

Chapter XXXI

FIGHTING FOR AN OPEN CHURCH

I AM convinced that this is a fact: There is a vital interrelationship between *sane religion* and *national prosperity*. If a nation lacks one, it eventually loses the other. I further believe that the Church, with its centuries of background, holds the key both to sane religion and national prosperity. Unfortunately these church keys are usually in a janitor's pants' pockets and the churches are locked and bolted. This was especially brought home to me while serving as National Moderator of the 5,000 churches which were under my care for two years.

When I make the above statements, many good people retort, "So you are interested in the Church in order to make for more *prosperity*. You should be ashamed to mix religion and business in any such way." I admit that this is one reason for my interest in the Church, although I also insist that sane religion provides that this prosperity should be fairly distributed and enjoyed by all who do their part to bring it about.

The above explains my desire to include this chapter in my autobiography. I further hope by so doing to get the co-operation of all readers. I would work just as hard for "Open Churches" if I had no business interests or clients. I believe, however, that through such church and civic work I am also rendering my clients an important service. Such an effort is not a distraction from *Babson's Reports*; it is work on the very foundation thereof.

ANSWER THIS QUESTION

Have you ever tried to open the front door of a Protestant church any day other than Sunday between the hours of 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M.? In the case of most churches only a burglar could succeed. They are locked with Yale locks! They seem to say, "Keep out! This means you!" Or rather, "Too late! Be back next Sunday." There are notable exceptions, of course. Some of the large city churches of all denominations are open most of the time. The Catholic churches are always open. But so many of the Protestant churches have the habit of keeping closed most of the week that it can be put down as a universal custom. All the saloons fight to keep open longer hours; yet the churches like to keep open only shorter hours!

The inside of a church has definite curative and spiritual values. There is no other interior like it. When empty it is, for many people, at its best. At such times one need not be bothered by the sound of the minister's voice, by the hat which Mrs. Wilson is wearing, by the soprano trying to reach a prohibitive "high C," or by the fact that Deacon Jones has got a sniffly cold. To sit in the quiet church brings peace and rest to one's heart and mind.

These were the basic reasons for the venture which started at the Wellesley Hills Church and which this chapter describes. Instead of working from the top down, however, I elected, after my experiences as Moderator, to work from the bottom up. Instead of trying to spread over a country-wide area, I returned to my one local church. The program was successful from the beginning.

OPEN CHURCH MOVEMENT

The story of this movement is interesting. It goes back a good many years to the time when I was involved in the difficulties mentioned in the foregoing chapter. It refers to one of my suggestions when I was National Moderator. This experiment worked and has since spread to thousands of other churches. Here is what is now being done in these churches. The minister announces every Sunday, through the church calendar, that the church will be open all day—every day—for private worship; also that from 3 to 4 P.M. and from 8 to 9 P.M. each day some layman or laywoman who can be trusted will be present for friendly conference if desired. This latter work is carried on by a "Committee of Thirty." The minister states that the Church is anxious to try to tell those with troubles where they can secure help—physical, economic, and spiritual. It is not intended that the Church run a relief station or pass out old clothes or give jobs. It is interested in something more, namely to help and advise in a practical as well as in a Christian spirit. As Jesus came to help the afflicted in mind as well as body, it seems the proper thing for the Church to follow this example, especially in days when the need thereof is great. This is, however, no original thought.

I therefore first believed it would be necessary only to propose this "Open Church" and the preachers would be eager to try it. To my surprise, all to whom I proposed it, during my term as Moderator, shied away from it. Although I agreed to back the movement every way, they seemed paralyzed at the thought of going into it. They were willing to preach sermons about helping a vague and generalized "afflicted class," but they seemed to fear opening their own doors for the experiment. After retiring from the moderatorship, I presented the plan to the lay members of the Wellesley Hills Church who, under the guidance of the minister, Rev. Carl M. Gates, got it started. Various members of the church gladly gave their time on certain days, and

on every day the church was open all day. The few who have called have been amply rewarded.

The National Mental Health Foundation, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, reports that: "Mental illness is a great and growing national tragedy. Mental patients now occupy nearly half the hospital beds in the United States. One person in every twenty will spend part of his life in a hospital for the mentally ill. More than 8,000,000 Americans are usually suffering from some form of mental or nervous disorder." The Open Church movement may develop into one solution of such troubles. It surely serves as a real help just by enabling people to talk over their troubles and dreams with those who can be trusted. It especially appeals to young people who are wondering about themselves and their future.

The "Open Church" presents advantages also to those who keep the church open. Since, as a rule, there are many days without visitors, the "doorkeeper" has an hour for Bible reading and meditation by himself or herself. If, however, someone does enter for individual worship, general discussion, or emergency aid, a friendship is often started which may have far-reaching results. But here is one point: if the church is to be kept open year in and year out, it must be by those who have been helped thereby. Faithful laymen and laywomen are willing to start such a work; but they are apt to get tired—especially if after giving their time they have no callers. Hence when a visitor to the "Open Church" receives substantial help and is truly grateful, he or she is asked to "pass it along" by keeping the church open for others. It may be true, therefore, that this "Open Church" movement may grow slowly until it raises a new generation of people made up of those whom it has helped.

OUR GREATEST ASSET

The most wonderful of all machines is the human brain. Every reader possesses one of these marvelous machines. With its proper use each of us has unbelievable potentialities. This is what Jesus may have had in mind when he told his disciples that they could even "remove mountains." Our great trouble is that we were never trained to operate and control this intricate and powerful engine. Most people do not know how to start it or stop it—not to mention how to direct it. They are unable to steer it and keep it on the road, or on the beam, so to speak. To teach this should be the goal of schools, churches, and homes. But first there must be an appreciation of the possibilities of the brain, and a desire by students for the realization of such possibilities.

It may be that one purpose of prayer is to help people concentrate and control their thoughts. Otherwise, what does the Bible mean when it says: "Continue constant in prayer," "Pray without ceasing." Earnest prayer is the best agency for keeping one's mind on a desired goal. It was the method used by the old

priests throughout past centuries to teach people to concentrate. With all of the increase in present-day distractions, the power to concentrate is now needed more than ever. Prayer, meditation, and concentration may be synonymous. It is, however, certain that the acquirement of these habits and powers is the first requirement in the constructive use of our brains.

The best place to practice such exercises is in the quietness of a church. One basic reason, therefore, for my interest in the "Open Church" movement is to help people to concentrate on something constructive until they learn the answer and get the necessary self-control. What the atmosphere of the laboratory is to the inventor and researcher, so the atmosphere of the church is to the tired mother and worried business man.

WHY DON'T MORE PEOPLE ATTEND CHURCH?

"Why don't more people go to church?" we might discuss here! The answer, "They don't go because they don't want to and don't have to" is definite enough, but without detail. Ministers have broken their hearts over this question. Ardent church people have wept, scolded, found fault, and worn their brains out over it. A million thinkers have told why. The optimists say it will all work out satisfactorily in the end; while the pessimists say that our churches are doomed. It would seem logical that those who are "in" have less exact knowledge of the real answers than those who are "out." The people who give all the opinions and critiques are ministers or church experts. Those who are staying away know the answer—at least their own answer. Unless these answers are examined, the discussion will remain more or less theoretical.

One thing is certain, that the Protestant religion cannot be shoved down anybody's throat. It has no actual authority over anybody; it can be taken or left. Protestants no longer believe they are going to Hell or will lose social standing if they do not attend church. This is the weak point in the armor or armament of those who have the responsibility of the Protestant Church in their keeping. The great body of acquiescent benighted have a lot of reasons, according to my friend, H. I. Shumway, to whom I owe much of this chapter.

They do not believe that routine prayer is answered. They wrongly pray for relief from something or for the acquisition of something, get no answer and consequently disbelieve in the whole thing.

They doubt the existence of a good God in a world that tortures them without any apparent reason. They know what a personal father is like and they cannot conceive of a Heavenly Father treating them the way they are treated.

The Church does not give what the "stayer-away" wants. Perhaps it is not in him to want it, but he does not know that. If he were convinced, he would go to church. Nobody convinces him, so he stays away.

He thinks he can be just as good a man out of the Church as in it. His reason: The presence of others inside who, he knows, are not as decent or good as he thinks he is.

Men like "powerful" sermons. They dislike abstract or literary effusions. Three or four of these in a row will anchor a layman to his own fireside for a long and indefinite time.

Often when a new resident sticks his head into a church, we go to work on him too untactfully. He must join this or that club or group; his wife must bake cakes for the suppers and teas; both of them must contribute to the "apportionment"—whatever that means. Perhaps overtired and troubled, he decides it is easier to drop the whole thing than to keep on refusing.

He sends his children to Sunday School and finds Junior is working with wax crayons and Sister is singing popular songs with teacher-written lyrics. Junior and Sister already have the arts in day school and various clubs for singing and camp-craft. The Bible still is a "good Book" to him.

The stayer-away does not admire a minister with his ear to the ground. He rather wishes it attuned to Heaven instead. The politicians must do this, but why should the minister be "ward and precinct" minded? Your stayer-away knows an independent and kindly man when he sees one; the other kind could not win a soul in a year of trying.

These are only samples of the many things which undermine the stability of a community and encourage a "boom or bust" economy. They may seem foolish and unfounded, but they are excuses which an "Open Church" group hears when they hold conferences at a church for the interchange of ideas and problems.

NOT AN EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

There is no attempt to operate an employment agency or a health clinic, nor to supersede any established aids. Through simple means, however, the plan does furnish a place where, twice a day, *every day in the week*, any individual, rich or poor, well or sick, happy or unhappy, employed or unemployed, married or divorced, calm or disturbed and overworked may come and find a sympathetic individual with whom to talk privately. *Or, perhaps he or she may not want even to talk, but to sit quietly in the church alone with God.*

Perhaps very few may enter any "Open Church" during its early years. Any such innovation requires much time and prayer to win confidence. As a first step we want only to keep the church open and be ready to receive graciously any who do call. *This "keeping open" is far more important than whether or not our invitations are accepted.* The "Open Church" will succeed or fail according to whether the laymen who "keep it open" have the courage to talk real religion. You ask, "What do you mean by religion?" Here is my answer: *"God wants all to have equal opportunities. Hence, He sends rain upon the just and the unjust. But God promises food, clothing, and shelter*

only to those who obey His laws. The Church is weak because—like the politicians—it has lacked the courage to tell people the cold hard facts. Most people, in order to secure employment or health, need only to change their beliefs, habits, and attitude toward God and their neighbors.

Yet most laymen and even ministers appear to be unwilling to tell people the above truth. Why? I cannot understand, but I am fast coming to the conclusion that as a first step to performing its real purpose, the Church must get out of its inferiority complex and again militantly go out to save people from sin, mistakes, and bad judgment.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FORMED

This experiment, first tried in Wellesley, brought inquiries from many localities. As a result, a National Association was founded in August, 1942, with headquarters at Gloucester, Mass. The Association is incorporated under the Charitable Laws of Massachusetts and is not operated for profit.

The National Open Church Association believes in doing everything possible to increase attendance at the regular Sunday and other church services. Surely church attendance is one of the barometers of an active church and happy community.¹ On the other hand, no minister should be criticised merely because he has only a few people at the Sunday services. Not only has he today much more competition than his predecessors had, but communities have changed greatly. There are many more demands upon everyone's time on Sundays. If, however, the individual really desires to use a few minutes, from a busy day, for the purpose of meditation he can, almost without exception, find the time in which to do so. *An open church is an invitation to private worship*, and each minister should, in part, be credited for his success in this promotion of private worship.

Are not we all putting too great emphasis upon size, numbers, and volume? Whether we attend a Chamber of Commerce meeting or a Missionary Convention, there is too much talk regarding numbers, money, and similar material factors. We are forgetting the lesson taught by Jesus in the parable of the "Lost Sheep" as told in Matthew, 18th Chapter, verses 10 to 14. This suggests that the Church should give much more time to individuals and to helping specific cases than to getting a crowd out to church services or even to Sunday School. Religion will constantly become more a personal matter—between an individual and his God—and less an institutional affair with highly organized church denominations.

Hungry souls should not need to wait for a Sunday service at a specific hour. Instead, the church building should be open all day, every day, so that

¹ For a helpful book on church attendance, see *Report of Commission on Church Attendance*, published at \$1.50 postpaid by Fleming H. Revell Co., 158 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

such a person can enter alone and in the silence of the church open his or her heart to God. By encouraging such individual worship, with only one person visiting the church each day, a minister may accomplish much. Then there will be more sermons based upon the text of Isaiah 30:15: "For thus saith the Lord God . . . in returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." Let the minister be happy with an *average* attendance of one person each day provided that person is penitent and humbly seeks forgiveness, guidance, and comfort. To accomplish this our Association urges only the better use of existing church facilities. The program, however, does require a new point of view by the church officers, namely, that the Church work more with individuals as do successful physicians and lawyers, rather than with the mass. It requires that church members cease judging their pastors by the *number* attending the Sunday Church services.

Most of our "Open Churches" have the above-mentioned Committee of Thirty which is responsible for the conference work. In such churches the lay attendant stays in an adjoining room, never speaking unless approached but ready to help if the caller wants to talk with someone. This room is so located that a caller can enter and leave the church without being seen and yet is informed by appropriate signs that a friend would be glad to listen to him and his needs if desired. This method insures callers at the church that they will not be questioned or stared at, and yet gives them easy access to someone to talk with if specific help is desired. E. Stanley Jones says: "A doctor must train . . . spiritually as well as physically . . . Fifty percent of sick persons need *prayer* more than *pills*, *aspiration* more than *aspirin*, *meditation* more than *medication*."

LOCAL CHURCH COUNCILS

It is not necessary to have someone at the church every afternoon and evening, certainly not as watchman. Any possible loss or destruction can be insured against by paying a small annual premium. On the other hand, it is well to have a telephone at the church unless the church adjoins the parsonage. This telephone should be in the church vestibule with a card giving the minister's address, and telephone number, with a hearty invitation to telephone him for an appointment. With this system the minister will probably not be telephoned by a stray caller more than once a week; but no needy case fails to find him.

Some ministers have also formed an Open Church Council made up of men and women in different fields of work. Such a council would include a lawyer, doctor, dentist, banker, city official, merchant, teacher, artist, and writer as well as practical mothers and fathers. The minister might not call upon some of these more than once or twice a year; but they would be available to give

free expert advice in connection with specific cases. In fact, the layman keeping the church open could feel free to send to one of the counsellors a person who needs special advice in connection with some confidential personal matter. There would be no expense to such an interview as almost every church has the needed available specialists.

Some churches carry a small weekly newspaper advertisement inviting people to visit the church alone, by themselves, some afternoon or evening. Reference to the church being open should, of course, be made in the church calendar each week. Otherwise, the minister should include such reference each Sunday with the church notices read from the pulpit—always emphasizing that he will be happy even if there is only one caller during the week. All notices, including the invitation card in the vestibule, should encourage the random reading of some of the "Responsive Readings" in the hymn or prayer books found in the pew racks. These gems of the ages are a mine of resources with great possibilities. The Open Church Association urges only the greater use of existing church property and funds. It further strives to accomplish this without increasing competition between present church denominations.

OPEN CHURCH GOALS

The 250,000 churches in the United States have \$5,000,000,000 of real estate and over \$2,500,000,000 of endowments; in addition they enjoy annual gifts of about \$500,000,000. Yet these 250,000 churches with all their billions of money are, on the average, open only 8 hours a week out of the 168 hours, *or only 5 per cent of the time. Today the need is not for more churches or for larger churches; but for a greater use of the present church structures and their ministers, priests, rabbis, and voluntary workers.* The Open Church Association is striving to increase the nation's hours of thankfulness and thoughtful meditation, anywhere and everywhere, but especially in the thousands of little-used church edifices. The need exists, the churches and opportunities exist. Our efforts should be directed to getting these three factors *together* and *working*. The aim is to have everyone, who is physically able, enter some church sometime every week to render thanks to God for his blessings. Every person has something for which to be thankful.

Young people especially are now claiming that true Christianity *in its very nature* is personal. They believe that Jesus was a pure individualist, anxious that each follower should, both in the tabernacle and on the mountain side, worship God as his own conscience dictates. Older people also are unconsciously becoming religious individualists. To help the Church hold all these people is another goal of the "Open Church" movement; *it encourages the Church to serve the individual apart from regular church services as well as at them.*

I have even come to believe that the best missionary work which I can do is

to *tell another* of the help which comes from genuine meditation. This word-of-mouth testimony requires neither money nor organization; yet it is tremendously effective. "Open Church" goals, therefore, include much more than keeping the physical doors of the churches open. They include emphasizing that the Church belongs at all times to all persons, whatever their race, position, or creed. They are especially interested in people helping themselves through helping others. Certainly a church is not a club or place of entertainment; but rather a place to encourage justice and mercy, both of which are necessary to insure a stable prosperity. We can be interested in the churches without trying to make Protestants or Catholics or Hebrews or others.

AN APPEAL

As I look over my various activities—other than serving the clients of *Babson's Reports*—I feel that this "Open Church" movement, which started in 1938, has perhaps the greatest possibilities for good. It is strictly interdenominational. It requires no more church buildings nor greater operating expenses, except perhaps for heat and janitorial care. It operates with voluntary workers who themselves benefit from the work, and it helps the priests, rabbis, and ministers in their regular services. It encourages the only foundation for full employment, just distribution, and stable investments. I sincerely hope my grandchildren and other friends will enlarge the work as years go on. I am especially hopeful that Gloucester people will take an active interest in keeping the national headquarters at the home where I was born. Furthermore, I trust that every reader of this story will see that his or her church is open all day—every day!

Chapter XXXII

CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY

IT WAS the 8th day of May, 1940. The location, the La Salle Hotel, Chicago. The convention was in the ballroom, which was decorated for the occasion. The seats were filled with delegates from all sections of the country. They were divided into forty-eight groups to correspond with the forty-eight states. Each group had its banner, designating the state from which it came. It was rumored that a very different platform would be presented. Considerable anxiety existed as to how this platform would be received. Each session of the convention opened with a prayer, and one or more hymns.

The proposed platform was much broader than any ever offered before and it was offered with fear and trembling. Instead of presenting liquor as the nation's only evil, it was classed as only one of many. The platform also plainly stated that legislation against these evils would not, in itself, be sufficient. This new platform, as adopted by the platform committee, was reported to the convention. Its reading was preceded by earnest prayer. Many a silent prayer also went up to the Almighty while it was being discussed. One by one, proposed amendments were voted down. Finally, with bated breath on the part of the delegates, votes were taken on the new platform as originally submitted. It was adopted unanimously, after which the delegates sang "Blest Be the Tie That Binds."

Clients and friends may wonder why I relate these details, but after reading the chapter, the answer will be evident. It explains why I put so much time and money into a hopeless campaign. The new platform as adopted read as follows:

1940 NATIONAL PLATFORM

We, the representatives of the National Prohibition Party, in convention assembled at Chicago, May 9, 1940, recognizing Almighty God as the source of all good government, make the following declaration of principles and purposes:

1. MORAL ISSUES

We realize that permanent progress does not come merely by prohibiting certain things, but that the prohibition of what is evil must go hand in hand with the promotion of what is good. When certain evils which are undermining character stand in the way of such promotion, they should be prohibited. Among these evils we name especially the liquor traffic, harmful narcotics, commercialized gambling,

indecent publications, debasing moving pictures, and the block booking thereof, deceptive radio broadcasting, political graft, and injustices of all kinds. We commend the work of those combating these and other evils.

2. ECONOMIC AND OTHER ISSUES

We are vitally interested in and pledge ourselves to enact measures for the purposes of purifying government, reducing debt and taxation, conserving natural resources both human and material, aiding farmers who occupy and till the soil, encouraging employers engaged in honest and useful business, assuring workers and consumers a fair share of industry's products and profits, preventing unfit persons or unfair goods entering this country, but applying to all nations equitable immigration and tariff policies, endeavoring to avoid war by maintaining friendly relations and providing adequate defense, assuring proper aid to the worthy youth and aged, and securing tolerance to all, while insisting that governmental changes be made only in accordance with existing constitutional methods.

3. NEED OF SPIRITUAL AWAKENING

We believe that to accomplish these and other worthy ends there must be a change in the purposes, motives, and lives of our people. Such a spiritual awakening requires both encouraging churches and freeing schools and other forces of education from politics. The development of character—integrity, self-control, initiative, a desire to be of service, and a willingness to make sacrifices—must be the first aim of parents and teachers. Such a change in the hearts of employers, wage workers, and consumers would so develop confidence as to protect real estate values, eliminate unemployment, and assure equal opportunities to all. We, therefore, especially pledge ourselves to better and more useful public schools, and the teaching therein of fundamental moral precepts.

4. A COALITION PARTY

While both of the major political parties are performing useful service in emphasizing different needs, yet entangling alliances with corrupt interests make it difficult for these parties to take a definite stand on moral issues, even though these issues today are fundamental in solving our nation's problems. Therefore, there must be a union of church people and others who stand first for righteousness, into a Third Party. The New Prohibition Party serves such a purpose.

5. CONCLUSION

We, the members of this Party, are the one political group which has learned from sad experience that legislation alone—whether Old Deal or New Deal—is insufficient. We know that the solution of all problems, from liquor to unemployment, depends upon character, and the election to power of a political party committed to these principles. To this end we invite the cooperation and the votes of like-minded men and women.

On the morning of the final day of the convention, great excitement prevailed. During the night, the hall had been redecorated, every delegate came in with a balloon or a colored banner. They all had their badges, and certain states had other decorations. After an opening prayer and hymn, there was music by a choir from Gordon College. Chairman Blake introduced some of the prominent personages at the convention.

MY ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

Finally came the time for the nomination for President. Starting with Alabama, each state in turn was asked to designate the candidate which it desired. Thereupon, the name of the state was recorded by the Secretary, together with the number of votes which the respective state represented. When the votes were counted, they were unanimously in favor of "Roger W. Babson of Massachusetts." Upon the announcement of this vote, pandemonium broke loose. I have made hundreds of speeches and received many great ovations, but never before were tears brought to my eyes. Moving picture cameras were in operation; reporters were moving about the floor; scores were trying to grasp my hand. My great regret was that my grandchildren and clients were not present to see the event. After everyone was tired out from marching and cheering, the audience settled down and I was escorted to the platform for my acceptance speech, which was as follows:

We should stand firm on our historic ground of demanding that certain evils should be prohibited. We must vigorously resent criticism of the word "prohibition." It is the basis of law and order. To attempt to run a nation without prohibiting certain evils is absolutely fatal. One of the greatest crimes of the past decade has been the attempt of certain commercial interests to laugh at prohibition and the principles for which it stands. On the other hand, we must not take the position that the liquor evil is the only evil to be eliminated. We should also include commercialized gambling, harmful narcotics, social diseases, cruelty to children, indecent publications, dangerous movies, misleading broadcasting, political graft, vice and injustices of all kinds.

In addition to broadening our platform to take in all ten of these moral issues, we should continue to work for concrete economic and social changes. All platforms of the Prohibition Party have been broad this way, but, for some unexplainable reason, the public looks upon us as a "one-track party" with only one idea. Therefore, we should strongly emphasize our other goals, such as reducing debt and taxation, conserving natural resources both human and material, helping farmers who occupy and till the soil, encouraging employers engaged in honest and useful business, assuring wage workers and consumers a fair share of industry's profits, preventing unfit persons or unfair groups from entering our country, but applying to all nations the same immigration and tariff policies. We should work to keep this country out of war by insisting upon friendly relations, adequate defense, and help for other democracies; upon providing proper aid to the worthy youth and aged, and upon promoting tolerance for all.

It is very important that we should continually emphasize the need of a spiritual awakening. The passing of laws and the electing of certain individuals will accomplish no lasting good unless there is change in the purposes, motives, and lives of the American people. The success of any forward-moving program depends upon the development of character—that is, integrity, industry, initiative, with the desire to be of service and the willingness to make sacrifices. *Our nation must choose between a policy of protecting and training youth against evils or of permitting the weak and unfit to be eliminated. The present system of ignoring the fit and protecting the unfit is biologically unsound and will end in disaster.*

A successful movement must start, not from above, but from below. There must be a coalition of all those interested in putting righteousness before expedience. Although our Party is small, it is made up of God-fearing people who are interested in principles rather than in profits, ~~curatives~~ rather than pain killers. Without criticizing either the Republicans or the Democrats, it is fair to say that both of these parties have entangling alliances which make it almost impossible for them to take a stand on moral issues. The PROHIBITION PARTY, therefore, is in a position to serve as such a Coalition Third Party. I have sometimes felt that the name should be changed to "Church Party."

Among other concrete suggestions, the following appeal to me:

- a. Ask public schools to turn out young people prepared to resist temptations, grasp opportunities, and think clearly.
- b. Demand that both employers and labor unions give persons of good character an opportunity to show their worth.
- c. Encourage production to expand by getting taxes reduced, eliminating unnecessary regulations, and making it easier, rather than harder, to be an employer or wage worker.
- d. Arouse public sentiment to extend the dry areas and to combat commercial interests which undermine character, usefulness, and citizenship.
- e. Elect to office men and women who will enact and enforce the above legislation and, in all matters, put right before expediency.

Let us realize that prosperity comes from the resources of our souls and the peace of our lives. Hence, we are working for conditions under which little children may go to sleep unafraid; in which wisdom is to be shared; where strength is to be used to shelter goodness; while love is to make all relationships tender and gracious. Faith and hope are the essence of the Prohibition message. Our platform will not impoverish any, in station or happiness, in order to make the strong stronger and the possessor more proud. Our members gain fullness of life in the fullness of other lives and find peace in the general peace of all.

Today our cause is hard pressed. It appears to be fallen and trampled into the dust by heartless pride, power, and love of gain. It is not easy for me to stand and appeal for what appears to be a hopeless cause. But let us not be discouraged. All that our Party stands for is unconquerable. Temperance exalteth a people; love always outlasts hate; goodness has a persistent power; evil does not and cannot retain its possessions. The wrong, dark, tragic things in life are self-defeating always in the end. A great faith, though it seems cast down to the dust, is more splendid than any doubt. A generous dream is more potent in apparent defeat than the votes of those who mock the dreamer and take him to the cross.

In addition to what I said in the above speech, there was another reason why I accepted this hopeless nomination. I am anxious that all of my clients and friends should understand this reason. *It is that I believe that the hope of Democracy depends upon a complete revision of the requirements for voting. This would mean the prohibition of voting by those unfit to vote. This is a basic need before employment, business, and investments can be stabilized. My hope was that I could swing things so that the word PROHIBITION would refer among other things to the prohibiting of promiscuous voting.*

SIX MONTHS OF HARD WORK

My campaign represented the hardest six months of my life's work. I visited and spoke in over fifty cities, travelling over 10,000 miles between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

As a part of all my addresses I said:

Because an early American document states that all men are "created equal," does not make it a fact. Different families within the United States have reached different periods of domesticity. Speaking frankly, our nation is like one big farmyard. Roaming over our land are all kinds of human animals, from wildcats and foxes, skunks and pigs, to intelligent dogs and horses. The idea that the same freedom should be given to all is absolutely ridiculous. Wire fences and shotguns are as necessary for good government as for good farming. Hence, the absolute necessity of prohibiting many evils. There is no other way of handling the undomesticated humans which constitute over 10 per cent of our population except with prohibition. Our difficulty may have come from trying to apply the same treatment to all. Democracy, to succeed, may need to recognize these differences in human development. This will ultimately lead to a revision of the voting system if democracy is to insure a stable prosperity.

A handicap which was evident during my trips was the embedded idea that the Prohibition Party had not been progressive. This is an absolute untruth. In addition to its agitation of the liquor and other evils, the Prohibition Party has taken an advanced stand on practically every other reform of the past three generations. Many of the more important issues have been tardily adopted by the old parties, and some not at all. The table presented below indicates the position of leadership in progressive politics maintained by my party.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE		DATE OF ACCEPTANCE	
The Prohibition Party first demanded universal suffrage, basing its claims under the Declaration of Independence.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1872	
	<i>Republican</i>	1916	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1916	
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM			
When the principle "to the victors belong the spoils" became the rule in American politics, it demanded the filling of appointive positions under the government on a basis of merit.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1872	
	<i>Republican</i>	1884	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1876	
LETTER POSTAGE			
It first favored the reduction of letter postage to two cents, and the congressman who introduced the two-cent bill was later a Prohibitionist.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1872	
	<i>Republican</i>	1888	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1892	
INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION			
It was the first, and for years the only party, to stand for international arbitration as a means to gain universal peace.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1876	
	<i>Republican</i>	1904	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1916	
LOTTERIES AND GAMBLING			
In 1876, the Prohibition Party declared against lotteries and gambling and favored excluding gambling advertisements and tickets from the United States mails.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1876	
	<i>Republican</i>	1880	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1884	

ACTIONS AND REACTIONS

LAND GRABBERS AND SPECULATORS		DATE OF ACCEPTANCE	
It was the first to demand that the free government lands should not be given to monopolies and speculators, but opened only to actual settlers.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1876	
	<i>Republican</i>	1884	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1876	
THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC			
This and commercialized vice has been denounced in every Prohibition platform since 1876.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1876	
	<i>Republican</i>	1920	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1924	
UNIFORM MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAWS			
At the present time each state makes its own laws on this subject, and as a result "divorce colonies" and their attendant evils have sprung up.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1888	
	<i>Republican</i>	—	
	<i>Democratic</i>		
THE INCOME TAX			
The income tax and the inheritance tax laws, now an important part of our revenue system, were first proposed by the Prohibitionists for equalizing the burdens of taxation.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1896	
	<i>Republican</i>	1912	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1908	
THE TARIFF COMMISSION			
This idea was taken bodily from an old Prohibition platform, and today is accepted by all authorities.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1904	
	<i>Republican</i>	1912	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1916	
POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS			
This very important branch of public service was first mentioned in a political platform by the Prohibition Party.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1908	
	<i>Republican</i>	1916	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1912	
CHILD LABOR			
Theodore Roosevelt tardily found his anti-child labor planks already framed up and in print years before they became part of his political capital.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1908	
	<i>Republican</i>	1912	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1916	
CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES			
In like manner Theodore Roosevelt's doctrine of conservation had long been recognized as an important problem by the Prohibition Party.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1908	
	<i>Republican</i>	1908	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1912	
EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACTS			
In demanding the enactment of such acts, the Prohibition Party was again a pioneer.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1908	
	<i>Republican</i>	1916	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1916	
OLD AGE PENSIONS			
It is interesting to observe that the first party declaration on old age pensions was made by the Prohibition Party.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1916	
	<i>Republican</i>	1936	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1932	
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCES			
The forethought of Prohibition Party leaders is shown in their declaration on this subject many years ago.	<i>Prohibition</i>	1916	
	<i>Republican</i>	1936	
	<i>Democratic</i>	1928	

While on these trips my associate Edgar V. Moorman was actively campaigning throughout the Central West. As he had been a lifelong Democrat and I a Republican, we worked together as a good team. In all addresses I maintained my personal conception of the word *Prohibition* as including the prohibiting of promiscuous voting, based upon the voters' qualifications.

Monday, July 29, 1940, I met the Prohibition National Committee at the La Salle Hotel, Chicago. Among the matters discussed, were the following:

- Should the name of the Party be changed?
- Should each state be organized by counties?
- Should an effort be made to work more closely with the churches?
- Should we talk less about liquor and more against "commercialized evils" and advertising of liquor?
- What can we do to have the public know that we have a broad and fundamental program?
- Will the Party take a firm stand to prohibit the voting by unqualified people?

LESSONS I LEARNED

I was not asking for the re-enactment of "Prohibition" as commonly visualized. I was fighting for the restriction of all commercial evils, *including the liquor industry*, through a revision of voting requirements. Statistics show that only about 10 per cent of the population are now responsible for 94 per cent of the crime, trouble, and waste which come from these commercialized evils. This small percentage who, through ignorance, heredity, greed, or other causes, are undermining our nation must be prohibited from certain things. This, however, does not mean that all people—that is, the other 90 per cent—need be subject to the same restrictions. There should be a halfway zone between putting certain people in jail and giving them freedom to do what they want to do. This result could be obtained by prohibiting certain people, for a certain period of time, from making certain purchases or attending certain places. Such a program should be supplemented by the prohibition of advertising of, or solicitation by, commercialized evils. Both the "buyers" and the "sellers" should be considered equally guilty. Of course, after these people behave themselves for a required length of time, they should be allowed to be transferred from the 10 per cent restricted group to the 90 per cent trusted group.

I am convinced that three changes are ahead. These are: (1) A recognition that continuous struggle is a normal condition and that any attempt to lie back and take things easy is exceedingly dangerous. This means that security comes not through legislation, but through eternal vigilance. (2) A return to religion. This does not mean a return to dogma; but rather, to a recognition of the fundamentals upon which Christianity was founded. (3) A respect for law enforcement and a revision of the voting franchise.

This campaign of 1940 was the first time I had ever run for an elective office. I learned that, for a layman like myself, to do so without any previous experience in politics was a mistake. It was much like going to a big city hospital and saying to the superintendent: "I am a successful statistician and hence ask the privilege of performing an important surgical operation this morning!" Any such request would have labeled me as crazy; and yet my accepting this Presidential nomination was almost as unreasonable! Politics is a profession. For one to succeed in politics, he should train from youth for the work. For a

man to wait until he is 65 before making a start is a mistake. However, I made the attempt.

COMMENTS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

Here are the reasons for unemployment which I gave in connection with my addresses:

1. Attitude of families to shirk responsibility for their aged and youth.
2. The fact that the unfit are reproducing more rapidly than the fit.
3. Dispensing of public relief without regard to habits or behavior.
4. Attempted interference by politicians with economic law in order to get votes.
5. Faulty public schools which are offering diplomas rather than training.
6. The effect of liquor, gambling, block-booking, misleading broadcasting, and other forces undermining character.
7. Unnecessary taxes and regulations on legitimate industry as well as unfair government competition.
8. Technological developments, contraction of agricultural frontiers, and changes in public demand.
9. Transfer of management by inheritance into unsound hands.
10. Too concentrated control of natural resources.

An analysis of these ten major reasons will show that only two or three can be remedied by legislation. To correct the others requires a change of motives and purposes by employers, those employed, and consumers. Even the unemployment problem is basically a spiritual problem.

UNEMPLOYMENT CAN BE ELIMINATED

I believe that if the unemployed will do their part to solve their problem, there need be practically no public relief necessary. To speak statistically, of the 10,000,000 unemployed in 1932, 7,500,000 would have been employable if they had been awake to making something of themselves; two thirds of the balance were of families which had taken care of their dependents in the past and which would have taken care of them in the future if the government had not done so. Therefore, I said that the relief problem would solve itself if it were honestly and fearlessly handled. I further stated that if my Party were put in power, both unemployment and relief could largely be eliminated.

When disillusionment will come, no one knows. When it does come, it would not be surprising if both of the present major political parties some day will pass out of the picture, the same as did the great Whig Party and the old Democratic Party in 1850. When this happens there should be some able group to which these millions of disgruntled voters can turn, other than to the Communistic groups.

When addressing the Chamber of Commerce of Salt Lake City, August 7, 1940, I further emphasized my previous statements by saying:

A study of our platform shows that it applies the same principles to economic as well as to moral issues. The platform states that we should help "certain farmers," "useful employers," "worthy youth and aged," and "friendly nations." It urges that all policies be determined from a character standpoint. This, moreover, is not a new idea. We now *prohibit* those below a certain age from marrying; we now *prohibit* those of the female sex from working at certain jobs or during certain hours; and we now *prohibit* those lacking a required education from practising medicine, dentistry, and other occupations. The Prohibition Party is merely demanding that—in the interest of all people, the same principle be extended, first concentrating on the 10 per cent to whom I have referred.

I told the people the truth about social and economic problems. I asked that both the unemployed and the employers save themselves through their own self-improvement, moral responsibility, and increased efficiency. I preached that America's hope lies with being willing to make principles, behavior, and habits a requirement for freedom, benefits and government aid. I insisted that Democracy, to be saved, must be purged; not only within the United States, but within other nations as well; that this is far more than a military problem.

MY PERSONAL BELIEFS

For America to be headed along the right path requires that it be guided by spiritually minded leaders; but a new conception of religion may be inevitable. It further will be recognized that much of the talk about the need of keeping Church and State in airtight compartments is not logical. To bring about the necessary changes in democracy, there must be first a return to religion. Otherwise, we are building America on the sands. *A foundation for enduring Democracy must be a spiritually minded nation. This should constantly be emphasized in the schools, the press, the radio and the movies, as in the halls of Congress.*

The above will show itself in many ways: (1) Securing more equal opportunities and impartial justice for all through a revision of the voting franchise; (2) thinking in terms of the group rather than of the individual; (3) recognizing that *both* rewards and punishments are necessary to keep a race virile; (4) working co-operatively with others in all worthy movements, from churches to markets; and (5) crushing the liquor and other evils. These especially apply to the development of foreign trade which, under a short-sighted nationalistic policy, may easily be lost.

When periods of war or deflation come, they should not be ignored as mere accidents. They are normal occurrences due to wrong conditions. Optimistic talk will not cure cancers or broken legs. Epidemics are eliminated only by removing the causes. Economic history plainly teaches that during past periods of prosperity there developed debt, waste, carelessness, and crime. In fact, these agents were the real cause of the disaster which inevitably followed. When

men are making money they are more likely to lose their faith, forget their God, and become, more or less, pagans. During such prosperous times the churches are neglected, personal prayers are dropped, and man feels self-sufficient, without the need of Bible, Church, and meditation. These are conditions which America has witnessed many times.

When, however, people are out of employment, when men are making losses, they find material things drifting away. Being unable to control the situation, they look to higher spiritual power. The first move is to stop waste; next, more employers and workers determine to do their very best; and finally, we begin to seek higher sources for aid and guidance. This brings us to a realization of spiritual and intellectual values. When 51 per cent of the people are actuated by the desire to be of real service, conditions begin to improve and prosperity gradually returns.

It will be very difficult to get different races together. Self-interest is too completely *instinctive* to be wiped out by treaties or conquests. To expect the Russians always to take orders from the Americans, or vice versa, is illogical. Neither nation will—for any length of time—bow down to a conqueror. But it is reasonable to expect that both nations can, with self-respect, take their orders from God. This is the only solution to world peace. The League of Nations broke up because its leaders tried to *legislate* instead of to *obey*. *Hence the great need for sound defenses as well as for prosperity is sane religion and a determination to take God's laws as our guide.* Even government bonds need some security behind them besides the printing presses and the power to tax! We need a new conception of Democracy. Consider these three statements:

1. There must be more stringent voting qualifications.
2. The American form of government and our traditional American institutions will cease to exist unless the church people combine their voting power.
3. Without a complete change of character, the major political parties will not get us out of the "slough or despond" into which they themselves have led us.

I believe that the Church is the hope of the world; that the solution of both domestic and international problems awaits a sane, spiritual revival. Hence, we should support the Church, even in its present inadequacy. When caught in a shipwreck, a person does not spurn an old fashioned raft if a modern life boat is not available. A nation must have the best scientists and laboratories as a part of its national defenses, but whether our public schools and state universities, as now set up, are doing more good than harm is debatable. The sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the Second Chapter of Genesis are worthy of careful consideration. We should be taught to think more; but too much free "knowledge" may be dangerous, especially from movies, radio, or magazines.

WHY TEETOTALERS?

A *Teetotaler* is a person who never touches liquor, and this includes beer, wine, and cocktails, except in case of illness or old age, and then only on a doctor's prescription. He is one who refrains from "social drinking" at all times; he does not serve liquor in his home or drink it at parties or dinners. A majority of the people of the United States are teetotalers. They are quiet and unobtrusive; they do not exhibit their virtues, or argue for their principles, but are exceedingly reliable.

Under these conditions many wonder why I received such a small vote when running for the Presidency of the United States in 1940. The answer is: Because 95 per cent of those who refuse liquor do not see the evils of liquor and its habit-forming qualities. They have been free from its evils themselves; they do not associate with or employ people addicted to it; while their home, business, and other duties keep their minds on entirely different matters. In fact, it was interesting, during my campaign, to find that the ardent advocates of prohibition are mostly those persons who have seen the evil effects of liquor on their parents, children, or some other relative.

Let me say a word about habits, a subject which is not sufficiently discussed. Habits are a most important factor of our lives. The only reason why we are alive is because, as tiny babies, we formed the habit of breathing and certain other habits upon which life exists. As we became older we formed the habits of sleeping at night, of eating three meals a day, and of performing other personal actions which keep us in health. There are comparatively few vital things which we think about before doing. Character, health, and happiness are bound up with habits; but bad habits can kill us as easily as good habits can protect us.

In addition to the dangers of habits—especially those that are inherited—there is infinitely more danger in the case of a "habit-forming" habit. This includes the use of drugs and liquors. In other words, after the first social drink, it is harder to resist a second social drink. The more one uses liquor, the more one wants liquor. No man, when taking his first social drink, thought liquor could ever get the better of him to the extent that he could not cut it out whenever he wanted to. This is the reason why the majority of the people in this country are teetotalers. They fear getting the habit and hence let it alone entirely. This also explains why most of the social drinking is by the "smart set," so-called, made up of college youths, society people, those who have inherited money or are living on allowances, or by "down-and-outs" who have lost their self-control or have reached an old age where they need a stimulant to wake them up!

In addition to preaching this simple doctrine during my campaign, I also explained the harmful physiological effects of alcohol. These include not only the

gradual destruction of certain organs, but also the fact that whiskey or brandy becomes ineffectual as a medicine in case of sickness to those who use it when they are well. Without doubt, alcohol is a powerful stimulant, and has its uses as well as its abuses. Few teetotalers would refuse to use it on a doctor's prescription in emergencies or for needed vitality when reaching old age. As with any other drug, however, in order to benefit from liquor when needed, one should not use it during normal conditions.

FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC LAWS

Many young people at college, as well as their parents, give as an excuse "but everybody does it." Everybody does not indulge in social drinking; not more than half of the population indulges. Let me add that I sometimes even wonder whether our colleges are attracting the strongest of our young people or the weakest? What proportion of our young people go to college in order to become more useful and efficient, and what proportion go because it's the style to go to college, or because their friends go to college? No statistics are available for answering these questions. Also remember that, as a rule, it is only three generations "from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves." A man born poor and taught to struggle creates a successful business. He is almost always a man of high principles and of good habits. His sons who inherit the business consequently know less of struggle and the necessity of thrift. Careless habits then get into the family life and too often the grandchildren get into trouble. As a result, these grandchildren often lose the business and their children are forced to start over again at the bottom.

During my campaign for the Presidency, I emphasized the need of strengthening our national foundations, especially appealing to youth. More nearly equal opportunities will be brought about only through the self-control of individuals, not through the state control of incomes. Our national character can even be undermined by a topheavy bureaucracy and an unwarranted extravagance on the part of government. Personal habits cannot be changed by mere legislation alone as the Eighteenth Amendment clearly demonstrated. We cannot break economic laws; we can only break ourselves against them. Certainly in the long run there is more to divide only when more is produced. We come out of business depressions only by working harder and longer, not by working less.

There are four laws that even Congress and the Supreme Court cannot change. These are: (1) The law of supply and demand; (2) the law of the survival of the fittest; (3) the law of action and reaction; and (4) the law of justice. Attempting to circumvent these four laws is time wasted. We can make progress only by taking advantage of these four laws, viz: (1) By influencing the desire of people for worthwhile things; (2) by recognizing that the "fittest"

are those who develop spiritually and intellectually as well as physically; (3) by preventing business depressions through curbing business booms; and (4) by law enforcement. Life will always be more or less like a horse race. Administration policies are much like trotting horses; their worth cannot be determined by merely walking them in front of the grandstand to be voted upon. Stones will always sink and corks will always float. In fact, laws cannot be made; they can only be discovered.

The solution of the nation's economic problems will come through the development of such qualities as character, intelligence, industry, thrift, and generosity. Instead of wasting money on useless subsidies—whether to industry under a Republican administration or to the unemployed under a Democratic administration—this money should be used to develop the citizenry of the nation, with a few fundamental laws rigidly enforced. Some will say that this is impractical, but I say it is very practical. Remember when the Agricultural Department of the United States Government was first suggested, including the addition of the President's Cabinet of a member to be known as Secretary of Agriculture? People thought it fantastic for the government to attempt to develop a better breed of cattle, sheep, and hogs—to say nothing of improving the yield per acre of wheat, corn, and other products. Yet, after years of discussion, a Secretary of Agriculture was appointed and the work commenced. Instead of a failure, it has been a great success.

Although it may be a difficult task, a Department of Character Training, headed by a Secretary of Character, who would be a member of the President's Cabinet, could accomplish much. He need merely do for men, women, and children what the Secretary of Agriculture has done for cattle, sheep, and hogs!

NEEDED: A FIGHTING CHURCH

An important function of the Church is to fight evil and uphold justice. The sermons of my boyhood were largely based upon the importance of struggle and self-control. Hence, each church member was then expected to fight liquor, gambling, vice, and all other evils. Joining the church in those days was like joining the army. It really meant "going forth to war." We sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" in dead earnest and went forth as crusaders to close the saloons, lock the gambling joints, and banish vice from our city. For a church member to compromise with any commercialized evil was an almost unknown thing then.

One of the great disappointments of my campaign was to find that this fighting spirit of the Church had greatly weakened. I was unable to arouse in church groups a fighting spirit. Whether this is due to their entangling business and social alliances with those connected with these evils or to something else, I do not know. Church members should lead and not follow. We should not

imitate others, but we should fearlessly show others how to live and to act. Progress comes only because of a few who are willing to be laughed at and ridiculed. The Church when not persecuted is usually not effective; it then is failing in its purpose.

The total Presidential vote of 1940 was about 50,000,000. It is estimated that 30,000,000 of these were cast by church members. These are persons who had taken an oath "to follow Jesus as one body." Yet the facts indicate that these 30,000,000 divided their votes almost equally between the two major parties. Not only did I receive less than 1 per cent of the great church vote, but in reality the total church vote did not count at all. The following figures relative to the larger denominations illustrate this fact:

	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Prohibition, Scattering, and Blanks</i>
Methodist	49%	49%	2%
Presbyterians	70%	29%	1%
Baptists	35%	63%	2%
Episcopalians	72%	27%	1%
Congregationalists	80%	19%	1%
Lutherans	50%	48%	2%
Catholics	30%	69%	1%
Hebrews	50%	48%	2%
Salvation Army	10%	88%	2%
Miscellaneous	48%	48%	4%

These figures strongly suggest that only when the best elements of the nation unite in some one party will democracy be saved. Practically all the good things that we have in America today, from schools to hospitals, have been born within the Church. Surely the church people are the hope of the world. Prosperity cannot be made by treaties, legislation, or diplomacy. Progress comes only as people's hearts are changed. Therefore we all should back the Church, contributing to it of our time, thought, prayers, and money. In order, however, for the Church to function, its members must unite, at least on Election Day!

Those furthering a movement to raise the standards for voting must expect opposition and persecution. If, however, the discussion is handled honestly and fairly, the result should be beneficial to all. Anyone should be prohibited from voting if he does not pass reasonable tests; but it should be emphasized that new voting lists will be made up every four years so that anyone on the disqualified list will have an opportunity to take another examination and become qualified. This further means that if any voter disqualifies himself during these four years, he will be taken off the list. The qualifications for voting can be raised by almost any group by erecting barriers and requirements which the

governing courts will uphold. Thus the individual states have in their hands one hope for saving democracy. These states, however, must use this power intelligently and justly and not with the purpose of persecuting any race, creed, or political theory with which their people do not agree.

PROHIBITING UNWORTHY VOTING

How can a start be made in prohibiting the unworthy from voting? The first step should be to begin with those states where the people can, by petition, initiate legislation. State legislatures already require examinations of their people who desire to practice medicine, dentistry, law, and even barbering. Is it unreasonable that they should require equally severe examinations of those who are to exercise a far more important privilege—that of voting for those who are to govern the nation? The majority of leaders are agreed that a percentage of the people now voting have no business to vote; but these leaders are divided as to how to eliminate this unworthy percentage.

How would such tests be applied? Naturally, they should not have any relation to property, income, sex, race, color, or creed. In order to be fair to all groups, the tests must be passed successfully by the rich as well as by those in the humblest circumstances. These tests would go far in eliminating many of the undesirable elements from the voting lists. This, in itself, would help our cause in fighting commercialized evils because all those so eliminated would be of the groups now controlled by the liquor, gambling, and other vicious interests. I would have these tests cover among other things economic theory as affecting living standards. This is a subject which should appeal to everyone. This would give us a chance to show how living standards are being lowered today through the tremendous waste caused by the liquor traffic, gambling and other gangs, especially by the failure to enforce laws already on the statute books. Information on these subjects would be supplied in textbooks, which should be issued by the Department of Education in Washington. The information would be impartial and scientific.

Of course, this revision of the requirements for voting is complicated; in fact, some six different methods of accomplishing this result have already been offered by authorities on government. These are as follows:

1. That all persons who have not passed successfully an examination on government be prohibited from voting. (a) Those desiring to vote must have been in the United States for 21 years. (b) Those desiring to vote for local officers should submit to a written examination on town, city, and county government. (c) Those desiring to vote on state matters should submit to a written examination on how state governments are operated. (d) Those desiring to vote for federal officials and members of Congress should submit to a thorough examination on federal affairs.
2. That all persons who have been convicted of breaking laws should be pro-

hibited from voting for a certain number of years, according to the act for which they were convicted. This requirement would not eliminate a large percentage, but it would eliminate the worst elements. By some sort of "Hatch Act," which would prohibit such persons from mixing in any way with politics, our elections could be purged from most of the present graft and crookedness.

3. That all persons who do not care enough about their privilege of voting to exercise it regularly should be prohibited from using it whenever it suits their fancy. Some many million qualified voters are too indifferent to vote at important elections. Due to the lack of patriotism of such indifferent voters, elections are often decided by the unintelligent who are controlled by the ward bosses. The privileges of absentee voting should be extended universally; but those who refuse to take regular advantage of their democratic opportunities should be eliminated from the voting lists for a period of time.
4. That those who, either permanently or temporarily, are on public relief should be prohibited from voting while on relief. I have found very little desire to confine the voting franchise to property owners. On the other hand, there is a vast difference between being poor with independence, and being a pauper depending upon the city, county, or state for support.
5. That those who are in the employ of the government, state, or municipality might be prohibited from voting while in such employ. Apparently, in the eyes of the founders of our country, this is a very important requirement. Otherwise they would not have prohibited the residents of the District of Columbia from voting. Now, however, that there are such great numbers of persons in the employ of, or receiving aid from, the government, it may be a very difficult task to extend this restriction to include all office holders.
6. That those who have no family or useful responsibilities might be prohibited from voting. This group could include single persons and those who have no children of their own nor have any adopted children. Some economists feel that only the head of every family should vote: thus again making the family the unit. The theory is that dependents should not vote. The "head" of the family would be the eldest one in the family or the bread-winner of the family, irrespective of sex. Some suggest that each family should be permitted to nominate its own registered voter; but this involves unnecessary complications. A system of having the oldest member vote, however, for him or herself and his wife or husband and for the unmarried children, may have some merit.

GREAT NATIONAL SAVINGS POSSIBLE

If the principle of prohibiting the unworthy from voting was adopted there would be a great reduction in taxation and other present costs. There are both direct and indirect losses incurred under our present system. Most of these are so generally recognized that I need not mention them here. But consider the following which are not so generally taken into account. A tangible cost is the private losses in income due to annual premiums paid for insurance against many actions and reactions. This includes burglary, robbery, forgeries, auto thefts, and all other types of theft insurance. Also it would include fidelity in-

surance premiums paid on fidelity policies insuring banks, commercial firms, and private individuals against embezzlement, forgeries, and other defalcations by employees. Fire and automobile insurance would also come under this heading. In the case of losses not covered by insurance, we must consider the millions of direct losses suffered. Losses due to crimes against the person, such as homicides, wounding, and sex offenses form a large item in any tabulated costs today. In addition to the direct losses should be added the cost of police protection, court, and prison expenses. Commercialized fraud, organized extortion, and racketeering losses cause a tremendous amount of tribute to be paid by society annually.

The cost of administration of criminal justice, and the cost of crime would be greatly reduced. This, of course, would include federal, state, county, and city courts. The salaries of officials, guards, and other employees of penal institutions plus the upkeep of the hospitals and prisons must also be taken into consideration for this, of course, would include all persons everywhere. The cost of administration and upkeep of public and private correctional institutions and reformatories is another annual economic loss to society. All these costs are now paid by citizens in the form of taxes.

Private citizens suffer heavy losses as victims of various illegal enterprises, especially through the bribery of public officials and police officers. These crimes cause alliances to grow up between crooked politicians and organized racketeers, and it is the citizen who must pay through taxes or unnecessary expenditures for any graft practised by unethical office holders and public servants. Another large loss is suffered by honest commercial firms when they are forced to pay tribute to one racketeering organization for "protection" from other racketeering organizations. All of the above-named items, whether immediate or indirect, must necessarily be characterized as costs of our present unintelligent system of voting. Surely if the profit be eliminated from the manufacture, distribution, advertising, and sale of harmful products, the standard of living would be much higher for all.

Also, in the category of indirect losses, must be considered the earning power of criminals and other harmful persons at large and the earning power of prisoners who are already in penal institutions. Usually this equals a large percentage of every state budget. Statisticians are also overwhelmed by the great loss to communities, as well as to individuals, through ill health due to bad habits. The cost of taking care of those too sick to work is taken for granted; but the greatest loss comes through those who are going to work each day but lack energy and endurance. They go to work merely to "go through the motions" and draw their pay. This applies not only to workers at the bench, but also to executives and officials. One of the chief causes of business failures is the poor health of the owner or of an important official.

On June 24, 1931, a report prepared under the direction of the National Com-

mission of Law Observance and Enforcement, entitled *Report on the Cost of Crime*, was published and copies can be obtained from the United States Government Printing Office. This report shows an estimated cost of crime alone as \$18,000,000,000 per year. *This does not include over \$4,500,000,000 spent annually for alcoholic drink plus \$4,000,000,000 more due to the unemployability of the intoxicated.* If these figures were correct in 1931, they must be triple this amount today (1951) with the increase in national income. The Prohibition Party states that by reducing these evils we could either greatly increase our standard of living or else use this money for reducing taxation.

Is there any wonder that the Prohibition Party takes its work so seriously? It is tremendously interested in suppressing the liquor evil and in strengthening law enforcement; *but it is far more interested in getting the United States better "race" conscious.* Then the masses will see the need of sound health, sound judgment, and sound religion. Then there will be a real desire for these things. However, first we must create the desire. Toward this end the work of the Prohibition Party is directed.

In closing, let me acknowledge my respect and love for my co-workers in that campaign. Prohibitionists, as a rule, are humble people, without much of this world's goods; but they are true citizens of the highest type. It was a joy to work with them and know them. Unlike my experiences as Church Moderator in 1936-1938, these months of campaigning in 1940 were happy months. Everyone co-operated, from Chairman Edward E. Blake down to the newest member. God bless them all! I was proud to be a candidate for the Presidency of the United States in November, 1940. Whatever may happen to the party in years to come, either through a change of name or through consolidation with some other party, the principles of our 1940 platform will ultimately win. Then—and then only—will unemployment be eliminated, justice rule, and your investments be safe.

Let me also pay my respects to Alcoholics Anonymous which I recommend to all who are honestly seeking redemption from the curse of liquor. Those who truly want to quit drinking and are willing to confess their sins and ask God for help can be cured. It should, however, be realized that this group depends mainly upon spiritual rebirth and Christian fellowship. Although the A.A.'s are not connected with any special Church nor Creed—except the power of brotherly love—they are deeply spiritual people. They have a message both for the down-and-out drunks and also for the conservative leaders of all Churches. What the power of God can do to eliminate the curse of liquor is also the only means of eliminating the other evils mentioned in this chapter. In fact, only through such a religious awakening can voting be restricted to those worthy of the privilege.

Chapter XXXIII

UTOPIA COLLEGE

AN EARLIER chapter includes a summary of various important addresses. One of these addresses, made in the Central West, appealed to the young people of six great states to develop a "Royal Family of America." I said that they and their neighbors should realize that some day a great responsibility will come to them and their children. At the time I never expected to have a part in developing such an idea. As years went on, however, and events, both abroad and in this country, became more serious, I resolved to at least plant a seed from which such a royal family might grow.

Only a great spiritual awakening, accompanied by some revolutionary inventions to raise the world's standard of living, can make the United Nations effectual. Certainly no students can believe that there will be no more world wars, although the United Nations may postpone such an event. World government will come about *someday* and the possibility of wars will be diminished. Even then, however, there could be splits and secessions comparing with our own Civil War. To be realistic, another world war must be expected *sometime*.

When, as, and if such an event happens, the probabilities are that one or more of our great cities will be destroyed. This may come about by the dropping of atomic bombs from the air, or by self-propelled missiles, or by other bombs preplanted by the enemy within our cities. These may be explosive bombs, or bacteria bombs, or poison gas bombs. As 20 per cent of our population reside in our twelve largest cities, this could be a terrific blow. This could leave our nation disorganized and without transportation, communication, or perhaps even government. If 80 per cent of our industries then were in these cities destroyed, it is evident that our country would virtually need to start over again, even if it were the victor.

To statisticians it is evident that the nation must be fed, fueled, and reorganized by people living in the central portion of the country. Rural districts anywhere may be safe against bombing; but for their people to exist, they must be fed and kept warm. How large this area may be is debatable. I decided upon a circle taking in the best parts of six states—Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. The crucial statistical measure was the ability of the area to take care of more than its present population.

The map shows that the approximate center of this selected area is a small city named Eureka, Kansas. Knowing the dictionary definition and derivation of this word, it appealed to me, especially as the nearest farming community is known as Utopia. I therefore visited Eureka, founded a small college there, and named the institution Utopia College, organized under the educational laws of Kansas in November, 1946, and to it I have donated funds. The college is co-educational and offers a short intensive course on training for Production Administration. It does not attempt to compete with any colleges within these six states nor does it even ask to be accredited by these colleges. Its sole purpose is *to help people of all ages, sexes, and races.*

WHY ANOTHER COLLEGE?

But why did Mrs. Babson and I start another college while already carrying two on our backs: Babson Institute for Men at Babson Park, Massachusetts, and Webber College for Women at Babson Park, Florida? There are several reasons. The main one is that we wanted to do something concrete to awaken the people of these states to the great opportunity and responsibility which will confront them when and if the next world war comes. The future of the reorganized United States will then depend upon the character, intelligence, and courage of the inhabitants of the Central West. We wanted a college there to use as a sounding board for this message and also in order to interest this section in world government which is the only hope for any practical utopia.

Now as to my other reasons: (1) In view of the location of Babson Institute and Webber College, neither will probably ever be bombed; but it seemed wise to have our educational interests in "three baskets" instead of only two. (2) The Institute serves the East; Webber College serves the South; and Utopia College serves the West, from which more of our students are constantly coming. (3) As years go on, it will be easier for the graduates of both the Institute and Webber to get good positions in the Central West. All of these reasons led us to select Eureka, *but the most important was to give us a central pulpit from which we could preach the above message.* Utopia is the name of a small adjoining community of which I am very fond.

Here is another reason why the name "Utopia" was selected. I am an admirer of Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), a famous Lord Chancellor of England, and friend of Erasmus, translator of the New Testament. Once Erasmus asked Sir Thomas to give his ideas of what Jesus meant by "Thy Kingdom Come." "What kind of a community would that be?" asked Erasmus. Finally Sir Thomas prepared his ideas in the form of a book which he named *Utopia*, a word which he invented. It had never been used before. That was over 400 years ago. From that time on the book has been printed in every language and used by most colleges. When I was a student at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1894-1898, it was assigned as supplemental reading with the statement that the author was beheaded for writing it!

There is an important question to ask in connection with this book; namely, why during these 400 years that this book has been read by millions of people, the "Utopia" which Sir Thomas outlined has never been tried? Or, assuming it has been tried, why has it not succeeded? In fact why was the program of Sir Thomas More not successful when tried by the small group of social minded farmers who took this name for their Kansas community in 1857? One reason is that Sir Thomas More, and other like-minded men who have attempted to carry out his program, failed to realize the importance of world government, new inventions, and sane religious faith. The hope of the world economically lies neither with co-operative movements nor scientific inventions *alone*, but with their proper combination under a spiritually minded world government. A nation must progress spiritually, politically, and materially in proper balance. When one gets out of balance there is a setback. In fact if today the nations of the world would use for peacetime pursuits the brains, energy, and materials now expended in waging and preparing for war, every family could enjoy a fair standard of living.

This brings me to a statement regarding a company known as Invention, Inc., in which Utopia College is interested. It is the oldest and largest corporation in the country for making certain pertinent patent studies. Every day it has men at the Patent Office studying new patents which are filed and those which are expiring. It aims to have among its clientele the most progressive industrial concerns in America. It is, of course, operated from Washington, D.C. However, the regard which the College has for this company should add a note of sincerity to my constant preaching that the ultimate utopia will come, not through dividing up what already exists, but through a greater interest in new inventions, new processes, and new discoveries, as well as in a new world government.

THE MAGIC CIRCLE

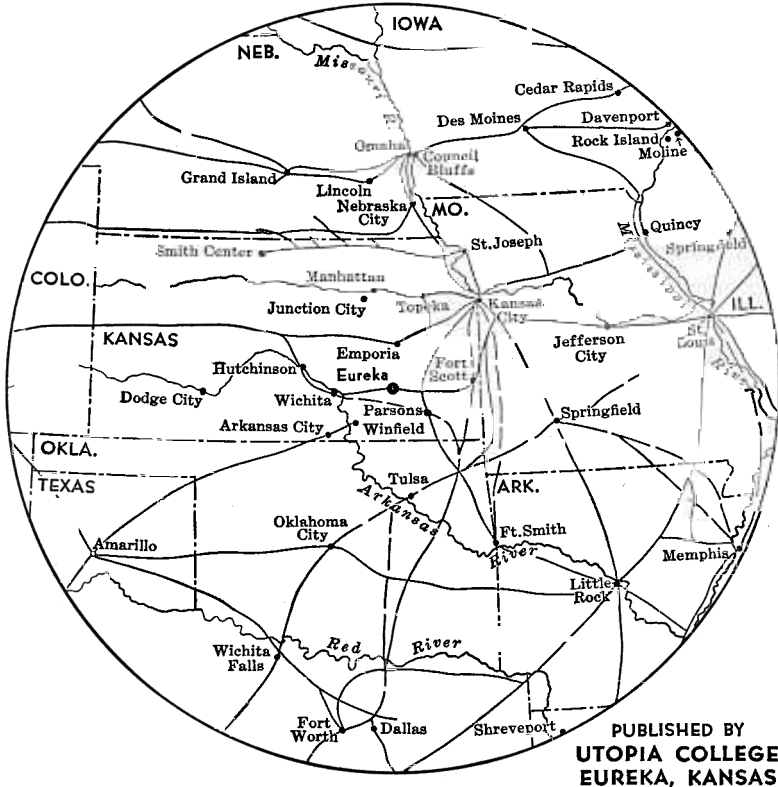
The material resources of these six states exceed those of any equal area in any part of the world and will support 400 people per square mile, while the area now has only 40 persons per square mile. The Mississippi Valley, on the eastern edge, is the most underpopulated breadbasket of the earth. It could easily support 60,000,000 people in luxury and 150,000,000 in an emergency. The entire area contains about 400,000 square miles with a few million population.

These states have rich soil, valuable minerals, virgin forests, vast sources of hydro-electric and solar energy, a climate which develops strong manhood, and

a location which is central for all U. S. and foreign markets. The airlines of the world will meet and cross within this area, which could become the world's great international trading center. The people, however, must co-operate, planning and working together to best develop and hold this vast empire.

When talking about Utopia College, I like to draw a circle, with the center Eureka, and a radius of 400 miles. This is an average day's automobile run

BABSON'S MAGIC CIRCLE
OF WHICH EUREKA, KANSAS, IS THE CENTER



for people who live in the Central West. It contains 500,000 square miles, or about 32,000,000 acres, upon which live about 16,000,000 people. The circle thus drawn is already being referred to as the "Magic Circle." This territory contains a wealth of natural resources, a reservoir of native labor, diversified agricultural production, low living costs, ample transportation, temperate climate, excellent educational facilities, abundant water supply, and the nation's best health records.

This area, within the Circle, produces, *per capita*, the greatest value of minerals of any similar area in the U. S. These include petroleum, lead,

natural gas, zinc, coal, gypsum, salt, and stone. In addition may be included asphalt, road rock, mineral wool, carbon black, pyrites, bentonite, chalk, clay, volcanic ash, and helium. It also has great quantities of the ingredients of cement and other building materials. Not only is the production of these mineral products high at the present time, but their potential supply seems almost unlimited. In the case of salt, for instance, which is a basic raw material in the chemical industry, there is a supply which should last 500,000 years.

Within the area of this Circle is produced wheat, corn, oats, sorghum, hay, flax, soy beans, alfalfa, barley, rye, sugar beets, tobacco, peanuts, cotton, and potatoes. In the case of most of these products, the Magic Circle produces, *per capita*, the largest amount of any similar area in the U. S. Along with these crops are raised fine beef cattle and milk cows, hogs, sheep, horses and mules, poultry, and bees. In fact, its grazing lands lead the world. Living is both wholesome and reasonable. The climate develops both hardy children and hardy animals. As a result, the area is self-sustaining with a surplus of food at low prices. In many sections this surplus includes apples, peaches, pears, cherries, berries, melons, eggs, and vegetables. The latter are peas, beans, tomatoes, lettuce, and sweet corn.

The states included within this area already have huge annual incomes and share the largest percentage of *per capita income increase* since 1940 of any area in the U. S. This gives them a unique trading area of their own, stimulated by the largest increase in percentage of farm income of any like group of states. This increase applies not only to money received for the crops but, in many cases, to the yield per acre and the quality of the crops. Perhaps most important of all, 95 per cent of the population of the Magic Circle and environments are native-born, white stock. Only about 10 per cent live in large cities. This area thus ranks first in effective manufacturing man power *per capita* of any section of the U. S. Its present chief industries are oil refining, coal and mineral mining, meat packing, metal working, milling, aircraft, cement and other building material plants. These, however, are constantly being added to and increasing in output.

Based upon the above statements, let me offer to all readers some advice:

1. If you now live in this "Magic Circle," continue to live there and urge your children to settle there and bring up a good family. Support its churches, schools, newspapers, real estate, and other worthy enterprises. Do not neglect the great opportunity which God has given you to live within this area.
2. If you now live in or too near some large city, but wish to be employed there, buy a small, safely located, self-sustaining farm somewhere and rent it to some family of good character that loves farming. It might preferably be within the "Magic Circle," but not necessarily there. Help that family to make a living and be happy with the understanding that in an emergency your

family may come there and be taken care of. Visit this farm annually and invest more money in it. Such a policy will do both your family and the farm family good. Investments can yield returns more desirable than mere money.

COURSES AT UTOPIA

The specific work of the college consists of short, intensive training in Production Administration. The courses are in Accounting, Labor Management, Industrial Analyses, Marketing Technique, Government Relations, Finance and Investments, Business Organization, and Written and Spoken English. Outside lecturers, both from the business world and the teaching profession, cover other subjects, including Natural Resources. The above subjects and courses are basic and necessary for whatever line of work one is to enter. Among the advantages in a short course is the saving of time. This does not mean that a liberal arts education is not worthwhile for those who can afford leisure. But it is far better to take short intensive courses than to fail to attend any established college.

Believing more in decentralization now than when starting Babson Institute or Webber College, Mrs. Babson and I avoided the erecting of one large building for Utopia. Instead, we bought an entire block in the best residential section of Eureka, containing about three acres. It is bounded on all four sides by hard roads—5th and 6th Streets, St. Nicholas and Myrtle Streets. On one half of this block a fine residence had been erected which we turned into headquarters for the college; it contains a lecture hall, classrooms, and offices for instructors. Several nearby modern homes were purchased for dormitories. The other half of this central lot is in reserve for further buildings.

NEED OF BUSINESS EDUCATION

It is estimated that there are over five million families in the United States who, through hard work, fair dealing, and thrift, have accumulated \$50,000. The father knows his own business, it may be farming, mercantile, manufacturing, or a profession. He probably has had only a grade-school education—at most a high-school education. His real education was at the "school of hard knocks." Yet these people are the backbone of America.

Until recently, to be successful, a man needed to know only his own business and concentrate on it, dealing fairly with his employees and customers. He did not need to know the details of economics, taxation, investment, government, etc. He seldom employed a lawyer; he had no use for brokers; and he could plant, sell, hire, and fire as he desired. He still hopes for these "good old days" to return; but they will not return for a long time.

As a result of these new conditions, the best parents are now confused and troubled. They see much in the papers about foreign affairs, legislation, business

taxes, labor union domination, and other things. They realize that their own little business is no longer dependent upon a few simple principles by which they, thus far, have been successful. They are beginning to realize that from now on their own income and savings are unfortunately tied up with foreign affairs, economics, finance, world trade, labor problems, and so forth. Most of these good citizens are bewildered, while many are even frightened. They not only wonder whether they should continue in business, but are becoming fearful that they or their families may lose what they have gained through hard work and careful savings.

If these persons were younger, they could now devote one or more years studying these subjects for which they today feel the need, but know so little. Such however is now impossible. The time for such an education has passed and the clock cannot be set back. Those years have been torn from the calendar forever. Yet a family knowledge for these new conditions must be secured. It is dangerous and unfair to oneself and family to drift further. A knowledge of crops and seasons is no longer enough. The family security demands that one's knowledge of his own business or profession should be supplemented by a knowledge of other subjects. To help these families, Utopia College was organized, but emphasizing that security depends on more than mere knowledge.

NECESSARY FUNDAMENTALS

Our three colleges would be unfaithful not to discuss with their students the importance of sound religious faith. I do not have in mind the teachings of any special church denomination, but there are fundamentals which should frankly be discussed. For instance, we believe that the "prayer of the righteous man availeth much," but that righteousness is a basic requirement for the answer of such prayers. I hope that sometime Utopia College will be under the direction of the Mustard family;—but if not, it should come under some church management. In this connection I urge readers to acquaint themselves with the Eureka Plan of Accelerated Education which enables students to combine in twelve months their last year in High School and their first year in College.

All three of our educational institutions believe that working *with* God, from day to day, is a definite part of a happy and successful life. In fact, only with the understanding that students will give serious thought to *Faith*, as a definite factor of planning for security, would any one of our three schools be worthy of its name. We therefore emphasize at all three institutions that spiritual faith and health habits are very important. Unfortunately, owing to individual instincts and prejudices, it is impossible to *force* the teaching of these fundamentals; but we are anxious to aid any students who ask for help along any lines. Only through a closer relationship of education, production, and religion will any permanent utopia be enjoyed.