“MADE IN GERMANY”

The Hon. Joseph G. Cannon's Definition of International Socialism

By

L. WHITE BUSBEY

SATURDAY EVENING POST, DECEMBER 7, 1918
(Copyrighted)

MARCH 1, 1919.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919
HOUSE DOCUMENT NO. 1838.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

March 1, 1919.

Ordered, That the article in the Saturday Evening Post, entitled "Made in Germany; Uncle Joe Cannon’s Definition of Socialism,” be reprinted for the use of the House.

Jno. W. Jacks,

Journal Clerk, House of Representatives.
“MADE IN GERMANY”

Uncle Joe Cannon’s Definition of Socialism . . . By L. White Busbey

“MADE in Germany!” snapped out Uncle Joe Cannon when I asked him for an opinion concerning the disloyal acts which had sent Haywood and Debs to prison. “All this modern, militant, international socialism, under various names, should bear the familiar trade-mark ‘Made in Germany.’ I have heard much about German propaganda ever since this war began, but I suspect that the most dangerous propaganda of Germany began years ago when she sent out to the world this idea of international socialism, which should unite the workingmen of all countries to direct and control all governments in opposition to ‘capitalism as the controlling factor in fomenting war.’ This socialistic propaganda has destroyed all government in Russia, leaving that polyglot people in a ferment of anarchy; it has embarrassed England, France, and Italy, and it is trying to embarrass this Government in keeping the munition factories going and the stream of supplies moving across the sea to our armies and our allies in Europe.

“Germany gave birth to this propaganda many years ago, and yet Germany remains the most nationalized government in the world. They have their socialist parties in Germany and many socialists in the Reichstag who thunder in the index, but when
the Kaiser set his armies marching across Belgium in defiance of all international agreements and of all socialist doctrines the German socialists not only voted the military supplies demanded, but expelled their leader, Liebknecht, from the party because he voted as he preached against the military credits bill. That leader was repudiated by his fellow socialists at the same time the Kaiser sent him to prison.

THE NEW DESPOTISM.

"Bismarck, the architect of the German Empire, defined socialism as 'a water plug of phrases,' and the German socialists have approved that definition, with the apology that they were Germans before they were socialists; and I can respect them for forgetting their phrases for the fatherland, but I can not understand the socialist of this country who still holds to the water plug of socialistic phrases when this country is at war.

"Whether our socialists are simply infatuated with the phrases or are using socialism as a cloak for disloyalty, I will not pretend to say; but the revolutions in Russia—that against the Czar and that against Kerensky—were heralded as socialistic victories, and I fear that any considerable socialistic vote in this country would be heralded as a vote against the aims of the war and a demand for a compromising peace.

"But aside from any hidden purpose the socialistic agitators may have, and taking their phrase making at their own estimate as a propaganda for international rule in the interest of the workingman, their program is too ambitious. It is omnipotent, and they would supplant the Almighty as the one supreme ruler of the earth. The Kaiser has used the expres-
sion 'Me and God,' and his subjects have reversed it to 'God and the Kaiser,' but the socialists would become the whole thing and rule the world in the interest of a minority. They are not different from other ambitious reformers who assume the title 'We the People,' and their prayer is like that of the old farmer, 'Me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more.' They are in fact extreme individualists so far as the whole people are concerned, and would give no one a chance for heaven except through their party. They would appropriate the world and all it contains for their own class, and let the devil take the rest of us.

"The Industrial Workers of the World are international in their ambitions and efforts. They frankly acknowledge that they are a class recognizing no laws or rules of life except their own, and having no respect or consideration for any other men, women, or children than those on their own rolls. Loyalty to the I. W. W. and treason to the Government appear to be synonymous terms. Megalomania could go no further. It has carried the followers of Haywood and Debs to the extreme of class distinction and the egotism that they alone are above the law and the ordinary rules of life. It has also carried Haywood to the penitentiary. I have heard the I. W. W. called the I Won't Work order, and its leaders are of that order described by Paul to the Thessalonians as 'some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies.' I like that expression. It appears to fit the agitators, especially the violent labor agitators, who work not at all, but walk among us as busybodies. I also like Paul's advice: 'If any would not work, neither should he eat.' It is appli-
cable at this time when millions of our boys are in
the Army and men who have been exempted from
military duty have refused to help in war work.

"Those busybodies plan a government within the
Government of the United States, their inner gov-
ernment holding international relations with other
inner governments in other countries. What a com-
mentary on the prohibition in our Constitution
against the sovereign States of the Union from hav-
ing any foreign relations with other governments!
The busybodies who form political parties and secret
societies assume a right that is denied to the States
which created the Union. Why, if bankers or manu-
facturers or farmers attempted such efforts to over-
reach the Federal Government they would be brought
up with a sharp turn; and if soldiers were found cir-
culating such doctrines they would be shot at sun-
rise. But we are expected to tolerate any sort of
megalomania in the busybodies who pretend to speak
in the name of labor, however foreign their lan-
guage to the Constitution and the laws of the coun-
try. They are the victims of class consciousness to
the point of madness that would send the ordinary
man to an insane asylum as a dangerous paranoiac.
They know no flag except the black or red flag, which
they call their own, pretend to be as cosmopolitan as
the Christian religion and as frcc from legal or moral
restraint as are the aspirations of men concerning
heaven. Some of them go further and claim to be
the only true followers of the Master. I recently read
a book by one of the socialist leaders of this country
in which he represented Jesus of Nazareth as the first
labor agitator, and his disciples as walking delegates
trying to unionize all the labor of Galilee; and that
Jesus fraudulently proclaimed himself the Christ because it was the only way he could lift the dull workmen out of their lethargy—by appealing to the superstitious in their natures.

"Haywood and his like, in their open and flagrant disloyalty and in their plotting against the Government, are perhaps exaggerated cases, but they call attention to a tolerance in this country which encourages many men, especially of foreign birth, to carry the privilege of liberty to the point of disloyalty. In their class consciousness they assume that the territory of the United States is an open field for a warfare of classes which extends to the uttermost ends of the earth, and regardless of the laws of or the common welfare of the people of this country. Cut out the international assumption of all parties and societies, and let it be clearly understood that all here live under the laws of this country!"

"But we still have the masses against the classes?"

SOCIALIST CLASSES AGAINST THE MASSES.

"Oh, no. It is now the classes against the masses. The socialists and other like organizations have set themselves up as the classes who have a monopoly on the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God; and though they claim to represent all humanity they exclude the great majority, or the masses. I think there were about half a million votes cast for the socialist and labor tickets in the last presidential election and 18,000,000 votes for the Republican and Democratic tickets. In politics there is the division of the voters into classes and masses. We hear constant protest from the socialists and their kindred organizations against war, and of strikes for a dollar an
hour in Government shipyards, while 3,000,000 men in the Army and Navy are fighting for a dollar a day. The strikers represent the unpatriotic classes and the fighters the patriotic masses in this country. It is only a water plug of phrases when these representatives of the classes pretend that they represent the masses. They wouldn't represent the masses if they could. They are not in sympathy with the majority, and I suspect that if they ever found themselves with the majority on any question they would organize a new minority or class.

"Why, the census enumerates 40,000,000 people in gainful occupations in this country, and the Federation of Labor claims to have 3,000,000 affiliated with it—the same number, I think, that Mr. Gompers claimed 20 years ago. That is 7½ per cent of the working people, and that 7½ per cent assume to tell Congress what legislation is necessary for labor. Then come along the socialists and claim that they speak for the workingmen of all the world. The three tailors of Tooley Street who petitioned the House of Commons in the name of 'We, the people of England,' were not more presumptuous; and yet we laugh at that old illustration of consuming ego, but take seriously the men who pretend to be 'We the people,' to-day, because they often make a noise like a majority. The publishers tell us that it pays to advertise, and I guess it does when a small minority pretend to speak for the multitude, and make many people believe them.

"The McNamara brothers gave a striking illustration of the use that could be made of class consciousness. They claimed to speak and act for all organized labor, and they used dynamite to express their
views, destroying millions of property and killing more than a score of people. But their denunciation of the indictment against them was accepted by other labor leaders not only here but abroad, and the courts of California were criticized from one end of the country to the other as the corrupt tools of capital. Then after there had been created an almost worldwide suspicion that the McNamaras were the innocent victims of capitalism, the McNamaras, before the jury was impaneled, confessed to the crimes for which they had been indicted—confessed to secure a prison sentence instead of death.

"In that case labor organizations were no doubt imposed upon, but such was the power of class prejudice that no apologies or explanations were offered to the district attorney and the judge who had done their duty by all classes of society in bringing those men to trial and punishment. It was Bolshevism in its worst form.

LOCAL CRIME OUR OWN AFFAIR.

"I have no opinion as to the guilt or innocence of Thomas Mooney in another celebrated California case. Some one committed a crime against the people of San Francisco and the Nation when planting a bomb on the line of the patriotic parade which indorsed the Government's declaration of war against Germany. It was treason as well as murder. I don't pretend to know who did it. But I regret that the London Trades and Labor Council felt privileged to cable to the governor of California a protest 'against the execution of the sentence'; that another English labor organization telegraphed 'demanding the release of Tom Mooney,' and that President Wilson felt
called upon to suggest to Gov. Stephens that the case had assumed international importance.

"Under our form of government criminal jurisdiction is with the States, and in a Georgia case the Supreme Court of the United States declared that the Federal Government could not interfere. But here are organizations of men who are citizens of another country and assume to protest the verdict of the court in California. I am sorry that the President suggested that any case before the criminal courts of the States can assume an international importance. Mooney is a citizen of California, indicted for a crime against the people of California and tried by the courts of California. It is a case that can not be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, and yet it is said to have assumed international importance.

"I don't believe that the socialists or any other labor organization would be willing to have the question of the guilt or innocence of any of their own people—of Haywood or Debs—submitted to a popular vote even in this country, let alone throughout the world, for they are but a small minority of the whole people. After all, we had better continue to leave such matters to a jury of 12 men who hear and consider the evidence, and cut out all these suggestions that a murder trial or any other court proceeding in one of the States has or may become of international importance. Such suggestions tend to weaken and destroy the whole fabric of government and civilization and develop Bolshevikism like that of Russia.

"No; I haven't the slightest objection to a socialist party in this country discussing the policies that
should prevail here; but I do object to any political party here affiliated with a political party in some other country, I don't care what name it assumes. I don't believe that a man can be a loyal citizen of the United States and at the same time loyal to an international political party which ramifies throughout the world. A man can not serve two masters. If the socialists of this country are to negotiate with the socialists of England and France, and the socialists of those countries are to negotiate with the socialists of Germany as to how peace shall come and what shall be the settlement, they will take the whole question out of the hands of the President and Congress and leave out of consideration the great majority of the American people. I don't think we are ready for such a change in our Government and the elevation of a small minority of phrase makers as the ruling class of all the world—not in the settlement of this war. Let us keep our politics at home and have no political parties here with entangling alliances abroad.

"I recently had a minister of the gospel appeal to me to secure him a passport to India as a foreign missionary. The State Department would not give him a passport without some guaranty that he would not encourage revolution in that country. I believed that man to be a loyal citizen who would not consciously do anything to embarrass one of our allies, but I could not guarantee that his preaching of the gospel of Christ to a people who accepted another 'true prophet' might not give encouragement to those who were opposing the government of that country. That may be an extreme example, but when the world is on fire, with war covering that part of it which is
recognized as the center of Christian civilization, this Government is and should be very careful about permitting people with missions that reach the uttermost corners of the earth and include all manner of reforms to go out to spread the gospel of discontent. Let us have peace before we begin to revolutionize the world."

"Mr. Baruch says we are living in a highly organized state of socialism. Do you agree with him?"

"I suspect that Mr. Baruch has fallen into the phrase-making habit. We are living in the same state of self-sacrifice that the fathers did when they signed the Declaration of Independence and pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to carry it into effect. I think a better name for it is patriotism. When the life of the Nation is in danger the lives and fortunes of its citizens are subject to the call of the Nation. I would not call it socialism—not while socialists opposed the war and plot against the Government.

MR. GOMPERS'S DEFINITION.

"This Congress authorized the President to draft into the Army all men between the ages of 18 and 45 if necessary to win the war, and the President will classify these men so as to keep the munition factories going and the crops growing, as well as to keep soldiers in France. That law is known as the 'manpower law,' and the principle is 'work or fight,' whatever we may call it. I am glad to note the President's action in reminding the Bridgeport strikers that they must work or get into the ranks. Every citizen is expected to help win the war and make sacrifices to that end. The men in the shops and on
the farms are no freer to consider the war conditions from a selfish point of view than are the soldiers in the trenches. Mr. Gompers in a recent editorial in the Federationist, says: 'Any justified strike must be for the same cause for which our fellow men are risking their lives on the firing line.'

"That is good, clear English, and it ought to be easily understood by all men who are affiliated with the Federation of Labor and who acknowledge Mr. Gompers as a leader. What could justify a strike in a factory where war supplies are made, under Mr. Gompers's definition? Not for more pay, shorter hours, or recognition of the union, because none of these conditions enters into the service of the men who have risked their lives on the firing line. When all men engaged in war work at home accept Mr. Gompers's definition of a justifiable strike we shall have no more of them, and it will clear the air of suspicion that not all organized labor is loyally following Mr. Gompers as a member of the Council of National Defense.

"But this condition of war, which extends to every class and individual, is not socialism. It is the patriotic development of individualism, where we all unite our efforts to support the Government, and for the time being and for that specific purpose surrender to the Chief Executive of the Government all means of production and all means of communication that can be better controlled by him in producing and transporting more supplies than by individual enterprise. I don't believe Mr. Baruch has any idea that Government control will continue beyond the war, or that he would have such control continue. He has been too successful as an individualist to be willing
to become simply a cog in a Government machine, just like every other cog, and devoid of greater intelligence than the hundred million other cogs. That would be socialism, as I understand it, and I don't believe Mr. Baruch could now reduce himself to a common cog if he tried."

"But Secretary Morrison says that the 'work or fight' amendment to the draft bill was meant as a reflection on union labor?"

"More evidence of class sensitiveness or phrase-making, in my humble judgment. Mr. Morrison sometimes reminds me of a character in an old comedy who had just one short line, 'I wonder if he means me,' and repeated that line every time any other character made any remark about anybody or anything. The substance of that amendment is already in the law of May 16, 1918, and President Wilson has used his power under that law to bring the Bridgeport strikers to a sense of their responsibility to the Government. That amendment was also in line with the editorial of Mr. Gompers, which I suppose meets the approval of Mr. Morrison. This is not a good time for any responsible leader of men to 'wonder if he means me' when any legislation is proposed to help win the war."

MR. HAY'S MODEL SPEECH.

"What do you think about Mr. Gompers's mission to Europe?"

"John Hay was one of the most popular and successful ambassadors we have sent to England in the last half century. When Mr. Hay arrived in London his fellow craftsmen in literature gave him a banquet, and as it was just before the War with Spain
the world was curious to know what he would say. But John Hay the literary man and John Hay the ambassador of the United States were two different characters. Mr. Hay delivered a delightful talk to his fellow literary men on the subject of pumpkin pie as the most typical product of Uncle Sam. We all enjoyed Mr. Hay's humor over here, and I understand that the Englishmen caught on; but the curiosity as to the policy of the United States was not satisfied by that speech. On foreign policies Ambassador Hay spoke only to the Prime Minister or to the Queen of England, and then as directed by the Secretary of State or the President of the United States. There are some old forms and customs which I would preserve, and this is one of them. I would have our ambassadors represent our foreign policies as directed by the President, and save a babel of tongues as to this, that, or the other policy of the American people. If I were in the President's place I think I would have John Hay's pumpkin pie speech reprinted and have every American visitor to Europe supplied with a copy as a model for speeches and interviews while out of the country during the war."

"Are you opposed to labor unions?"

"Oh, no. In these days of great combinations of effort, labor must be organized as well as capital. But I suppose I would be called a scab by some of the radical labor men because I have on occasion exercised the right to work regardless of prejudice, rule, or even law. When I was a boy out in the Wabash country I worked in the field with a black man, and saw my father's horse and cow sold at auction to pay the fine for that offense against a well-established prejudice of that day. My father was a
Quaker and had emigrated from North Carolina that his children might escape competition with slave labor, and though Indiana was a free State it had what were called the black laws, which practically prohibited the employment of free negroes as laborers. The Woodward family in our Quaker settlement fell heir to an estate in Alabama. There was a plantation, some money, and a good many slaves. The ownership or inheritance of slaves was contrary to the Quaker conscience, and this inheritance became the subject of sober consideration by the Quaker meeting, to which the heirs submitted the question. The men's meeting discussed it and the women's meeting considered it, and then in joint session they decided that the heirs should accept the inheritance, bring the slaves to Indiana, manumit them, and use the money realized from the sale of other property to purchase land on which they should be settled as freedmen.

"My father was selected as the agent to go to Alabama and carry out the plan of settlement agreed upon at the Quaker meeting. He went south and in due time returned on a steamboat with about $50,000 and half a hundred negroes. The report of his coming up the Wabash with those negroes caused a commotion in that part of the country, and a considerable crowd met the boat at the landing to prevent the negroes from coming ashore. It was something of a mob, with the usual mob spirit. But the captain of the boat gave father a big pistol, and he at the head of his black immigrants walked down the plank. He was not stopped, for the crowd had a feeling that the nonresistance doctrine of the Quakers would not be observed on that occasion."
“The negroes were formally manumitted and settled in a colony of their own on a tract of land purchased with the money part of the inheritance, and they became thrifty colonists in time, not as communists but as individualists. There were several carpenters and blacksmiths as well as farmers and house servants among them, and they needed outside work in the beginning. The Quakers, being responsible for the immigration, did what they could to help them. The Indiana black laws were something like vagrancy laws in some parts of the country now, and made it unlawful to employ any negro who had not given bond that he would not become a public charge. The laws were capable of being used to prevent any black man from securing work, and they were so used in that section of the State, where the majority of the people had come from the South, were in sympathy with slavery and bitterly hostile to the Abolitionists.

LAWS AGAINST THE RIGHT TO WORK.

“My father employed one of these negroes to work on his little farm and my brothers and I worked with him while father was kept busy with his practice as a country doctor. There is where I broke the union rule, I suppose. The black laws were invoked and my father was haled to court for violating the law. The trial attracted much attention and T. H. Nelson, of Terre Haute, defended father. He produced evidence and compelled the judge to admit that he had been shaved that morning by a negro who had not given bond, and that he had another negro as a servant, contrary to that law. But the judge in his instructions to the jury held that the services of the

H. Doc. 1838, 65-3——3
barber and the house servant did not come within the prohibition.

"My father was fined to the limit of the law as a warning to the Abolitionists. He was a stubborn Quaker and refused to pay the fine. Friends offered to pay it for him and the Quaker meeting offered to raise the money, but he said 'Nay, nay; the court has adjudged the penalty and it may collect the fine according to the law.' So the sheriff came and took the horse which father had ridden in his ministrations to the sick, those of his persecutors as well as those of his friends, and sold it at public auction.

"The old saddle horse did not bring enough to pay the fine and costs, and the sheriff seized my mother's favorite cow.

"I was young and undisciplined then, and that sale made an indelible impression. I have ever since been somewhat prejudiced against laws or rules which denied a man's right to work. I am not opposed to collective bargaining as to wages or hours, but I am opposed to the collective boycott which says that a man shall not obey the first divine command that he shall eat his bread in the sweat of his face."

"Have you found much class consciousness among the people?"

"No; when you get down to the people and away from the so-called leaders. Out in Danville we have just folks who know each other and pretty generally respect each other. I suspect that is true of almost every community, except the great cities, where the newspapers try to create a four hundred; but that is largely if not entirely social camouflage; and I have been inclined to accept New York multimillionaires as folks since I have seen them here in Washington
working along with other folks to win the war, and working for a dollar a year, while some of our classes are striking for a dollar an hour. I found some of these plutocrats were old acquaintances whom I had known as clerks in Government departments years ago, and they came back with the everyday work habits they had of old. I have also noticed that the railroad presidents and directors, the men who controlled the telegraph and telephone systems, and other big enterprises representing billions of private capital, have gracefully accepted the action of the President in taking control of their properties for war emergencies.

"And on the other hand I have noted that Director General McAdoo recently felt called upon to remind the railroad workers that since the Government took control of the railroads he had increased their annual pay by nearly half a billion dollars, making necessary largely increased freight and passenger rates to the public, and admonishing them that they must not assume a public-be-damned attitude toward the public just because they are now on the Government pay roll. I hadn't heard that expression for nearly 40 years, and it sounded strange in a general order from the Director General within six months after the Government took control of all transportation facilities as a war measure.

"But the great majority of us are of the masses, American folks pulling together to win the war, and it is a poor time for any part of the population to talk about classes or to set themselves apart from the rest of us and claim special privileges either to obtain exemption from fighting or to earn greater profits because of the war. I don't believe that the working-
men—there are 40,000,000 of them—want to be other than folks. We are a lot of folks living in communities from Maine to California, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. We have a pretty fair acquaintance with and opinion of all other folks with whom we come in personal contact as fellow townsmen or country neighbors; for some one well said that it is difficult to hate a man whom you really know. We sometimes acquire prejudices against people living in other States or communities from reading newspapers and hearing Chautauqua orators who thunder against an imaginary class, which, like the ‘milk-sick,’ is always over in the next county. But when these attacks are brought home to us we generally get back to the relation of folks, and are sometimes like the old lady at the camp meeting who met the preacher’s declaration of the doctrine of infant damnation with ‘I thank my God that is a lie.’

OUR ANCIENT SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

“I have had some experiences of this character which gave me a much greater appreciation of the people whom I call my folks out in Danville, folks who include railroad workers, miners, shopmen, farmers, and business men; and when this war began do you know that the first call under the draft did not touch Danville, because more than our quota had already volunteered and were in the Army? I’m kind o’ proud of my folks, but I suppose every other man in Congress has folks of whom he is just as proud, and if we could assemble all the hundred million American folks in Europe so that the Kaiser could see them he would understand that he is not dealing with classes.
“This Sixty-fifth Congress has appropriated and authorized the expenditure of $53,000,000,000 for the conduct of the war against Germany. That is more money than was disbursed by this Government in peace and war from the date of its organization in 1789 down to April 6, 1917, when we declared war against Germany. We also have more men in the Army and Navy ready to fight than were engaged in all former wars, including that of the Revolution. Can you find a better answer to the complaint that the American people have ceased to be devoted to the cause of liberty—liberty for all mankind everywhere as well as at home—than this outpouring of men and money in the years of 1917 and 1918 by the unanimous vote of Congress and with practically the unanimous approval of the masses of American men and women? No, the ideals of the American people have not changed. They are still the same as they were when the Republic was established 140 years ago. I have little patience with those who prate about the decadence of the spirit of liberty in this country and howl for socialism or pure democracy in a land dedicated to liberty, equality of opportunity and justice in the beginning, and so gloriously upheld in this year of our Lord 1918.”

“You haven't mentioned the Nonpartisan League.”

“Well, I don't know much about that organization except from hearsay; but when the farmers get off the reservation they generally go the limit and indulge in all the ghost dancing that is known to them. It has always been so; perhaps because the farmers are freer in their actions, political and otherwise, than are city men. They live in closer touch with nature, have more natural elements to contend with, and when
drought or flood or grasshoppers come or things go wrong they are just as likely to blame the Government as God. The grange movement was radical in its beginning, and so was the Farmers' Alliance, the first following after the greenback craze and the latter embracing W. J. Bryan and free silver.

OLD AS THE ENvy OF CAIN.

"Jerry Simpson was probably the most radical socialist we ever had in Congress, and he was elected by the farmers of Kansas. William Allen White, who is considered an authority on Kansas and Kansan reforms, at that time said: 'Nowhere else is the American socialist so earnest, so outspoken, and so unhampered by scruples as in Kansas.' They called the Kansas movement the new socialism, but Mr. White said it was the old socialism, as old as the envy of Cain, and that the only new thing about it was the conditions left by busted booms in Kansas, where people who had expected to get rich on borrowed capital adopted the phrase 'the rights of the user are paramount to the rights of the owner,' and grew hysterical about mortgages until they followed Mrs. Lease's advice to 'raise more hell and less corn and wheat!'

"I suppose the Nonpartisan League is the result of another like condition in the Northwest, where the farmers are in the majority and are trying to correct the mistakes of nature and their own by making laws that benefit only themselves. I am told that in one of the States controlled by the league they have enacted a law to tax all city automobiles to secure revenue for good roads, and provide that none of this revenue shall be used to build or repair any road
within 5 miles of a city. That is class legislation, pure and simple, and yet it is a fair sample of socialism as it is put forward by those who adopt it as a slogan; the same kind of socialism that Haywood had for the I. W. W. and Debs had for his party—government for a class.

"There is one difference between the farmer socialist and the city socialist, however. The farmers are not much given to internationalism. They are inclined to concentrate on their own grievances and not worry about the rest of the world. The Nonpartisan League is appropriating lawmaking to its own uses in the Northwest, and they may try to do the same thing in Washington, but I doubt if they will get very busy about the general condition of the world. I don't know of any international farmers' movement, for after all their grievances our American farmers know that they are better off than the farmers anywhere else in the world, and they do not care to come into too close competition with them, not even those across the Canadian line. I guess that the farmer is not more selfish than the rest of us, but he is not educated in altruistic phrase-making, and his socialism is confined to a more restricted orbit."

"But there have been honest efforts along socialistic and communistic lines?"

"Yes; honest and earnest efforts, no doubt, from the beginning of time, but they have all proved to be dreams, as beautiful as soap bubbles in the sunshine—and just as frail when they come in contact with the earth. The philosophers dreamed such dreams before the beginning of the Christian era, and they put their dreams in books, just as have the theorists of this later time, but I do not know of any
effort they made to make their dreams real. Some of the early Christians tried to follow the teaching of Peter and ‘had all things common,’ but they did not make a success as did the religious orders of the Middle Ages—the Benedictine, Dominican, and Franciscan monks, who renounced property, marriage, and citizenship. Those monks made the greatest success in communism that has been recorded, and though I have great admiration for them I don’t know where the human family would be to-day if all the men had become monks and all the women nuns 2,000 years ago.

“We have had experiments in communism in this country, some of them very earnest. I think the most notable experiment was out on the Wabash, in Posey County, Ind., by Robert Owen. I once heard Robert Dale Owen tell about the origin and failure of communism at New Harmony. A German by the name of George Rapp established a communist colony there in 1815, bringing his colonists from Wurtemberg in 1803, and first settling in Pennsylvania. They were schismatics from the Lutheran Church and they recognized Rapp as their leader by divine right. They believed in the Biblical injunction of holding all things in common, that celibacy was better than marriage, and that they should be one in heart and soul, but Rapp was an absolute dictator.

“In 1813 Rapp purchased 30,000 acres of Government land in Posey County, Ind., on the banks of the Wabash and not far from its confluence with the Ohio. He moved his colony there in 1815, built a village, and called it Harmonie. He had about 800 people, men and women, all Germans. They were industrious and frugal, and were remarkably suc-
cessful in a material sense, their per-capita wealth increasing from $25 to $2,000 in 10 years. But Rapp for some reason tired of the location and planned to go back to Pennsylvania. He commissioned George Flower, who had helped to establish a colony in Illinois, as his agent to dispose of the property. Flower interested Robert Owen in the colony. Owen was a successful cotton manufacturer at New Lanark, Scotland, and had built up a great business, but he had ideals. He had figured out that the revolution which machinery had brought to Great Britain would enable that country to have a productive capacity equal to the manual-labor power of two worlds as populous as this one. The figures astounded him and the failure of the workingmen to better their condition depressed him. It was about this time that George Flower visited Owen and told him about the German community at Harmonie. The hard-headed and soft-hearted Scotch manufacturer saw visions of success for a world-old idea in a virgin country, and he returned with George Flower to America, visited Harmonie, and paid Rapp $150,000 for the plant.

OWEN'S EXPERIMENT.

"He then went back to Europe and interested other idealists in his plan to make Harmonie a truly ideal community. He did not intend to follow the communism of Rapp, which had built up a beehive of industry. He could not with his Scotch teachings get away from the home, the hearthstone, the family, wives, mothers, and children. He wanted the humanizing influences—flowers, art, music, education, and the luxuries of life. He changed the name to New Harmony and he planned for homes with sweet-
hearts and wives, children, and schools, music, literature, culture, religious and political freedom and equality. He brought back from Europe scholars, scientists, artists, musicians, and intellectuals of every sort, all filled with enthusiasm over the idealizing of Rapp's materialism. Robert Dale Owen declared that there was not at that time, 1825, such another combination of cultured people to be found in a small community anywhere in America.

"But Owen extended his invitation to all people who cared to come and share in this new Eden, and within a year he had colonists from every State in the Union and from nearly every country in Europe. There was no discrimination, and vagrants from other colonizing schemes, waifs from the latest religious heresies, and ne'er-do-wells of all sorts came to join the colony; and Owen, with his ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity took them all in. They were all to enjoy the same remuneration for their labor and they had a new and ideal democracy. They had schools and churches, an amusement hall with weekly dances, lectures on art and literature, a newspaper, pictures, and flowers, and a very happy community for a year while Owen paid the bills; and Owen sunk about $300,000 in the experiment. Then came failure, failure not only as a financial proposition but failure in its idealism, for the serpent crawled into New Harmony just as he did into Eden, and there were heartburnings, jealousies, ambitions, and scheming, and in May, 1827, New Harmony ceased to be a community.

"Robert Owen went back to his cotton mills in Scotland just two years after he began his work at New Harmony, and his son said of the experiment:
It found favor with the heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees to principle, honest latitudinarians and lazy theorists, with a sprinkling of unprincipled sharpers thrown in, but it failed. Robert Dale Owen remained in this country and became a distinguished literary man, a Member of Congress, and a diplomat; and though he continued an idealist he admitted that he and his father had made a serious mistake in trying an industrial experiment with equal remuneration to all men, the diligent and the dilatory, the skilled artisan and the common laborer, the genius and the drudge.

AN ANTIDOTE FOR SOCIALISM.

"There was another and more commonplace settlement in southern Indiana, only a few miles east of New Harmony. Over in Spencer County a poor Kentucky family settled in 1816 and built what was called 'a half-faced camp,' or a rude hut closed on three sides and open to the weather on the fourth side. This camp was in the woods, and in that hut a boy used the fire shovel for a slate and a bit of charcoal for a pencil in writing out words and sentences and in doing sums. It was from that camp a youth walked 15 miles to borrow a grammar from another backwoodsman in 1825, and if he had kept on for another 15 miles he might have walked straight into New Harmony about the time when Robert Owen was surrounded by the greatest galaxy of educators and cultivated men and women to be found anywhere in the West at that time, and a perfect heaven of books.

"But the youth had not heard about New Harmony and its plan of cooperation, universal education, uni-
universal suffrage, and universal happiness. He borrowed the grammar and returned to the half-faced camp in the woods, to study and in time develop the strength and purity of expression that made the Gettysburg speech a world classic. I am rather glad that Abraham Lincoln did not hear about New Harmony, Robert Owen, and his great idea to make one big family of a lot of indiscriminate people in 1825. It might have made him a dreamer like the others who gathered there, and lost him to the country and the world.

"The Hoosiers have followed the ideals of Lincoln rather than those of Robert Owen, but they are not a prosaic people. Literature is almost as prolific as politics in Indiana, and both are of the plain folks. I sometimes wonder if the cultured men and women who assembled at New Harmony would have understood and appreciated James Whitcomb Riley as we of this generation do; or have given as hearty encouragement to other Hoosiers who have contributed to American literature, in romance and poetry and Fables in Slang. I fear they would have been quite as critical of the literary ideals of the present-day Hoosiers as they would have been of Hoosier politics, which is the nearest approach to perpetual motion that has ever been developed, because it is universal and continuous, keeps the people on a political pivot and alive to the duties and privileges of citizenship. It is not socialistic in any way, but it is a good antidote for the socialism which would substitute for citizenship of the State and the Nation citizenship of the world.

"I would let the socialists emigrate to Russia, where there now appears a good field for the aboli-
tion of all kinds of patriotism and a return to the political ideals of the cave men. I would let the parlor socialists and the college socialists go as a part of this emigration, for they are but dilettant Bolsheviks. We can spare them all, because their ideas are too altruistic in expression and too savage in action to be encouraged in this country. Some college professors appear to have become infatuated with internationalism and are in large measure responsible for a lot of this effort to expand citizenship beyond home and country, and I have heard that they learned this in German universities. They remind me of the expression of one of my farmer constituents who called some college professors 'educated idiots.' I haven't any use for that kind of education, especially when it is so expansive that in considering the universe it leaves out home and country, and sneers at patriotism as the last resort of knaves. Let us hold on to the old ideals that are of the home, country, individual effort and individual rewards for effort, with citizenship as the cornerstone of the state.

"We had another English settlement in Edwards County, Ill., which did not become communistic, whatever the intentions of the founders when they came to this country. It was established in 1817 by two Englishmen, who like Robert Owen were men of considerable wealth, education, and culture. Morris Birkbeck had been an extensive and successful farmer in England, and George Flower a man of wealth, education, and travel; both had met Jefferson, were friends of Lafayette, and had become acquainted with Edward Coles, a large Virginia planter who visited London. Through these acquaintances Birkbeck and Flower decided to come to America and establish a
settlement, using their wealth and agricultural experience to transplant the most advanced methods in farming, bring the best breeds of sheep and cattle with them, and invite immigrants from their own part of England to make the settlement one of harmony as well as of intelligence and experience.

"They finally located their settlement in Edwards County, just across the Wabash River and about 25 miles from the Rappist community at Harmonie, Ind. They purchased several thousand acres of Government land, part of it prairie and part timberland, and there they located the village of Albion, which is now a flourishing town and the county seat.

"But the followers of Birkbeck and Flower did not have a ready-made community awaiting them as did the friends of Owen. They had to contend with conditions which other pioneers to the West faced, with wild wet prairies, flies and mosquitoes, and ague, from which none escaped. It was a condition that called for individual initiative as well as cooperation, where only an individual stake with prospects for the future gave men the courage to fight on and win. Then the two leaders became estranged soon after locating their settlement. Both fell in love with the same woman, the foster daughter of Birkbeck, who was a widower. She married Flower, and the long and close friendship of the two founders of Albion ended, their settlement divided into Birkbeckites and Flowerites, and rivalry, jealousy, and strife endured where harmony was to have been the foundation.

THE EVE OF THE EDEN.

"The two leaders never became friends again, but they both became coworkers with Gov. Coles in his
great contest against repealing the clause of the first State constitution prohibiting slavery in Illinois. Edward Coles had sold his plantation in Virginia and emigrated to Illinois, where he manumitted his slaves. He had an experience like that of my father, and was prosecuted and fined for employing negroes in defiance of the Black Laws of Illinois. He was elected governor of the State in 1822, and his administration faced one of the greatest contests we ever had in Illinois, over an effort to change the constitution so as to recognize slavery. Birkbeck and Flower threw themselves whole-heartedly into that contest and contributed much to the defeat of slavery in Illinois. It was their only cooperation after they located at Albion.

"Their settlement waxed strong, and the English settlers showed the same dogged determination as other pioneers in their contest with the wet prairies, until Albion became the center of one of the most typical American communities in the State. When Birkbeck and Flower located their settlement Edwards County extended from the Ohio River to the Canadian boundary and included more than half of Illinois. The State and the West owe a good deal to that English settlement and the two men who founded it and sank their fortunes in the venture. They had just as high ideals as Robert Owen, and it may be that rivalry in love had something to do with their not following the ideal of New Harmony to a roseate blossoming and an early decay. They followed, by force of circumstances perhaps, the slower and more practical plan which has developed America—individual effort, individual reward, and the hearthstone as the
family center. Perhaps a woman spoiled another theoretical Eden in its beginning, and again served to remind us that after the expulsion from the first Eden the ground produced thorns and thistles as well as good fruit. At any rate, Albion became, like other Illinois settlements, a virile western community of individual efforts, individual ambitions, and individual rewards, and the very opposite of socialism.

"I have been told that the greatest ambition and the greatest disappointment of George M. Pullman was his model community of Pullman. Mr. Pullman had made a great success as an individual worker and the head of a corporation, had gone from a poor inventor to the place of a rich and famous captain of industry; and when the company built its new shops just south of Chicago he insisted on carrying out a dream in which communism and paternalism were combined. He purchased a large tract of land and laid out the town of Pullman. He employed the best-known architects and landscape artists to plan a model town, and in a year or two there sprang up like a beautiful mirage a city with all the conveniences and embellishments that were then believed to be possible in such a settlement. There were parks and drives, a beautiful lake with pleasure boats, one of the finest opera houses in the land, a library, churches and schools, model houses for the employees of the Pullman shops, with water, gas, electric lights, bathrooms, and all the latest sanitary conveniences; and all built at the expense of the Pullman Co. for the convenience of the employees, to make them contented and happy, and at a reasonable, almost a nominal, cost to them.
THE END OF A ROSY DREAM.

"Philanthropists, welfare workers, artists, publicists, and communists from all parts of the world visited Pullman and praised the wise mingling of business combination and consideration of the welfare of the employees which Mr. Pullman had developed. The best theatrical companies were engaged for the theater, the latest books and current literature for the library, the best teachers for the schools, sanitary experts looked after the streets and public utilities, and Pullman was an artistic realization of Robert Owen's dream at New Harmony; but it lacked one essential: It was a dream that had never been realized and was not to be realized by Mr. Pullman.

"The company owned the town, and the residents could not hope to own the property that they occupied. They were denied the one great privilege of American citizenship. They could not tear down and rebuild or remodel their houses, use the bathrooms for coal bins, tear up the streets of cedar block and try asphalt, regulate the police or vote franchises to other companies. They could not mortgage or take mortgages on the property, trade one house for another or for a vacant lot on which to build according to their own plans. They could not in fact engage in the great game of individual enterprise, and soon there was dissatisfaction in this Eden of a corporate enterprise because it did not represent individual ownership.

"Instead of a philanthropist Mr. Pullman came to be regarded as an overlord, and the condition was ripe for the labor agitators who came to organize the Pullman shops, foment a strike which others managed to expand to all the railways of the West, tie up all
traffic, develop riots in Chicago with great destruction of property, and even stop the United States mails until President Cleveland exercised his authority as Commander in Chief to order the Army into Chicago, contrary to the wishes of the governor of the State, and end the lawlessness.

"So ended Mr. Pullman's dream of a workingman's paradise under the fostering care of a corporation. Pullman soon became a part of Chicago, lost its identity, and the mirage that had rested over the southern shore of Lake Michigan dissolved in the fierce heat of American independence and individualism.

"No, you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and you can't change human nature from intelligent self-interest into pure idealism—not in this life; and if you could, what would be left for Paradise?"