

The Evening Herald

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Published every afternoon except Sunday by The Herald Publishing Company at 102-122 South Fifth street, Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Entered as second class matter at the postoffice at Klamath Falls, Oregon, on August 20, 1924, under act of Congress, March 3, 1879.

MAIL RATES PAYABLE IN ADVANCE			
By Mail	Outside County	Delivered by Carrier	In City
Three months	\$1.75	One month	\$0.65
Six months	3.25	Three months	1.95
One year	5.90	Six months	3.50
		One year	6.90

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Friday, October 18, 1929

Paying For Corruption

WE Americans, as everybody knows, are a very fine and intelligent people. But somehow there seems to be times when we are guilty of some extremely foggy mental processes.

There is, for instance, the matter of the prohibition indictments recently voted in northwestern Indiana.

Nearly 300 men were indicted there after a long investigation by federal officials. Among this number, in addition to the usual collection of bootleggers, restaurant keepers, vice lieutenants and such fry, there were one mayor of a city, several other city officials and a group of policemen.

When this news appeared in the papers the ordinary, respectable American shook his head sadly and wondered what things were coming to, and why. The ordinary American thereupon convicted himself of some foggy thinking.

Corruption such as was just uncovered in Indiana is a thing that can be traced directly to the doors of several millions of men who do not, ordinarily, consider themselves poor citizens.

These guilty ones are the men who patronize bootleggers.

They, in the last analysis, are the men who are responsible for this kind of scandal. They are the men who provide the money that bribes policemen and prohibition agents, the money that trickles illegally into the pockets of mayors and councilmen, the money that pays for gang wars, corrupt politics and crooked attorneys.

The thing is so obvious that it hardly needs explanation. Yet most of us utterly fail to see it.

The country is full of upright, well-intentioned people who deplore lawlessness and corruption—but who also ring up their bootleggers' every so often to buy a little liquid cheer.

Did you, oh gentle and fearless reader, ever perchance buy a pint of gin for a few after-dinner cocktails? Did you ever invest in a few bottles of beer to salve an evening's poker party? If you did, you have no reason to complain of crooked office-holders or corrupt police officers. Your own money helped to corrupt them. You yourself were the original bribe-giver.

This, of course, is self-evident. Yet most of us don't grasp it. We throw up our hands when we read of a mess like this in Indiana—and then we do our part to multiply such messes by putting more dollars into the rum ring's slush fund.

You can think as you please about the virtues or otherwise of prohibition, of course. But if you patronize the bootlegger—even if it's only occasionally—don't be surprised at the things that your money does.

Whether you like prohibition or not, it's an obvious fact prohibition's corruption is paid for by the bootleggers' patrons.

EDITORIALS

From Over the Nation

Copper's Weekly: With the boom in the stock market, we are having an epidemic of mergers. Big business is getting bigger—ever gigantic. Chains and consolidations of every sort are under way, from food products and chemicals to banks and railroads, and other utilities. About thirty great railroad systems now control 75 per cent of the country's 800 railways and need only the consent of the interstate commerce commission to take over and operate this mileage directly.

Congress has purposely made laws which tunnel through the Sherman anti-trust act and the Clayton law. And the merger-makers are marching through this breach where it has been made permissible for them to go through.

The government itself is encouraging the merger of railroads where it believes a merger will in time benefit the public through the unity, economy and increased efficiency of such operation; where it believes the usefulness of the merged roads will be augmented.

The natural and logical tendency of business the world over, is to grow bigger. The movement is inescapable, it is an evolution. But as this is not yet an entirely altruistic world, during this drift toward larger and larger combinations, or capital, the welfare of the consumer must be assured, or at least safeguarded and looked after.

To have a boom in the stock market and an epidemic of mergers at the same time—both going strong—doesn't look like a mere coincidence. Such a market offers a fine opportunity to

public has some warrant for suspecting that the chief reason for some of these mergers is what the promoters can get out of the stock market exploitation of these properties. With thousands of Americans gone speculation-mad, it looks as if there might be millions in such stock juggling.

The department of justice is preparing to devote more attention to anti-trust violations. Attorney General Mitchell has asked for an additional \$75,000 for this work.

Not long ago a well-known industry effected a nation-wide merger. In full page announcements published in newspapers all over the country, this concern made known the reasons for the merger and the belief that it would result in economy of operation and superiority of product.

Not only was that good business advertising for the corporation; it probably went far to convince the public that this consolidation was on the square and had honest intent behind it.

Every time a big merger goes through, many men are thrown out of work regardless of their years of faithful service to the former owner. Ultimately, it may be that more jobs will be created than were lost, but that does not help the displaced man who needs a job here and now.

Considerations such as these and the interests of the public, require that mergers for mere stock-juggling considerations, or purely promotional reasons, should be prevented by law, as are other get-rich-quick games and speculative swindles. We

TIMELY QUOTATIONS FROM PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC EYE

"Our passion for well-rounded education is such that we are in danger of manufacturing a nation of billiard balls."—William I. Nichols. (Atlantic Monthly.)

"The problem of seeing to it that a great fortune is a force only for good is the greatest problem that a man in control of vast sums of money must face."—Henry Ford.

"A law may be ever so noble in motive and yet be pernicious in purpose. It is not by the motives of its proponents, but by its actual working that a law

DAILY LETTER ON AFFAIRS AT U. S. CAPITAL

Hoover's Defeat in the Senate on Tariff Flexibility Really Was Due to Coolidge—His Manipulation of Tariff Commission a Sore Spot With Progressives.

By RODNEY DUTCHER
NEA Service Writer

WASHINGTON—After inheriting such major unsolved problems as farm relief and prohibition enforcement from his predecessor, as well as vexing fiscal worries caused by the Coolidge passion for economy, President Hoover recently took his worst licking to date from Congress when the Senate coldly turned down his demand that the flexible provisions be retained in the tariff bill.

It was rather a smack for Mr. Hoover, but it was also a postponed kick for Mr. Coolidge, the famous author. The flexible provision, established in 1922, authorized the president to advance or lower duties by as much as 50 per cent upon recommendation of the bi-partisan tariff commission. The House bill would have abolished the bi-partisan nature of the commission so as to give the president power to stack the commission as he liked. Mr. Hoover made a strong public plea for retention of the flexible provision when it appeared to be endangered.

It was Coolidge's Fault

But the Senate looked back at the administration of the provision by Mr. Coolidge, and Democrats and progressives decided that it had proved too tempting to allow them to trust presidents with it any more. The sad fact is that Mr. Coolidge was too stingy to let the tariff commission play with the thing; he undertook to cajole and threaten the uncontrolled members until letting him use it only as he saw fit. His arrogation was so remarkably thorough that the Senate took it away from Mr. Hoover.

If we dig up some of the old scandal herewith, the background of the Hoover defeat will be easily explained. This scandal was effectively used in debate with the result that unless the House forces its will on the Senate, Mr. Hoover will have no control over duties except his power to veto the bill. The Senate provision confines action on the commission's recommendation to Congress.

The manhandling of the flexible provision began with the commission's sugar investigation beginning in 1923. Coolidge and his friends on the commission, Marvin and Burgess, did all they

could to delay the investigation, which was pushed by Commissioners Costigan, Culbertson and Lewis, as if aware that the commission would recommend a rate reduction, as it finally did. Coolidge appointed as the sixth commissioner one Henry H. Glasco of Louisiana, who admitted that his wife and her brothers held domestic sugar stocks. Glasco insisted on sitting on the sugar case and Coolidge backed him up.

The question of ethics was heavily involved. Congress had to pass a special law to keep Glasco out of the sugar case, which left Costigan, Culbertson and Lewis in a majority. Marvin and Glasco insisted that Glasco stay in on the case until the end of the fiscal year. Dilatory and obstructive tactics continued.

Coolidge suddenly demanded that the commission suspend all other work and concentrate on a better investigation! Chairman Marvin at once withdrew from the sugar deliberations in obedience, demonstrating palpable presidential interference.

Then President Coolidge undertook to bring pressure on the three recalcitrant commissioners. He summoned Culbertson and cited to him a complaint that he had violated the law prohibiting commissioners from accepting other employment by lecturing at the Georgetown Foreign Service School and the Institute of Politics. Both Harding and Coolidge had approved these lectures, but Coolidge told Culbertson he had better see the Justice Department about it. Costigan and Lewis called there and were told Culbertson had little to fear.

Suddenly Coolidge ordered Attorney General Stone to rush his report on the matter to the White House and next day Coolidge told Culbertson of a decision that he was "technically violating the law." The president said he would like to have the sugar report delayed.

Eventually the majority sugar report went to the president and soon afterward the term of Lewis expired. In giving him a recess appointment, Coolidge tried to get Lewis to write an unqualified resignation and leave it at the White House. Lewis refused and Coolidge simply refused to reappoint him a few months later, despite strong support behind him. If Lewis had complied he presumably would have been retained—with the resignation dangling over his head.

Finally Ignored Commission

Coolidge waited seven months and then announced refusal to carry out the commission's recommendations. The commission asked permission to print its report. The president preferred to hold it unpublished. Publication was finally forced by the

imminence of a congressional investigation.

Senator La Follette pointed to this and other similar instances in his attack on the flexible provision, citing "extraordinarily protracted delay" and the fact that reductions under it affected only bobwhite quail, paintbrush handles, cresylic acid and phenol—requiring four or five years of labor in the last two cases named.

ROYSTON CONVICTED
LAMAR, Colo., Oct. 18, (AP)—Howard L. Royston, second member of the "Fleagle gang" to stand trial for murder in connection with the robbery of the First National bank here in 1928, was convicted of murder in the first degree by a jury today. The conviction carries a mandatory death sentence.

ONE BOSSSES HIM.
SPOKANE, Oct. 18—George Harding, manager of the Paulsen Medical-Dental building here, has a sign outside the building: "No women need apply." This is one of the few buildings in America in which women are banned.



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