," which has created in me an uncontrollable urge to write a book chronicling the miserable records of reactionary owners of newspapers during the twentieth century, is the Chicago Tribune's treasonable attitude towards the

plain duty of the United States to aid Great Britain in every way possible, short of war.

I would not be understood, however, as attacking the press as a whole in the United States; because there are many owners of newspapers like William Allen White, Colonel Frank Knox, Frank Gannett, and other owners of republican newspapers, as well as Joseph Medill Patterson, S. E. Thomason, James M. Cox, Josephus Daniels and other owners of democratic newspapers who should be praised as journalists of high ideals and as patriots in the greatest crisis in the history of the United States.

I also would like it understood that my attack is on the owners of reactionary newspapers and not on the underpaid and underprivileged editors and reporters who hang their heads in shame because they are forced to write to please their unreasonable and unpatriotic bosses, instead of using their virile pens to promote patriotism and to instill high ideals in the minds of those who read newspapers.

It is a disagreeable duty to write unkind criticisms of owners of reactionary newspapers and of petty politicians, both dead and

living; but there seems real danger of the Government of the United States falling into the hands of men whom I believe to be unworthy of public trust, unless the voters of the United States can learn the truth about the serious conditions which menace the only real democracy that exists in the world today.

"We shall pass through this world but once. Therefore, if there is any good that I can do or any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now for I shall not pass this way again."

It is in the spirit of the philosophy contained in the above aphorism that this book is written. If my criticisms of those whom I believe deserve censure seem unkind, they are made in the effort to elevate the standards of journalism in the United States and with the desire to promote efficiency in the Government to be ready for the day when we shall have to defend our shores against foreign aggression.

I believe with all the ardor of my soul in free speech and in a free press; and I do not believe that the enactment of laws would correct the abuse of the privileges of journalism as they exist in the United States today. The only way to bring those who prostitute one of the noblest of professions, that of journalism, to a

realization of their perfidy in molding public opinion to their low ideals, is with what Woodrow Wilson called "pitiless publicity." It is necessary to arouse public opinion to the dangers which exist within the United States and that menace our country.

If I can aid in smoking out the fifth column newspaper owners and help to hold them up to public scorn, which from their acts they deserve, I will consider that my month's vacation in the environs of Chicago has not been misspent.

Seale Harris.

1.

INTRODUCTION

In my opinion, one of the greatest calamities that ever be-
fell the people of the United States was when Governor Frank M.
"A wish (I mind its power),
A wish that to my latest hour
Shall strongly heave my breast,
That I for poor auld Scotland's sake
Some useful thing, or book, might make;
Or sing a song at least."

Robert Burns on Patriotism.

States Senator Elias Penrose, republican boss of Pennsylvania and
the United States, Harry M. Daugherty, republican boss of Ohio, and
a few other machine politicians, met to agree upon the man who should
receive the republican nomination for President of the United States.
At that time, the republican nomination for president was equivalent
to election. The next day the steel roller of the well-oiled repub-
lican machine rolled over the convention, crushing the life blood
out of progressiveness in the party of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore
Roosevelt, and Warren G. Harding was nominated for President. The
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 Lowden of Illinois, a Theodore Roosevelt type of progressive states-
 man, failed to receive the republican nomination for President in
 1920. Taking advantage of the confusion and the intrigue of a na-
 tional political convention, in a Chicago hotel room filled with
 tobacco smoke and reeking with the fumes of bootleg whiskey, United
 States Senator Boies Penrose, republican boss of Pennsylvania and
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 morality in the United States achieved during Woodrow Wilson's ad-

ministration were replaced by the ideology of a pleasure loving, poker playing, whiskey drinking President. One cannot but contemplate on the difference it would have made if a man of high ideals, a statesman and a humanitarian like the republican Governor Frank Lowden of Illinois, had been in the White House during the post World War period.

A Chicago man who was a student at the University of Chicago and a member of a college "Lowden Club", was a spectator throughout the tumultuous days of the republican convention in Chicago in 1920. He said that when Harding received the nomination, people in the gallery all around him were saying, "Who is Harding?" The fact is that Harding, who looked like a statesman and acted like a ward politician, was unknown to the people of the United States outside of the state of Ohio. He had been a member of the United States Senate for five years, but he had never initiated any legislation of national importance. Harding simply sat in the Senate for a few hours a day, always voting as told to by Penrose, the republican boss of the Senate; and it was well known in Washington that he spent his evenings playing poker and drinking whiskey.

Since Harding was practically unknown to the voters of the United States, it was easy for reactionary republican newspapers, the myth makers, to build up the myth of a Harding as a great statesman and as a friend of the common man. They succeeded so well that the most reactionary and the most corrupt man ever in the White House was elected President of the United States by an overwhelming majority.

The record of Harding's administration, reeking with corruption, is now well known, and even the most ardent republican must admit that the nomination of Warren G. Harding was a tragedy not only for the nation but for the republican party.

The Coolidge and Hoover myths were exploded by the panic beginning in 1929, and the reactionary republican press of the United States was so discredited that discriminating republicans refused to be led by them into further disaster. Despite the frantic efforts of the reactionary republican press to salvage the Hoover myth of a great business man and statesman, millions of good republicans voted the democratic ticket in 1932 and Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected by an overwhelming majority.

The record of the democratic party under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt in restoring prosperity and in enacting legislation for the good of all the people of the United States is an achievement which exemplifies efficiency in a democratic form of government. But Franklin D. Roosevelt could not be controlled by the rich and arrogant owners of republican newspapers whose big incomes were taxed proportionately to their ability to pay; and they began to find fault with everything that he did. They suppressed the news regarding everything good that was done in Washington, and they distorted all the news that could be distorted to discredit a democratic administration. They lied about Franklin D. Roosevelt in every conceivable way. They accused him of being a communist, a dictator, a corrupt politician, and every other despicable thing which Americans abhor; but for a time their propaganda did not avail except among republican office seekers and hereditary partisan republicans who were ready to believe anything about a democratic president. etc., etc.

In the effort to get back into power and to reduce the taxes on big incomes, the reactionary republican press tried to build up

another myth of a republican candidate for president, but the Landon myth exploded into thin air when the mediocre Governor of Kansas delivered his address accepting the republican nomination for president. When the voters of the United States went to the polls, they repudiated the reactionary republican press and Roosevelt was re-elected carrying every state in the Union except Maine and Vermont. The myth and ogre makers, while discouraged, recalled that it had taken eight years to discredit Woodrow Wilson, so they redoubled their efforts to make their readers believe that the President of the United States is a communist, a socialist, a dictator, a war monger and everything else mean and disreputable.

Unfortunately, there are many good citizens who cannot distinguish between propaganda and facts. People who have a little money and those with great incomes were led to believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt is trying to take their money away from them; that there is no necessity for high taxes at this time and that the money they pay in taxes is being wasted, etc., etc. So the reactionary republican papers have created millions of Roosevelt haters who are ready to vote for anyone ^{whom} ~~that~~ the republicans might nominate.

In the meantime, the republicans in Congress had been without leadership. They offered nothing constructive in legislation but criticized every attempt made by democrats to enact into laws measures intended to promote prosperity. Everyone agrees that there is not a republican either in the United States Senate or in the House of Representatives who is of the stature for presidential timber; and Thomas E. Dewey of New York, who was regarded as a good district attorney, but with no experience which had equipped him to become the chief executive of the United States, failed to show strength.

The republican national convention of 1940 was without leadership. One reporter said he "had seen a dream walking and that was the republican convention in Philadelphia." Then the Wall Street gamblers stepped in to solve the problems of the republican party, which belongs to them and to which they belong, and having bought up the gallery tickets to the convention, they chanted: "We want Willkie" until the leaderless delegates believed that the "Wall Street farmer boy" was the Moses to lead the hungry republican office seekers back into the good old days of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

The power of propaganda has never been demonstrated so effective-

ly as when a crafty Wall Street lawyer and propagandist became the nominee of the "Grand Old Party" of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. His record as a Wall Street lawyer for the financiers whom Theodore Roosevelt denounced as "malefactors of great wealth" and his record as president and propagandist of a holding company belonging to the same class as the defunct Samuel Insull corporation, was not known to the assembled delegates; and they chose Wendle Willkie because he had been propagandized by reactionary newspapers as the number one Roosevelt hater.

When Willkie became the nominee of the republicans for president, it became necessary for the reactionary newspapers, the myth makers, to build up a myth to deceive voters. Suddenly, without anything in his record to justify it, Willkie became "a great business executive" who was "nominated over the protest of machine politicians." He became a dirt farmer, and a friend of labor; he was against war but for preparedness. In accepting the nomination for president, he said that he favored everything that Roosevelt has done; but he would do it cheaper and better; and most important of all, he proposed to lower taxes.

Being one of the small holders of the 33,000,000 shares of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, and having read the propaganda sent out by Mr. Willkie intended to appease stockholders who paid as high as \$30 a share for stock which was not worth more than \$1.50 a share, its present value, by trying to make them believe the lie that the Roosevelt administration was responsible for their losses, I am in position to know something of the business record of the republican nominee for president.

The fact of the matter is that the Roosevelt administration had nothing whatever to do with the drop of from \$30 to \$1.50 a share of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, for the reason that it occurred while Herbert Hoover was President.

I have read the expensive brochures and other literature sent out to the holders of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, always with the theme of a hostile government trying to destroy private property.

I know that Wendell Willkie misused the stockholders' money of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation in spreading vicious propaganda against the Government in Washington. He now wants to become

Deleted because the same facts are brought out in chapter 1

President of the United States. Will he misuse the money of the 130,000,000 stockholders of the United States if he is elected president? I think he will, and when he loses his stockholders' money he will be a poor enough sport to try to lay the blame on the Roosevelt administration.

In studying the record and analyzing the character of Wendell Willkie, there seems every reason to believe that he will make about the same kind of president that Harding was, who promised to bring the country back to "normalcy". Harding did lead the country into the kind of "normalcy" in which he believed and which he practiced; but not the kind of normal state believed in by right thinking people of the United States.

There is an old saying that "you can judge a man by the company he keeps." Using that standard and remembering Willkie's Wall Street friends and the fact that 100 very rich, arrogant and avaricious owners of reactionary republican newspapers are now engaged feverishly in slandering the President of the United States, and in the effort to build up a Willkie myth to deceive honest voters, the real Willkie emerges as one who may be expected, if he is elected president of the

United States, to remember the few men to whom he is obligated for his nomination and election and to forget the millions who were deceived into casting their ballots for him.

The greatest menace to the United States if Wendell Willkie is elected president does not come from delivering the Government into the hands of "malefactors of great wealth" as Theodore Roosevelt called them, as may be expected of him; but Wendell Willkie will become a potential dictator and the United States, the last hope of democracy, may become a totalitarian government. I do not mean to suggest that Willkie and his Wall Street friends and his reactionary newspaper propagandists are actually plotting to make Willkie a dictator; but a study of conditions in Germany at the time when Hitler was made a dictator reveals the fact that they were much the same as conditions are in the United States at this time. Hitler's rise was financed by the same kind of financiers and industrialists as those who have made Willkie what he is; and the newspapers of Germany were under the control of Hitler's supporters just as the venal, servile decadent and sadistic reactionary republican newspapers are under the control of Willkie's promoters. If Willkie is made President and in-

Willkie, and their editorial and news columns are filled every day with lies, damn lies and all the other kinds of lies, about the man make laborers work longer hours, Willkie may respond as Hitler did for his backers, i.e. nationalize labor and take over the newspapers, radios and all other avenues of public information; then with the power of propaganda make the laborers and a majority of the people of the United States like a dictatorship.

An eminent journalist informed me that 87 percent of the newspapers outside of the South are backing Willkie, and since the South has not counted in the Government since the Civil War, it will be necessary for Willkie to take over only 13 percent of the newspapers in the North, East and West, and take over the radio to give him all the avenues of public information in the United States in order to make himself a dictator. With the power of propaganda of which Willkie is a master, he could do to the United States what Hitler did to Germany and what Mussolini, another propagandist, did to Italy, if he is elected president.

Hosea, an old Hebrew prophet, said, "My people perish for the lack of knowledge." The 87 percent of powerful newspapers of the United States are suppressing the truth regarding the real Wendell

Willkie, and their editorial and news columns are filled every day with lies, damn lies and all the other kinds of lies, about the man who is trying to do his duty in the White House. It seems to me that there is real danger of the people of the United States perishing as free men and women for the lack of knowledge withheld from them by reactionary republican newspapers. For that reason, I shall try to impart information to the few who may read this book, if a publisher can be found who has the courage to publish it, which may open their eyes to the menace of a Wendell Willkie as President of the United States. It is realized that rich, arrogant and avaricious owners of reactionary newspapers, partisan and hereditary republicans, and those who would profit by the kind of a president that Willkie would make if he is elected, may resent the publication of the facts presented in this book; but if the knowledge contained in this modest little volume awakens in the minds of a few men and women the dangers that lurk in vicious newspaper propaganda, and thus aids even a "wee bit" in keeping our great country free and independent, its purpose will have been attained.

~~Seale Harris~~

CHAPTER I

The Willkie Myth

"In arguing, too, the parson owned his skill,
For, even though vanquished, he could argue still;
While words of learned length and thundering sound
Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew.
But past is all his fame, the very spot
Where many a time he triumphed is forgot."

Oliver Goldsmith's Deserted Village.

In a radio address following her return to the United States in June after a visit to European countries, which had not been invaded and conquered by Hitler's German hordes at that time, Dorothy Thompson said that she had witnessed a remarkable demonstration of the power of propaganda. She said that on her first visit to Italy early in May, the Italians were more pro-British and pro-French than pro-German and they were opposed to Italy's entry into the war on either side. Then, she said, Mussolini opened up his propaganda in Fascist newspapers and over the radio against the French and British; and in two weeks Italian public sentiment was becoming pro-German, but that the Italians were not ready at that time to enter the war on Germany's side. The propaganda against the French and British and for war continued and when

Dorothy Thompson visited Italy three weeks later, she said that the hatred of the Italians for France and Great Britain was extreme and that the Italians were almost in a frenzy to enter the war on Hitler's side.

In the United States in the months of May and June 1940, we witnessed a remarkable demonstration of the power of propaganda when the reactionary press of the United States began a barrage of propaganda which culminated in the elevation of Wendell Willkie, a crafty Wall Street lawyer, from the job of propagandist for a holding utility company which has no right to exist either morally or legally, to become the nominee of the party of Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt for President of the United States.

Psychology of Willkie's Nomination. The psychology of Wendell Willkie's receiving the Republican nomination for President of the United States is that he is the number one Roosevelt hater. At the expense of millions of dollars belonging to the stockholders of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Company, Wendell Willkie, while drawing a salary of \$75,000 a year, has kept himself on the front pages of reactionary newspapers, both republican and democratic, for the past seven years. The plutocratic owners, not the underpaid editors

of reactionary newspapers, hate Roosevelt primarily because they have to pay taxes to the government. In other words, they have to give up a percentage of their excess profits, their ill-gotten gains, to help pay the expenses of government; and it rankles their mercenary souls into fits of anguish because they regard the President of the United States as being the instigator in increasing taxes on large incomes. Roosevelt himself is responsible partly for this attitude of big business, of which the reactionary newspapers of the country are an integral part, because he has held them up to public scorn as "economic royalists." Theodore Roosevelt was destroyed politically by the same reactionary newspaper owners because he had the courage to fight for justice to the common people and because he called Wall Street gamblers and others who would exploit the government for personal gain "malefactors of great wealth."

The Willkie Myth. In two months newspaper propaganda created the myth of a Wendell Willkie, as personifying "we the people," - meaning Wall Street - as a great business man, the champion of labor, a dirt farmer, and the Moses to lead our country out of war into peace and prosperity. Every day reactionary newspapers and every week

mercenary magazines carried "human interest" stories about Wendell Willkie, portraying him as a great and successful business man, as an Indiana farmer boy moved to New York but unspoiled by his Wall Street and Fifth Avenue environment; and as the Moses to lead the people of the United States back to the days of "two automobiles in every garage," without having to work or pay taxes on anything.

Then about a month before the republican convention, "without any money and without any organization," according to newspaper propagandists, millions of Willkie-for-President buttons appeared all over the United States. They were distributed and were worn first on Wall Street. I know this to be a fact because I was in New York at the time when the first Willkie buttons appeared on the coat lapels of Wall Street brokers. They were donned next by bankers and their employees, by power company officials and their employees and other Roosevelt haters; but soon they appeared everywhere until it became popular and "superior" for suckers to be wearing Wendell Willkie buttons.

Then came the Republican National Convention when "we the people," meaning Wall Street, moved over from New York City to

Philadelphia and chanted, "We want Willkie;" until the befuddled delegates came to believe that their hope of getting jobs in Washington lay in nominating Willkie for president. One truthful newspaper correspondent, who probably will lose his job for telling the truth, said that during the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, Wall Street manipulators filled the galleries. This was made possible by the fact that in order to raise money to secure the convention for Philadelphia, gallery seats were sold at from \$150 and up for the entire show, i.e. all the sessions of the convention. It would be interesting reading if the actual amount of money raised by selling tickets for the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia could be published.

Hitler said in "Mein Kampf," "If you say a thing often enough, whether it is true or not, the public will believe it." "Der Fuehrer's" propaganda methods were used by reactionary newspapers and the Wall Street packed galleries in Philadelphia until the Roosevelt haters believed that the nomination and election of Wendell Willkie for President of the United States was the only way to restore the republican party to power in Washington.

Is Willkie a Good Business Man? Ask any hereditary republican or disgruntled democrat why Wendell Willkie should be elected president; and his first premise will be that he is a successful business man, and that we need a man in the White House to restore business in the government. Is Wendell Willkie a successful business man and will he restore confidence in government by business men? What is Wendell Willkie's business record and what are the grounds for assuming that he is prepared to become a "great business President?" Ask the holders of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Power Company whether or not they have received one cent of dividends during the seven years that Willkie has been president of the holding company which sold them stock at from \$25 to \$30 a share and which now is worth \$1.50 a share. Ask them if the value of their stock, paid for in good hard earned money, has increased since Wendell Willkie became president of a company whose business methods were the same as those of Samuel Insull. I happen to be one of the 165,603 holders of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, paid for in good money at \$29 a share and it is now worth \$1.50 a share, so that I am in a position to know something

of Mr. Willkie's record in managing that major utility holding company.

In all fairness, it should be said that Wendell Willkie is not responsible for the slump in value of the common stock of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation from \$30 to \$1.50 a share while Hoover was President of the United States; though, as an attorney for the Company, he must have known that his clients were guilty of selling stock for \$30 when its real value, estimated from the money invested by its promoters, was not worth more than a dollar a share. Can it be said with even the shadow of truth that Wendell Willkie is a successful business man?

I am not the only one who is familiar with Mr. Willkie's record as a business man, though there are millions of voters in the United States whose minds are made up for them by reactionary republican newspapers, who actually believe that he is a financial genius who will lower taxes if he is elected President of the United States.

Keeping Willkie's Record Straight. One of the best edited newspapers in the United States is the Chicago Daily Times. Every statement in its editorial columns is carefully verified before it

it is published. The following editorial of the Sunday Times, August 25, 1940, presents some facts regarding Mr. Willkie's business record which should be read by unprejudiced men and women who desire to know the truth concerning the executive ability of a candidate for President of the United States.

"A Businessman, Eh?"

"One of the most frequently used arguments for Wendell Willkie's election to the presidency is the assertion that the nation needs a businessman to restore businesslike procedure to government. In connection therewith we present an open letter to Mr. Willkie, written by Lawrence F. Ducey, a Chicago businessman:

"One of your 'Willkie-for-President' salesmen came around to see me the other day. His manner was earnest, and his description of your qualifications glowing. The gist of his talk was that you, as an 'eminently successful businessman' would give this country a businesslike administration at the minimum cost to the taxpayer.

"At the moment I couldn't recall just how successful a businessman you've been; and since your salesman neglected being specific on that point, I decided to check up. Here's what I found:

"Your only position of prominence during the past decade has been as operating head of the Commonwealth & Southern Corp., a major utility holding company. Under your direction since 1933, that company earned a profit of 13 cents per share during 1939. In 1937 earnings reached their peak at 18 cents per share. No dividends have been paid on the common stock since March, 1932. During the period of your stewardship, most of your major competitors were earning substantial profits and paying dividends on their common shares.

"Now in all fairness, Mr. Willkie, do you feel that the foregoing record qualifies you to take over the presidency of a concern having some 130,000,000 shareholders? Would you vote to install me as president of Commonwealth & Southern if I had a similar record, plus the handicap of no experience in the utilities business? I don't think you would and I wouldn't blame you.

"Perhaps you have other qualifications now not known to me. If so, please ask your salesman to stop around again. I'll be glad to listen."

Mr. Ducey might have added the comment that when Mr. Willkie became president of Commonwealth & Southern, its stock was selling at about \$29 a share and just prior to his nomination the same shares were worth 75 cents.

All in all, republicans and businessmen in general seem to have been strangely naive in accepting Mr. Willkie as a great business executive. The usual opinion of businessmen for the executive ability of lawyers is not so flattering. And, of course, in his job with a holding company, Mr. Willkie had little or no experience with actual business operations. That work was done by the subsidiaries.

Even good business ability is a poor criterion by which to judge an individual's capacity for public office. Businesses are operated to make profits for a limited group of persons. Governments are operated to render services to all persons. Each is a highly specialized function and requires training and experience peculiar to itself. And Mr. Willkie's experience in public service is completely non-existent."

Wendell Willkie, Master Propagandist. When Wendell Willkie became president of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation,

he began to build up one of the largest and the most effective publicity departments in the history of propaganda in the United States. His power company predecessors were "pikers" compared to Wendell Willkie. His first task was to make the holders of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation believe the lie that a government hostile to business was responsible for their losses. In this they succeeded far beyond the wildest

The holders of the 33,000,000 shares of common stock in this gigantic utility holding company had lost at least half a billion dollars and they needed appeasement; but even a Willkie could not satisfy those who know the difference between propaganda and facts.

Expensive brochures, ostensibly reports to stockholders, were sent out to the holders of the 33,000,000 shares of common stock, and to the newspapers of the United States; but discerning stockholders were not misled by such propaganda. Willing reactionary newspapers had editorials after editorials and front page news items screaming that the New Deal was trying to destroy the power companies, thus endeavoring to divert the attention of stockholders of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation

from the facts and keep them from brooding over their losses while teaching them to hate the New Deal.

But the real motive of the propaganda department of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation was to "sell" Wendell Willkie to Wall Street and to the very large element of the population of the United States whose minds are made up for them by reactionary newspapers. In this they succeeded far beyond the wildest dreams of the "ghost writers" paid for out of the stockholders' money of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation. Wendell Willkie became the darling of Wall Street and the "sucker" element of the Roosevelt haters; and so when an impotent and confused republican party without leadership and with no thought of anything except to beat Roosevelt, came to nominate a president, the Wendell Willkie myth was heralded as the only hope of hungry office seekers to get back into power.

A man who is in position to know asserts that Wendell Willkie's chief propagandist receives a salary of about \$25,000 a year, though his title does not give an inkling as to what his duties are. In addition there are several other high priced, high powered publicity

officials with camouflaged titles who receive relatively large salaries; and the clerks, stenographers, mimeographers and typists who get out propaganda for the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation are said to be innumerable.

From information obtained from what is believed to be reliable sources, it has been estimated that Wendell Willkie's publicity has cost the stockholders of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation a million dollars a year. A man in position to know the cost of propaganda said that the building up of the Willkie myth has cost the non-profit stockholders of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation several millions of dollars a year for seven years. If the millions of dollars spent by Wendell Willkie to glorify himself had gone towards paying dividends to stockholders of the common stock, they would have had at least the interest on \$1.00 a share, the probable real value of the stock for which they paid from \$25 to \$30.

Willkie's Misuse of Stockholders' Money. There can be no doubt of the fact that Wendell Willkie has misused the stockholders' money of the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation. If he is

elected President of the United States, can he be expected to be honest in handling the people's money, or will he exploit the government for his masters, the Wall Street gamblers who brought about his nomination? "Can the leopard change his spots?"

The greatest moral teacher of all time said two thousand years ago that "a man cannot serve two masters." Could Wendell Willkie as President of the United States serve his Wall Street masters and the people of the United States whom they would exploit at the same time?

CHAPTER II

The WILLKIE MENACE

"Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame
A mechanized automaton." Shelley.

A distinguished physician who spent several months in Germany since the World War, recently psychoanalyzed the republican candidate for President of the United States. His conclusions are startling and based upon facts. This very able physician and discerning student of history does not like Roosevelt because of what he regards as his many shortcomings, and because of his many mistakes since he has been President; but he says there is real danger of Wendell Willkie's becoming dictator of the Hitler type if he is elected President of the United States.

I became interested in social conditions in Germany and Austria while doing postgraduate work in medicine in Berlin and Vienna in 1906: and after the World War I investigated nutritional diseases and food conditions in Germany, report of which was made to the Peace Conference in February, 1919. I therefore am in position to evaluate the conclusions of this distinguished physician who, with

with good reasons regards Wendell Willkie as a potential Hitler if he is elected President of the United States.

Will Willkie Become a Dictator? The reasons for regarding Willkie as a potential dictator are as follows:

1. Wendell Willkie's approach to the presidency is much the same as Hitler's method of becoming "der Feuhrer" of the German Nationalist Socialist party. Both built themselves up by propaganda.
2. The reactionary republican press of the United States is being used today for propaganda by the same types of industrialists, bankers and munition makers who financed Hitler's campaigns to restore power to those who would control the German government to further their private interests.
3. The people of the United States know as little about Wendell Willkie's real character and have as little idea of what he will do as president, as the German people knew of Hitler and of what he would do as dictator of Germany when he became the head of the German government.
4. The conditions in United States today are much the same as they were in Germany before Hitler came to power in that a large

proportion of our people have been misled by venal, servile and decadent newspapers into becoming dissatisfied with the government.

5. The "malefactors of great wealth" in the United States have the same ideology as the overlords of industry and other men of wealth in Germany had before Hitler came into power. They believe in holding property rights above the rights of men; and they are willing to do anything to destroy those who would curb their power even at the risk of destroying themselves.

6. The relation of capital to labor in the United States is much the same today as it was in Germany before Hitler came into power. The labor unions had become so powerful in Germany that employees could no longer be dictated to by their arrogant employers; and it was necessary for the German overlords of industry to get control of the government in order to dominate labor and make laborers work ten and twelve hours a day for seven days a week on reduced wages.

7. Wendell Willkie is of German descent, only two generations removed from the Germany of Bismark; and therefore no one knows but that he may be inclined to believe in Germany's right and power

to dominate Europe; and that he might be willing to adopt the appeasement plan of dealing with Hitler if he should become President of the United States.

The discriminating psychoanalyst of Wendell Willkie hastened to say that no doubt there are millions of German-Americans who have become imbued with American ideals; but there are also millions who believe in Hitler and there is nothing in Wendell Willkie's record to prove that he may not lean towards the ideology of the Germans. The fact that Vendel Vilkus ~~has~~ changed his name to Wendell Willkie in an effort to conceal his German lineage was regarded by the doctor as being an effort to deceive, an act not conducive to add respect of American citizens for a man who has ambitions to be President of the United States.

Willkie's Disloyal Supporters. It can be predicted with certainty that every German-born American citizen and every voter of German descent, who wants Hitler to win, will vote against President Roosevelt; because they know how he stands in this crisis which affects the welfare of every man, woman and child in the United States, and means life or death to millions in the countries

which Hitler's Huns have invaded and conquered. Likewise, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt but that Wendell Willkie will receive the votes of every member of the German Bund and other disloyal voters of German and Italian descent. Every voter of German origin in the United States who believes in freedom to live independently, ^{will} ~~should~~ vote for President Roosevelt because his acts have proved what he will do to protect the United States from invasions by Hitler's Huns. Loyal German-Americans do not know what Wendell Willkie would do for their protection if he is elected president.

Wendell Willkie's record shows that he stands for the exploitation of the public by Wall Street gamblers. Can he be expected to begin serving the people after his record as a Wall Street lawyer of a holding company? Can Wendell Willkie be expected to keep us out of war when munition manufacturers like the DuPonts and other Liberty Leaguers who are among his most prominent supporters and among the largest campaign contributors of the republican party expect to profit by the United States being drawn into war? Wendell Willkie has served greedy corporation employers of labor for many

years. Can he be expected to be fair to labor when his masters would profit by longer hours and lower wages of their employees in time of war?

Willkie a Potential American Hitler. In order for a president to become dictator of the United States, the newspapers which constitute the most important source of public information would have to be under his control. The first move of Mussolini and Hitler in becoming dictators of Italy and Germany was to coerce the press of those unfortunate countries into carrying propaganda to convince the people of the need to concentrate the control of government in the hands of one man. The succeeding steps to dictatorship were easy; and today almost one hundred percent of the people of Germany believe in murdering millions of Jews and believe that Hitler is the reincarnation of Frederick the Great and Attila the Hun, reborn to conquer the world for Germany.

Mention has been made of Dorothy Thompson's impression of the power of the press in Italy; and there can be no doubt but that propaganda in Italian newspapers is responsible not only for Mussolini's rise to dictatorship in Italy, but that his retention of power

greater than that of any king that ever ruled Italy is due to his absolute control of the press and other avenues of public information. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini could remain in power for a month with a free press in Germany and Italy.

Venal, Servile, Decadent and Sadistic Newspapers Supporting Willkie. Does any unprejudiced person who is familiar with the methods and the history of Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, which is known to be the most sadistic and the most unreliable newspaper in the United States; Moe Annenberg, who received his gangster training while employed on the Chicago Tribune and who now is the owner of Pennsylvania's most powerful newspaper, the Philadelphia Enquirer; William Randolph Hearst who was so pro-German during the World War that his newspapers were banned from Canada; and Roy Howard, the latest would-be newspaper dictator of American politics and whose 24 newspapers are spreading propaganda for Willkie, would hesitate for one minute in molding public opinion to submit to a dictator like Wendell Willkie who would do their bidding?

The combined circulation of the newspapers owned by these four profiteers of the press probably amounts to at least 25,000,000.

Hearst claimed at one time a circulation of 20,000,000 for his newspapers. The power to mold public opinion for any cause, good or bad, in the United States by the reactionary republican press should not be underestimated; and united as they are in the common cause of reducing taxes on big incomes and in the attempt to discredit Franklin D. Roosevelt whom they hate because they cannot dictate his policies, they may be expected to build up the myth of a Willkie as the friend of the people until the election in November.

If Wendell Willkie is elected President of the United States, these same ^{newspaper} "malefactors of great wealth" -- the net income of the Chicago Tribune alone is said to be \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000 on an estimated value of \$75,000,000 -- may be expected to continue to mislead the public on what is going on in Washington; as they did when Warren Harding, whom they elected, and his Ohio gang carried on their saturnalia of corruption. The reactionary republican newspapers of the country also gave us Herbert Hoover, "the largest jellyfish afloat," who was propagandized by republican newspapers as a great business man, who would adopt business methods in govern-

ment and lead the country into undreamed-of prosperity. The records show that Herbert Hoover conducted the affairs of the United States for big business and allowed the same Wall Street gamblers, who forced the nomination of Wendell Willkie, to swindle the American people out of billions of dollars before Hoover "prosperity" could be stopped.

It would be amusing, if it were not so sordid, to see venal, servile, decadent and sadistic newspapers like Robert McCormick's Chicago Tribune, Moe Annenberg's Philadelphia Enquirer, the Hearst newspapers and Roy Howard's Scripps-Howard papers prate about the freedom of the press; when their owners are abject slaves to advertisers and dance to Wall Street jazz.

Then after the republican newspapers of the United States

CHAPTER III

MERRY MYTH MAKERS

"Ye gods and little fishes!"

Reactionary republican newspapers are marvelous myth makers; and their owners are never happier than in building up myths to divert the attention of a gullible public from the machinations of their puppets. Witness the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover myths.

The Harding Myth. Warren G. Harding as editor of the Marion Star had reached the uppermost limits of his ability when lured by the ambition to get into bigger poker games than were played in Marion he entered Ohio politics. He wooed and won the republican boss in Ohio, Harry M. Daugherty. Then Harding became United States senator from Ohio and his ambition to get into bigger poker games was fulfilled. While Harding was a man of mediocre mental attainments, he possessed physical attractions. He looked like a statesman but acted like a ward politician. He found a number of other republican senators and other newspaper owners who also were whiskey drinking, poker players and he was in congenial company in Washington.

Then after the republican newspapers of the United States

had used their power to destroy Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations, the only hope of universal peace in the history of the world, in 1919 in a room filled with tobacco smoke and reeking with the odor of bootleg whiskey, Harry M. Daugherty, republican boss of Ohio, forced the nomination of a poker playing, whiskey drinking United States Senator for President of the United States.

Harding's nomination delighted the plutocratic owners of republican newspapers like the Chicago Tribune, the New York Tribune, the Washington Post, the Philadelphia Enquirer (now Moe Annenberg's paper), the Boston Transcript, and most of the other "lords of the press." Here was an editor of a republican newspaper who had the same lack of ideals and the same philosophy of government for big business, of which reactionary republican newspaper owners are an integral part, who could be made President of the United States if they could build up the myth of a Harding, a great statesman and a friend of the people. How well the myth makers succeeded is shown by the fact that the people of the United States elected the whiskey drinking, poker playing, small town editor, and ward politician, President of the United States by a large majority.

When Harding became President, he got into poker games with Andrew Mellon, Edward McLean, and other malefactors of great wealth in which the stakes were so high that they made the small town editor dizzy; and he became so confused that he never knew until a few days before his death what his other poker playing friends, Harry M. Daugherty, Attorney General of the United States; Charles E. Forbes, Chief of the Veteran's Bureau; Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, and others of the same stripe, were doing to him and the country.

In spite of all the corruption that everyone in Washington knew was going on in the Harding administration, the myth makers suppressed the news of what was actually taking place in the nation's capitol for a number of years. There is little doubt but that Harding's timely death prevented at least an attempt to impeach a President of the United States for malfeasance in conducting the affairs of the nation; but the reactionary republican press had fooled a sufficient number of the people to place a republican editor in the White House; and they kept the people fooled long enough for Harding to pass out of the picture before the scandals of his administration became known

to the general public.

The Coolidge Myth. How Calvin Coolidge became Vice President of the United States is still one of the mysteries of American politics. The republicans themselves realized their blunder when Coolidge began to preside over the United States Senate. My brother, the late William J. Harris, then United States Senator from Georgia, told me long before Harding's death what was well known to the members of the United States Senate, that Calvin Coolidge was considered so small that the republicans had planned to ~~ditch~~ ^{drop} him and nominate a stronger man for Vice President in 1923. The fact is that Calvin Coolidge was entirely out of his element in presiding over the United States Senate. He was just about big enough to be a member of the Legislature in Vermont where he was born and reared.

Thomas L. Stokes, Washington correspondent of the Scripps-Howard newspapers which are now engaged in building up the Willkie myth, has an amusing chapter in "Chips Off My Shoulder" on the real Coolidge and the "strong and silent Cal" myth. Stokes describes the scene in a press room in Washington when the news of Harding's death was announced, and the Washington correspondents realized that

Coolidge had become President of the United States. He said that one after another of them exclaimed, "Calvin Coolidge President. My God!"

Stokes said that on that fateful night as the news came in that Calvin Coolidge was sworn in as President of the United States by the light of a kerosene lamp in his father's home in Plymouth, Vermont, he felt that the occasion was symbolic of the fact that the new President "had never advanced "in his social and economic philosophy beyond the kerosene lamp era."

But Coolidge was a republican President of the United States and he must be built up in the eyes of the people to the stature of a statesman. Then the republican newspaper correspondents in Washington began sending out human interest stories about Coolidge which were built up over trivial incidents, or were pure figments of fertile imaginations, and the myth of "the strong and silent Cal" was created. Stokes said that Coolidge was in reality a garrulous, small town lawyer, but the silent Cal myth stuck in the minds of a large majority of the American people.

Stokes said that Coolidge said nothing except that he would try

to carry on where Harding left off; and that he did nothing to justify the reputation which the republican newspapers built up for him as a great economist. Stokes expressed the admiration of a Washington newspaper propagandist in the following quip: "During that month he (Calvin Coolidge) was build up into a myth. It was one of the greatest feats of newspaper propaganda that the modern world has seen. It really was a miracle."

Ike Hoover in his "42 Years in the White House" said that Calvin Coolidge slept through his six years as president; and so he did, though during his waking hours he went about as one who ^{was} in a trance. There are still republicans who "point with pride" to the "business administration of the silent and thrifty Cal", but his record is open for unprejudiced men to consider. The fact is that the corruption begun in the Harding administration continued, and the only legislation of importance in the Coolidge administration was to reduce taxes on big incomes.

Coolidge could have had a third term except for his own stupidity; because the "strong and silent Cal" myth still existed in 1928. According to a magazine article by Coolidge's physician, the "strong

and silent Cal" was the most disappointed man who ever went out of the White House when the republican bosses interpreted, - or at least pretended to interpret, - his "I do not choose to run" to mean that he would not accept another nomination. Coolidge believed it good politics to submit to being drafted and ^{expected to} that he would be renominated. His choice of words sent him back into a life of "innocuous desuetude," but to this good day the Coolidge myth is in the minds of many good republicans.

The Hoover Myth. While Coolidge was "asleep at the switch" in the White House from 1922 to 1928 Wall Street, at its worst, had a strangle-hold on the government in Washington. When it became necessary to place another puppet of big business in the presidential chair, the merry myth makers, rolling in wealth as never before, in looking over the material best suited to allow the "malefactors of great wealth" to continue in control of the United States Government, the chubby, ^{sleek} round and oily Secretary of Commerce became the hero.

Had not Hoover fed the starving Belgians, and as Food Administrator during the war, appointed by Wilson, had he not proved that he would conserve the resources of the meat packers in Chicago and the millers

of white flour in the west? As Secretary of Commerce, had he not been the willing tool of the National Manufacturers Association, and had he not always consulted Andy Mellon, - "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton," - before he did anything that affected the moneyed interests of the country?

The republican newspaper myth makers did not consult Calvin Coolidge as to who should be his successor. Had they done so they would have learned that "silent Cal" was jealous of, and hated, his Secretary of Commerce, whom he called "the wonder boy."

When Herbert Hoover was forced by the vicissitudes of war to return to the United States after years as a promoter of various enterprises in China and South Africa, no one knew whether he was a republican or a democrat. Hoover himself did not know which party could be used to promote his interests. He had the presidential bee in his bonnet and he was willing to be either a democrat or a republican, whichever party would give him the best chance to fulfill his ambition. Probably no man ever in the presidential chair loved publicity more than Hoover; and he had a keen sense of news value in posing for the press.

Few people knew the real Hoover, so that he was a fine subject for the myth makers to build up into a great business man and a benefactor of mankind; and above all things, in 1928 the country needed a miracle man in the White House who could see to it that there would be "two cars in every garage" without having to work to make the money with which to buy them.

In 1928 everybody was making money gambling in Wall Street stocks; and the manufacturers of automobiles, pianos, furniture, radios and every other imaginable luxury were selling their wares on the dollar down and dollar a month plan. Everything was on a boom, so that it was easy for republican editors to sell Herbert Hoover to a majority of the voters of the nation.

Before Hoover was inaugurated in March, 1929, the inexorable law of compensation, i.e. that "whatever stimulates is followed by a corresponding period of depression," had begun to make its inevitable downward curve. Stock had been watered to the saturation point, manufacturers had surpluses which they could not sell, fictitious real estate values began to decline, automobile manufacturers had more cars than they could dispose of, international and domestic

bankers had gone to the end of their rope, and they could not lend more money to stock gamblers. Then the Federal Reserve Bank began its policy of deflation, first with the farmers; Wall Street bankers called in their loans, first from the country banks; the huge mortgage companies began to foreclose mortgages on lands, homes and other real estate; manufacturers closed down their plants and their employees could not pay their instalments on automobiles, real estate, pianos, furniture and clothes, the merchants could not meet their notes, banks began to fail *by the thousands.*

No president ever entered the White House under more inauspicious circumstances than did the confused Hoover. Wall Street descended on Washington to get Hoover and Congress to pull their hot chestnuts out of the fire; but what could Hoover do? He did nothing except to say that "the country is basically sound" and that "prosperity is just around the corner." Disillusioned amateur stock gamblers who had been fleeced, and hungry unemployed men and women did not believe the seer in the White House, and rumblings of discontent were heard from Maine to California and from North Dakota to Florida.

A republican Congress passed laws to lend money to bankers and industrialists on the theory that the money would sift down to the poor; but it stuck to the hands of the rich and the millions of unemployed continued to suffer the pangs of hunger.

In vain did the republican newspapers apologize for Hoover. They tried to fasten the depression on the World War, that it was a hangover from Wilson's administration; but the millions of unemployed men and women and the other millions of voters had time to think between 1929 and 1932. Gradually they saw that they had been misled by republican newspapers; and they realized that they had been suckers during the twelve years of republican misrule in Washington. The owners of republican newspapers also felt that they had been gypped by Hoover; and though they allowed him to be re-nominated, they "damned him with faint praise" and actually aided in the election of a democrat, and Franklin D. Roosevelt became President by an overwhelming majority.

business. They had forgotten their quarrel with another Roosevelt, Theodora of "the big stick," twenty-five years before.

CHAPTER IV

MISERABLE MYTH MAKERS

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
For ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men; for
ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that
are entering to go in."

Matthew 23:13.

Efficient Democracy. No man ever entered the White House under more auspicious circumstances than did Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He had been elected by the largest majority of any president in history, having received 22,821,857 votes to Hoover's 15,761,841. He also had received the highest electoral vote in the history of the United States, 472 to Hoover's 59.

Everybody needed help, from the Morgans to the starving unemployed. The bankers were in the worst plight because in another week all of them would have been among the unemployed. Everybody, even the owners of reactionary republican newspapers, were ready to cooperate with Franklin D. Roosevelt to save themselves from bankruptcy. Besides, the owners of republican newspapers, knowing that the Roosevelts are wealthy, hoped that he would favor big business. They had forgotten their quarrel with another Roosevelt, Theodore of "the big stick," twenty-five years before.

The memory of the people of the United States is short if they have ceased to appreciate the achievements of Franklin D. Roosevelt and a democratic Congress in the years of 1933 and 1934. There is nothing finer nor more dramatic in the political history of the United States than the efficiency of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt during the first two years. In a few months the depression was broken and all classes began to prosper, even though the republican press of the country insisted that we were in the midst of a serious "recession" in business. The banks which had been closed reopened and deposits were insured by the United States Government. Thus confidence in the banks was restored.

The millions of starving unemployed were aided by the Department of Public Welfare and were given work by the Public Works Administration. The C.C.C. training camps kept hundreds of thousands of young men employed and from idling on the streets or in back alleys. The N.R.A. was established and it was shown that Roosevelt believed in the rights of men as well as of property. The farmers of corn, cotton and wheat were given subsidies to place them on a

parity with manufacturers who enjoy a camouflaged subsidy called a protective tariff. The Wagner act giving labor the right to organize and providing for unemployment insurance and old age pensions, was passed. Government loans were made to industry, towns and cities for public improvements. Home and land banks were established to save the homes and farms in rural districts for their owners. Many other legislative acts for the good of all the people of the United States were passed.

It was demonstrated by Roosevelt that a democracy can function efficiently to restore prosperity, but of course it meant an increase in taxes. It never occurred to those whose incomes were taxed that they had no incomes to tax in the last year of Hoover's administration and that the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration was responsible for their prosperity. They only know that a part of their incomes went to the government. Therefore they began to hate Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Anvil Chorus. Then the wretched and miserable myth makers began the same tactics that had been successful in getting them back into power after having discredited Woodrow Wilson. They

believed that they must destroy Franklin D. Roosevelt to get control of the government, so the barrage of propaganda to show that Roosevelt is a socialist was begun. They had called Theodore Roosevelt a socialist from 1910 to 1912, and they had destroyed him politically. Surely they could do the same thing with this upstart in the White House who could not be dominated by Wall Street and themselves. But reactionary republican newspapers had cried "wolf" too often, and the public began to understand their motives.

Robert McCormick's Chicago Tribune, Moe Annenberg's Philadelphia Enquirer, and other reactionary republican newspapers, whose owners have the same ideology, were made miserable by the success of an honest administration in Washington, so the myth makers tried to build up an ogre of Roosevelt, but Franklin D. made monkeys out of them.

Right thinking Americans abhor communism, so the myth makers decided to make a communist out of the President of the United States. Any unprejudiced man capable of thinking for himself must know from Roosevelt's record that there has not been the shadow of a suspicion of his having communistic ideas; yet the myth makers by innuendo, and

by all the devious methods of newspaper charlatans, have endeavored to make the public believe that President Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Perkins and others close to the President, are communists. I have heard the charge made repeatedly by hereditary republicans who read the Chicago Tribune that President Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor Perkins, and Mrs. Roosevelt are communists, and that they have been and are secretly communing with Russian communists. The fact that the communistic charge against the Roosevelt administration is a miserable lie made out of the whole cloth does not deter the myth makers from spreading the propaganda that the Roosevelts are communists. Myth making is easy for unprincipled editors who write to please their masters, because they do not have to worry about facts; and whether or not their statements have any semblance of truth in them is not of consequence to the owners of venal, servile, decadent and sadistic reactionary republican newspapers.

The charges of communism against the President of the United States did not impress anyone but hereditary republicans and tax dodgers, so the anvil chorus began to call Roosevelt a dictator, a beaurocrat, a government spendthrift; and all the names that could

be conjured up by hungry republicans in and out of Washington, and by facile vituperators employed as propagandists on reactionary republican newspapers.

The Landon Myth. The myth makers had been in a state of abject misery for four years when it came time to build up another myth to present to the republican national convention in 1936. The republican party was at its lowest ebb in leadership in Congress, and the esteem of a great majority of voters all over the United States had been lost. The leaders of the republican party had not learned a thing from the disaster of 1932 which swept them from power in national, state and local politics. Four years was too short a time for people to forget the panic of 1932 into which they had been led by a republican president and a republican Congress.

In looking around for a man who could be controlled by the same crowd who had told Harding, Coolidge and Hoover what to do, they went to the middle west. Alfred M. Landon had beaten a democrat for Governor of Kansas, and his record as an oil manipulator showed the location of his heart. Besides, he was unknown to the people of the United States outside of Kansas; and it should be

easy to make the myth of a great statesman out of him.

If the myth makers had gone to Emporia, Kansas, and had nominated for President, William Allen White, the greatest man in the republican party then and now, no myth making would have been necessary. But William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, the most respected and the most frequently quoted newspaper in the United States, was known to have progressive ideas. He has the courage to tell the truth and he has high ideals; and the myth makers and their Wall Street bosses knew that William Allen White would be president of all the people of the United States. The myth makers would just as soon have a democratic president as a progressive republican. They proved that when they destroyed Theodore Roosevelt, the only progressive republican except Lincoln who ever sat in the White House. The myth makers did not go to Emporia but to Topeka, and there they were sold a "gold brick."

Mediocrity is written all over Alfred M. Landon, but had not the myth makers made presidents out of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover? The myth makers did ballyhoo Landon until he was nominated for president by the republican party; but they had not considered the fact

that their myth would have to talk over the radio. When the voters of the United States heard Alfred M. Landon make his speech of acceptance of the republican nomination for president over the radio, they formed an estimate of him that could not be changed by all the propaganda in all the reactionary republican newspapers in the United States. The voters in Maine and Vermont must have gone to bed before Landon made his acceptance speech over the radio. Maine and Vermont are so far away from the rest of the United States, it may be that the voters of those backward states had not heard of the radio in 1936; and they thought they were still voting for "Abe" Lincoln. The fact is that the "economic royalist" republican party of today is no more like the political organization that saved the Union from 1861 to 1865 than Landon is like Lincoln in ability and ideals; but the Maine and Vermont voters have not found out until yet that the republican party of Lincoln expired when he died; Theodore Roosevelt tried to revive the "Grand Old Party" but Wall Street bosses and reactionary newspapers were on the job to prevent it from receiving progressive aid.

In spite of all the ballyhoo for the inflated republican candi-

date, and the frantic efforts to discredit the President of the United States, Roosevelt received 522 electoral votes to Landon's

8. The popular vote for Roosevelt, was the largest ever cast for a presidential candidate, while the Landon myth received only

The popular and electoral vote for Roosevelt showed that the people of the United States had lost respect for, and confidence in, a reactionary republican press; but it had taken eight years to build up the Wilson ogre, of "a man in the White House so egotistical that he refused advice from everyone", "one who had led the people of the United States into a useless war," and "a traitor who tried to deliver his country into the hands of Great Britain and France, through the League of Nations." Then the myth makers redoubled their efforts to build up the ogre of a Franklin D. Roosevelt as a communist, a dictator, a tyrant, a bureaucrat, a dishonest politician, a tax grafter, etc., etc. Finally, when Hitler began his march through Europe, with South America and the United States next on his list, and the President of the United States had the courage to protest against the barbarism of the Germans, the

treasonable reactionary republican press called him a war monger who was carrying the United States into war in order to get a third term and make himself a dictator.

The tactics of the reactionary republican newspapers and their Wall Street brothers are the same as those which Edgar Ansel Mowrer described as carried out before and during the Battle of France by venal, reactionary French newspapers and French industrialists. How long! oh, how long will it be before the honest citizens of the United States can break the power of plutocratic newspaper owners and Wall Street "malefactors of great wealth", who believe in the rights of property above human liberty, and who hold their miserable selfish aims above the welfare of their country?

CHAPTER V

WATERING THE STOCK AND SHEARING THE LAMBS

"I'll no' say man are villians a',
The real hardened wicked,
Who hae nae check but human law,
Are to a few restricked;
But Och! mankind are unco weak,
An' little to be trusted;
If self the wavering balance shake,
It's rarely right adjusted!"

Robert Burns.

There are many people who say that it does not make any difference who is President of the United States and whether or not Congress, the Senate and House of Representatives, is republican or democratic. Hereditary republicans and hereditary democrats vote their party ticket without questioning the honesty of the party platform or the integrity of the nominees of the party which they follow blindly. The fact of the matter is it does make a great deal of difference to the average man, and still more to the laborer and other wage earners, who is President of the United States, and whether or not Congress is republican or democratic.

The following facts will prove to the satisfaction of any unprejudiced man or woman that it made a great deal of difference to millions whether Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, or Roosevelt

was president. When Wall Street, - I mean the "malefactors of great wealth" referred to by Theodore Roosevelt, - was restored to power and Harding became president, there began a saturnalia of gambling in stocks which after twelve years ended with the Hoover panic. It made a difference of hundreds of millions of dollars to the several hundred thousand American citizens who bought the 33,000,000 shares of common stock in the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation, whether Hoover or Roosevelt was president. ~~Heardst properties that were losing money and which~~

Securities Exchange Commission. In Hoover's administration stock gambling was encouraged; and the United States government did nothing to stop the issuing and selling of watered stock by the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, the Insull Power Company and other holding companies which were formed to exploit the public. The Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation was authorized to issue 72,000,000 shares of common stock, ~~General~~ more than the number of shares of General Motors Corporation. 33,000,000 shares of common stock in Commonwealth and Southern were actually sold. In the Roosevelt administration legislation was enacted

creating the National Securities Exchange Commission, which will not permit the organization of holding companies like the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation, the Insull Power Company and other holding companies which propose to sell watered stock to the public.

An illustration of how the National Securities Exchange Commission protects the public was its refusal to allow William Randolph Hearst to issue stock in a holding company which included some of the Hearst properties that were losing money and which Hearst had listed at many times their real value. The National Securities Exchange Commission has saved the citizens of the United States billions of dollars by preventing the dishonest element in big business from exploiting them.

It should not be forgotten that there are many great corporations like the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, General Motors Corporation, and the Henry Ford interests; and thousands of smaller business organizations whose owners are honest and whose conduct of business is approved by the National Securities Exchange Commission.

The fact is, the National Security Exchange Commission protects legitimate business; but it also protects the public from exploitation by holding companies like Willkie's Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation, the Samuel Insull holding companies, the Hearst Corporation and other holding companies which exploited the public under Hoover and a republican administration.

Before and After. Would Wall Street Willkie do away with the National Securities Exchange Commission which he has fought ever since it has been created; or would he emasculate it to allow his Wall Street masters to sell billions of dollars of worthless stock to an uninformed public as they did under the republican administrations of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover? Willkie in his speech of acceptance says that he would continue the National Security Exchange Commission as it is now administered, but would he?

"The devil got sick
And a saint would be.
The devil got well and the
Devil of a saint was he."

Willkie tried to destroy the National Security Exchange Commission when it proposed to protect the public from further exploitation by the Commonwealth and Southern Power Corporation; but now (Mr. Hoover's pet project) and the Treasury Department, of

that he is running for president he is making a deliberate effort to deceive the public by misleading them into the belief that he approves and would not destroy the National Securities Exchange Commission.

Willkie is propagandized as a dirt farmer and a friend of the farmer. Senator Byrnes in a cryptic syllogism, exposed the real Willkie and punctured the Willkie myth when he said, "Willkie can teach the farmers how to water stock and how to shear the lambs."

Republican International Bankers. The sordid record of a Wall Street dominated government in the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations is a sad chapter in American political history. The State Department of the United States Government is supposed to visa foreign stocks before they are allowed to be sold to the public in the United States. I have not the figures, but billions of good, hard-earned American dollars were invested in foreign stocks during the twelve years that a Wall Street dominated republican administration was in power.

The State Department, cooperating with the Department of Commerce (Mr. Hoover's pet project) and the Treasury Department, of

which Andrew Mellon was secretary, should have investigated the securities on which foreign bonds were issued. On the contrary, President Hoover's State Department simply took the word of the Wall Street international bankers and without questioning the value of the securities offered, gave its official visa to billions of dollars of worthless bonds which were sold to a gullible public. Twenty-five percent is a low estimate of the billions of hard-earned American dollars which stuck to the fingers of international bankers on Wall Street before the seventy-five percent, or less, were presented to foreign governments or to foreign bankers.

Worthless South American Bonds. An American citizen who has spent ten or twelve years in various South American republics and who was in South America at the time the South American bonds were given the official visa of the State Department of the United States Government, expressed the opinion then that all the South American bonds sold in the United States were worthless. He further said that after the international bankers had taken out their commissions and after South American government officials and bankers had gotten their graft, comparatively little money derived from the sale of the

bonds went to the countries who issued the bonds sold by conscienceless American bankers.

The method of the New York bankers in selling foreign bonds during the Hoover administration was high-handed finance which only a republican administration in Washington could have tolerated. The Federal Reserve Bank during the Hoover administration was not permitted to interfere with the domination of the banks all over the United States by the Wall Street bankers. Banks all over the United States borrowed money from the Wall Street banks during the Hoover administration. A banker told me of how a New York bank from which his bank had borrowed a large amount of money, sent him his quota of South American bonds to sell. He knew that if the New York bank called his loan, his bank would have to close; and he believed that if he did not sell the South American bonds allotted to him that his loans would be called. He therefore sold some of them to people who had money deposited in his bank; and in some instances his bank bought the bonds for fear it would be closed by the New York bankers.

It was reported in the papers that the visa of the bonds to South American countries in which Mr. Mellon's Pure Oil Company was

negotiating oil concessions, was held up by the State Department under Hoover until after the oil concessions had been granted Mr. Mellon's Pure Oil Company. Mr. Mellon's duplicity in protecting the moneyed interests of the country is depicted in a chapter of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" (Horace Liveright, Inc., New York) so well that it is unnecessary to discuss his record in the days when the government at Washington was run in the interest of Wall Street. If one is interested in the record of the Republican party in conducting the government for the benefit of big business, he is referred to Chapter XII entitled, "The Big Stick and the Square Deal" and Chapter XIII on "Social and Industrial Justice" in the Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt, pp. 423 to 501, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920.

Secretary Hull's Honesty and Efficiency. No one has accused the State Department of the Roosevelt administration of placing its official visa on worthless foreign bonds. In other words, billions of dollars of worthless foreign bonds were sold to an uninformed public during republican maladministration, while during Secretary Hull's efficient administration of the State Department, the United

States Government has functioned to protect investors of foreign bonds. What would the Wall Street candidate do if his banker friends in New York wanted the visa of the State Department on foreign bonds should he become the next president? Every unprejudiced, thinking man in the United States knows that the Department of State with Cordell Hull as Secretary has functioned efficiently and honestly. Does anyone know what would happen to the State Department if Wall Street Willkie is elected president?

The Banks Under Hoover and Roosevelt. It made a great deal of difference to the millions of depositors in banks and to the bankers themselves, who now hate Roosevelt, whether Hoover or Roosevelt was president. Have the American people forgotten in seven years the records of American banks and bankers during the republican administration of Hoover? How many billions of dollars did good, honest citizens who were depositors in banks of the United States, lose during the four years of the Hoover administration? How many hundreds of millions of dollars did stockholders in banks that failed, lose during the "business administration" of President Hoover? Has any depositor of any bank in the United States lost a dollar since the Roosevelt administration enacted into law government insurance of

deposits in banks in the United States? How many stockholders of banks in the United States have lost money on their investments in bank stock since the Roosevelt administration cleaned up the mess of banks which was left to him by Hoover?

In other words, the man who says that it does not make any difference to him whether there is a republican or a democratic administration in Washington does not think for himself; but has been misled by propaganda in the big business republican newspapers of the United States.

In the papers about the "tyrant" in the White House that when the opportunity came he murdered the man, who in his distorted mind, he believed had become a dictator of a free people. Note that when Booth shot Lincoln, he dramatically exclaimed, "No longer tyrannical!" ("Thus ever to tyrants.") Also note some of the epithets hurled at Lincoln by New York Democratic newspapers and other northern anti-Lincoln propaganda sheets shortly before that sad act was committed.

The Lonely American in the White House in 1865. Rolfe Walter Brown of Indiana University, in one of the most interesting books that I have ever read, entitled, "Lonely Americans" (Howard McLean,

CHAPTER VI

PROPAGANDA AND THE MARTYRED LINCOLN

"Great captains with their guns and drums
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These are all gone, and standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame.
The kindly, earnest, brave foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American."

Lowell on Lincoln.

No president was ever maligned by newspapers hostile to him as was Abraham Lincoln. The psychology of John Wilkes Booth's insane act of assassinating Lincoln was that he was so wrought up by what he had read in the papers about the "tyrant" in the White House that when the opportunity came he murdered the man, who in his distorted mind, he believed had become a dictator of a free people. Note that when Booth shot Lincoln, he dramatically exclaimed, "Sic semper tyrannis!" ("Thus ever to tyrants.") Also note some of the epithets hurled at Lincoln by New York democratic newspapers and other northern anti-Lincoln propaganda sheets shortly before that mad act was committed.

The Lonely American in the White House in 1865. Rollo Walter

Brown of Indiana University, in one of the most interesting books that I have ever read, entitled, "Lonely Americans" (Coward McCann,

Inc., New York 1929) in depicting Lincoln as one of the greatest and therefore one of the loneliest men who ever sat in the White House, said: "The names he (Lincoln) accumulated, not in the South but in the North, afford a preliminary index to the esteem in which he was held." Included in the epithets which Rollo Walter Brown collected and which Lincoln endured without ever uttering a word of denial, were the following: "renegade", "sectionalist", "radical", "insurrectionist", "blatherskite", "visionary", "traitor", "revolutionist", "scoundrel", "slaughter-house Abe", "despot", "usurper", "felon", "murderer", "dirty-minded story teller", etc., etc., and as Brown says, "a long list not yet considered printable in any country." How very like the epithets found in the editorial columns of the reactionary republican press of today in discussing Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "New Deal."

Rollo Walter Brown collected a number of songs about the lonely man in the White House, propaganda calculated to inflame the minds of those who wanted to believe ill of Lincoln. One song began:

"God save our wretched land
From Lincoln's traitor hand
From woe and blight."

One propaganda sheet called the "Metropolitan Record," published a "phony" report of a so-called mock trial in which Lincoln was charged with "treason" and eight other counts. It concluded by "the spirit of the Constitution pronouncing judgment (on the Great Emancipator) in the following language:

"You have been given the opportunity of saving a nation, but you have stabbed it to the heart. ... To the outraged justice of your countrymen, I now leave you (Abraham Lincoln) with the brand of tyrant upon your brow."

Rollo Walter Brown relates that one of Lincoln's enemies at a democratic convention in Ohio said, "For less offense than Mr. Lincoln has been guilty of, the English people chopped off the head of the first Charles." Another in the same democratic convention in Ohio said, "The people will soon rise, and if they cannot put Lincoln out of power by the ballot they will by the bullet."

With this sort of propaganda reverberating in the unstable mind of John Wilkes Booth, he murdered a president who will go down through the ages with George Washington as one of the greatest men who has lived in all the history of mankind. The fate of the

martyred Lincoln is a tragic illustration of the power of propaganda.

Edward Bok on the Travails of Abraham Lincoln. A dramatic description of the propaganda to discredit Abraham Lincoln before and during the Civil War is left us by the late Edward Bok in his greatest book entitled, "Twice Thirty." Bok quoted some of the criticisms of the great Civil War President:

"Have we no self-respect?" wrote one editor.

"Are we to stand before the world afraid?" asked another.

"Have we a coward in the White House?" came from a famous orator.

In volume and violence grew the demand. Stronger words now found their way into the newspaper editorials. "Coward" was frequently met with. "Bungler", cried an orator. "Deaf to reason and unwilling to listen," was the universal opinion.

From no quarter came encouragement to the man holding his lonely vigil in the White House. Gradually it became apparent that all was not harmonious in the Cabinet. There was little or no support of the President in Congress.

The closing days of the war thus dragged on, and little came from the White House. Meanwhile the President toiled and passed many a sleepless night, perceptibly aging, physically spent, steadily advancing, step by step, to that day when, as a bolt from the blue, he fell, - just as truly a soldier in the war as any one of "his boys," as he used to call them, that fell on the battlefields.

As always happens, there followed an aftermath of sorrow, and it was not long before those who pushed him aside during his life time began to see that he knew better than they. Calumny ceased. Praise took its place.

"The man who was President was now standing, as we must all stand, before God for that judgment that faileth not. "

It is interesting to note that the above description of Abraham Lincoln's travails was used by Bok in a chapter on Woodrow Wilson in "Twice Thirty." Bok relates that he read the criticisms of Lincoln to one of Woodrow Wilson's critics who made the following comments:

"A true picture, very true," commented the Critic when he had read what is written above. "But don't you think that if the President had not been so remote, or seemed so self-centered, so willing to commune only with himself, he would have avoided much of the anxiety which he thus brought upon himself, and which after all was the direct cause of his downfall?"

"Downfall?" I repeated. "Whose downfall?"

"Woodrow Wilson's," answered the Critic.

"But this sketch is not of Woodrow Wilson," I ventured.

"Of whom, pray, is it, then?" was the astonished query.

"Of Abraham Lincoln."

Lincoln and Free Speech. Lincoln believed in free speech

and he did not use the power which he had as President to stop the vile slanders which were spread about him and his conduct of the war. Friends went to him repeatedly and urged him to punish those who were guilty of libel against him; or at least to deny

the slanders, but he replied, "I might swear on a stack of Bibles a mile high that the things said about me are false, and my enemies would still believe them. My friends do not believe them and it would do no good to dignify slanders by noticing them. Besides, I have duties to perform which are more important."

In the light of Lincoln's tragic fate, one wonders if it would not have been better if Lincoln had not sued some of his slanderers for libel.

I believe in the freedom of the press and freedom of speech, but those privileges were abused in Lincoln's day, as they have been abused since, and are being abused today by reactionary newspapers in slandering the President now in the White House. If the freedom of the press and freedom of speech are ever lost in the United States, it will be the fault of the reactionary and partisan owners of metropolitan newspapers who interpret free speech to mean license to slander, and who have prostituted the high calling of journalism for profit and for personal aggrandizement.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRENUOUS AND EFFICIENT
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

"Oh, may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In pulses stirred to generosity;
In deeds of daring rectitude; in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars
And with their wild persistence urge men's search
To vaster issues."

George Elliott.

Theodore Roosevelt's Annanias Club. When Theodore Roosevelt was President, he was misquoted so frequently, or ^{politicians and} Washington correspondents to reactionary newspapers misstated the facts regarding him so often, that he created an Annanias Club into which he initiated his traducers with a touch of the "big stick."

Twenty-five years ago Theodore Roosevelt hurled maledictions at the ^{a hostile press} "muckrakers" and "malefactors of great wealth", but they were "pikers" in greed and arrogance compared to the owners of newspapers of today. The strenuous Teddy likewise recognized that a reactionary press, which at one time abused him like a pick-pocket every day, was the servant of those who would control the government to increase their power and profits.

The Defection of the Daily Press. In the Atlantic Monthly

(March 1910) Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, agreed with Theodore Roosevelt when he said:

"There is just one deadly damning count against the daily newspaper. It does not give the news. Smothering of facts in deference to the advertiser takes place. The press has become "an instrument for coloring certain kinds of news, diffusing certain misinformation or fostering certain impressions. ... When all is said, the defection of the daily press has been a staggering blow to democracy."

Theodore Roosevelt, when editor of the "Outlook" made similar observations. He said: "The sources of information are choked by the daily press. As many worthy citizens are almost wholly unaware (of this), they are naturally misled as regards the rights and wrongs of any issue as to which the big interests deem it expedient that they should be misinformed."

Since Theodore Roosevelt's time many newspaper owners not only have continued to serve predatory wealth, but they have become part and parcel of the most arrogant big business that ever attempted to dominate the politics of this country in order to promote their own selfish interests.

A reactionary press hammered at Theodore Roosevelt, a very great man whom the selfish "interests" could not use until they destroyed him politically. If one is interested in newspaper invectives, let him go into a library and read the editorials in reactionary newspapers that opposed Roosevelt's nomination for president by the republicans in 1911, and during his campaign as the nominee of the Progressive party which he founded as a protest against the control of the United States Government by "predatory wealth." Later they praised Theodore Roosevelt in their efforts to destroy another great progressive statesman, Woodrow Wilson, who was independent enough to decline the support of the Hearst newspapers; and Harpers Weekly, at that time an inspired publication, controlled by the Morgan interests.

Segregation of Aggregated Journalistic Ananias. Parenthetically it may be added that the greatest segregation of aggregated journalistic Ananias outside of Germany, Italy and Russia, are the Washington representatives of 100 reactionary newspapers. These newspaper ^{correspondents} ~~pariahs~~ had their training on metropolitan newspapers that suppress, distort and misrepresent the news to ballyhoo the pets of

their employers, or to slander the progressives who believe in the government of cities, the state and the nation "by, of and for the people." The Washington correspondents of the 100 ^{reactionary} metropolitan newspapers wormed their way into the hearts of their rich and arrogant employers because they had proved their ability in the art of billingsgate and vituperation as reporters and local editors before they were sent to Washington. The 45 page exposition of

On a recent Sunday morning in going the rounds of the hospital, a patient, the wife of an author of a book on political history and herself a highly educated, discriminating woman and an omnivorous reader, was reading the 75 page Sunday morning paper. I said to her, "What a fine thing it is to be able to lie up in bed on Sunday morning and have nothing to do but to read the Sunday paper." She replied, "Well, when one gets through reading reactionary newspapers, what does one know?" Then referring to the news from Washington, she said, "The American people are kept in ignorance by the newspapers of what is really going on in the capitol of the United States as much so as the Germans, Italians and Russians are denied the news by their dictators' control of the newspapers in Germany,

Italy and Russia." The United States because a reactionary repub-

Just how reactionary newspapers of the United States mold public opinion from Washington and how they color the news to deceive the public, is revealed in a chapter on "The Press" in a clearly written book entitled, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," published in 1931. This book gave an insight into conditions in Washington that startled the nation. The 45 page exposition of reactionary newspaper propaganda in Washington, written by two brilliant newspaper correspondents in Washington, should be re-read by those who deplore the decadence of formerly independent daily newspapers in many cities in the United States. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that one of the two authors of Merry-Go-Round lost his position on a reactionary newspaper because he dared to publish in a book facts that did not please his employers.

Theodore Roosevelt's Greatness and His Weakness. Theodore Roosevelt was a very great man and he did many fine things while he was President, more than all the other republicans who had been in the White House before him and since, except Abraham Lincoln. He was prevented from doing many other fine things for the good of

all the people of the United States because a reactionary republic-
lican and a partisan democratic press molded public opinion against
him and his policies.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Third Term. The United States
Theodore Roosevelt also was a very intellectual man but he
had not studied the Greek classics; and had not learned that
"whom the gods destroy they first make mad." His violent temper
was his undoing. Roosevelt came near to fulfilling Rudyard Kip-
ling's conception of a man as portrayed in his immortal "If,"
but he could not "bear to see the truths he had spoken twisted by
(newspaper) knaves to set a trap for fools."

Theodore Roosevelt was lacking in imagination and in a sense
of humor - the saving grace for statesmen - like Lincoln and Wil-
son. Contrary to general opinion, Woodrow Wilson had a keen sense
of humor. "Teddy" knew no poetry as did Lincoln, whose favorite
poem was "Oh Why Should the Spirit of ^{Mortal} Man be Proud?" Roosevelt
had the "pride that goeth before a fall," and he also was lacking
in patience.

Theodore Roosevelt possessed rugged honesty and he demanded
the "square deal" from Congress and from newspapers; but both

Congress and the newspapers disappointed him. After the nomination for president was denied him by the republican party in 1912, all the rest of his life "was bound in shallows and miseries."

Theodore Roosevelt and the Third Term. The United States and the world would have been better off today if Theodore Roosevelt had not renounced the third term for president, which he could have had, had he not stepped aside to place his friend, Howard W. Taft in the White House. When Theodore Roosevelt saw the "malefactors of great wealth" move back to Washington and take charge of Taft and a republican administration, he wept and wailed and gnashed his huge teeth; and regretted having been such a fool as to leave off the great task he had begun of wresting the United States government from Wall Street and giving it back to the people. Then he demanded the third term. For the crime of trying to make the United States a better place in which to live, Theodore Roosevelt was crucified by powerful reactionary republican and partisan democratic newspapers.

Whom the Gods Destroy They First Make Mad. Theodore Roosevelt was a great statesman of high ideals, but he was unwise in dealing with newspaper correspondents in Washington. Every time he called

a reporter a liar, that made good copy for a day; but the correspondents of reactionary newspapers, who were sent by their bosses to Washington to suppress and distort the news favorable to the President, were on the job for 365 days in the year. "Teddy" accused the Washington correspondents over and over again of suppressing and distorting the news of the Capitol; but that only sharpened the reporters' pencils to write meaner and dirtier lies about a man who was trying to serve his country faithfully. And so the people of the United States, who believe what they read in the newspapers, saw only evil in "Teddy with the big stick." Thus the usefulness of a great and good man was destroyed by powerful reactionary republican and partisan democratic newspapers.

Theodore Roosevelt came near to martyrdom, perhaps because a paranoic believed what he read in the newspapers. It is highly probable that the man who attempted to assassinate Theodore Roosevelt at *Milwaukee* in *October, 1911* was incited to the crazy act by the propaganda spread by political enemies through the medium of newspapers, to make voters believe that Theodore Roosevelt wanted to become dictator of the United States.

The word "dictator" was used to describe Theodore Roosevelt's ambition as it is used today to discredit his democratic cousin, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It also is a fact that, with few exceptions, the same reactionary republican metropolitan daily papers which destroyed Theodore Roosevelt politically, are using their power to deceive gullible voters into supporting a man, Wendell Willkie, whom they may help to become a dictator if he is elected President of the United States. Should this happen, and it can happen in the United States, Willkie no doubt will treat the stupid owners of newspapers who made it possible for him to become a dictator, just as Hitler did his newspaper puppets in Germany. We may not be far from sharing the unhappy fate of Germany, Italy and Russia, if power-loving newspaper owners have their way.

CHAPTER ~~VII~~

Propaganda to Destroy Woodrow Wilson
and the League of Nations

single space.

"He who ascends to mountain tops, shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapped in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high above the sun of glory glow,
And far beneath the earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led."

Byron in Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.

Woodrow Wilson, another president who was martyred by the power of propaganda, led the people of the United States into higher realms of noble thoughts and to "deeds of daring rectitude" than our country had ever known before, or since the days when the World War President pointed out a practical way to bring about an enduring peace to a war-worn world. Wilson became so great that like Caesar, he was stabbed in the back by a dagger (~~of~~ sharp words) concealed in the senatorial toga of a Brutus, the egotistical Borah, who was incited to join in the conspiracy of republican senators by a "lean and hungry Cassius", Henry Cabot Lodge.

It is said that during the debate on the Versailles Treaty, Charles W. Elliot, President of Harvard, said to his friend Senator Lodge, "Henry, why is it that you are now fighting the League of Nations when you were one of the first to advocate such an organization to bring about universal peace?" Senator Lodge is said to have replied, "The only hope for the republicans to get back in power is to destroy Woodrow Wilson." This statement was published during the lifetime of Henry Cabot Lodge and insofar as I know, it

was never denied. Thus it is shown how a man of great ability and remarkable intellectual attainments like the late unwept and unmourned senator from Massachusetts, allowed his prejudices to warp his judgment until he plotted to destroy any kind of a peace treaty that Wilson might bring back to Washington. Note the "round robbin" signed by enough partisan republican and disgruntled democratic senators who agreed, before they knew what kind of a treaty Wilson would bring back from Paris, to vote against its ratification by the Senate. to me: "Lodge and Borah are more respons-

Obstinate and Unreasoning Isolationists. The isolationists in the United States Senate prevented the entry of the United States, the only disinterested great nation among the Allies, into membership in the League of Nations. I do not believe that any of the group described by Wilson as "little willful men" had any conception of the perfidy of their prejudiced antagonism towards the League of Nations; but as Wilson said, they "broke the heart of the world" and by selling out for a "mess of (political) pottage", they made the United States whose soldiers won the war against German aggression, a "slacker" nation in time of peace.

The isolationists got what they wanted, Woodrow Wilson was destroyed politically, and the republican party was restored to ignoble power for twelve years. But keeping the United States out of so-called "foreign entanglements" has not prevented us from being placed in the same position today that we found ourselves in 1917, when we had to arm and use force to the uttermost to help win the World War and thus "save our own skins".

A Lost Opportunity. Recently a Professor of History in a great American University said to me: "Lodge and Borah are more responsible for this second war of aggression by the Germans than Hitler. If the United States had joined the League of Nations and had used her power in Geneva to prevent France and England from using the League to promote their own selfish interests, France, who first violated her solemn oath to uphold the League, would have been forced to reduce her army to 100,000 soldiers, and France would not have been permitted to invade the Ruhr. He said that if the United States had been a member of the League of Nations, when Secretary of State Stimson tried to get the League to exercise economic sanctions against Japan when she talked of invading Man-

churia, ~~and~~ when Great Britain betrayed the United States in order for her manufacturers to sell more goods to Japanese merchants, that the conquest of China would have been averted. He also said that if the United States had been a member of the League, Mussolini would not have ~~been~~ ^{have been allowed to rob and annex} Ethiopia.

There are ifs in this postulate, but there are none about the success of newspaper propaganda in molding opinion in the United States against the League; and ^{no intact} ~~if~~ their puppets, the isolationists in the United States Senate, had their way. See what they have brought us to in this unhappy hour of our history, when in the near future we will be forced almost certainly to fight Germany, Italy, Japan and Russia, economically if not with arms, without the aid of Great Britain and France, who stood between us and the Germans in 1917 and 1918?

Dr. William Dodd, formerly Professor of History at the University of Chicago, and Ambassador to Germany from 1933 to 1937, in an address delivered in Birmingham about three years ago, expressed the unequivocal opinion that if the United States had become a member of the League of Nations, ~~that~~ Hitler would never

have been allowed to become the dictator of Germany; and that Japan would never have been allowed to invade China, and that Mussolini would not have attempted to conquer Ethiopia. Dr. Dodd three years ago said that Germany was preparing for another war of conquest. He also predicted that the present war would come within five years and expressed the opinion that Hitler's Army would overrun Europe, including France.

Millions of other people who think for themselves and whose minds have not been made up for them by malicious propaganda in reactionary republican newspapers, believe that had the United States ratified the Versailles treaty and had become a member of the League of Nations, the billions of dollars which have been spent to destroy life and property by Germany, Italy and Japan, might have been used to promote health, education and improve social conditions in the countries in which millions now are starving.

Sir William Osler said that "we should not worry about the dead past that has gone", but each individual in the United States should know and should not forget that it was the stupid, reactionary republican newspapers of the United States and a few of their

puppets in the United States Senate, who misled their millions of readers regarding the one chance that the world has had to bring about universal peace and goodwill to all mankind. Discriminating readers of newspapers in the present crisis of American history, remembering the propaganda against Woodrow Wilson during and after the World War, will not be misled by the scurrilous attacks on Franklin D. Roosevelt who has the courage to oppose the domination of the world by Adolph Hitler.

Distortion of News by Foreign Correspondents. While editor of War Medicine, the official medical journal of the Medical Department of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, I had experiences which opened my eyes regarding insidious and vicious propaganda in reactionary newspapers in the United States to discredit the World War President. I read with disgust the so-called news regarding the Peace Conference that was sent from Paris by staff reporters of the New York Tribune, the New York Herald, the Chicago Tribune, the Washington Post and other reactionary papers, which molded public opinion in the United States against President Wilson in his efforts to bring about an enduring peace in Europe. The news sent to these newspapers

which he was correspondent, criticizing Wilson, and in which he lied was not what actually happened at the Peace Conference in Paris; but the dispatches cabled for the consumption of American readers presented distorted reports sent by reporters in Paris to please their employers, the owners of reactionary metropolitan newspapers of large circulation. I learned from association with foreign correspondents of American newspapers that cabled dispatches were relatively short and that "ghost writers" in the home newspaper offices filled in, and added to, the dispatches sent by their correspondents. This gave the "ghost writers" back home the opportunity to distort the reports to suit the views of the owner of the paper.

When President Wilson went to Italy in January 1919 at the suggestion of Rear Admiral Cary Grayson, he requested that I be assigned to accompany the presidential party. On that trip I travelled with a number of American newspaper correspondents who accompanied the party. Most of them were brilliant and personally attractive men. One of them I learned to know quite well; and in intimate conversation with me he praised President Wilson highly. He lauded Wilson particularly for what he was doing in Paris. I had read some of his dispatches to the reactionary newspaper of

which he was correspondent, criticizing Wilson, and in which he lied about the President of the United States while on his mission to Paris in the effort to bring about world peace. I said to him; "I have read some of your dispatches to your paper. How do you reconcile the statements you sent back home to discredit Wilson, with your real opinion of him as expressed to me?" He replied, "I am cabling to the newspaper that sent me to Paris the kind of news that

I was instructed to send. A reporter and an editor of a newspaper is related to his employer as a lawyer is to his client. He must submerge his own opinions to conform to the policies of the paper he represents."

Shades of Horace Greeley, James Gordon Bennett, Charles Dana, Joseph Pulitzer, Henry Grady, Melville Stone and other great and independent editors who held honor high above self and who believed in personal journalism, protect us from the propaganda of impersonally conducted decadent reactionary newspapers!

Melville Stone, Great Journalist. During the dark days of the World War in May 1918, when German airplanes were bombarding Paris several times every moonlight night, and the "Big Bertha" seventy-

five miles away was dropping a shell into Paris every fifteen minutes, beginning exactly at noon and ending at two o'clock in the afternoon of every day, I had the privilege of intimate association with Mr. Melville Stone, then General Manager of the Associated Press. Mr. Stone became ill from a moderately severe attack of flu in May. I treated him throughout his illness and saw him frequently at his hotel during his convalescence.

Mr. Stone as chief executive of the Associated Press was in close contact with the news gathering agencies in Germany. He also was closely affiliated with the officials of the large newspapers and press agencies in France, England and Italy. Probably no American except President Wilson was ever entertained so lavishly by the high officials of the allied countries. All the allied countries wanted the Associated Press to carry their propaganda to the United States; but none of them, nor anyone else, ever used the Associated Press for propaganda purposes with the knowledge or consent of Mr. Melville Stone.

Mr. Stone's hotel was a short walk from my office, and during his convalescence, at my noon hour or after office hours in the after-

United States.
noon, I visited him socially a number of times. After his recovery

Events Leading to the Entry of the United States into the
I was his guest, or he was my guest, for luncheon or dinner several

World War. Mr. Melville Stone was a life-long republican, yet he
times, and we spent a number of evenings together discussing many
was just and fair in his estimate of President Wilson. Mr. Stone
things. ¶ Mr. Stone was one of the best informed men and one of the

said that soon after the sinking of the Lusitania President Wilson
finest men I have ever known. His life had been given in the con-

requested him to come to Washington for a conference. He said the
structive effort to provide the public of the United States with

President told him that he was anxious to know the sentiment of the
the news of the world just as it occurred, without bias. He demand-

people in all parts of the United States as to whether or not Ger-
ed the exact truth from Associated Press correspondents and he set
many's acts against the United States had become recognized as being
them an example of a life lived with lofty ideals in which he held
so flagrant that our country should go to war to protect our rights,
truth and honor high above selfish interests.

The President then said to Mr. Stone that he believed the Associated

Mr. Stone was an interesting talker and I was an interested
Press could come nearer getting an impartial estimate of the attitude
listener to every word that he said. He liked to discuss the his-
of the country towards war than could be obtained in any other way.
tory of the Associated Press and often compared it to other news
He therefore asked Mr. Stone to send out questionnaires to Associated
gathering agencies both in the United States and in European coun-
Press correspondents in every section of the country, requesting them
tries. He probably knew more about conditions in Germany, France,
to reply as early as possible.

England, Italy and the United States before, during and immediately

Mr. Stone said that after the replies had been received and he
following the World War than any man in the world. Absolutely above
had been tabulated, he returned to Washington to report his findings
trying to influence the public in its opinions, he knew the wiles of
to the President. I think I can recall almost the very words used
press propagandists in all the countries in Europe as well as in the

United States.

Events Leading to the Entry of the United States into the

World War. Mr. Melville Stone was a life-long republican, yet he was just and fair in his estimate of President Wilson. Mr. Stone said that soon after the sinking of the Lusitania President Wilson requested him to come to Washington for a conference. He said the President told him that he was anxious to know the sentiment of the people in all parts of the United States as to whether or not Germany's acts against the United States had become recognized as being so flagrant that our country should go to war to protect our rights. The President then said to Mr. Stone that he believed the Associated Press could come nearer getting an impartial estimate of the attitude of the country towards war than could be obtained in any other way. He therefore asked Mr. Stone to send out questionnaires to Associated Press correspondents in every section of the country, requesting them to reply as early as possible.

Mr. Stone said that after the replies had been received and he had them tabulated, he returned to Washington to report his findings to the President. I think I can recall almost the very words used

by the President to the effect that the sentiment was rapidly

by Mr. Stone in his report to the President as related to me by him. He said, "Mr. President, you have asked me to find out the war sentiment of the nation and I have come to report. Personally, I believe that we should enter the war against Germany. You know that my son went down on the Lusitania, and I think that the time has come when the United States should join with France and Great Britain to crush Germany; but you asked me to find out the sentiment of the entire country. From the information gathered by the Associated Press correspondents, it is my duty to inform you that the country as a whole, the west and southwest in particular, is not ready to support the Government if war is declared on Germany." He said the President thanked him but did not commit himself regarding his personal attitude about war except to say that he believed unless Germany stopped her ruthless submarine warfare, sooner or later the United States would be compelled to fight Germany. ~~for he had exhausted every effort to~~

~~keep~~ Mr. Stone said that a few weeks later the President requested him to send out the second questionnaire to Associated Press correspondents in every part of the country. He reported the results to the President by letter to the effect that the sentiment was rapidly

crystalizing toward the entry of the United States into war, but that the people as a whole were not ready for war. Mr. Stone said the President a few weeks later requested that the third questionnaire be sent out, but that before the replies had been tabulated President Wilson had asked Congress to declare war on Germany.

Mr. Stone expressed the opinion that had war on Germany been declared a day earlier it would not have been possible for Congress to have passed the "selective service law". He further said that if the United States had been compelled to fight with a volunteer army, we may not have been able to render service to our Allies in doing more than our part in winning the war.

Edward Bok in "Twice Thirty" presents an illuminating discussion of conversations he had with Wilson which confirm Melville Stone's opinion that Wilson did not want war; and that he asked Congress to declare war only after he had exhausted every effort to keep out of war.

The fact is that the people of the United States gradually but finally, awaked to the fact that Germany had started out in a war of conquest, to carry German Kultur throughout the world and that she

was willing to adopt ruthless and barbarous methods in order to conquer Russia, France and Great Britain. They realized that after "Deutschland über Alles" was effective in Europe, the western hemisphere would come next in Germany's wars of conquest.

Propaganda no doubt did play a part in getting the United States to declare war on Germany, but I am absolutely sure that neither President Wilson nor any one connected with his administration, was a party to any plan to propagandize the country for war. Every act of President Wilson was in accordance with what he believed the people of the United States expected of him; and he did not ask Congress to declare war until he believed that an overwhelming proportion of the citizens of the country wanted war.

Wilson and George Harvey. Wilson was severely criticized by republican newspapers for declining the support of Harper's Weekly after its editor, George Harvey, had been one of the first to advocate Wilson for president. This act proved that Wilson preferred to be independent of Wall Street bankers than to have the support of what was then the most influential weekly magazine in the United States, but which was known to be controlled by the Morgan interests.

"Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned", and when Wilson told Harvey that he preferred not to have the support of Harper's Weekly, George Harvey became the number one Wilson hater. He used Harper's Weekly to broadcast every invective known to a journalistic pariah half dozen of the richest men in the United States; but his great in a vitriolic effort to destroy Wilson. Harvey, no doubt with the wealth did not restore his political prestige, or get him into New York society, or give him the respect of right thinking people both from the time he entered the White House until his second term ended.

When Harding was made President, Harvey's billingsgate was rewarded by appointing him Ambassador to Great Britain; but there was so much resentment at the vicious attacks on Wilson in Harper's Weekly, its circulation dropped to such an extent that it passed out of existence. If subscribers of reactionary daily newspapers would show their disapproval of the policy of the paper when its editorial and news columns are used for propaganda, by discontinuing their patronage, the owners would employ decent tactics in discussing political questions.

Hearst's Hatred of Woodrow Wilson. From 1907, when he was defeated for Governor of New York, Hearst floundered in the mire of politics, hoping against hope that something would happen to retrieve

his political fortunes. In the meantime he was building up his great newspaper empire, adding a few magazines, investing in oil lands, California real estate, and like Midas, everything he touched turned to money. At one time Hearst was considered to be one of a half dozen of the richest men in the United States; but his great wealth did not restore his political prestige, or get him into New York society, or give him the respect of right thinking people both poor and rich.

In order to have the appearance of decency, Hearst employed on large salaries a number of outstanding journalists including John Temple Graves, the first, who was said to have been paid \$25,000 a year. John Temple Graves, an aristocrat of high ideals, tried hard to introduce a decent editorial policy in the New York American and other Hearst newspapers. At any rate he tried to get Hearst to do one decent thing in his journalistic career, and that was to support Woodrow Wilson for President of the United States. He succeeded in getting Hearst to agree to meet Wilson at a dinner to discuss the 1911 presidential campaign, but Woodrow Wilson declined even to shake hands with a man who had prostituted the high calling of journalism

for ignoble purposes.

My brother, the late William J. Harris, United States Senator from Georgia, said that John Temple Graves told him of his efforts to get the support of Hearst for Wilson in 1911. It may be added that John Temple Graves, the first, a graduate of Princeton, was a personal friend of Woodrow Wilson. Graves said that he made an appointment to see Wilson, who was then Governor of New Jersey, to inform him how he could get the support of the Hearst newspapers. He invited Wilson to a dinner to meet Hearst; but Governor Wilson courteously declined the invitation to meet Mr. Hearst; and furthermore said that he did not expect, or want, the support of the Hearst newspapers. He said that if he became President of the United States, he could not afford to be placed under obligations to a man who would be sure to expect and demand favors of a kind which he could not grant. John Temple Graves returned sadly to New York to inform Mr. Hearst that Governor Wilson had refused to be introduced to the owner of the most powerful chain of newspapers in the United States.

The Hearst newspapers then began to abuse Wilson and to oppose

everything that he did or said without regard to truth or decency.

When it appeared that Wilson did not want war with Germany, the Hearst newspapers denounced him for his cowardice; and when it was evident that Wilson was becoming convinced that war with Germany was inevitable, the Hearst papers became almost pro-German. In fact, the Canadian Government banned the Hearst newspapers from Canada because of their pro-German policy.

The Hearst newspapers continued implacable war upon Wilson and everything that he stood for after the World War until his death, and even now they blame Wilson with being the cause of the present war in Europe. Strange to say, and not very complimentary to the intelligence of those who fall for the Hearst brand of propaganda, many good citizens of the United States believe that what they call "Wilson's Versailles Treaty" is responsible for the present war in Europe; in spite of the fact that everyone who thinks at all should know that Adolph Hitler is, and has been carrying on, a war of aggression and that "Deutschland Über Alles" is still the battle song of the Germans.

When Wilson Snubbed Hearst the Second Time. The following in-

cident illustrates a trait in Woodrow Wilson's character. Wilson never in his life was willing to compromise with evil; and at no time in his career would he accept the overtures of those whom he believed had opposed him for selfish purposes.

At the request of President Wilson, through Admiral Grayson, I was ordered to accompany the presidential party from Paris to Washington in February, 1919. When the George Washington sailed from Brest it was planned for her to land in New York. In mid-ocean Wilson received a cable announcing that Mayor Hylan, Tammany Hall's chief at the time, had appointed William Randolph Hearst as chairman of the committee to greet the President on his arrival in New York. Tammany Hall had fought Wilson from the time he was mentioned as a presidential candidate and had opposed him secretly in his two campaigns for president. Besides, Wilson had fought machine politics from the time he became a candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Hearst had joined Tammany Hall in fighting Wilson who stood for decency and honesty in politics, as their common enemy. Here was an opportunity for Wilson to conciliate Hearst and Tammany Hall and get their support for the Versailles Treaty,

so close to his heart; but instead of taking advantage of an opportunity to placate those whom he considered as unworthy of respect, he ordered the George Washington to land in Boston.

If the people of the United States were aware of the reason for change in the port of destiny for the George Washington, I have not seen it mentioned in the papers. The late Rear Admiral Grayson, who was the soul of honor and truthfulness, gave me the above information; and I have no doubt but that President Wilson's reason for not landing in New York was because he was unwilling for it to appear that he was making a political truce with the leaders of Tammany Hall and William Randolph Hearst in order to get their support.

President Wilson's Attitude Toward His Slanderers. No president except Lincoln was slandered more than Wilson both in the press and in whispering campaigns. Friends went to him urging him to do as Theodore Roosevelt had done, sue some of his slanderers. It will be recalled that Theodore Roosevelt sued for libel a Wisconsin editor who published the whispered rumor that "Teddy" was an alcoholic inebriate. "Teddy" obtained judgment against the

offender but that did not stop his persecutors from spreading other vicious propaganda about him.

Hon. Frank Glass, editor of the Birmingham News and one time United States Senator from Alabama, was a classmate of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton. Glass told me of going to Wilson and informing him of some of the lies that were whispered about him. He said that the President reminded him of what Lincoln had said when he was urged by his friends to deny rumors; and Wilson decided that he could do nothing because he believed that time would prove to the American people the falseness of the whispered and printed accusations against him.

Ray Stannard Baker in "Life and Letters of Wilson" has given to the world what Wilson refused to allow published during his lifetime. Mrs. Fessie Eldridge Southwick wrote to President Wilson expressing "great indignation at reports that it was well known that the President had bargained with Wall Street to bring on the war; that Mrs. Wilson was ^{pro-}German in sympathy; and so on." Wilson's reply is a masterpiece of letter writing and it shows the character and the patience of the great World War President. He wrote:

"It was certainly very kind of you to write me.... and I am grateful that you should be so much concerned about slanders which are being circulated to my disadvantage.

"But I feel confident that you can dismiss the slanders which you were kind enough to tell me about without the least concern as to the harm they may do, because they are so entirely false in every particular that they can do, I believe, no harm. I have found that lies take care of themselves. They are so inconsistent with each other, of necessity, and are so colored with all sorts of impossible allegations that they break down of their own absurdity. These particular lies are almost grotesque in their falseness.

"I am quite aware that efforts of this sort are constantly being made to discredit me, with what motive I find it difficult to conjecture, but I have steeled my heart to endure them because, although it is very distressing to be so maligned, my own conscience so entirely acquits me that I cannot bring myself to take the malignancy too seriously.

"With genuine appreciation of your kindness and solicitude... .."

Plots to Assassinate Wilson. Few people know of how close Woodrow Wilson came to becoming the martyred President of the World War at the hands of an assassin. Admiral Grayson, Wilson's physi-

in the garage up Fifth Avenue in New York to open the drive for
cian and I were great friends and he told me of many interesting
the first liberty loan had been published, the police uncovered
facts about the President which were not given to the public for
two separate plots to assassinate him. One of the assassins planned
obvious reasons. I may add that anything and everything which
to be on the platform of the elevated railway as it crossed Fifth
Admiral Grayson related to me about President Wilson could have
Avenue and to shoot the President as he approached or after passing
been published at any time to his credit.

under the elevated. The other assassin planned to be at the City
Cary Grayson was a charming gentleman of the highest ideals,
Hall and expected to have his revolver concealed in a sling,
which was one of the reasons why three great presidents, Taft,
Friends and the secret service police in Washington advised
Roosevelt and Wilson, made an intimate companion of him. He also
President Wilson to abandon the trip to New York. He declined ab-
was a physician of unusual attainments. Grayson and I were con-
solutely to deviate in any way from the published plans, and ex-
genial because we were both sons of country doctors, reared in
pressed confidence in the New York police and the government Secret
different states but in much the same kind of environment. Presi-
Service plain clothes men to protect him.
dent Wilson was our ideal as a man and as a President, and we talked
Grayson said that during his sojourn in New York, as the Presi-
of him many times for hours at a time.

Grayson told me that while no direct attempts were made to as-
sinate where he could have shot the President before anyone could
sassinate President Wilson, the police of various cities and govern-
ment secret service men learned of a number of plots to kill him,
rounded him and carried him to jail.

and that by acting promptly and efficiently, the plotters were ar-
rested and prevented from carrying out their plans.

Grayson said that on the same day when the President alighted
from his automobile at the City Hall in New York, a man with his
arm in a sling was seen in the front row of the crowd on the steps.

in the parade up Fifth Avenue in New York to open the drive for the first Liberty Loan had been published, the police uncovered two separate plots to assassinate him. One of the assassins planned to be on the platform of the elevated railway as it crossed Fifth Avenue and to shoot the President as he approached or after passing under the elevated. The other assassin planned to be at the City Hall and expected to have his revolver concealed in a sling.

Friends and the secret service police in Washington advised President Wilson to abandon the trip to New York. He declined absolutely to deviate in any way from the published plans, and expressed confidence in the New York police and the government Secret Service plain clothes men to protect him.

Grayson said that during the parade in New York, as the President approached the elevated station, a man was seen to get in position where he could have shot the President before anyone could reach him; but at that moment three or four plain clothes men surrounded him and carried him to jail.

Grayson said that on the same day when the President alighted from his automobile at the City Hall in New York, a man with his arm in a sling was seen in the front row of the crowd on the steps,

and at that moment he was surrounded by several plain clothes men. Grayson said that he learned afterwards that the would-be assassin was carried to jail. The facts regarding these planned assassinations of the War President were never published.

The Martyred Wilson. While Woodrow Wilson did not die from an assassin's bullet as Abraham Lincoln did, he was as much a casualty of the World War and as much of a martyr as Lincoln was of the Civil War. Woodrow Wilson literally worked himself to death in the effort to bring about permanent and universal peace to the world; and in the effort to get the truth regarding the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations to the people of the United States.

Hostile, sadistic and reactionary republican newspapers had deliberately kept the truth regarding the events that occurred during the Peace Conference in Paris from the American people; and they used all the chicanery of newspaper propaganda to punish Wilson because he stood in the way of the republican party's getting back into power.

In the debate on the Treaty in the Senate, the reactionary newspapers published the slurring remarks of isolationist senators and

made a majority of the people of the United States believe that Wilson was a "traitor" to his country; and that through the League of Nations he was delivering the United States into the hands of Great Britain and France to exploit as they desired. They accused Wilson of leading the United States into another war through the League of Nations. If one questions the truth of these assertions, let him consult the files of the Washington Post, the New York Tribune, the New York Herald, the Chicago Tribune and the Hearst papers during the Peace Conference and during the Senate debates on the Treaty. The word "traitor" was used repeatedly by hostile newspapers in referring to the President of the United States. The same epithets were hurled at Wilson which were employed by a hostile press to make men hate Lincoln until John Wilkes Booth, when he shot Lincoln, carried out the impulse that was in the minds of hundreds of thousands of others. That Woodrow Wilson was not actually murdered by an assassin's bullet was due to the efficiency of city police departments and to government Secret Service agents.

Wilson's Futile Efforts to Have the Treaty Ratified. Acting on the advice of Admiral Grayson, President Wilson requested that

I be assigned on duty with the presidential party returning to the United States on the George Washington in February 1919. I saw President Wilson every day and he showed the effects of the strain of the Peace Conference. On my return to Washington, I was assigned by Surgeon General Ireland to duty in his office to assist in writing the Medical History of the World War. I was in Washington and from the Senate gallery heard President Wilson's address when he presented the Versailles Treaty to the United States Senate. The scowling faces of the isolationist senators presaged the bitter fight that followed.

Theodore Roosevelt's indictment of the press that it suppressed and distorted the news about him was intensified in the effort to destroy Wilson. The country was misinformed about the Treaty, and people who allow newspapers to make up their minds for them wrote letters and sent telegrams to isolationists commending their despicable attacks on Wilson. The Washington Post whose owner, Edward McLean played poker with Senator Harding, was the worst offender in the hate-Wilson movement.

President Wilson seeing that isolationist senators were not

amenable to reason, came to believe that the only chance to get the Versailles Treaty ratified was to go to the people, and that when senators heard from their constituents they might change their minds. He therefore decided on the fatal trip to the west coast. Grayson advised against the trip and other friends cautioned the President of the hazards of overwork.

I was living at the Wardman Park Hotel at the time Grayson came to say goodbye to me the day before he left with the President. He told me of his fears and that he had urged the President not to make the trip. He said that Wilson replied; "I would rather die in the effort to get the Treaty ratified than to live and have it fail of ratification."

It will be remembered that the nervous breakdown occurred at Wichita Falls, and he returned to the White House. A few days later President Wilson had a stroke of paralysis from which he never recovered. Grayson told me that with the exception of a few minutes of unconsciousness

President Wilson recovered the partial use of his arm; and among his treasured possessions is my colonel's commission in the Medical mind was as good as it ever was until a few hours before his death.

The vicious propaganda against Wilson in sadistic republican

newspapers continued, and whispered rumors without the slightest foundation of truth in them were spread over the country.

I think that I was about the only person outside of the President's family in whom Grayson confided regarding the President's illness. I know that he told me the truth; and I never divulged anything that he told me in confidence, not even to my wife and brothers. The facts that Grayson told me about President Wilson's last illness paralleled closely ^{with} Mrs. Wilson's account of the events that occurred at that time in her book, "As I Saw It". There were no constitutional, or local, complicating factors in President Wilson's case, except that catheterization of the bladder was necessary. For that reason, and only for that reason, two genito-urinary specialists were called in to use their skill in passing a catheter. President Wilson's long illness which culminated in his death, followed about the same course of most cases after a stroke of paralysis.

President Wilson recovered the partial use of his arm; and among my treasured possessions is my colonel's commission in the Medical Officers Reserve Corps in the United States Army, with President Wilson's signature, which was given me when I left the Surgeon General's

Office in December, 1919. Cary Grayson had kept the commission until a favorable time for the President to sign it.

The Persecution of the Progressive. "It's only man that is vile," and "man's inhumanity to man" are phrases which describe the persecution of Wilson. The persecution of the progressives has continued throughout history. Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, all progressives, victims of vicious propaganda show that men have not changed much in nearly twenty centuries when the greatest progressive in the history of the world was crucified by conservative reactionaries because he tried to bring "peace on earth and good will to all mankind."

It is interesting also to note that Great Britain repudiated her great World War minister, ^{David} Lloyd George, a progressive, who saved England after conservatives had failed, about the same time that the Versailles Treaty failed in the United States Senate. Georges Clemenceau, the great French premier, a progressive, who saved France in 1918 before the United States entered the World War, met the same fate as Wilson and Lloyd George largely because of propaganda in French newspapers.

"My people perish for the lack of knowledge" said Hosea the Prophet, four thousand years ago, ~~and~~ ⁷millions are perishing in Europe today, and civilization itself may perish from the lack of knowledge denied them by conservative, reactionary newspapers.

It is reliably informed that one share of the Chicago Tribune was sold for \$37,000. There are 2,000 shares in the Tribune Corporation, which would make the present sale value of the Chicago Tribune \$74,000,000. When the first 2,000 shares of Tribune stock were issued, it is probable that its value was \$100 per share. If so, the value of the Tribune at the time of incorporation was \$200,000. On this valuation the increase in the value of the Chicago Tribune stock has been 37,000 percent. It may be that the value of the shares of Tribune stock at the time of incorporation was \$1,000 per share. If so, the Tribune at the time of incorpora-

Chapter IX
Newspaper Midases
"The love of money is the root of all evil."
1 Timothy, 3:3.

Journalistic Midases. Midas, the king of Phrygia, who in Greek mythology was given by Dionysus the power of turning everything he touched into gold, was a "piker" compared with the owners of metropolitan newspapers in the United States today. The Chicago Tribune is worth at least \$75,000,000. Tribune may be used as an example of everything that a newspaper ought not to be, though there are many other newspapers in the United States whose earnings and increase in capital, on paper, are relatively as great.

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\$200,000. On this valuation the increase in the value of the Chicago Tribune stock has been 37,000 percent. It may be that the value of the shares of Tribune stock at the time of incorporation was \$1,000 per share. If so, the Tribune at the time of incorporation of a newspaper depends upon the number of its subscribers, who in

tion was worth \$2,000,000. It is now valued at \$74,000,000, so that the value of the stock has increased 3700 percent.

The annual income of the Tribune owners is said to be from \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000, so that on the basis of earning capacity the Chicago Tribune is worth at least \$75,000,000.

It would be interesting to know the percentage of increase in the salaries of the editors and reporters on the Tribune who have had their share in building up the holdings of the Tribune from \$2,000,000 to \$74,000,000, an increase of 3700 percent. It also would be interesting to know how much increase there has been in the value of the property owned by the editors and reporters on the Tribune from the time the Tribune was incorporated until today. In other words, have the owners of the Tribune shared their prosperity with their employees?

It would be interesting reading to the public to know the value of the property and the net incomes of the 100 arrogant and avaricious owners of the quasi-public news gathering and news disseminating institutions called newspapers. It should be remembered that the value of a newspaper depends upon the number of its subscribers, who in

reality are non-profit sharing stockholders in the newspaper.

The only figures that I have seen regarding the incomes of daily newspapers were those of the colorful Bonifils' Denver Post. Bonifils and his circus partner purchased the Post for \$100,000 in the "gay nineties". It is said on reliable authority that this newspaper, after paying income taxes from 1920 to 1929 inclusive, netted its owners over a million dollars a year. It was said that the Bonifils' interests refused an offer of \$12,000,000 for the Denver Post, published in a city of 200,000.

The chain newspaper owners have been the worst offenders in high finance and in lowering the standards of decent journalism to those of soulless mercenary money making machines. William Randolph Hearst, who never "spoke a whole souled word or had a generous impulse" and whose thoughts never have risen above his miserable self in his life, is the Midas of all the Midases in the newspaper realm. At one time this superpariah of the press was rated as a billionaire, one of the half dozen richest men in the world. How has Hearst used his vast wealth and his great power?

Retribution came to Midas, the king of Phrygia, when he came

near to starvation because the food he touched turned to gold. Midas of old was very opinionated, like the Midases of the press today, and believed that he possessed wisdom greater than the gods who dwelt upon Mount Olympus. He offended Apollo by insisting that Pan was a better musician than the sun-god. For his arrogance, Midas was punished by having his ears changed into those of an ass. He was able to keep the secret of the metamorphosis of his ears into those of an ass until one day a servant saw the ears. He whispered the secret into a hole in the ground. The reeds nearby heard the servant and with the rustling of the wind said unceasingly, "Midas hath the ears of an ass."

How very like the retribution that has come to one modern newspaper Midas. William Randolph Hearst is today the most pitiful figure in American journalism, made so by the fact that he has offended the people of the United States by his arrogance and avariciousness. The good citizens of the United States have learned that Hearst has "asses ears" and he is being punished for his arrogance.

William Randolph Hearst, a fifth column newspaper owner whose papers today are libeling the President of the United States and are

opposing every effort of Congress to lend aid to Great Britain, short of our going into war, will go down in history as a political mountebank, who would stoop to any sort of chicanery, to destroy those who interfered with his ambitions. As a journalistic charlatan, he has resorted to all sorts of quackery, to increase the subscription lists to his many newspapers. As a greedy financier he has been ruthless in disregarding the right of others in his quest for gold. He was a failure in politics, worse than a failure in journalism and in his old age he is witnessing the collapse of his financial holdings.

The elder Scripps, a great liberal journalist, borrowed the money to establish the Penny Press in Cleveland. He met with the success which he deserved, and expanded his field until he and his associates owned 20 or more newspapers in as many cities in the United States. It was a sad day for American journalism and for the Scripps newspapers when Scripps died; because his successor, Roy Howard, feels his importance as a part of big business in the United States to such an extent that he is now conducting the Scripps Howard chain of 24 newspapers as mercenary money making machines.

The Scripps Howard holdings was estimated by George Seldes in "Lords of the Press," as being worth \$100,000,000. Considering the values of the Chicago Tribune and Denver Post as criteria of newspaper financial values, it is probable that Seldes' estimate is too low. Roy Howard is becoming another Hearst, and he is ruthless in his efforts to destroy men in public life who disagree with him. The Scripps Howard powerful chain of newspapers has joined in the anvil chorus to dissatisfy the people of the United States with their President and those in authority in Washington at a time when, though not technically at war with Germany, they are feverishly preparing for the war that is certain to come if and when Hitler destroys England, Scotland and Wales, and then turns his attention to the Western Hemisphere.

All the owners of newspapers in the United States are not arrogant and avaricious Midases, because many like William Allen White, Frank Knox, Frank Gannett and others, owners of republican newspapers; and Joseph Medill Patterson, S. E. Thomason, Cox, Josephus Daniels and others, owners of democratic newspapers, are using their talents and their power in the interest of their subscribers and to

promote the welfare of their country. I reiterate that I am not attacking all the newspapers of the United States, only the arrogant and avaricious Midases who have "asses ears."

Those who are interested in the freedom of the press and the elevation of journalistic standards should read George Seldes' book, "Lords of the Press." It contains information which shows the low standards of the Midases of the press. He quotes William Allen White, the greatest living journalist, as having said: "Newspapers have degenerated from a noble profession to an eight percent investment."

George Seldes' forceful indictment of the way in which newspapers are conducted is relevant to a chapter on Journalistic Midases. Seldes said: "The press needs free men with minds intellectually open, but its leadership consists of moral slaves whose minds are paralyzed by the specter of profits."

Seldes also goes to the crux of the antagonism to Roosevelt by the newspaper owners when he said that they have worked themselves into a state of frenzy because they believe (erroneously) that they are about to lose their wealth.

It certainly is not an overestimate of the vast combined wealth of 100 newspaper Midases of today as being at least \$2,500,000,000. This vast newspaper realm is the most powerful aggregation of big business men in the United States. They believe in the fascist doctrine that "only the industrial and financial elect are fit to govern;" and they are using their devastating power of propaganda to deceive the American people into voting for Wendell Willkie, a man of their ideology, for President of the United States. These 100 newspaper magnates succeeded by the power of propaganda in creating the ogres of a Theodore Roosevelt and a Woodrow Wilson as public enemies and they destroyed two great progressive statesmen. They also were successful in building up the myths of Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover as great statesmen and elected them presidents of the United States. Will the American people be deceived again by them into voting against Franklin D. Roosevelt whose leadership has been proven, and cast their votes for another myth, Wendell Willkie, "the business genius" and Wall Street farmer, who has had no training to fit him to become the Chief Executive of the United States?

CHAPTER X

The Menace to Civilization of 100 Stupid, Arrogant and Avaricious Owners of American Newspapers.

"The real dangers that menace the republic are not from without, but from within. Standing armies and standing navies, heavy armor plates and big guns cannot guard against these dangers; they can only intensify them. - Henry George in The Standard."

One hundred stupid, arrogant and avaricious owners of ninety percent of the leading daily newspapers in the United States are an actual menace to American democracy. Civilization itself is threatened by the autocracy which they are fighting to establish in the one great democratic republic that is the hope of the world. These one hundred autocrats possess vast wealth and they control most of the avenues of public information, including 87 percent of the daily newspapers and about one-third of the radio stations in the United States, to such an extent that given a few years they can destroy any man in public life. They also can propagandize any public problem and ballyhoo unworthy men into high office in such insidious and malicious ways as to mislead a majority of the voters of the United States.

Newspaper Fifth Columnists in the United States. Reactionary republican newspaper owners are Adolph Hitler's best friends in the

United States because, in order to try to make the American people believe the palpable lie that Roosevelt is leading us into the war, they made their political pawns in Congress and the Senate pass laws which prevented the United States from selling airplanes and war supplies to France and England until it was too late. These same newspapers continue to mislead the public regarding the heroic efforts that are being made by the government in Washington to prepare for the war with Hitler that is certain to come to South America and to the United States if Germany conquers the British Isles. The real truth of the matter is that the money-loving, power-mad owners of many republican newspapers approach treason in their efforts to dissatisfy the people of the United States with their government in the most critical period in the nation's history.

If treason consists of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, the Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Herald Examiner, the Philadelphia Enquirer, the New York Herald Tribune, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, the St. Louis Globe Democrat, reactionary republican newspapers that I have read recently, may be charged justly with that offense. The newspapers mentioned, and no doubt a large proportion of the dailies

now ballyhooing Willkie, are spreading anti-British propaganda in order to make it appear that the President of the United States is in a conspiracy to carry the United States into the European War. There is not one scintilla of truth in the charge seen in lying reactionary republican newspapers every day that the President is a "war monger". His every act has proved to unprejudiced citizens, including the brainiest men in the republican party and in the great industries of the country, that President Roosevelt is doing everything in his power to keep us out of war and to prepare us to defend the Western Hemisphere if Hitler is successful in his desperate effort to conquer England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

I am less afraid of Hitler and his barbaric Germans than I am of rich and powerful public enemies who reside within the confines of the United States; and I do not hesitate to say that the 100 stupid, arrogant and avaricious owners of reactionary newspapers now supporting Wendell Willkie, who are trying to make the people of the United States believe that we should not aid Great Britain to our utmost in holding Hitler on European soil, are more dangerous enemies to the United States than all the alien fifth columnists.

These 100 owners of reactionary newspapers may not be receiving orders from Hitler, but they could not serve him to better advantage than in withholding their support from the President of the United States in his laudable efforts to keep partisan politics out of the Government at a time when the country should present a united front against the aggressor nations to prevent them from bringing war to the Western Hemisphere.

The fact that President Roosevelt has placed able and patriotic republicans in charge of the Army and Navy and at the heads of agencies intended to mobilize industry, should be sufficient proof of his sincerity in bringing the United States into a state of military preparedness so that all the totalitarian nations combined, Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan, would not dare to bring war to South America or to the borders of the United States.

The good people of the United States should know the facts regarding the menace to American institutions because of venal, servile and decadent reactionary newspapers; and a study of the use of the press by Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini in Germany, Russia and Italy should convince thinking men and women of the real dangers of news-

paper propaganda to the only government in the world that is supposed to be governed by the will of a free and independent electorate.

Melville Stone on German Propaganda Preparatory to Beginning a War of Conquest.

Melville Stone, Manager of the Associated Press, was familiar with the newspapers and the news gathering agencies in Germany prior to the World War. He expressed the opinion that years of deliberate well-planned press campaigns were carried on by German militarists teaching that Deutschland was destined to become the greatest nation in the history of the world; that German Kultur should be carried by a superior people to the ends of the earth, if not by persuasion then by bayonets; and that Germany could conquer the world, if necessary, to fulfill her destiny. He said that while this propaganda was being carried on, Germany's mighty and, what they believed to be, invincible war machine was being perfected.

As a part of the propaganda campaign preparatory to beginning a war of conquest, the German people were taught to hate the French and the English, and to believe that the soldiers of those nations were far inferior to the German. The "Hymn of Hate" was sung by the

school children of Germany as a part of their training to become ideal German citizens. This example of vicious propaganda taught hatred of the nations of the world who opposed Germany's malevolent ambitions and that the "god of war" would destroy her enemies.

Mr. Stone said that the German people never knew the truth regarding events leading up to the World War, and that after the fighting began, a controlled press told them only of their victories until a few days before the signing of the Armistice. Mr. Stone believed that if German editors had been allowed to exercise freedom of speech, they would have kept Germany out of war.

There can be no doubt but that propaganda was the most important factor in plunging Germany into a war that carried the Germans back a thousand years in ideals to the period when Attila and his barbarians the Huns, waged merciless warfare to overrun western Europe.

Education That Failed. Germany has had compulsory education for almost a century: and long before the World War every man and woman, and every boy and girl over fifteen years of age in Germany had received at least a common school education, and a large pro-

portion had graduated in the gymnasiums (high schools) and universities. Paradoxical as it may seem, this universal education, - which did not teach the youth of Germany how to differentiate between facts and propaganda, - was the cause of the downfall of a nation that twenty-five years ago was leading the world in science, literature and industry.

President Woodrow Wilson in one of the greatest of his European addresses, in the Roman Senate, which as one of the two physicians in his party on his trip through Italy I had the privilege of hearing, in speaking of Germany's fatal mistake in waging war to conquer the world, said that in another decade of peace Germany would have made the peaceful conquest of the seven seas with her commerce; that since no other country could compete with Germany's industries she would have controlled the markets of the world; and that without war the German people would have enjoyed greater prosperity than any other nation ever had experienced in the history of the world.

It will be recalled that pre-war Germany grew so great largely because of freedom of thought and speech. Germany was the first

country in Europe to adopt religious freedom, and the world has Martin Luther and his successors in Germany, more than the religious leaders of any other nation, to thank for the privilege of freedom of worship. Freedom of expression by scientists in Germany is largely responsible for the fact that in all the sciences including medicine, and in industry dependent upon scientific investigation, the German science before the World War led the world. All this has been lost and religious freedom is dead in Germany. The Jews, many of whom had been among the greatest scientists and industrialists among the German people, have been persecuted, murdered and driven out of their fatherland because of propaganda that led Germany into war and because of the propaganda that perpetuates the power of the most desperate tyrant in the history of the world.

Despised Germany. Germany is the most despised nation in the world today because her people have been led to believe through her newspapers which Hitler controls absolutely, that national honor has no place in diplomacy and that the theory of "Deutschland über Alles" is right in spite of Germany's crushing defeat when just twenty-four years ago she started out on her first attempted military conquest of

the world.

The Catholics and Lutherans in Germany have not been persecuted by Hitler to the same extent as the Jews; but this tyrant knows that religion must be destroyed if Naziism endures, and he has substituted worship of Wotan, the Teutonic god of war for Catholic and Protestant allegiance to a Jewish-born Christ as the religion of his Germany. Hitler's bible which Germanizes the old and new testaments, has been forced upon the Lutherans and Catholics alike; and the priest, prelate or minister of any denomination or sect who dares to preach religious liberty is thrown in prison.

Why has Hitler been allowed to crush religious liberty in Germany? The answer is simple: the avenues of public information, the daily newspapers, the weekly and monthly magazines, and the radios are closed except to those who propagandize the glories and grandeur of der Feuhrer and Naziism.

The German Press. The Reichspressekammer (German Press Chamber) functions under a Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda with Hitler's chief aide, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebels, dictator of the press. If any editor or if any book publisher dares to print any-

thing that is opposed to Hitler or to Naziism, he is sent to prison, which Minister of Propaganda Goebels calls "protective custody in concentration camps", to emerge from which only when the editor swears to publish only praise of Hitler and everything for which he stands.

If one would be informed of what the regimentation of the press of Germany means, he should read the article by Cedric Larson in Public Opinion Quarterly on the "German Press Chamber". Mr. Larson who is on the staff of the Library of Congress, has made an exhaustive study of the pitiful slavery into which Germany's journalists have fallen, and his article should be read by thinking people in our country who would avert the degradation of the American people by insidious propaganda unless something can be done to wrest the avenues of public information from one hundred selfish owners of the principal metropolitan daily newspapers in the United States.

The owners of newspapers and magazines in Germany are slaves to a tyrant because they know that it means death to publish the truth regarding Hitler and Naziism, and they are to be pitied;

but the one hundred owners of the principle reactionary newspapers in half a hundred cities and the owners of many weekly and monthly magazines in the United States, have sold themselves into voluntary bondage to the class whom Theodore Roosevelt called "malefactors of great wealth" including selfish industrialists, international bankers and Wall Street gamblers. I do not mean to leave the inference that the owners of reactionary republican newspapers receive money directly from their Wall Street bosses: but I do mean to say that their profits increase and their taxes decrease when the Government in Washington is under the control of greedy and unprincipled financiers and industrialists. In other words, the owners of reactionary newspapers prosper when "wealth accumulates and men decay".

I would not leave the impression that all republican newspaper owners are reactionary, undependable and almost treasonable in this crisis in our history. I have no quarrel with any newspaper owner for supporting Wendell Willkie: but I would be remiss in my duty as a humble citizen of the United States if I did not call attention to the stupidity and the duplicity of newspaper owners like Robert McCormick, Moe Annenberg, William Randolph Hearst, Roy Howard and

other would-be newspaper dictators of the United States who use their great power to destroy those whom they cannot control.

Honorable Owners of Republican Newspapers. I have the greatest admiration for some of the owners of republican newspapers which are supporting Wendell Willkie. Many of them are honest, fair and just. In my opinion, William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, is one of the greatest men if not the greatest man in the United States today. His paper is supporting the republican nominee, yet he can be fair to a democratic president. Nothing finer in the history of journalism has been said about a president by a member of the opposition party than the remarks made over the Columbia Broadcasting system by William Allen White on August 23, 1940. The following is the Associated Press report of Mr. White's reference to President Roosevelt's foreign policy during the present crisis:

"Emporia sage urges faith in President. New York, Aug. 23. (AP).-

William Allen White, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and a frequent Republican critic of the Roosevelt administration, appealed last night for "the patient confidence of a united people" for President Roosevelt.

"He has earned it," said White in a broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting system. "I, as a partisan Republican who has opposed him for eight years, want to pause to pay tribute to the President of the United States.

"Points to Chief's Vision. "From the beginning of this war against democracy he has known that our first line trench lay across the Rhine. His vision, more than that of any other ruler of the world, has seen from the start the meaning of this ancient conflict.

"We may agree or disagree with him on domestic policies, but I think no American statesman of the first order has risen to deny that his leadership in foreign affairs has pointed the only direction of safety for the American people.

"Mr. Willkie's acceptance speech revealed his anxiety for British victory. This is a national cause. It calls for national unity."

Colonel Frank Knox, principal owner of the Chicago Daily News, is another republican who has criticized the domestic policies of President Roosevelt but who has had the courage to support him in his efforts to defend our country from the invasion that is certain to come soon if Hitler succeeds in conquering Great Britain. The acceptance by Colonel Knox of a position in President Roosevelt's cabinet as Secretary of the Navy is patriotism of the highest type; and he is serving his country as faithfully as did the soldiers in France who suffered and died to stop Germany in her mad effort to conquer the world. Yet Colonel Knox's paper, the Chicago Daily News, is supporting Willkie.

Frank Gannett, the owner of a chain of newspapers in New York state, who himself was a candidate for president on the republican ticket, is another anti-New Deal editor for whom I have great respect.

Gannett is a partisan republican who has been bitter in criticizing President Roosevelt, yet everyone who knows him gives him credit for honesty and integrity. No doubt there are many other owners of republican papers supporting Willkie who are high minded men.

The Inequalities of the Bi-party Plan. There are many people, including myself, who believe that the bi-party plan of selecting nominees for various offices has failed, and that it is time for thinking people to vote for the man who is best prepared to serve in the position he seeks, or will accept, instead of voting for a democratic or republican nominee. It certainly is true that when the democrats are in power, republican newspapers become propaganda sheets in the attempt to put the "rascals" out and get in themselves; and vice versa, when republicans hold the high offices, democrats "are on the outside cussin'" and democratic newspapers use their columns in the effort to discredit the "ins". How much better it would be for the country and how much happier we would be if there were no parties and if the President of the United States could be

elected by popular vote without nomination instead of having to hear and read about the miserable marathon performances called republican and democratic national conventions every four years.

The bi-party system of politics gives all the advantage to the party having the most money to own newspapers and buy time on the radio during campaigns. With few exceptions, all the very rich men in the United States are republicans. 100 republicans are said to own nine tenths of the liquid wealth of the United States. Owners of reactionary republican newspapers are among the very rich men of the United States who have the ideology of a government controlled by financiers and industrialists. It seems to be a fact that nine-tenths of the newspapers of large circulation in the United States are engaged today in ballyhooing Willkie and in the effort to dissatisfy their readers with the President of the United States and the Government at Washington.

The only method whereby voters can hope to cast their ballots intelligently is through reading newspapers and magazines and from what they hear over the radio. Controlling nine-tenths of the newspapers of large circulation in the United States, which is the

principle avenue of public information, as the rich republican party does, it can mold public opinion except in times of panics as in 1932 when disillusioned and hungry voters think for themselves.

Fortunately for the people of the United States, the rich republicans have not gotten complete control of the radio and of all the newspapers and magazines. Free speech, which is throttled in reactionary newspapers, still exists in the United States. People are saying that we cannot believe anything about politics that we see in reactionary republican papers and that much of what we hear over the radio cannot be believed. The reactionary republican newspapers may be destroying themselves in their dishonest methods of trying to control public opinion for their own selfish purposes.

Support Honest Independent Newspapers. Fortunately for the future of our country, the torch of freedom burns brightly in the columns of many newspapers, both democratic and republican, in the United States. Such newspapers should receive hearty support from grateful and discriminating subscribers. It is also a duty of the patrons of newspapers who know the difference between facts and propaganda, to withhold support from newspapers whose owners prostitute

the noble profession of journalism and betray their subscribers by using their editorial and news columns to spread false and vicious propaganda.

Newspapers Are Quasi-Public Institutions. A newspaper is a quasi-public institution; and its subscribers are really non-profit sharing stockholders in a news-gathering enterprise. The interest which a subscriber, stockholder, in a newspaper receives comes from reliable information furnished him of what is going on in his city, county, state and nation, as well as in the entire world. If the newspaper owner prostitutes the high calling of journalism to suppress or distort news, or to use the columns of his paper to carry propaganda not in the interest of the public, he is betraying the stockholders of his paper. Unfortunately, the arrogant owners of reactionary newspapers believe that their subscribers belong to them; and they are rich enough and have sufficient power to force them to take the newspaper pabulum which it suits them to serve their readers.

The fact of the matter is that newspapers cannot exist without subscribers. It is true that the "big money" in the newspaper "game" comes from advertisers; but advertising rates vary according to the number of subscribers of the paper. Therefore, the larger the number

of subscribers, the higher the rates charged for advertising space by the owners of the paper. If the subscribers, stockholders, of newspapers would demand the right kind of service from the owners of newspapers who are in reality public servants, they could get it provided that they cancelled their subscriptions when they found that they are being exploited. It therefore is a public duty of newspaper subscribers to support only newspapers that serve the public, and to withdraw their support from newspapers whose owners have proven themselves unworthy of public confidence.

Wake Up Americans! Wake up, ye good citizens of the United States and see what mercenary and reactionary newspaper owners are doing to this "land of the free and home of the brave!" If you cast your vote for Wendell Willkie for President of the United States, you may be aiding in making him a dictator of the same type as Hitler and Mussolini. There is not the slightest danger of a dictator for the United States if Franklin D. Roosevelt is re-elected; but we will be menaced by conditions which might make the United States a totalitarian nation if Wendell Willkie is elected president. A subservient press would support him in an undertaking to assume the

power to control labor and make employees slaves to their government as the dictators of Europe have done.

Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the United States may be approaching the end in this country, if it is governed by a man with the heart of a dictator, supported by the 100 stupid, arrogant and avaricious owners of newspapers, who today have the same ideology as the German journalists, who created the Hitler myth, had in 1933. Who knows what Wendell Willkie would do if he were to become President of the United States?