

PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 21, 1914.

NATION'S UNIMPAIRED RESOURCES ARE SUFFICIENT TO INSURE PROSPERITY; PLAN OF ECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION PROVED BAD

Thomas Lawson Declares Faith in Country's Natural Wealth and Predicts Business Progress at Record Speed Once Confidence Has Replaced Uncertainty.

ERA OF SWOLLEN FORTUNES CALLED MISLEADING

Author of "Frenzied Finance," Now an Oregon Visitor, Declares People Dazzled by the Spectacle of Great Wealth, Have Failed to See Remedy.

By Fred Lockley

"As Grover Cleveland used to say, 'It is a condition, and not a theory, that confronts us,'" said Thomas B. Lawson, at Cottage Farm, near Hood River, recently. "You cannot persuade the American people today that the depression we are experiencing is merely a theory. It is a condition to all of us, and a very serious one to many. We are all groping through the fog and trying to find a way out. I know of trying what the trouble is and I know the remedy. This is the first time this remedy there will be hell to pay. I have not been saying much; I am working. Results is what I am after. Senator Owen and I are pulling together on the stock exchange bill. "The trouble with most people is they do not get a broad view. They talk with their own little clique, and they do not understand the attitude of the other fellow in the least. Take the typical banker for example. He may know what the other banker—his fellow club member—thinks and believe, but what does he know of the view of the ditch digger or the railroad brakeman, or somebody else whose vote counts for just as much as his own?"

"While coming west a few days ago I received three telegrams on the train asking me to stop over for an important conference. I was unable to do this, but I got a telegram from Portland to meet the man who sent the telegrams. I found he was a big man. I was very sorry I could not stop over and discuss the situation with him. I said up until 2 o'clock in the morning talking with the conductor of our train. All my life I have been trying to get the other man's viewpoint and have talked with him with all sorts and conditions of men. I believe I am a pretty good judge of human nature and know what the people are thinking and feeling. "Forty-five years ago I got my first job as an office boy. I was 12 years old at the time. I have discovered there is only a hair line between the brakeman and the president of the road, the messenger boy and the head of the company. Carl Gray used to be an engine wiper; today he is a railroad president.

"Today it seems as if everyone is puzzled with the problem of existence. It is a big problem, and we are here so short a time and only to look at it from one angle. When you get to know men in the top layer—men like Emerson, Blinmarck, Lincoln and Gladstone—you find they had problems, who were puzzled also. The rest of us tackle smaller problems, and our problems are just as confusing and just as hard to solve as were their problems. Today there are many serious, earnest men who are trying to solve the present problem, and who refuse to be led by their pockets or their self-interest. "The reason the demagogue gets his following is because he gives the public what it wants, and then he gives it a plausible argument that it cannot follow. Where we fall down is in trying to handle all the problems of the universe. There ought to be a college which would take a man of 20, find out his inclination, and then educate him along his particular line.

The Age of the Specialist. "People say to me, 'What are you still working on?' I say, 'The sugar trust. Just as though that is a problem that you could take up and settle in a few minutes and go on to some new problem. Today we do not know anything about it. You do not go to the old family doctor when you have eye trouble, ear trouble, throat trouble, toothache or appendicitis. You go to a man who is a specialist in his particular line. I have asked me to give my opinion of the Panama canal. I tell them to go to the Panama specialist, for my specialty is the financial problem.

"Joseph Pulitzer was one of the wisest men I have ever known. In 1894 I went to London for an hour's interview with him. The sugar trust was then a hundred million dollar trust. Within a few years it had become a billion and a half dollar trust, and then it was that I wrote 'Frenzied Finance.' The whole public sat up and took notice in 1894 over the \$100,000,000 trust, but they did not turn a hair when 30 years later they were told of the \$1,500,000,000 trust. I went to Pulitzer I was in the dollar business, and I had been digging away at the financial problem for years, so I believed I knew something about it. From a physical standpoint I believe I was 100 per cent qualified to tackle the problem; but you could mark me down as 100 per cent qualified in ambition to solve the problem. I found that Pulitzer, wise as he was, was unable to propose any remedy or give me any answer to my question as to the regulation of these vast trusts.

"One thing that has helped me towards the study of this problem is the fact that I have been free handed in a pocketwise way for the past 25 years. Many poor devil who knows more than you, cannot talk for it would cost him his job or lose him his money. After more than 30 years' study of this problem and talking about it people begin to think that am a big chasing shades or hopping over rainbows.

"The present condition is not sectional; it is national wide. I find that the thinkers in Oregon are more confused this year than they were last. In the east they are much more confused than they were a year ago; they are much more confused than when the Democrats went into office. The American nation today is very much

perturbed about the cause of the present depression, and it is confused about the future. Both the Democrats and the Republicans are marking time and not knowing what to do. They do not know how to explain our present condition. I am absolutely unbiased in expressing my opinion, for I am a lifelong Republican, yet a great admirer and believer in Wilson. I believe in what he is working for, and I believe in his ability to accomplish things for the future. These problems have been brewing for 20 years, and for 20 years it has been inevitable that we must come to the day of reckoning. I believe my actions prove that I am the strongest sort of admirer of Roosevelt.

"The American people have been riding for a fall; they have been going full tilt at a stone wall too high to be jumped, too deep to dig under, and too thick to be thrown over with the force of their impact. The people have been brought to the realization of this stone wall by picking themselves up pretty well battered from their contact. "The American people have had prosperity; they have seen come out of this prosperity so many tremendously large fortunes—fortunes that carried them almost to unlimited power; fortunes that have given them the power to make other fortunes, and to override the laws of the land, and to escape just punishment when caught with the goods. The people have become dazzled first and then dazed in watching these fortunes—their making, their passing and their return. "The American people have had prosperity; they have seen come out of this prosperity so many tremendously large fortunes—fortunes that carried them almost to unlimited power; fortunes that have given them the power to make other fortunes, and to override the laws of the land, and to escape just punishment when caught with the goods. The people have become dazzled first and then dazed in watching these fortunes—their making, their passing and their return.

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Faulty Scheme of Distribution. "About 12 or 15 years ago the people began to realize that something was radically wrong; that the ninety-nine millions were getting a smaller and smaller share of the nation's tremendous prosperity, and that the favored million was getting more and more. It was at this psychological moment, some 18 or 22 years ago, that the 'peculiar creature' afterwards classified as a 'muckraker' began to educate the ninety-nine millions on the condition of the first big business made light of his attacks; at first the muckraker made only a small ripple in the placid waters of the national life, but the tiny circle began to increase until it covered the whole land from Canada to the gulf, and from Boston to the Pacific. "The net result of the people's work—the work of the ninety-nine million for this year is going to be a tremendous surplus—more than enough to satisfy everyone, and to keep prosperity hurdling through the land 20 this surplus should be fairly and equitably distributed among those who produced it, among those who, by every law of nature, are entitled to it. This was the message that the muckraker in always simple, though often lurid wording, got before the American people and followed it up by pointing to where the accumulated wealth, which should have gone to the people, had really gone to the million, instead of the ninety-nine million. As a matter of fact, he showed how the bulk of it had gone to the one hundred thousand out of the million, and how about ten thousand of this one hundred thousand had shrewdly gotten most of it. The muckrakers began to ding into the minds of the fast awakening people the fact that the riches by which the one hundred thousand and some of the one hundred thousand and a few of the million, had taken from them without their honestly paying for the uncountable wealth which had come from the effort of all the people. So this is the cause of it; this is the reason for the unrest—the awakening of the people to the fact that they are being short-changed and not getting a square deal. The ninety-nine million people have at last awakened to the fact that there has grown up in this country a favored class—favored far more than any monarchical or royal class in the old world. The American people have at last discovered and have begun to realize that we have class and mass here in the United States; they have begun to realize that they are in one class, and the few who have robbed them are in another class; they have begun to realize that we have come to class distinctions without our proud boast of equality and freedom. We have our ruling class here in America, and it is imperial; what you call it, whether you give it the name of the capitalist class, or whether you call it 'dollar royalty.' The people today fully un-

derstand that there is a class which has ruled them in the past years, is undertaking to rule them at present, and presumes to rule them in the future.

"The thinkers of the Republican, the thinkers of the Democratic party, the thinkers of the Progressive party, realize the existence of this class, and they know that the people themselves have at last awakened to realization of this condition. It is this realization among the thinkers that makes them all the more confused and more uncertain than ever before, for they know they will have to find a remedy if we expect to continue as a republic.

"Everywhere today, in the city, in the village, on the farm, in the mines, the question is being discussed by the top class and the poor devils underneath and by the countless in-betweens what is the remedy, what has the future in store for us? "You can see that it is a big question; you can see that there must be a remedy, and realizing this and not knowing the remedy has caused the present uncertainty, misgivings and fear.

"There is nothing whatever the matter with the nation as a nation; its machinery is all in perfect gear; our resources are unimpaired; our crops are going to be record-breakers, and we are ready to whirl ahead at record speed at any time the public gives the word; that is, as soon as confidence replaces the present uncertainty, misgivings and fear. "There is nothing the matter with the American people. Our homes are in order; we have no contagion or pestilence; our business machinery is geared to a perfect nicety so that we can give a world-wide demonstration of prosperity. Nature is smiling. She is moving—she is unparalytically leaning with harvests in every nook and corner of the land.

"There is no reason why happiness, health and peace should not prevail throughout the land, barring the little Mexican speck, which is a speck that cannot possibly grow beyond speed which the American people are in order; we have no contagion or pestilence; our business machinery is geared to a perfect nicety so that we can give a world-wide demonstration of prosperity. Nature is smiling. She is moving—she is unparalytically leaning with harvests in every nook and corner of the land.

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Change in Conditions Imperative. "Unless we make a change, the conditions which we are now facing will be apt to culminate in scenes such as were witnessed in the French Commune. When I talked that doctrine 10 years ago the American people smiled tolerantly and said that we, in this country, could never come to a condition such as the one which erupted in so much French blood and in such destruction of French wealth. "Unless the American people get busy now with a practical remedy, we will witness scenes that will make the French Commune resemble a parlor charade by comparison with the crazing of the class hatred in this country. When I go among my Wall street and Dollar Royal associates, they make no bones of gritting their teeth and giving a good imitation of a jungle tiger as they say, 'we will sacrifice our last dollar before we will give in to the anarchistic friends of labor or the demands of the administration at Washington.' My labor leader friends grind their teeth and snarl as they say, 'we will see the believing millions in hell before we will allow them to saddle us and ride us again, even though we starve and our wives and children go on the streets as the price of resistance.' When I talk to my friends in Congress and to the political leaders, they throw up their hands and say, 'My God, can it be possible in this country that there can be such bitterness?' Yes, we are facing a condition and not a theory, and the bitterness is outcropping everywhere.

"The Patersons of New Jersey, the dynamiters of Indiana and California, the tent massacres in Colorado, are realities and not the fustian of mad muckrakers. In Colorado today we are seeing conditions which are more brutal than those of the French Commune, and anyone who denials that the Patersons of New Jersey, the dynamiters of Indiana and California, the tent massacres in Colorado, are realities and not the fustian of mad muckrakers. In Colorado today we are seeing conditions which are more brutal than those of the French Commune, and anyone who denials that the Patersons of New Jersey, the dynamiters of Indiana and California, the tent massacres in Colorado, are realities and not the fustian of mad muckrakers. 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