

IMPERIAL WASHINGTON

By
R. F. PETTIGREW
Formerly United States Senator
from South Dakota

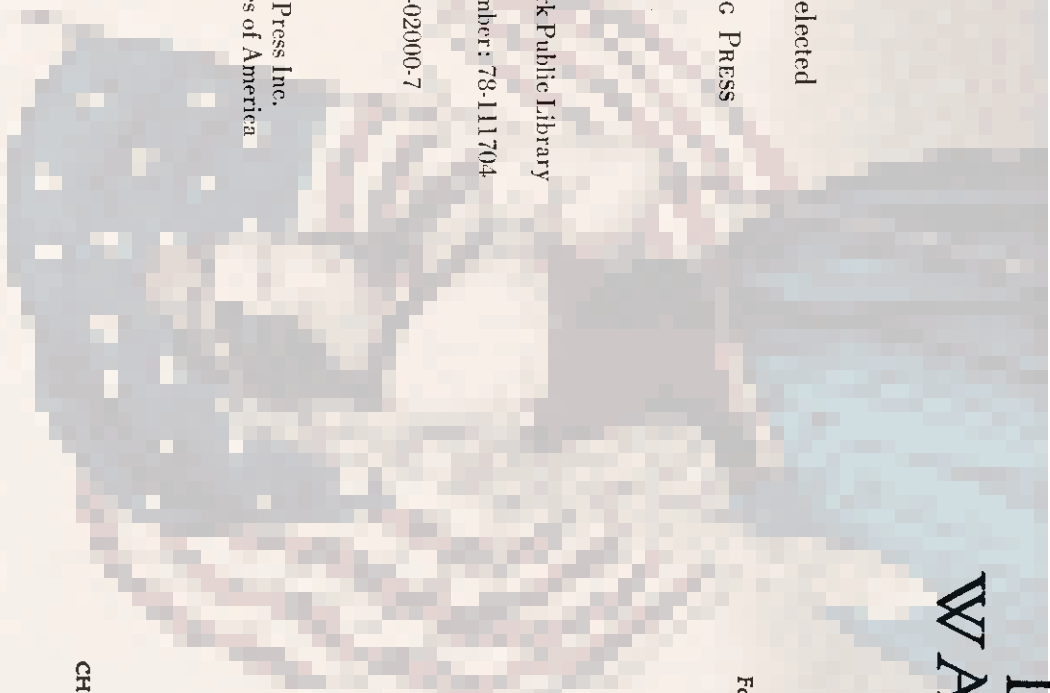
The Story of
American Public Life
from 1870 to 1920

CHICAGO
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
CO-OPERATIVE

Collection Created and Selected
by
CHARLES GREGG OF GREGG PRESS

Reprinted from a copy in The New York Public Library
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 78-111704
ISBN 0-405-02044-9
ISBN for complete set: 0-405-02000-7

Reprint Edition 1970 by Arno Press Inc.
Manufactured in the United States of America



PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The substance of the present volume was privately printed in New York in January, 1922, under another title. Commenting on this book Mr. Charles Edward Russell, justly prominent among present-day writers and judges of good writing, said:

This is an extraordinary book by an extraordinary man. No one that reads it impartially will be satisfied with any verdict less emphatic. Probably no other public man still among us has had an equal chance to see without illusions the inside of our political machinery. Certainly no other public man would have the courage to write with equal candor of what he saw, or thought he saw. Even men that have believed themselves sophisticated about our public affairs will receive many a shock as they read here. To the rest the book is like a continuous electric battery, only stronger. . . .

With scornful eye and a marvelously retentive memory, Senator Pettigrew for twelve years surveyed from his seat the workings of the Senate and the real characters and performances of his fellow members. The results he has set down in vitriol. Scarcely a conspicuous man of his times escapes his burning. The huge control that the moneyed interests exercise upon government, the rapacity and cruelty of the profit-mongers, the difference between the politician's unctuous play-acting and his slimy deed, the spread between reputation and fact concerning many of these men—all the sordid stupidity and murderous greed of our social system one may find set forth here in most novel and stimulating fashion.

Mr. Pettigrew is not a trained writer. All the better for his purpose. He goes at the thing hammer and tongs, calls people names, bursts out into vehement tirades, flips from his pen "scoundrel", "rascal" and "scamp", pushes over the popular idols, tells us we are fools to think well of this man or that, runs both horns along the shelves of the national china-

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Published October 1, 1922.

shop, and prances on the fragments, is bitter, extravagant, unphilosophical, wrong-headed, violent, perfectly natural and extremely entertaining and profitable.

Everybody should read this book. It is not necessary (and probably to those that retain some sense of proportion and fact it is impossible) to go along with the vehement author, but everybody should read it to get a notion of the flubdub, hypocrisy and fake that belong in public life. It will not be an accurate notion, but the trouble is that elsewhere you can get none at all. Therefore, read this.

We do not have to believe, because Senator Pettigrew believes it, that Samuel Gompers is the king of organized labor and can order it about like a foreman of coolies. We do not have to believe that the evils in our social and political state are due to the machinations of a small group of very bad men with whom may the devil fly away. We do not have to accept the sheep-and-goats theory of human life because it seems to have made a great impression on him. Those that are familiar with the psychology of the American wage-worker will be astonished at his faith in an easily accomplished proletarian revolution here. But all these defects that might ruin another book only make this the more attractive. Because, however far this man's excursions may wander from cool reason and things as they are, he is so manifestly sincere that you cannot help liking him even when most you disagree with his text.

I particularly recommend the book to those that are weary of the pedantic twaddle and verbal genuflections of the schoolmen. Here is something real; here is a man on the level. O rare and joyous discovery! Let him batter the social structure with mattocks and shiver its windows with bricks if he will—at least he feels something and means something, and a country half choked with rhetoric ought to hail him with grateful relief.

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FOREWORD

AMERICAN PUBLIC LIFE

The American people should know the truth about American public life. They have been lied to so much and hoodwinked so often that it would seem only fair for them to have at least one straight-from-the-shoulder statement concerning this government "of the people, by the people and for the people," about whose inner workings the people know almost nothing.

The common people of the United States, like the same class of people in every other country, mean well, but they are ill-informed. Floundering about in their ignorance, they are tricked and robbed by those who have the inside information and who therefore know how to take advantage of every turn in the wheel of fortune. The people voted for Roosevelt because he talked of "trust-busting" at the same time that he was sanctioning the purchase of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company by the Steel Trust. They supported Wilson "because he kept us out of war" at the same time that Wilson was making preparations to enter the war. The rulers can negotiate "secret treaties" at home and abroad. The people, knowing nothing of either the theory or the practice of secret diplomacy, commit all sorts of follies for which they themselves must later foot the bill.

At the present moment the American people are being taught "Americanism"—taught by the same gentry who are making away with billions of dollars, sometimes "legally" and sometimes without any sanction in the law.

The most prominent among the leaders of the Americanization campaign were the most prominent among the war profiteers. They are the owners of

resources and industries—the owners of America. It is from them that the preparedness agitation came in 1915 and 1916, and it is from them that the new preparedness agitation is coming now.

There is a newspaper story in the New York Herald (November 7, 1920) which illustrates the point. The story, evidently inspired by the War Department, is devoted to a description of certain big guns and certain new forms of tanks that the government is at the present time busy manufacturing. The country was caught napping once, says the writer, but the War Department is going to be sure that the same thing does not happen again. Therefore, it is building up its machinery now, while the country is still at peace. In this work the War Department is assisted "by some of the leading industrial spirits of the country, who are keeping up the same enthusiastic devotion to the service of their country they displayed in the war. A little army of dollar-a-year men, headed by Benedict Crowell, former Assistant Secretary of War, has mobilized itself under the name of Army Ordnance Association and is giving its valuable time to the country without costing the government a single cent."

Who are the members of this "little army" of patriots? The Herald gives the answer in full. Besides Mr. Crowell, there are, in the Army Ordnance Association, William Wheeler Coleman, president of the Bucyrus Company of Milwaukee, Wis.; Charles Eliot Warren, past president of the American Bankers' Association; Ralph Crews, of the law firm of Sherman & Sterling, New York City; Guy Eastman Tripp, chairman of the board of directors of the Westinghouse Company; Samuel McRoberts, of the National City Bank of New York; Waldo Calvin Bryant, president of the Bryant Electric Company; Frank Augustus Scott, former chairman of the War Industries Board; Robert P. Lamont, president of the American Steel Foundries of Chicago, and C. L. Harrison, of the First National Bank of Cincinnati.

What do these patriotic business men hope to gain by their devotion to the preparedness program of the War Department? The answer appears later in the same articles: "It is this desire to keep abreast of the world's performances in ordnance that has prompted the War Department to ask for an increased appropriation next year. The department's appropriation last year was \$377,246,944. The estimates for this year call for an appropriation of approximately \$814,000,000." The difference, or \$435,000,000, represents the value of contracts that will go to the business interests of the United States.

Again, bankers, lawyers, manufacturers and business men are going to save the country—not by keeping us out of war, but by getting ready for the next war. It is these men who dominate the life and thought as well as the industries of these United States, and it is just such men that have been in control of the United States ever since I entered the Senate thirty years ago.

It is fifty years since I began to take an interest in public affairs. During those years I have been participating, more or less actively, in public life—first as a government surveyor, then as a member of the Legislature of Dakota; as a member of the House of Representatives and, finally, as a member of the United States Senate. Since 1880 I have known the important men in both the Republican and Democratic parties; I have known the members of the diplomatic corps; I have known personally the last ten presidents of the United States, and I have known personally the leading business men who backed the political parties and who made and unmade the presidents. For half a century I have known public men and have been on the inside of business and politics. Through all of that time I have lived and worked with the rulers of America.

When I entered the arena of public affairs in 1870, the United States, with a population of thirty-eight millions, was just recovering from the effects of the

Civil War. The economic life of the old slave-holding South lay in ruins. Even in the North, the Panic of 1873 swept over the business world, taking its toll in commercial failures and unemployment and an increase in the number of tenant farmers. The policy of sending carpet-bagging rascals into the embittered South hindered reconciliation, and sectional differences prevented any effective co-operation between the two portions of the country. The result was a heavy loss in productive power and in political position. Through this period, the United States was an inconsequential factor in international affairs.

The transformation from that day to this is complete. With three times the population; with sectionalism practically eliminated; with the South recovered economically and the economic power of the North vastly increased; with more wealth than any other five nations of the world combined; with the credit of the world in her hands; with large undeveloped, or only slightly developed, resources; with a unified population and a new idea of world importance, the United States stands as probably the richest and most influential among the great nations.

I witnessed the momentous changes and participated in them. While they were occurring I saw something else that filled me with dread. I saw the government of the United States enter into a struggle with the trusts, the railroads and the banks, and I watched while the business forces won the contest. I saw the forms of republican government decay through disuse, and I saw them betrayed by the very men who were sworn to preserve and uphold them. I saw the empire of business, with its innumerable ramifications, grow up around and above the structure of government. I watched the power over public affairs shift from the weakened structure of republican political machinery to the vigorous new business empire. Strong men who saw what was occurring no longer went into politics. Instead, they entered the field of industry, and with them the seat of the government of the United States

was shifted from Washington to Wall Street. With this shift, there disappeared from active public life those principles of republican government that I had learned to believe were the means of safeguarding liberty. After the authority over public affairs had been transferred to the men of business, I saw the machinery of business pass from the hands of individuals into the hands of corporations—artificial persons—created in the imagination of lawyers, and given efficacy by the sanction of the courts and of the law. When I turned to the reading of American history, I discovered that these things had been going on from the beginnings of our government, that they had grown up with it, and were an essential part of its structure. From surprise and disgust I turned to analysis and reason and, for the past twenty years, I have been watching the public life of the United States with an understanding mind. For a long time I have known what was going on in the United States. Today I think that I know why it is going on.

When I look back over the half century that has passed since I first entered public life, I can hardly realize that the America, which I knew and believed in as a young man in the twenties, could have changed so completely in so short a time. Even when I know the reason for the change, it is hard to accept it as a reality.

Many of the public men who have lived and worked in the United States during the past century have written their impressions of public affairs. Benton, Blaine, Grant and Sherman discussed the public life of the middle of the last century. Since then, there have been many autobiographies and memoirs. I have read these books carefully, and it seems to me that not one of the writers is at the same time a student and a realist.

First of all, they have written about politics, with very little or no attention to the economic forces that were shaping politics. In the second place, too many of them have written the agreeable things and left

the disagreeable ones unsaid. In the third place, they have written what they believed should have happened rather than what actually did happen. Fourth, and by far the most important, each of these men has written as a member of a ruling class, pleased with himself, and satisfied that rule by his class was the best thing for the community. The pictures that these men give are like the decisions of our courts—built of precedents rather than of realities.

It is my ambition to tell my fellow-countrymen what has happened during the half century that I have known public life. I know what went on, because I saw it. I want others to have the same knowledge. During my public career I have received very definite impressions, and I am anxious to pass those impressions on to others. I want to do this because I believe that my country is in danger; I believe that the liberties of the American people are already well-nigh destroyed; I believe that we are moving forward to a crisis of immense significance to the future of the American people, and the ideas and ideals for which the United States has stood before the world. We are far along on the road to empire, and we are traveling faster towards that goal than any nation in history ever traveled.

It is with that purpose and in that spirit that I have written this book, and it is in that spirit that I ask them to consider and ponder what I have said there.

IMPERIAL WASHINGTON

I. LAND GRABBING

My first struggle with the business interests, after I entered the Senate in 1889, came over the question of land-grabbing. At that time the Federal Government still owned millions of acres of valuable timber, mineral and agricultural land that might easily have been utilized for public advantage instead of for private gain. The attorneys and other representatives that the vested interests maintained in Washington were busy grabbing this land. I set myself to save it for the people.

I was thoroughly familiar with the public Land Laws of the United States as I had been a practicing lawyer before the Land Department, a surveyor on the public domain, and beside that I had planted a timber claim with white ash trees which stand today. I, therefore, sought appointment upon the Senate Committee on Public Lands, of which Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, was Chairman. In that position I had an excellent opportunity to see land grabbing from the inside.

The House passed a bill to repeal the timber culture law "and for other purposes" in February, 1890. When the bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and Chairman Plumb appointed Senator Walthall of Mississippi and me as a sub-committee to consider the bill. I gave the matter very careful attention and, after some weeks of study and work, I reported the bill to the Senate in such a form that it involved a complete revision of the Federal land laws. The bill, containing nineteen

sections, finally passed the Senate on the 16th of September, 1890.

Immediately upon its passage, a conference was requested and Senators Plumb, Walthall and Pettigrew were appointed as Conference Committee on the part of the Senate. In the House the bill was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, which reported it back, early in the next session of Congress, agreeing to the Conference asked for by the Senate and appointing three conferees, Payson of Illinois, Holman of Indiana and Pickler of South Dakota. Plumb did not act with the Conference Committee. Walthall of Mississippi and myself took full charge of the work and, after many conferences, we finally agreed upon and did report to each house a bill just as the Senate had passed it, with five additional sections, making twenty-four in all. The 24th section was as follows:

"SEC. 24, p. 1103, 51st CONGRESS, MARCH 3, 1891.

"That the President of the United States may from time to time set apart and reserve, in any State or Territory having public land bearing forests in any part of the public lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth, whether of commercial value or not as public reservations and the President shall by public proclamation declare the establishment of such reservations and the limits thereof."

I gave this section in full, first, because it resulted in departure in public policy that was highly advantageous to the people of the United States, and second, because it led to one of the most bitter fought parliamentary struggles in which I have ever participated.

Section 24 was placed in the bill at my suggestion to take the place of the timber culture law, which never had produced any timber. I had offered this section in the Senate Committee on Public Lands, but the Western Senators were opposed to "locking up" the country in forest reservations. In conference,

while I had some difficulty, I secured an agreement which included this section in the bill.

Nothing was done under Section 24 until after Cleveland commenced his second term and then he, as President, appointed a commission of eastern people to go out into the Western country—Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado—and establish the forest reservations. These men rode about the country in a Pullman car, and prescribed the boundaries of forest reservations without any discriminating judgment. For example, they established the reservation of Black Hills in South Dakota, and embraced within its boundaries the city of Deadwood, and the towns of Lead, Custer and Hill City, which contained thousands of people who were mining, home-building and getting the timber necessary for these activities from the surrounding forests. Once these reservations were established it became impossible to cut any timber upon them; consequently the people who had made their homes in the reserved area were practically compelled to move.

Since no law had been passed for the administration of these newly created reserves, the country was completely locked up. No new people could go in and settle, and those already there found themselves restricted on every hand. The result was a general dissatisfaction with the whole policy of forest reservations.

I realized that, unless some change was made, the whole policy would be discredited, and therefore I secured legislation suspending reservations already located until proper legislation could be secured for their administration.

Finally, at my request, Wolcott, who was then at the head of the Geological Survey, prepared an amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, which I offered in the Senate, providing for the administration of these forests. After this law for administration was enacted, the Secretary of the Interior informed me that he would make the bound-

daries of the Black Hills Forest Reservation whatever I might recommend. I went out to the Black Hills, held meetings of the people, and explained to them the purpose of the Forest Reservation. In every instance they passed resolutions in favor of being embraced with the Forest Reservation as administered under the new laws. By this direct appeal to the people most intimately concerned I was able to enlarge the reservation by over 200,000 acres.

When I returned to Washington, the Secretary of the Interior asked me to suggest such rules and regulations as would best enable his Department to administer the forest reservations laws. In accordance with this request I wrote out the rules and regulations which were afterwards adopted by him.

I remember in one of the regulations that I provided for sowing the Black Hills spruce seed upon the snow in all the open parks and denuded places, so that when the snow melted these seeds would sink down into the moist ground and immediately sprout and grow; and, today, there are many thousands more acres of forest in the Black Hills reservations than there were when the law was enacted.

Thus far matters had gone very nicely. I had had a hard fight to get the policy of forest reservation adopted and the reservations themselves established. Now came the real fight—to hold them for the people.

In the amendment which was added to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill I inserted a provision that permitted any settler, who was embraced within a Forest Reservation, to exchange his land, acre by acre, for other government land, outside of the reservation. Such a provision enabled settlers who had taken land before the establishment of reservations to take up a new quarter section in case they did not care to live under the reservation regulations.

The Conference Committee of the two houses that considered the Sundry Civil Bill changed the wording of this section in such a way that the land grant railroads, which had received in all nearly two hun-

ded million acres of land, could exchange their land, if embraced within a forest reservation, for the very best land the Government had remaining on the public domain outside of the reservation. Allison of Iowa was Chairman on the part of the Senate and Joe Cannon of Illinois, Chairman on the part of the House. The Conference report came to the Senate the day before the end of the session. Therefore it was not printed, but was rushed through after having been read hurriedly by the clerk. I listened to the reading, but I did not notice this change of wording in my amendment, and so this monstrous proposition became a law.

Of course, the conferees knew what they were doing when they slipped through this provision. Under it, the Interior Department ruled that the land grant railroads could exchange their odd sections, embraced within a forest reservation, for the best remaining acres of the public domain. The right to make this exchange was worth at least fifty millions of dollars to the land grant railroads.

I did not discover this change, made by the Conference Committee, until I learned that the Department of the Interior was permitting the railroads to make these exchanges. As soon as I discovered this, I looked up the law and found what an enormous fraud had been practiced through the cunning of Senator Allison of Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and Joe Cannon, Representative from Illinois, a banker and lawyer, and Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the House. Nearly ten years had dragged along, from the time I began to fight in favor of forest reservations, until this fraud was perpetuated on the American people by these two representatives of business.

In order to meet the situation I presented an amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill on May 31, 1900 (56th Congress, 1st Session, pages 6289 to 6298 of the Congressional Record), which reads as follows:

"And said superintendents, assistant inspectors, supervisors and rangers shall, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, examine all lands within the boundaries of any forest reservation that belong to any land-grant railroad company, and have not heretofore been sold in good faith for a valuable consideration, and report to the Secretary the character and value of said land, and pending such examination and report none of said lands shall be exchanged for other lands outside of said reservation."

It may be well to state at this point that the Central and Union Pacific Railroad had received grants by an Act of Congress, 20 miles wide, from the Missouri River on the west boundary of the State of Iowa, straight across the length of the State of Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California. The road has the odd sections on a strip 10 miles wide on each side of the tracks. The Northern Pacific Road received a grant of land 40 miles in width from some point in the State of Minnesota, clear through to the Pacific Ocean. This grant extended through the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington, and the area granted included the odd sections throughout this entire region. These grants embraced the good and the bad land alike. Of necessity they included large areas on the tops of the Rocky Mountains and the Cascade Range and a great deal of desert land. Whether by design or not, when the forest reservations were created, they embraced, indiscriminately, forested and non-forested districts. By some chance they also embraced large areas of desert land. These deserts were probably embraced intentionally so that the railroads could exchange their odd sections of worthless desert land for lands of great value outside the reservation.

After I had presented the amendment just referred to, I made a statement of these facts, after which the following significant debate took place. I quote it in order to show where certain Senators lined up when it came to an issue between private interest

and the public welfare. (Con. Record, May 31, 1900, 1st session, 56th Congress, p. 6288.)

Mr. PETTIGREW: "Mr. President, the amendment I propose is a provision for the protection and administration of forest reservation. Three years ago in an appropriation bill we provided for the protection and administration of these reservations, and provided that any actual and bona-fide settler who had taken a claim within a forest reservation afterwards created could exchange his land if he desired to do so, for a like area of the public domain. It was the intention of the law to allow a settler whose land was embraced in any forest reservation to exchange his land, if he desired to do so, for lands outside of the reservations, acre for acre.

"But certain words were inserted under which the Department has decided that a land-grant railroad can exchange the worthless lands—lands from which the timber has all been cut, tops of mountains, the inaccessible and snow-capped peaks of the Rockies and Sierra Nevadas—for the best land the Government has, acre for acre. So they have swapped lands on the Cascade Range, which are covered forever with ice and snow, not worth a tenth of a cent an acre, for lands worth from six to ten dollars in the valleys of Washington and Oregon and Idaho and Montana, thus depriving the settlers of a chance to secure these lands, besides enlarging the grants of the railroads to that extent.

"Now, my amendment simply provides that these lands shall be inspected and examined by the officers who have charge of the reservations, and they shall report to the Secretary the character of the lands that belong to these companies, so that in the future we can make a proper adjustment—not an adjustment by which they shall receive a thousand times more than which they surrender—and that while the appraisalment is going on no more exchanges shall be made. That is all that the amendment aims to ac-

comply, and it is one in the interest of the public beyond all questions, suspending the operation of a law which Congress would never have passed if it had been discussed."

Mr. ALLISON: "I wish to say that this amendment, as it appears to me, is general legislation. Certainly on the statement made by the Senator from South Dakota, it changes the existing law. I hope he will not press it on this bill, because if he does we shall be obliged to make the point of order that it is proposed general legislation."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "I wish to say that I do not believe it is subject to the point of order, because it prescribes the duties of these officers who are provided for and the method of the expenditure of the appropriation now in the bill. Therefore, I do not believe it is subject to the point of order. It seems to me if it is possible to insert the amendment we ought to do it and protect the Government and the people of this country against the execution of a law which we never would have passed if we had known what it contained."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "I should like to ask the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if the Secretary of the Interior did not think the law should be entirely repealed?"

Mr. ALLISON: "The Secretary did."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "Did he not think there were great frauds being practiced under it?"

Mr. ALLISON: "I have no doubt that is all true, but that is a subject we cannot deal with now."

(The amendment is read again.)

Mr. PENROSE: "I make the point of order that this is general legislation and contrary to the rule."

THE PRESIDENT (protempore): "The Chair has overruled that point of order. It has already been made. The question is on agreeing to the amendment."

"The amendment was agreed to."

Allison of Iowa, Tom Carter of Montana, Chandler of New Hampshire, Platt of Connecticut, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Walcott of Colorado, Hawley of Connecticut, all joined in the fight against me to see that the land-grant railroads were given this vast graft at the expense of the people of the United States and against the public welfare. This is but a typical case. The lawyers in the Senate always lined up against the people of the United States and in favor of the railroads and the other predatory interests who are the real government of the United States. This Senate debate is significant because it shows that rascality, graft, and public plunder are not political questions, especially in so far as the Senate of the United States is concerned.

Observe that Allison of Iowa, who had inserted the amendment making possible the exchange of these railroad lands, was among the first to attack my amendment and to insist that it should not go into the bill. Observe further that Tom Carter, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, took the same side. It was he who figured in the scandalous affair during Harrison's second campaign for election, at which time he collected from Cramp, the shipbuilder, \$400,000 and told Cramp where the money was to be expended. When Tom Carter died he left a large fortune. This same debate was participated in by Bill Chandler of New Hampshire, Stewart of Nevada and finally Penrose of Pennsylvania, who arose and for the second time raised the point of order against my amendment. Penrose continued in public life for many years as a faithful servant and representative of the great predatory interests. He has never been a representative of the people of Pennsylvania or of the United States.

Despite all of this opposition my amendment was adopted without a roll-call. The reason is plain. Neither these men nor their backers desired to have

the amendment become a law, but the scandal connected with the exchange of the railroad lands had gained such publicity, and the amendment was so clearly in the public interest that they did not dare to kill it openly. Besides, this was an amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill and could be changed in conference, and the conference report forced through the Senate on the last day of the session. Allison of Iowa was called "Pussyfoot Allison" by his fellow Senators because of his cunning, his unscrupulous rascality, and his suavity, and he could be relied upon to throw out the bill as reported from the conference committee anything that threatened property interests.

So the bill passed the Senate and went to conference.

Allison was chairman of the conference on the part of the Senate and Joe Cannon on the part of the House. The conference struck out my amendment, adopted by the Senate, and inserted in its place the following:

"That all selections of Land made in lieu of a tract covered by an unperfected bona-fide claim or by a patent included within a public forest reservation as provided in the Act of June 4, 1897, shall be confined to vacant surveyed non-mineral public lands which are subject to Homestead entry not exceeding in area the tract covered by such claim or patent."

The conference simply struck out the Senate amendment and inserted the original clause that they had placed in the Sundry Civil Bill of 1897 and under which the fraudulent exchange had taken place. The change would have permitted the railroads to continue the exchange of their worthless lands for the best of the government land and thus to plunder the public domain.

The Conference report came up in the Senate on the day before adjournment. I was watching to see what had been done with my amendment, for I knew

Allison and Cannon were but paid attorneys of the railroads. When the amendment was read (56th Congress, 1st Session, Congressional Rec., p. 6690):

Mr. PETTIGREW: "I should like to understand the paragraph in relation to non-mineral lands. As I understand it, as read from the Secretary's desk, it permits a continued exchange by the land-grant railroad companies of the worthless lands in the forest reservations for the best land the Government has. Is that correct?"

Mr. ALLISON: "I do not so understand it. The amendment provides for the exchange of surveyed lands only, and not of unsurveyed lands."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "But it allows the exchange?"

Mr. ALLISON: "It allows the exchange of surveyed lands."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "Mr. President, this conference report provides that lands where a railroad company has cut off all the timber or the land on the snow-capped peaks of the mountains, if they are within a forest reservation, can be exchanged for the best lands the Government owns, acre for acre, for timber lands. Hundreds of thousands of acres have already been exchanged, and yet, although the Senate placed upon this bill an amendment which would stop that practice, the conference committee brings in a report to continue it."

I wish to call particular attention to the statements made by Allison and Wolcott, that only surveyed land could be exchanged. This statement is specifically contradicted by the wording of their own amendment. The falsity of the statement was well known to them, yet they made it for the purpose of deceiving the Senate.

A number of the faithful friends of the plutocrats distinguished themselves signally in this debate. Among them were Senators Wolcott of Colorado and Hawley of Connecticut.

Senator Wolcott, who came into the Senate without a dollar, retired from that body with a large fortune. He was always eager to get into the Record as having produced laughter on the part of the Senators. He considered his effort in the interest of the robbery of the public domain particularly worthy of credit.

Old Hawley of Connecticut was always a champion of the interests. As long as I knew him he was mentally incapacitated from comprehending anything except the interests of the big business groups with which he always acted. He had an intellect like the soil of Connecticut, so poor by nature that it could not be exhausted by cultivation.

The amendment, as modified by the Committee on Conference was finally agreed to, because if we did not agree to the Senate Civil Sundry Bill with this amendment in it, an extra session would have been necessary. Thus the fraud was perpetuated, and the continued grabbing of public lands made possible.

The frauds thus deliberately ratified by Congress after all the facts were known caused me to wonder what forces were in control of the Government, and convinced me that the lawyers who composed two-thirds of both Houses of Congress were but the paid attorneys of the exploiters of the American people, and that both political parties were but the tools in the hands of big business that were used to plunder the American people. The frauds begun under Cleveland, a Democratic President, were enlarged and completed under McKinley, a Republican President. Millions of acres of forest reservation were established in Montana, all within the grant of the Northern Pacific Railroad, where there was no timber or forests, only a little scrub pine that never was and never will be of any value for lumber or any kind of forest products, and that was done so that the Northern Pacific Railroad could exchange its odd sections of worthless desert for scrip, acre for acre, and this scrip sells for from \$8 to \$10 per acre, and can be

located on any land the Government owns anywhere within our broad domain, and the desert for which this scrip was exchanged was not and is not worth ten cents per acre.

This is the story of one small event in the great drama of American public life that had been unfolding all around me. I have told it in detail because it shows, as well as anything that I ever learned, the fate that lay in wait for any measure aimed to promote the public welfare. When I began this fight for the enactment of forest legislation, I believed that we were enjoying a system of popular government in the United States. By the time the fight was ended, I understood that the country was being run by plunderers in the interest of capital.

Read the following letter which Lincoln wrote to William P. Elkin on November 21, 1864:

"I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel, at this moment, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my

suspicions may prove groundless."

It has been well said by the famous English writer and philanthropist, Mr. Stead, that the modern business world has adopted a new Golden Rule as follows:

"Dollars and dimes, dollars and dimes;
To be without money is the worst of crimes.
To keep all you get, and get all you can,
Is the first and the last and the whole duty of man."

That this Golden Rule has been adopted by the so-called business men of the United States is evidenced by what has been accomplished in the distribution of the wealth produced by the great toiling masses of this country.

Recently it was announced that John D. Rockefeller had finally succeeded in accumulating one billion dollars, thus making him the richest man that ever lived.

The American people know how he succeeded in accumulating this vast sum. He produced none of it—he secured all of it by exploiting the American people who had produced it.

IX. PLUTOCRACY.

Bit by bit the evidence accumulated under my eyes until it constituted a mountain of irrefutable proof—the public domain seized and exploited by the interests and for their private profit; the concentration of power in the hands of the bankers; their manipulation of money for their own benefit; the tariff, used as a favor granted by Congress for the few to plunder the many; the wanton and reckless creation of trusts and aggregations of capital; the vast strength of the railroads and other public utility monopolies; the ferocious indifference of these interests to the public welfare and to the well being of the masses of the people—as I surveyed this evidence I could form only one possible conclusion—that the power over American public life, whether economic, social or political, rested in the hands of the rich.

It is said that in the past, in the days of the Roman Empire, when a wealthy Roman wished to build a villa he purchased the right to tax and govern a conquered province in Asia, and returned to Rome to enjoy his fortune. But when an American millionaire wishes to build a villa, or buy a title in Europe, he purchases a tariff privilege from the Congress of the United States, or corrupts a legislature or a city council and secures a franchise, and proceeds to rob his neighbors.

I am of the opinion that the Roman way was the best.

Plutocracy is a word that means rule by and for the rich. The United States is a country run by and for the rich. Therefore, it is a plutocracy.

The rich few own the United States. The rich few who own it direct its public policy. For years these facts have been apparent to the discerning. Today even the short-sighted may see them quite plainly.

The most thrifty of the American people do well if they succeed in saving \$300 a year above all their expenses, and they must be busy every day in the year in order to do that. To accumulate one billion dollars at the rate of \$300 a year—a dollar a day for three hundred working days—a man would have to live and labor 3,333,333 years. He would have to be older than Methuselah—he would have to start when the world was hot no matter where he ended up.

But if he was cunning, unscrupulous and religious and followed Rockefeller's method of robbing his fellow-men, he could get the billion-dollar prize in fifty years.

One billion dollars is equivalent to the earnings of one hundred thousand men for twenty years, providing they earned \$500 apiece each year, and during all that time leaving nothing out for sickness, death or accident. The fact that Rockefeller could appropriate the earnings of his fellow-men and the fact that he did do it is what has caused the social and economic protest against the existing system and the cry for justice.

This great and powerful force—the accumulated wealth of the United States—has taken over all the functions of Government, Congress, the issue of money, and banking and the army and navy in order to have a band of mercenaries to do their bidding and protect their stolen property.

Immediately after the announcement that Rockefeller was worth a billion dollars, Armour & Swift announced a dividend upon their capital stock of thirty-three and one-third per cent and each of these concerns increased their capital stock from twenty millions to one hundred millions.

It is safe to say that neither of these concerns had any capital stock for which they had paid a dollar. Their capital stock represented what they had stolen from the people of this country. Their working capital is represented by bonds. The eighty-millions of

stock which they have since added is also nothing but water and is issued so as to make the annual dividends appear smaller. The exploited people will object less to paying six or seven per cent on a hundred millions than to paying thirty-three and one-third per cent on twenty millions. It looks better in print.

How do Armour and Swift make their money? They are the great packers. They are in collusion. They fix the prices they pay the farmer for his hogs and cattle, and they fix the prices they will charge the consumer for their product. They are simply robbing the producer and the consumer, and their robbery is represented in their great wealth, which they did not produce but which they took from the people under the guise of law.

When the bill to take the census of 1890 was pending before Congress I secured an amendment requiring the enumerators to ascertain the distribution of wealth through an inquiry into farms, homes and mortgages.

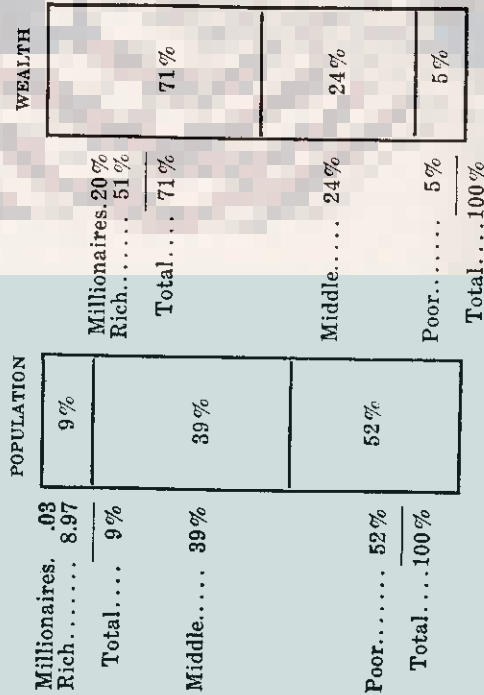
Using the figures thus secured by the enumerators of the census of 1890, on June 10, 1918, I delivered a speech in the Senate of the United States on the subject of the distribution of wealth in the United States and, from the census of 1890, I showed that 52 per cent of the people of the United States owned \$95.00 worth of property per capita, or \$95.00 each of second-hand clothing and second-hand furniture, and that four thousand families owned twelve billions of the wealth, and that 6,640,000 families, or 52 per cent of the population, owned three billions of the wealth, or just five per cent of the total.

The facts, as ascertained by the census-takers in 1890, appear, summarized, in the following table:

Distribution of Wealth by Census 1890

Class	Families	Per Average Cent Wealth	Aggregate Wealth	Per Cent
Millionaires ...	4,000	.03	\$3,000,000	20
Rich	1,139,000	8.97	27,000	51
Total Rich ...	1,143,000	9.00	37,358	71
Middle	4,953,000	39.00	2,907	24
Poor	6,604,000	52.00	454	5
Grand Total..	12,700,000	100.00	\$ 4,725	\$60,000,000,000

Diagrams Showing, by Percentages, the Population and Wealth Distribution in the United States, According to the Census of 1890



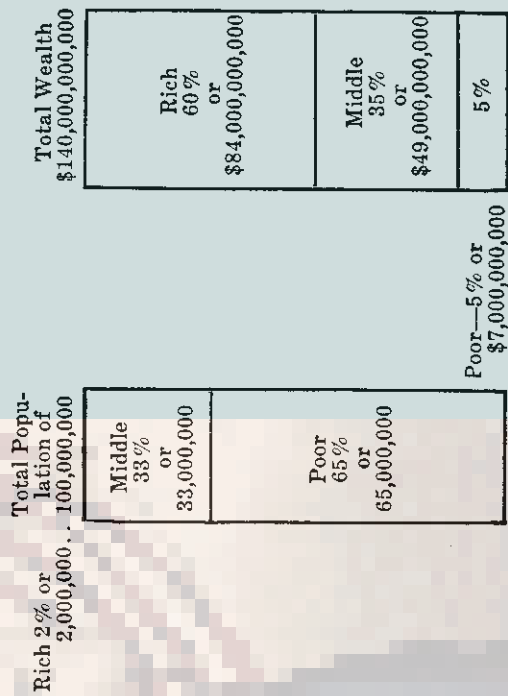
It will be seen from these tables, which are compiled from the census report of 1890, that 52 per cent of the people, or two per cent more than half of them, owned but five per cent of the accumulated wealth of the United States. The report of the Industrial Commission which thoroughly investigated the distribution of wealth in the United States dis-

closes the fact that, after twenty-six years, covering half of the period in which Rockefeller and Armour and Swift and the other exploiters of the people have accumulated their vast fortunes, the number of people who participated in the five per cent of the wealth of the United States has increased from 52 per cent of our total population to 65 per cent.

I have prepared a diagram illustrating the conclusions reached by the experts of the Industrial Commission, which pictures the stupendous inequalities that have arisen in the United States during the past twenty-six years:

Distribution of Wealth, Report of Industrial Commission, 1915

Class	Number	Per Average Cent Wealth	Aggregate Wealth	Per Cent
Rich	2,000,000	2%	\$42,000	60%
Middle	33,000,000	33%	1,480	35%
Poor	65,000,000	65%	107	5%
Grand Total..	100,000,000	100%	\$ 1,400	\$140,000,000,000



I wish a careful examination of these tables. You will see that sixty-five per cent of the people own five per cent of the wealth and that two per cent of the population—the little black line at the top of the diagram—own sixty per cent of the wealth. They did not produce the wealth. It was all produced by the sixty-five per cent of the population who have nothing. They were able to do it because they owned the Government and the courts and enacted the laws which made it possible. They have done it through manipulation, combination and exploitation. They have done it through corporations. They have done it because they own the railroads and the banks and all the public utilities, and used them all—all of these great important public service institutions in order to gather the products of everybody's toil into their own hands. In other words, they have stolen what others have produced.

These were the figures for 1916. Since that time there have come the war and the panic, with their huge crop of millionaires and their further concentration of wealth and of economic power.

But, you may ask, why is it necessary to turn to the figures of the Industrial Commission? Why not use the census figures? The answer is very simple. Since the publication of the 1890 figures, the plutocrats have decided that the facts regarding wealth distribution shall not be permitted to get into the hands of the American people.

When I entered the Senate I believed that the question of the distribution of wealth was one of the most important ones before the American people and one that was receiving no attention whatever. While I was in the House I had made the personal acquaintance of Senator Jones of Arkansas, who was on the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate, and Senator Berry of Arkansas, who was on the Committee on Public Lands in the Senate. So that, before the Senate convened in December, 1889—when I took my seat in the Senate, I had talked with these two Sen-

ators about securing legislation to ascertain the distribution of wealth in the United States. They had entered heartily into the plan and we prepared a bill for that purpose,* which was introduced by Senator Berry as an amendment to the Census Bill of 1890. The bill attracted little attention and was passed practically without opposition, but I had great difficulty in getting the persons in charge of taking the census to go thoroughly into the question. Finally, under the head of "Farms, Homes and Mortgages," an investigation was made by Holmes and a report was issued, I think, about 1898. This report showed a remarkable economic condition in this country and disclosed the fact that 52 per cent of our population had five per cent of the wealth they had produced, and that nine per cent of our population had a majority of all the property in this country. I made a speech in the Senate upon this subject, going quite fully into the question, and in that speech I predicted that the number of people who had nothing would steadily increase under our system, and that the number of people who owned a majority of the wealth would steadily decrease.

I considered the question so important that I secured a place on the Senate Census Committee to prepare the bill for taking the census of 1900. In the committee I urged an amendment to the bill for taking the census which should go fully into the question of the distribution of wealth in this country, but the committee refused to adopt my amendment or to take any notice of the question whatever. Incidentally, the committee was composed of lawyers and a lawyer is trained to believe that it is the right of property in the hands of men who did not produce the property that is sacred, and not the rights of man. Or that

* The bill was worded as follows:

"That a census of the population, wealth and industry of the United States shall be taken as of the date of June 1, 1890. Statutes of the U. S., p. 761, March 1, 1899."

society has any obligation whatever to those who toil. We borrowed this from England and it is so thoroughly inculcated into our whole system of educational and economic life that there is no question but that the lawyers honestly believe it to be true. After the Census Bill was reported to the Senate I offered my amendment under these circumstances:

(Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Jan. 11, 1900, vol. 331, p. 779.)

Mr. PETTIGREW: "I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk."

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE: "The amendment of the Senator from South Dakota will be stated."

THE SECRETARY: "It is proposed to add, as section 3, the following:

"Sec. 3. That the Director of the Census is hereby required to collect statistics relating to the indebtedness of individuals and corporations, public or private; also in relation to the distribution of wealth among the people of the United States; also statistics as to the displacement of labor by machinery, and the increase of the power of production by machinery in proportion to the number of laborers employed during the last thirty years. And for this purpose the Director of the Census may employ special agents, and such special agents shall receive such compensation as other special agents."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "Mr. President, this amendment is intended to secure statistics with regard to the distribution of wealth. It does not require the enumerators to gather the statistics on this subject, and therefore will not delay the purpose of the law which we have passed.

"We make the Census Bureau, as I understand, a perpetual bureau of statistics and information, and to fail to gather the information referred to in my amendment, it seems to me, would be a very serious mistake. The question as to what becomes of what the toilers of the land produce, whether it goes to them or is taken from them by special privileges, and accumulated in the hands of a very few people is a very important one and reaches ultimately the question of the preservation of free institutions.

"The other subject in my amendment is with regard to the displacement of labor by machinery and the increased power of production thereby. I desire this information for the reason that I believe man's power to produce, as the result of the adoption of machinery, has increased many times more than the increase of his wages, which should have occurred as a result of his increased powers of production; in other words, that the increased power of production is the result of machinery and has injured to the advantage of labor; that this has caused in a large degree the unequal distribution of wealth in this country; that the increased power of production, as the result of machinery, should go to the toiler in a much larger degree than to the capital employed; that the power to produce by machinery is a benefit to mankind if the increased power to produce goes to the toiler, because his power to consume is also increased, and thus the consumption and enjoyment of a greater measure of the luxuries and comforts of life must go to those who produce the wealth of the land.

"I therefore believe these two questions are exceedingly important; and I have asked that this information be collected by special agents rather than by the enumerators, so that it will not delay a single day or a single hour the securing of that information which seems to be the prime object of the bill.

"I hope the additional section I have offered will be adopted without objection."

(Jan. 11, 1900.)

Mr. TILLMAN: "I will say for the information of the Senator from Georgia that if it is not taken with the first census it cannot be taken at all, without an intolerable additional expense. It is for the Senate to determine whether it will enlarge the scope of the census. If we break down the barrier erected by the Census Committee, we simply, as we were notified by the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Cockrell) the other day, open up a flood of amendments concerning each special class of inquiry any senator may wish to have included."

Mr. PETTIGREW: "My amendment provides for nothing of the kind. It simply provides that this Census Bureau of statistics, which is perpetual, may, by special agents, not by enumerators, investigate this all-important subject. I think the census would be of very little value without it. It is not personal to myself, nor a subject that I am particularly or personally interested in, but it is a great public question. The question of the distribution of the wealth of this country is certainly a question of more importance than almost anything else that can be investigated. As the Senator from Colorado (Mr. Teller) has said, we have almost day by day a very accurate estimate of the population. We have very many other statistics which are constantly being produced by the statistical bureau, but the question of the distribution of the wealth of this country has never been adequately and fairly investigated. It ought to be.

"I do not propose to delay the taking of the census, and my amendment does not delay it at all. It simply provides an additional section for the doing of this additional work. If the schedules are all prepared and the work is disposed of, the enumerators can commence their operations; and therefore the Department will have the time to get out additional schedules for the special agents to do the work which I desire to have done. This work cannot commence

until an appropriation is made. It is quite proper, then, that the amendment should be on this bill, because section 8 is in the original law, which provides a large amount of extra work to be done after the main census has been taken through the enumerators; and if it was a proper time to provide section 8 in the law when it passed last year, it is time now for my amendment to be placed on this bill. That is all I want. I do not care to discuss it further."

The reasons in favor of taking a wealth census seemed to me conclusive. Nevertheless, the amendment met with universal opposition, and it was rejected.

When the census bill was pending to take the census of 1910, I wrote to Senator LaFollette and urged him to secure an amendment with relation to the distribution of wealth in this country, but LaFollette is a lawyer and he did nothing. I also sent him a statement of the facts in connection with the matter and a copy of my speech delivered in 1898 on this subject, but I was unable to accomplish anything, as the Senate was still composed almost entirely of lawyers who had represented as attorneys, before they entered the Senate and who still continued to represent as attorneys after they entered the Senate, the great industrial, financial, transportation and exploiting interests.

While the census bill to provide for the census of 1920 was under consideration in both Houses, I went to Washington and personally went to the committee of both Houses and urged the importance of securing statistics with regard to the distribution of wealth in this country, but neither committee would entertain my proposed amendment or listen with patience to any argument.

In reply to my analysis of the situation, the members of the committees insisted that it was not true. "Why," said they, "look about you and see the prosperity everywhere. How can you say then that the wealth of the country is in the hands of the rich?"

"Well," I answered, "if it is not true, and if the Census of 1890, the Industrial Commission, and all of the rest of the authorities are wrong, the thing to do is to take another wealth census and disprove all of their false statements." Still, I could make no impression on the lawyers who made up both committees.

The Committees of Congress, having the censuses of 1910 and 1920 in charge, refused to include in the census bills a clause requiring the enumerators to ascertain the distribution of wealth, because they, as representatives of the plutocracy, did not desire the facts to be known. The bulk of the American people have little or no wealth; the economic power of the United States is concentrated in the hands of the few, and the few are determined to keep the many in ignorance as long as they possibly can.

I have gone into some detail with regard to this matter of the wealth census, not so much because of its intrinsic importance, but because of its relation to other and similar issues. Again and again, on other questions, the same men who refused to gather the evidence of wealth concentration have introduced and voted for the measures which were drawn up by the attorneys of the vested interests for the purpose of increasing wealth concentration.

The economic power of the United States has been concentrated in the hands of a very few, and they are the Government. They pass the laws that in their judgment will protect and defend the property upon which their power depends; they secure the appointment of judges who will interpret and who do interpret this legislation in the interest of the wealth-owning classes; control those who execute the laws, from the presidents down—indeed, for the most part, the presidents are lawyers, and either members of the plutocracy, or else paid retainers of the plutocracy; they control all of the channels of public opinion—the press, the schools, the church; they control the labor unions through the control of their leaders and of the policy that the leaders pursue;

possessors of the land on which the farmer must work, of the mines and the machines with which the laborer must work, in order to live, the plutocracy—the wealth class—in the United States is supreme over the affairs of public life.

Today this economic power is not ashamed to show its head and take its place as the master of the American Government and as the overlord of the American people. They used to talk about the Invisible Government when I entered the Senate in 1890, but it is invisible no longer. The real government is not in Washington. Its attorneys are there, but its responsible directors are in New York and in the other great centers of commerce and industry. Wealth means power in an industrial civilization, and the few, owning the bulk of the wealth of the United States, exercise their plutocratic power over the lives of the American people, who are forced, whether they will or no, to do the bidding of their wealth lords. And therefore I say—Capital is stolen labor and its only function is to steal more labor.

You ask me what is the remedy. The remedy is clear and plain—the same remedy you apply when a man breaks into your strongbox and takes your money. You capture him and take the stolen property away from him. It is the duty of the 65 per cent of our population who produced all the wealth to reach over and take back the 60 per cent of the wealth which the two million thieves have stolen from them, and appropriate it to the good of all, as all produced it and therefore the mass of the people are entitled to it.

Take over the railroads, take over the banks and the issue of money and the public-utility concerns, and take over the title of the lands that have no value except the value the community has given it, and then use all of this property for the general welfare of the community. This is not confiscation or robbery—it is simply taking from the thieves what they have stolen from you, and the first thing to take is to take control of the government out of their hands.

X. WHO MADE THE CONSTITUTION

I have written in some detail of the economic changes and of the changes in economic policy that have occurred in the United States during the past 50 years. The first year that I went to Washington (1870) the population of Chicago was 298,977; today (1920) it is 2,701,705; the population of Detroit was 79,577; today it is 993,739; the population of Minneapolis was 13,006; today it is 380,582; the population of Dakota was 14,181; today it is 1,281,569. I have watched the Middle West grow from a sparsely settled wilderness, the home of Indians and of buffaloes, to the greatest center of agriculture and of industry in the world. I have watched the public domain slip out of the hands of the people, and into the hands of speculators, of corporations and of monopolies. I have seen the bankers, the trust magnates and the masters of transportation and other forms of monopoly rise from obscurity to their present position of domination in public affairs. I have watched the growth of the plutocracy—the few who rule industry, the Government and the press because they are rich.

In the halls of the Capitol at Washington, I have watched these plutocrats, through their representatives on the floor of the Senate and the House, erect the governmental machinery that they required for the preservation of their power. Step by step and move by move, I fought the system of imperialism which the McKinley administration enabled them to establish as the accepted policy of the country. The fight lasted twelve years. When it was over, the interests that I had opposed were the triumphant masters of the field.

When I entered the Senate, I did not understand what it was that I was facing. When I left the Senate, because Mark Hanna and the forces behind

Mark Hanna willed that I should leave, I knew that the forms of our government and the machinery of its administration were established and maintained for the benefit of the class that held the economic and political power.

I realized that the machinery of government had been constructed by the ruling economic class to preserve and guarantee its own economic interests. Documents like the Constitution, which I, as a child, had been taught to regard as almost divine in their origin, stood before me for what they were—plans prepared by business men to stabilize business interests.

At the time that our Constitution was drawn up, Adam Smith wrote of the government in the "mother country" (Wealth of Nations, Book V., Ch. 1, published in 1776), "Civil government, so far as it is instituted for the security of property, is in reality instituted for the defense of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all." Again he stated (Book 1, Ch. 10), "Whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the differences between masters and their workmen, its counsellors are always the masters."

Concerning this same epoch a well-known modern historian writes: "During the period we are discussing (1760-1832) . . . the classes that possessed authority in the State, and the classes that had acquired the new wealth, landlords, churchmen, judges, manufacturers, one and all understood by government the protection of society from the fate that had overtaken the privileged classes in France." (The Town Laborer, J. L. & B. Hammond, N. Y. Longmans, 1917, p. 321). It was this government by landlords and manufacturers that the framers of the Constitution knew, and they knew no other. Their idea of government was the British idea—a machine for protecting the rich against the poor; a device for safeguarding and defending privilege against the clamorous and revolutionary demands of the populace.

Their goal was the protection of the propertied interests and they drew the Constitution with that end in view.

Furthermore, it was the leading business men of the colonists, in their own persons, who drew up the Constitution and forced through its ratification. "The movement for the Constitution," writes Charles A. Beard, the distinguished student of American Government, "was originated and carried through principally by four groups of personality interests, which had been adversely affected under the Articles of Confederation—money, public securities, manufacturers, and trade and shipping." (An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution, New York, Macmillan, 1914, p. 324.) These events transpired nearly a century-and-a-half ago, and ever since that time we have been building up the kind of a government that bankers, manufacturers and merchants needed for their enrichment.

This point is so fundamental to a proper understanding of what I have to say about the machinery of American Government that I desire to emphasize it. School teachers talk to children and public men harangue their constituents as though the Constitution were a document drawn to establish human liberty. By these means our ideas as to the intention of the framers of the Constitution have been utterly distorted. Anyone who wishes to know the facts should examine the Journal of the Constitutional Convention. There the record is as plain as the road at noonday. The Constitution was not drawn up to safeguard liberty. Its framers had property rights in their minds' eye and property deeds in their pockets, and its most enthusiastic supporters were the leading bankers, manufacturers and traders of the Federated States.

The Constitution was made to protect the rights of property and not the rights of man.

These facts are neither secret nor hidden. They are a part of the public record that may be consulted

in any first-class library. Properly understood, they furnish the intellectual key that will open the mind to an appreciation of many of the most important events that have occurred in the United States during the past century.

The convention that framed the Constitution of the United States convened at Philadelphia in 1787 behind closed doors. All of the delegates were sworn to secrecy. Madison reported the proceedings of the convention in longhand and his notes were purchased in 1837 by Congress and published by the Government nearly half a century after the convention had finished its work. These notes disclose the forces that dominated the work of the convention and show that the object which the leaders of the convention had in view was not to create a democracy or a government of the people, but to establish a government by the property classes in the interests of the rights of property rather than the rights of man. All through the debates ran one theme: How to secure a government, not by the people and for the people, but by the classes and for the classes, with the lawyers in control.

Jefferson was not a member of the convention. As the author of the Declaration of Independence he was not wanted in the convention, and so he was sent to France on a diplomatic mission.

I will give two extracts from these proceedings to illustrate this point; they are typical, and are as follows:

Madison (p. 78) quotes Sherman of Connecticut as saying: "The people should have as little to do as may be about the Government. They want information and are constantly liable to be misled."

Again (p. 115) Mr. Gerry is quoted as follows: "Hence in Massachusetts the worst men get into the legislature. Several members of that body had lately been convicted of infamous crimes. Men of indigence, ignorance and baseness, spare no pains, however dirty, to carry their point against men who are

superior to the artifices practiced." This is the burden of the debates through page after page of the two volumes.

The chief contention in the Constitutional Convention was over representation in the United States Senate. The smaller states feared that they would be dominated by the larger ones and, after much debate, it was agreed that each state, no matter what its wealth or population, should have two votes in the Senate of the United States, while the House of Representatives should represent the people and the number of delegates from each state should be in proportion to the population. As a concession to the larger states, a provision was inserted requiring that all money bills should originate in the House of Representatives, and this was considered important, in view of the fact that the states of small area and small population, such as Delaware and Rhode Island, had an equal voice with large states like Virginia and Pennsylvania in the Senate of the United States.

The southern states believed they had obtained protection for their peculiar institution (slavery) by securing representation in the House of Representatives for the slave population. At the same time, the southern slave-holders and the northern slave-traders combined to secure the insertion of a clause (Article 1, Section IX, Clause 1) permitting the slave trade to continue until 1808.

At the time of framing the Constitution, and for many years thereafter, it was supposed and intended that the Senate should represent the states while the House represented the people. No vested interest ever thought of gaining control of the Senate for the purpose of advancing the commercial or financial position of any combination, corporation or individual. It was not until a third of a century after the adoption of the Constitution that the southern states began to look to the Senate for the protection of their interests and to insist upon the admission of a slave state

whenever a free state asked for admission to the Union.

The immediate purpose behind the creation of a Senate that was not elected by the people, but that came from the state legislatures and thus spoke in name of states rather than of masses of citizens, was the protection of the small colonies against the large ones. The interests that dominated both the small and the large colonies, however, were the business interests. Therefore, this struggle between those who wanted one form of Senate and those who wanted another was a struggle between contending and competing business groups. It was not in any sense a struggle between the champions of liberty and the advocates of property rights.

This fact is made evident by an examination of the interests of these men who made up the Constitutional Convention of 1787. There were fifty-five delegates present in the Convention. A majority were lawyers; most of them came from towns; there was not one farmer, mechanic or laborer among them; five-sixths had property interests. Of the 55 members, 40 owned revolutionary scrip; 14 were land speculators; 24 were money-lenders; 11 were merchants; 15 were slave-holders. Washington, the big man of the Convention, was a slave-holder, land speculator and a large scrip owner.

Jefferson was in France!

The Constitution, as framed by the Convention, says nothing about the rights of man. It contains no guarantee of free speech, of free press, of free assembly, or of religious liberty. It breathes no single hint of freedom. It was made by men who believed in the English theory, that all governments are created to protect the rights of property in the hands of those who do not produce it.

The revolutionary scrip-paper money, to finance the Revolutionary War, had been used to pay for supplies and to pay the wages of the men that did the fighting. In the years that followed the war, this scrip

had been bought up by the financiers and great land-owners and their attorneys for about nine cents on the dollar. The Constitution, as adopted, made it worth one hundred cents on the dollar. This is but one of the many facts which prove that the Constitution, as drawn up by the Convention, was made to protect the rights of property rather than the rights of man.

Throughout the document the framers were careful to guard against too much democracy. The Government was erected in three parts—legislative, executive and judicial—each with a check on the other two. The House of Representatives alone was elected directly by the people, but all of its legislative acts were subject to revision or rejection by the Senate, the members of which were to be selected, not by popular vote but by the vote of the state legislatures. Thus, even the legislative branch of the Government did not represent the popular will. If the legislative branch had been responsible to the people, there was still the President, elected, not by the vote of the people, but the vote of electors, who were elected by the people; and, last of all, and by no means the least, from the point of view of the vested interests, there was the Supreme Court—its members selected by the President, confirmed by the Senate, sitting for life. Over these supreme judges, the people could not exercise even an indirect control.

This was the Constitution drawn up while Thomas Jefferson was in France. It was submitted to the states for ratification and the states refused to accept it. In all probability it never would have been ratified had Thomas Jefferson not returned from France and thrown his great influence in favor of the first ten amendments—the Bill of Rights that was added to the Constitution by its business backers, as the necessary price of its adoption by the people.

Article I of these Amendments reads:

“Congress shall make no law respecting an

establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.”

Article IV of the Amendments provides:

“The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, paper and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”

These are the principal guarantees of liberty, inserted in the Constitution after the Convention of business men had finished its work, and inserted because the people insisted upon having them there.

Even at that, the Constitution is a lukewarm document. In it there are no such burning words as those written by Thomas Jefferson thirteen years earlier and published as the Declaration of Independence: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its power in such form as shall seem to them most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

It was not until 1861, when Abraham Lincoln delivered his first inaugural address, that the right of

revolution was definitely proclaimed by a responsible statesman, acting under the Constitution. "This country," Lincoln said on that occasion, "with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amendment, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

That revolutionary right, so clearly proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and so emphatically stated by Lincoln, remains today the avenue left to the American people as a means of escape from the intolerable plutocratic tyranny that the Constitution has set up.

The Constitution is the fundamental law of the United States. It was drawn up 134 years ago by a convention consisting of business men and their lawyer-retainers. It was a document designed to protect property rights, and, through the century and a quarter that it has endured, it has served its purpose so well that it stands today, not only as the chief bulwark of American privilege and vested wrong, but as the greatest document ever designed by man for the safeguarding of the few in their work of exploiting and robbing the many.

XI. LAWYERS

The Constitution of the United States was made by business men. The work of managing and directing the government machinery that has been erected in pursuance of the Constitution has been placed almost exclusively in the hands of lawyers, who sit in the legislatures and make the laws; sit in the executive chairs and enforce the laws, and sit on the bench and interpret the laws.

Lawyers dominate the city, state and national governments to an astonishing degree. In one sense, they are the Government, at least in so far as manipulating its machinery is concerned. The lawyers have become a governing caste in the United States. Their official position is out of all proportion to their number.

The total number of "lawyers, judges and justices," as given in the census of 1910 (the latest one available at this writing) was 114,704. The same volume of the census reports that there were more than 38,167,000 gainfully occupied persons in the United States. That would make three lawyers for each 1,000 of the gainfully occupied population. Therefore, if the lawyers had their proportional share of the governing positions, they would get less than one-third of one per cent of the Government jobs.

The actual situation is far different. In the affairs of government—particularly of the Federal Government—the lawyer plays a leading part. He is only one one-three-hundredth of the gainfully occupied population, but he is the majority of those upon whom falls the duty of making and enforcing the laws.

Take the situation in the Federal Congress. There has never been a time during the fifty years that I have known Washington when the lawyers constituted less than half of the membership of both houses

of Congress. Usually, they made up two-thirds of the membership. The proportion varies, but the principle holds. The present Congress (the 65th) reports in the House 263 lawyers out of a total of 388 who gave their occupations. (No occupations were given for 47.) In the Senate, there are 60 lawyers out of a total of 89 Senators who reported their occupations. The census shows that the lawyers constitute only three in every thousand of the gainful population. In the Senate, they are in the proportion of 674 per thousand; and in the House in the proportion of 677 in the thousand. Thus, two-thirds of our national law-makers are lawyers.

The same thing holds true of our Presidents. Since the United States has become a government by the corporations, their presidential candidates have almost invariably been lawyers. Harrison, as President, was a lawyer, and reputed to be a good one. He had been preceded in that high office by Grover Cleveland, a lawyer from Buffalo, New York. Harrison was followed by Cleveland. Cleveland was followed by another lawyer—McKinley, who was elected and assassinated, and thus Theodore Roosevelt, who was his Vice-President, and not a lawyer, accidentally became President. He was succeeded by another lawyer, Taft, who was not a good lawyer. He had neither the judgment nor the ability to make a good lawyer, and he was therefore a very satisfactory representative of the predatory and exploiting corporations which, during all of my time in public life, have been the real force in control of the Government. Taft was followed by Wilson, a lawyer, and after his eight years the people elected Harding, another lawyer—giving him a plurality of more than six million of votes.

There is no question of party politics involved. Of all the Presidents that I have known, two were Democrats (Cleveland and Wilson); the rest were Republicans. With the exception of Roosevelt, all of

them since Garfield—and including Garfield—have been lawyers.

The lawyers have an even higher percentage among the successful presidential candidates than they have among the members of Congress.

When it comes to the courts, the whole field is in the possession of the lawyers, who have built up a system of exalting the law above everything else in the land—life, happiness and liberty included. They have worked out a "precedent" under which no one may become a judge unless he has previously been a lawyer. As a matter of practical fact, it is not necessary that a judge should be a lawyer. On the contrary, a lawyer trained under the present system is not fit to be a judge, but the thing has been worked out in such a way that all of the judges are lawyers.

The position of the lawyers in the Government is absurd in view of their small numerical importance. There are only a little more than a hundred thousand of them in a country of more than a hundred millions, yet they make up more than two-thirds of the membership of both houses of Congress; the majority of the state legislatures; most of the governors; all of the prosecuting attorneys; most of the Presidents, and all of the judges. The lawyers enact the laws; interpret the laws and enforce the laws. The Government is a lawyer-government, and we are a lawyer-ridden country.

Then there comes a question. If the business men of the United States run the Government, as I have asserted that they do, how comes it that they are willing to let the lawyers hold all of the important public positions?

The answer to that question is very simple: Because the lawyers do it so well!

If the lawyers failed to do what the business men want done, the business men would soon put an end to their domination of the political machinery. The lawyers know that as well as the business men. But the lawyers are kept in their present position because

they are such splendid representatives of the predatory interests. A lawyer, by his training and by his practice, is calculated to serve the ruling class of the country, and, where the rulers can get able servants, there is no reason why they should do the work themselves. They have ample resources. They can afford to pay, and with the lawyers at hand to do their work they are as well served as though they served themselves. The lawyers are not experts in government, but in debauching and corrupting and crippling the Government in the interest of those who pay them their fees. So here they sit, in the legislatures, in the executive officers and on the bench, running the Government in the interest of those who are plundering the people.

Business interests support and finance their lawyer handy-men because these lawyers are able to do what the business world wants done. The lawyers have been developed into a class of professional manipulators and wreckers of Government machinery because they are trained from the outset to regard the interests of their clients as of greater moment than the public interest.

A man, to become a good lawyer, must have spent his life studying "precedent." What is precedent but the preservation of the *status quo*, and what is the *status quo* but the wisdom of yesterday? The good lawyer is therefore the lawyer who is able to preserve the shadow of yesterday and use it to darken the sunlight of today.

The good lawyer, to educate himself, pores over the Common Law of England. When his head is filled with seventeen hundred decisions handed down by judges who lived in the seventeenth century, before the American Colonies found the British rule intolerable, he fills up the chinks of his mind with Blackstone and with Kent's Commentaries. He then studies what the judges (lawyers) of the United States said during the past hundred years, and after that he is

considered as prepared to defend the interests of the exploiters of America.

This precedent-fed human being is valuable to the great interests for three reasons:

First, because his study of precedent has rendered him incapable of thinking into the future and has thus made him a natural protector of things as they are;

Second, because the tradition of property rights inherited from the past can best be preserved through such a class of "dead-hand" experts;

Third, because the lawyer, under the ethics of his profession, is the only man who can take a bribe and call it a fee.

The real work of the world is done by those who envisage the future and prepare for it. Such an ability is the first essential in a statesman, or in any other person who assumes to play a role in the direction of human affairs. The lawyer finds it virtually impossible to look ahead. He has been trained to move forward with his eyes over his shoulder.

Any ruling class, depending for its profits on some special privilege, like the ownership of land or of machinery, must see to it that these special privileges are not interfered with, otherwise its source of profit may be destroyed. At one time, under the Feudal System, it was the church that acted as the policeman for the landlord, keeping the tenants quiet with threats of dire punishment in the hereafter in case they interfered with the sacred person or with the still more sacred property of their overlords. That function, at the present time, has been taken over by the lawyers, who threaten the penalties of criminal codes and of Espionage Acts for those who transgress the sacred precincts in which the property of their clients is enclosed.

All of this work is done by the simple method of allowing one man for himself and for his heirs, forever, certain corner lots and choice quarter-sections without which his fellows cannot continue to make a

living. The world marches by his door and, for the privilege of so doing, it pays the property-holder his rent.

The lawyer has studied the precedents established by the land-holding aristocracy of Great Britain. From them he has derived the "common law," and to that he has added tens of thousands of pages of statutes which are designed to perfect the system the land-holding aristocracy of Great Britain has worked so hard to establish.

The traditions of English civilization are traditions of wealthy land-holders and manufacturers and bankers, on the one hand, and an overworked, exploited population of laborers on the other. No one who has seen the condition of the British workers can have any delusions as to the terrible way in which they have suffered under the "property-first" system of British society. It is this system that is being perpetuated in the United States, by means of the Constitution, the laws, the courts and the lawyers, who are the handymen of big business, in control of every important branch of the public service.

The lawyer makes a good servant of the ruling class because he spends his life making the world believe that the property rights are more important than the human rights. Again, he is useful because he may be bribed at almost any stage of his public career, and may accept the bribe without losing his professional self-respect.

During the twelve years that I was a member of the United States Senate, more than two-thirds of the members of both houses were lawyers, and those in the Senate were generally old lawyers who had spent their lives in the service of the great interests. So far as I know, these lawyers, in both Houses, never hesitated to take a fee from any interest that wished to employ them. They satisfied their consciences by assuring themselves and their friends that no matter what the size of the fee it did not influence their actions as lawmakers.

I know personally of one Senator who received a fee of \$49,000 for representing one of the greatest of the industrial combinations in a case before a Federal court. This man was as honest a lawyer as I ever knew. His vote could not have been purchased for any consideration; yet after he had received the \$49,000 fee, if a question had come up which involved the interests of that corporation, or which was in the nature of an attack upon it, it is useless to insist that the thought of the fee would not have had at least some influence in determining what he should do and how he should vote.

Senator Edmunds of Vermont was chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary during the twelve years that I was a member of the United States Senate. He reported the Sherman Anti-Trust Law from that Committee. Afterward, the United States Government began a suit against the Joint Traffic Association, which was a combination of thirty-two railroads running west from New York, on the ground that that combination was in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, the suit having been started before Judge LaComb, the Circuit Judge of the District of New York. The judge announced from the bench that he was disqualified from hearing the case because he was the owner of the stocks and bonds of the defendant railroad, and he said, in open court, that he believed every judge in the circuit was suffering from a like disqualification. The railroads had put their attorneys on the bench. It was finally found that Judge Wheeler, just appointed through the influence of Senator Edmunds, from the State of Vermont, was not the owner of stocks and bonds in the defendant railroads, and the railroads thereupon employed Edmunds to go before this judge—a creature of his—and tell the judge that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was not being violated.

No one knows how big a fee Edmunds received, but it created no comment, for it is now well understood

that a lawyer can be bought and call the purchase price of his opinions and convictions a fee.

In the case of Foraker, of Ohio, and Senator Bailey, of Texas, the amount of money paid them by the Standard Oil Company was so large, and the transaction was so under cover, that it excited no great amount of comment until the newspapers took it up, and then the matter became so scandalous that the public thought it best to call a halt.

These are only illustrations. It is a universal practice among the lawyers of both Houses to take a fee from the industrial combinations whenever they can get it, and they boast among their fellow members if the fee is big enough to be worth while.

This was the practice during the whole twelve years that I was in the Senate.

From what I have said about the training of lawyers it must be apparent that a lawyer cannot be a statesman. First, because he is trained to look backward rather than forward and, second, because in order to be a statesman it is necessary to have some appreciation of the general welfare, and the lawyer can only represent his clients and assist them to protect and defend property rights.

How is it possible to produce statesmen under the conditions that prevail in the United States, or in any of the other great capitalist countries for that matter? Under the system the land, the resources, the means of transportation and the money power are handed over to the favored few. They manipulate the Government, through their agents, the lawyers, and thus the machinery that should be employed to feed and care for the people is employed for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many. It is the lawyers who have acted as the go-between. They have drawn the papers under which the riches of the nation have been placed in the hands of a few, who hold legal commissions that enable them to rob the many. Under these circumstances, it is not the general welfare that is uppermost in the minds of

those responsible for the direction of public affairs, but the manipulation of public business in such a way as to add still more to the power of those who hold the special privileges of the nation.

It is only in England and in the United States that the people have been satisfied to build up a ruling class—the lawyers—and to put into their hands all branches of the Government.

The people of Russia have provided in their constitution that every person over eighteen years of age can vote if they are engaged in some useful employment, and have thus, in my opinion, disfranchised the lawyer, for a lawyer spends the first half of his life over the past, and the last half of his life trying to apply the past to the present, and lets the future go to hell; and I submit this is not a useful occupation.

Lawyers should be excluded from the bench and from every legislative assembly. A well-trained lawyer is unfitted for doing anything else except defending the cases that he is hired to defend, and he should be compelled to stick to that. Above all, he should not be entrusted with any share in the direction of public affairs.

XII. POLITICS.

Like most American boys I had been brought up to believe that the United States had a government of the people, by the people and for the people. My first real impressions to the contrary were obtained during my early experiences with Dakota politics. There I learned how the machinery of government is manipulated in the interest of those who are behind it and I learned something about the manipulators.

"Carpet-bag officials," as we used to call them, held the important offices in Dakota, while it was still a territory. The governors and other territorial officers were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate at Washington. Frequently these appointees lived thousands of miles from the territory in which they were appointed to serve and in many instances they had never set foot in these territories until they arrived to take up their official duties.

A territory is entitled to a "delegate" in the House of Representatives. The delegate has a seat, but no vote. He may sit on the floor; listen to the phrase-makers of the House; watch the proceedings; introduce bills; appear before committees to urge the interests of his territory and perform such committee work as the House may choose to assign. The delegate may also advise as to the appointment of local people such as postmasters and, in some instances, if he is in political sympathy with the President, he may secure the appointment of a citizen of the territory to a Federal post such as the land office. That, however, is very unusual.

In 1880 I was nominated for the position of delegate by the Republicans of the territory of Dakota, which at that time embraced what are now the two states of North and South Dakota. It had an area

of about 150,000 square miles, with about 30,000 or 35,000 Indians included in its population. When I went to Dakota in 1869 there were only 14,000 people in the whole territory outside of the Indian population, but in 1880 railroads were building all over Dakota and the population was increasing with great rapidity. After my nomination, I entered actively into the campaign, visiting the small towns and making speeches.

Meanwhile President Hayes had appointed as governor of the Territory of Dakota a citizen of New Hampshire named N. G. Ordway. During the summer preceding the election, Ordway came out to Dakota and took possession of the office. Ordway had been for twenty-years Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives, but in 1878, when the Democrats got control of the House, he was ousted from his position. Bill Chandler, who was factotum of the Republican Party for New Hampshire, secured Ordway's appointment as Governor of Dakota so that he might go out there, have the state admitted into the Union and then become one of the Senators. I watched the Governor's actions with a great deal of interest. His attitude towards the people of Dakota was extremely patronizing, and he talked about the people of Dakota as though, in his eyes, they were simply children entitled to his benevolent consideration. I soon found out that he was preparing to carry out the political program that had been mapped out for him. For example, he was reported as being engaged in filling a car with the products of Dakota with the idea of sending it through the eastern States as a means of inducing the emigrants or settlers to come out to Dakota and enter lands on the public domain.

Finally he announced that he had arranged with the railroads to carry this car without charge and had selected certain Dakota citizens to accompany it. It was also stated that the Governor had secured some of the very finest samples of corn, pump-

kins, oats and other agricultural products from western Iowa and eastern Nebraska, placed them in the car and proposed to represent them as the products of Dakota. When questioned about this he said, "Of course, Dakota is new, and agriculture is not far advanced, but we all know that we can produce just such products, and therefore it is proper to represent that we have produced them, in order to induce the settlers to come to Dakota and enter land." And this episode disgusted me, and in some of my speeches I made fun of the Governor's antics and alluded to him as the "Siox Chief", because having pronounced the word "Sioux" as Siox, and alluded to the town in which I lived as "Siox Falls."

After the campaign was over I went to Yankton on some business, and Newton Edmunds, who had been Governor of Dakota before I went to the Territory, and who in 1880 was a banker at Yankton, called on me at my hotel and advised me to see Governor Ordway before I left town. Edmunds told me that the Governor was very much offended at the allusions I had made in my speeches, and had said that unless I came and apologized, he would not issue my certificate of election as a delegate in Congress.

I immediately told ex-Governor Edmunds,—he was a man of excellent parts, of fair ability and strict integrity,—that if that was Ordway's attitude I would rather reaffirm what I had said about him, and that under no circumstances would I call upon him, but would leave it for him to decide whether to perform his duty as Governor and issue the certificate of election, or to betray his office in order to punish a political rival. I added that I rather thought his failure to perform his duty would not keep me from getting my seat in the House of Representatives. Before the 4th of the following March, when I would take my seat in the House, I received my certificate of Election from the Governor without comment, but I was told by friends in Yankton that the Governor remarked when he issued the certificate that he

guessed I might as well have it, as I would not amount to anything in Washington; I would be nothing but a wall flower, he said, while he would control the patronage ordinarily granted to a delegate from a territory. When I finally reached Washington, I found that South Dakota Post Office appointments were being made on the Governor's recommendation. At least one had been confirmed at an Indian Agency. I at once insisted that the Postmaster General remove Ordway's appointee and put in his place a man whom I recommended. The Postmaster General was reluctant to do this because Ordway had been very prominent in Republican politics and knew all of the leading men in the nation. He had also been the representative of the predatory interests, the railroads, the public utilities generally, the contractors, etc., about Washington, and he had acted, while Sergeant-at-Arms, as their go-between in the purchase of votes and the control of the lawyers who made up the bulk of members in the House of Representatives. Of course, the "bribe" always took the form of a "fee." Because of his intimate acquaintance with their deals, Ordway was feared by the politicians, and the Postmaster General finally refused to comply with my request.

The Post Office Department relies upon a delegate to recommend certain things that should be done in the territory that he represents, and I told the Postmaster General that I certainly would take no part whatever in trying to promote and protect the interests of the Government with regard to mail routes, etc., or ever visit his department again unless I was accorded the full recognition which belonged to a delegate, and so the matter rested until Congress convened. When Congress met I went to Senator Platt, of New York, with whom I was well acquainted, told him of the controversy that had arisen over South Dakota patronage between N. G. Ordway, as Governor and me as delegate and asked him to have

the Postmaster General recognize me as the Representative of Dakota instead of N. G. Ordway. Platt at once said, "Yes, you are entitled to that recognition. The Postmaster General is from my State. I suppose I endorsed him for the position, but Ordway has been to see me about this matter and he is a very powerful factor in Republican Politics, besides being very competent as a political manipulator. Now, you are a young man and he is a man of great experience; why don't you get together?" I told Senator Platt that was very difficult because of the Governor's statement that he would not issue my certificate of election unless I would apologize to him for what I had said about him, my reply was that I would never do it.

In a day or two, however, Senator Platt asked if I would receive and talk with the Governor if he called upon me. I told him I would, and thereupon I made an appointment through Senator Platt for Ordway to see me at my hotel the next evening.

The Governor arrived in due time, I took him to my room and he opened the conversation by saying that he was an old and experienced politician and had been in public life for many years; that I was a young man just starting out, but that I gave great promise for the future, and that he was anxious to form a political alliance with me to take control of the political affairs of the Territory of Dakota. He then proceeded, by way of argument and advice, to say that if I would consult him about all my appointments as delegates he would consult with me about his appointments as governor, and that by thus combining our influence and working in harmony, we could become so strong and influential as to elect each other to the United States Senate, when the territory of Dakota was admitted as a state.

After he had completed his argument I said, "Governor, this is the first time I have ever met you. I was not impressed by what I knew of you before this meeting. We are here with the idea of perfecting

some kind of an alliance by which we can work in political harmony. As things stand now, that would be very difficult. I have a suggestion, however. Suppose you go back to Dakota and attend to your duties as governor, while I look after the duties of my office here, in such a way as to promote the welfare of the people of Dakota. If you will do that, and use your office to promote the interests of South Dakota and its people, without consulting me at all, you will become so popular with the people and so strong politically that you will easily be the most prominent man in the territory. If you make a good, honest and capable Governor, and I make a good, honest and capable delegate in Congress, the time will not be distant when we will naturally work together,—our common purpose being the welfare of the people."

The governor did not take to that advice. He had never done anything that way and probably did not understand what I meant. He seemed to conclude that I talked that way because I wanted to make money, so he started on another track.

"You know," said Ordway, "I, as Governor, have the right to appoint the Commissioners of every new county that is organized. These commissioners can locate the county seat of the county, and therefore there is always great competition among the citizens of a county to secure these appointments so that they can locate the county-seat town. You know there are a great number of new counties being organized every year all over Dakota. Now, if you and I will go in together, we can so manipulate the organization of these counties as to get part of the land upon which the county-seat is located, or else we can make the people pay high who have land on which they want the county seat located.

"Besides that, there is something even bigger. People want a new capital city for the territory. By uniting together we might easily arrange to move the capital from its present location at Yankton to some