

Resolved: That Prohibition Cannot Be Enforced



C. E. Broughton, editor of The
Sheboygan (Wis.) Press for the
affirmative. Rev. Robert Gordon,
pastor of the First Baptist church
of Fond du Lac, for the negative.

*Debate Held At
Sheboygan, Wisconsin
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This is a full text of the debate between C. E. Broughton, Editor of the Sheboygan (Wis.) Press and Rev. Robert Gordon, pastor of the First Baptist church of Fond du Lac. I believe in presenting both sides and for that reason the pamphlet contains the affirmative and negative side of the question "Resolved, that Prohibition Cannot Be Enforced."

Editor Sheboygan Press.

Chairman Wm. Mauthe

"This great gathering offers practical proof that the people in this community take a patriotic public interest in the affairs of government. You are no ordinary body of men and women. Collectively, you represent the interested political and economic thought of a thrifty people in a great state. Individually, you manifest to an unusual degree a desire to be fully informed on all public questions affecting the good will and happiness of a liberty-loving American people.

"The prohibition question is a political and economic question. It is the most important public question before the American people today. Holders of public office and seekers of public trusts will no longer be permitted to dodge the prohibition question. Our land, everywhere, cries out for a solution, a settlement and a showdown on prohibition.

"A debate which will bring out both sides of the prohibition question is therefore proper and in order. We are fortunate in having two of Wisconsin's most qualified and most distinguished citizens as the principals in the discussion tonight. By an agreement with the principals, the question for discussion will be: "RESOLVED, THAT PROHIBITION CANNOT BE ENFORCED."

"Mr. Broughton, who will talk for the affirmative, will open with a thirty minute discussion. Dr. Gordon will follow with thirty minutes for the negative. Mr. Broughton will then take fifteen minutes, to be followed by Dr. Gordon with another full thirty minutes. Mr. Broughton will then close the debate with fif-

teen minutes rebuttal, making the time an even hour for each.

"This will not be a decision debate. There will be no judges other than you, the audience. Your courteous expressions of appreciation to both the principals will be sufficient. At a similar debate held in Fond du Lac about nine months ago, your citizen, Mr. Broughton, received a most courteous reception, close attention, and sincere expressions of appreciation from the Fond du Lac audience. I know you will extend like courtesies to our invited guest and good friend, Dr. Gordon."

And now, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me exceptional pleasure to introduce the first speaker, your distinguished citizen, who will talk for thirty minutes, Mr. C. E. Broughton, editor of The Sheboygan Press. (Much applause.)

Mr. Broughton Opens Debate

"Chairman Mr. Mauthe, Rev. Dr. Gordon, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"This debate is the third of a series on prohibition. My worthy opponent is in a strange city tonight and I ask for him the same courtesies and the same consideration that you would give me.

"I have the affirmative—'Resolved, that Prohibition Cannot Be Enforced,' and in the brief space of time at my disposal I will prove that it has failed utterly after a trial of ten years and that today we are facing problems of crime and corruption unheard of in the history of this country, and which are traceable directly to prohibition. My opponent will argue about the evils of the saloon. Let me say to him that the saloon regime was like a pink tea party as compared to the present bootlegging, rum-running, moonshining and other near relatives of prohibition. I am not going to take up valuable time with theories, but will prove by figures and known instances, the truth that prohibition cannot be enforced. I want to reiterate what I said in my former debate that 'temperance was on its way when the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect, that thirty-three states had

in part or state-wide temperance, backed by public sentiment.

Unheard Of Crime

"I here and now charge that fanatics, and individuals, unaccustomed to American ideals and customs, have brought to our door a crime wave unheard of in the annals of any country. Some of those who preach prohibition and have made great financial contributions to its cause, in their greed for dollars, are trying to upset the law which they advocated. I refer to S. Kresge, who contributed \$500,000 to the Anti-saloon league, and others. In one breath they advocate prohibition—in the next they offer wares upon their shelves in order that prohibition may be upset.

"I am going to take up a few minutes of your time with a collection of my famous souvenirs, souvenirs, of prohibition days. (Demonstration.)

"The individuals manufacturing these souvenirs are as guilty of violating the Volstead Act as the actual moonshiner for they furnish means for manufacture and finally for concealment.

"About three weeks ago indictments were returned against certain sugar concerns for large sales to clients that were manufacturing illicit whiskey. Sugar is a commodity used for many legal purposes, and if the government can secure evidence for indictment for the sale of sugar in violation of the law, then tell me why the government cannot secure evidence and indict Mr. Kresge, the manufacturer of the fictitious kodak, and every other concern that enters into the making of illicit whiskey utensils.

Canadian Situation

"My opponent in his address at the Methodist Episcopal church in Waupun said: 'Editor Broughton is hard to please. There is, however, a streak of generosity in him. Not only does he ask us to speak up, he goes on to write our sermons for us.' Let me say to my opponent this evening that I think I can easily dispel this idea on his part for I think he will frankly admit that the affirmative side of the debate

tonight is not in any sense his sermon. In his sermon further on he said: 'Read the government reports from Canada showing what the proposed modification has done to them. Remember we have 30,000,000 school children to whom the modified use of liquor is an intolerable menace. Count the gains secured by prohibition and give this method of meeting an age-old evil at least another decade before you conclude it is a mistake in policy.'

"It is very fine for my opponent to deal in generalities, to speak of Canada at a distance, but let us see what the true facts are. The Prime Minister of Ontario under date of January 31st, 1930, wrote me as follows: 'I have yours of the 28th. I fear if I were to attempt to give you detailed statistics and express my personal opinion with reference to the operation of our Liquor Control law, my view would be open to the charge, by those opposed, that it was the judgment of one responsible for the law.'

"I think the best criterion is the recent election in the Province. This government appealed to the people in 1926, submitting a system of control of the liquor traffic through government agencies as an improvement on the prohibition method then in vogue. The government was sustained by a majority somewhat in excess of what it had when it went to the country. After three years of the operation of the law, we had an election on the 30th of October last when the government's majority was increased by 15. In the last house we had 77 members out of 112. As a result of the election on this same issue we now have 92 out of 112. That is the best indication as to whether the law is working out satisfactorily.'

Their Plan Works

"Premier of New Brunswick: 'The Act is working well. We have no longer to fight any form of hypocrisy. We have been able to stand behind the law and enforce it. Public sentiment has set most decidedly in favor of the law and I think by the time another election comes around very little will be

heard outside of a few fanatics in opposition to it. Of course, it requires a strong commission and most vigilant enforcement, but I can confidently say that the day of the rum-runner is past in New Brunswick. There is some rum-running, but it is mostly getting cargoes across into the United States.'

"Under date of February 1st, 1930, the Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec in a letter to me said: 'I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of January and, in reply beg to state that the Liquor Law system which we were first to establish has worked so well in our Province that practically all the other provinces of the Dominion adopted it.

" 'Drunkness has decreased and I believe that we can say that we are one of the most temperate countries in the world.

" 'I am sending you herewith the last report of our Liquor Commission in which, I trust, you will find some matter which will be of interest to you.'

"For the information of my opponent, I am going to give him the government statistics for all the provinces of Canada so that in the future when he points to Canada, our neighbor, as an example of lawlessness he can quote facts and not theories.

"The total number of convictions in 1920 were 39,769; 1921, 34,362; 1922, 25,049; 1923, 25,565; 1924, 27,338; 1925, 26,751; 1926, 34,362; 1927, 31,171; 1928, 33,224. The percentage per 100,000 in 1920 was 525, and in 1928, 250.

"There is respect for law in Canada, both by the citizen and those sworn to enforce the law. They have a law that can be enforced. We on the other hand have a law that makes crooks out of enforcement officers, and any such law cannot have or hold the respect of the people. In Canada at no time have you found corruption, joint partnership between government agents and bootlegging grafters. Liquor laws can be enforced. But not while we have an un-American plan such as was forced on the people of this

country during a period of war time hysteria and retained by many of those who vote dry and are violators themselves. Let us compare these Canadian statistics—a country that my opponent refers to as dripping wet,—with these United States where prohibition is supposed to be the law of the land. Let us take our own State of Wisconsin. Last year the total number of arrests in this state for drunkenness from twenty cities with a population of 1,123,998 was 20,650. Compare this with Canada with their population of 9,658,000 where the total number of arrests for intoxication last year were 33,224. On the basis of a similar population, we would have had 165,365 arrests. My opponent will say that Wisconsin is no example, that we have abolished the Severson Act and as a result there is lawlessness and disregard for law. Well, let us go to Washington. What do the statistics there show? This is the place where laws are made. Washington has a population of 552,000; Quebec, 2,361,199. The number of arrests in Quebec last year was 6,362 and the number in Washington over the same period 19,059. I ask my opponent how he can reconcile himself with this difference if prohibition is a success and can be enforced.

Poison Liquor In U. S.

"My opponent will say that there are less deaths from poison beverages now than a year ago; that there is an up-grade. I have gone to one of the largest insurance companies for a verification of the point I make.

"In January the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company issued a statistical bulletin on the mortality rate for 1929. The records were taken from 19,000,000 industrial policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for the year 1929. Poison alcohol caused 641 deaths of policy holders during 1929 with a death rate of 3.4 per thousand. This marks an increase from 599 or 3.3 in 1928. The report further says deaths from acute poisoning from wood and denatured alcohol were not included in either of these two totals. In 1929 alcoholism

death rate is nearly six times as high as for the year 1920, the first year of prohibition. The 1929 mortality rate is nearly double that of 1918, the final year of the war, and nearly two and one-half times as high as that of 1919, the war time prohibition year.

Lack Of Poison In Canada

"Read the findings of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, gleaned from their own experience in Canada. This is taken from their official publication, a copy of which I have in my possession and reads as follows: 'The mortality from alcoholism has been almost negligible in Canada, particularly in the Province of Quebec, where the Metropolitan has nearly 600,000 industrial policy holders among whom there were only three deaths from this disease in 1919. Among approximately seventeen and three quarter millions of policy holders in the United States 628 of the 641 deaths occurred from alcoholism as compared with only 11 deaths among one and a quarter million of insured Canadians. During the eight year period from 1922 thru 1929, there were 4,138 deaths from this cause among the industrial policy holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Of these, 4,087 occurred in the United States as compared with only 48 in Canada. In the wage-earning populations at least, the alcoholism death rate during the past eight years has been six times as high in the United States as in Canada.'

Thugs And Shooting In the U. S.

"Let us compare our system with that of Canada. Here we shoot to kill. There their officers go unarmed and there is respect for law. One of the blackest blots on American History is our attempt to enforce prohibition by a system of employing thugs, confessed grafters and politicians. And what have we gained? We have made crooks out of former law abiding citizens. We have placed first and second offenders with hardened criminals, thereby giving them degrees in the criminal colleges. We have sanctioned the acts of these prohibition enforcement officers in using girls

as decoys to apprehend violators of the prohibition law. Where in all history can you point to a system that encourages crime in order to punish crime? The government condemns the illicit sale of liquor and yet allows its agents to go out and buy evidence and drink the evidence. Roadhouses have become a living reality in every community in the United States and in the outlying sections of the more metropolitan cities, these thrive and prosper under the very eyes of enforcement officers. Protection, financial return for the prohibition officer, is the answer to their continued existence.

"Suspicion is what the prohibitionist thrives on. He wants to spy on his neighbors and the law gives him that precious opportunity. Instead of preaching the doctrine of fair play, he plans and utilizes force. Force is a breeder of crime no matter under what guise it is used. We have provided our prohibition enforcement officers with sawed off guns, allowed them to go out and shoot people bent upon peaceful missions. A command to halt and failure to get an immediate response has resulted in bloodshed and death. Even a fleeing criminal, who has committed robbery, is given more consideration than the average citizen. Evidence of this we have in the Virkkula shooting and in the killing of Mrs. Lillian De King.

Drinking In Homes

"Some may say that we see prohibition at its worst in the jails and penitentiaries. I contend that prohibition at its worst is seen in the home, that good old-fashioned home that was law abiding when temperance was on its way. In the balmy days of the saloon era you could not point to a single instance of a high school girl or boy being found there. If the proprietor were to sanction it, there was some worthy parent who had an interest in the welfare of the child. Under a non-controlled system, unlicensed, there is no regulation. I once heard the argument that prohibition had benefited the country to the extent that drunks are not seen on the streets these days. The average in-

dividual who gets two or three 'shots' of the present poisonous liquor is in luck if he is able to rise from his chair. One of the greatest evils is the example that is set by parents: violation of the law in the home, and if one law can be violated, then why not all the laws? That is one of the reasons and the main reason why there is disrespect for law. It is being bred in the home where respect for law held sway until prohibition was written into the statutes.

Admissions Of Guilt

"My opponent's stock in trade is to harp on the saloon and the evils of the saloon. We admit that the saloon had its evils and its pitfalls and we make no plea for its existence or return, but under prohibition we have speakeasies and houses of assignation greater in number than we ever had. We have bootleggers, rum-runners, moonshiners and gigantic dope rings, the result of prohibition. We have grafting public officials, men who have sold out their government. We have gigantic alcohol rings made up of wholesale drug firms, railroad officials and government agents, proof of which is given in the indictment of 31 corporations and 156 individuals in a nationwide alcohol ring which had been diverting industrial alcohol since 1923, according to the government.

"We have grafters in public offices accepting money from Uncle Sam as prohibition enforcement officers and selling out the government which they have sworn to uphold and defend. Visiting the Federal building in Milwaukee, this roll of dishonor is gleaned from the records for this district. In the ten years of prohibition, eight enforcement officers have been indicted, convicted or entered pleas of guilty, as follows: George Cowie and Bertram Herzog, accepting bribes; Joe O'Neil, Tom Delancy, Joe Ray and Clark M. Perry, conspiracy to violate the prohibition act, and Ben Finke and Henry Strawn, accepting bribes. Yes, and no one

knows how many have been fired, or have fled.

The Finke Case

"Let us take the case of Ben Finke. He was indicted nearly a year ago on a charge of accepting bribes and in the face of this indictment was transferred to Minnesota where he continued to serve as prohibition officer and official snooper in another state. This is not all. He was brought back, tried and convicted by a federal jury at Milwaukee and then allowed to return to Minnesota and continue as a prohibition officer. The facts are that it was necessary for the United States District Attorney to send him a wire to come back and face Judge Geiger for sentence and when he was sentenced to three years and a fine of \$2000 he was asked by the court if he had anything to say and he answered 'No.'

"Under the confession of Strawn who was convicted at the same time, Finke was listed as receiving untold bribes. Is there any wonder that these official snoopers appear as gentlemen of leisure and fashion-plates when they not only accept money, but the use of bootleggers automobiles and are the recipients of silk shirts and other gifts from bootleggers, rum-runners and moonshiners whom they favor. What have you to say as to these admissions my worthy opponent? I here contend and ask you to cite a single instance of government betrayal of this character before prohibition went into effect.

Silence Is Golden

"Up to the time of prohibition my opponent and many of the clergy preached temperance, and accomplished much by moral persuasion. With the coming of prohibition they delegated the official snooper employed by the government as their representative and since that time they have remained silent on the evils confronting this country. In one or two cases we have been able to smoke them out, but only to have them laud a law that has tended to corrupt the morals of the people. I would like to ask my opponent when was the

last time that he, either from the pulpit or platform, referred to drunkenness and the present day conditions. I challenge him to produce a single paragraph from a sermon along that line.

Where Is That Prosperity?

"Where is that prosperity that we heard so much about two or three years back? Why is the fanatical dry silent now? I'll tell you, and I think that I can make it quite clear that the lack of prosperity is the result of prohibition. We undermined a market for grains when the government, contrary to the early wording of the constitution, confiscated the breweries of this country. Instead of diversified farming of grains we have centralization and an over-production of wheat. The day that we once more resume the manufacture of legalized beer we will see a renewed and rejuvenated prosperity, and with it respect for law and a temperate and law abiding people.

"The prohibitionist tells us that the wet vote is centered in the city, then why in the name of common sense has prosperity overlooked rural communities. If you are going to credit prohibition with prosperity it is only fair that on the debit side of the ledger you place the increased cost of government, added cost of building prisons, the crime wave, and the expense of maintaining the army of snoopers. I'll tell you where there is prosperity, and it's summed up in these words: It has made business profitable for manufacturers of stills, (including my souvenirs) manufacturers of illicit liquors, the grower of corn sugar, and the manufacturer of Eagle Lye used as a twenty-four hour ager. I overlooked one important individual who is also prospering, the prohibition enforcement officer who sells out his country and his conscience for financial gain. Let me give you this point to ponder over: Why are American

citizens hounded like crooks, spied upon? I'll tell you, it is because the prohibition department is so steeped in graft that it is suspicious of every other individual.

Arrests For Drunkenness

"What has prohibition done to the so-called dry states? Has it benefited them? What do the police records show? Take the state of Ohio where the Anti-saloon League was born. The statistics for the city of Cleveland are most interesting. In 1917, the number of arrests for intoxication was 12,196, and in 1929, 24,343.

"Let us take Virginia, Bishop Cannon's state, and see what happened there while he was in Wall street gambling on margins. In the city of Richmond, Virginia, there were 1,788 arrests for intoxication in 1920 and 3,210 in 1928; 34 arrests for operating vehicles while intoxicated in 1920 and 263 in 1928.

"Let us take Georgia, the state of another dry crusader, Senator Harris. In the 1928 report of the Chief of Police of Atlanta, Georgia, this is what he says: "Drunkenness and bootlegging cases are increasing by leaps and bounds. In 1920 we arrested 4,214 drunks, while 9,928 were arrested in 1928, an increase of 135 per cent. Arrests for drunkenness in 1920, amounted to 21.1 per thousand population, while in 1928, they amounted to 34.3 per thousand, an increase of 13.2 per thousand, this increase representing an actual increase in drunkenness of 62½ per cent.

Mr. Mauthe: "My friends, it is a pleasure for me to present to you my townsman, your invited guest, and my good friend who will talk for the negative for thirty minutes, Doctor Robert Gordon, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Fond du Lac. Doctor Gordon."

Reverend Gordon Opens

Reverend Gordon: "Mr. Chairman, Mr. Broughton, ladies and gentlemen. I gather that Mr. Broughton has some following here, that Mr. Broughton has some friends (applause). I congratulate Mr. Broughton. I was told that you would be

good-natured but you really have surpassed my expectations. I should not have been surprised if you reacted in another way to this exhibit that this sleight of hand performer has presented here tonight. I am closer to this situation than you, and I want to tell you folk back in the gallery there that this was a dry exhibit, all these things were dry, nothing in them (laughter). If there is any Scotchman here, it must have been awfully provoking to have this held out this way and then withdrawn as it was. I was over in Glasgow last summer and they told me that several Scotchmen recently had actually lost their minds trying to invent flexible glass making bottles like this so they could turn them inside out and get the last drop, but you could not get a drop out of these if the glass was flexible.

"As you listened to these statistics of crime, corruption, graft, you sat here saying that is a black picture. But I sat saying something else. I said to myself, 'That is bad, but it might have been worse.' I heard of a young fellow who reported that he had a horrible dream. He said, 'I dreamed that I had died and had been sent to hell,' but his friend said, 'That is bad, but it might have been worse.' 'How so?' 'Why,' he said, 'it might have been true.' (Applause.) You know, these statistics don't bother me. They just roll off like water off a duck's back because I have heard him quote them before.

Attacks Figures

"Some of you remember that after the last debate he went on a journey to Washington. When we got to the last speech I had said some thing about drunkenness decreasing since prohibition. I don't know whether my friend Broughton here was fooled or whether he was trying to fool us; I think somebody put something over on him. At any rate, he produced a document. Now he said, 'Gordon, this is the real thing, examine it. It is a police blotter from Washington'; and he says, 'See those statistics, drunkenness increasing by leaps and bounds since prohibition, you can't get away from it; take

it and examine it.' Of course, I didn't; what was the use? When the Superintendent of Police of Washington said that prior to 1923 it was not an offense to be intoxicated in the city of Washington, his police blotter was perfectly good, and it was good for nothing as an argument. Now, if I had time, I would deal that way with all these statistics, every one of them. He says they keep it away from the poor. Is there any poor man here who is really complaining about that? My friend, if that is the case and the rich young sharpers and smart alecks are going about with hip flasks, as many of them are, and drinking, mark my word: In the next generation poor men, your son will be having his shoes shined by this young fellow who is carrying a hip flask today. That isn't anything to worry about, if that is the worst that prohibition does.

Views On Canada

"These statistics from Canada: The fact of the matter is, and you can look it up at your leisure, drunkenness has increased, bootlegging has increased, crime has increased, young people have taken the government's entrance into the business as a stamp of approval and they are drinking as never before. Moderation does not moderate, and government control of liquor as is being evidenced in Canada is liquor control of government.

"He spends a lot of time talking about our government officers, says the government is employing thugs and going out shooting down innocent people and so on. I want to tell this audience here that I resent that. There is this much truth in it: The first enforcement was in your hands and not in ours: Mr. Mellon does not belong to us; and for several years the appointment of enforcement officials from the top down was very largely political spoils. But that has been changed, and these men are under civil service. I wonder if you will take my word for it or if you will look it up yourself and verify it, that most of the men serving in this capacity who are being called snoopers and gum-shoe artists and

sneaks and all the rest of it are college graduates and veterans of the World war. And Dr. Doran says that of the fifteen thousand that from the beginning, in spite of those adverse conditions that I have mentioned, of the fifteen thousand that from the beginning have served in various capacities in enforcement, not more than two per cent have been found guilty of crime; and there is no other department in the government service that can show a record better than that. I wish I had time to deal with that DeKing case, but if I do, I won't get any farther.

"But let me refer to one other matter: He challenged me to produce a bit of a sermon, just a paragraph is all he wanted of any sermon denouncing drunkenness since prohibition came. You certainly haven't attended my church (applause), and I don't believe he has attended your church either. If he knew anything about preachers or sermons across this country, he would know that these men week in and week out are meeting every evil condition. They know about drunkenness and are deploring it and condemning it. That is why I am here tonight because when I began my ministry, an old woman produced a clipping from a newspaper and I read the story of a boy who had died in the most wretched condition, and then with tears in her eyes that old lady said, 'That was my son, drink did that.' Now, she said as she laid her hands on me, 'You see what you have got to do.' My friends, from that day to this, I have been commissioned, I felt it a divine summons to attack this evil. I have seen so much of it; not striking down the weakling, but the strong and the best. I came from Scotland—I confess it on every possible occasion. Robert Burns, was there ever such a heart, ever such a head on a youth and yet as a young man scarcely out of his teens he wrote with his heart's blood of life, 'Thou art a galling load, along a rough, a weary road to wretches such as I.' I hate drink for what it did to Robert Burns. That is why I am here; that is why prohibition

is here because that thing happened again and again, and again across America and everywhere. You read it in the pronouncements of your own supreme court in Wisconsin, what drink was doing; and people said, 'This is an institution that can't go unrestrained; we must do something about it.' And so they blotted it out by local option and county option and state prohibition and one way or another until finally after driving it out that way across the country they succeeded in getting this map fixed up in this shape (producing black and white map). I want you to see it. There is the map of the U. S. A. before prohibition was adopted; that white territory is dry territory; that black is where the saloon existed. Before prohibition ninety-five per cent of the area of America, over eighty-six per cent of the population of America, by their own vote, had driven this business out. (Laughter). By that process they wrote it into the supreme law of the land, 'We want this business outlawed.' And there it stands, and now you say tonight it cannot be enforced. My friend, you are saying more than you want to say. That isn't a sentiment that anybody ought to feel gay about; that isn't a proposition that anybody ought to cheer, for when you say that you are striking a blow at democratic constitutional government. You are saying that this great free people can't think out a proposition like this and come to a conclusion and solemnly write it in their law and then carry out their own determination. And if that day comes, every yard of property you got and your life itself and everything else is at stake. But, my friend, the American people know the worth of constitutional democratic government and they are going to see, wet and dry alike on this. They are going to see whatever change comes will come not by force and violence and threat but by the orderly processes of vote casting and election and government.

Cites German Case

"I was over in Berlin two summers ago and I heard them

tell of what happened there when after the war they started the Republic. Some were not content with ousting the kaiser and having a president. They wanted to go all the way to Russia. They had reason enough for complaint, and the government could not have defended itself. There came communists in armored cars and with gatling guns provided by Russia. And they told me—I had the good fortune to sit in the official residence of the secretary of home affairs of the government—and there they told me that alarm was sounded and the population of Berlin assembled and they stood in the streets with bare hands. The Allies had taken away all their weapons. They stood there all day and all night. And those men came, but they were German communists and they didn't have the guts to turn gatling guns on their own flesh and blood. So those people saved to Germany and to Europe constitutional democratic government. It is in our blood, we believe in law and order.

"I sat in the house of parliament and I heard Ramsay MacDonald, speak. Nearly two million men were out of work and strikes almost paralyzed the whole country. Radicals were shouting, 'Shoot them down, let us have it now, we have been trained to march and fight, we can take it.' And Ramsay MacDonald, the socialist, I heard him say, 'We want a change and radical but only by parliamentary means.'

Can Be Enforced

"My friends, no ten years of turbulent liquor lawlessness is going to frighten the American people away from their determination that 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.' That is why this law can be enforced. I know the people are behind it tonight as they have not been behind it up until this time, increasingly so. Now, you would think after all this shouting at Washington and elsewhere, that the whole country was in rebellion and everybody was shouting for a change. I heard about a man who

moved from the city out to one of these Wisconsin lakeside places and he telegraphed back to Chicago that he was ready to send them a carload of frogs the next day; you heard about it. In the morning you know he found a baker's dozen: You can't always tell by the croaking just how many there may happen to be. These professional wets are making a lot of noise.

"And, believe me, the business men of the country, whatever you may think about it as a class, have discovered what this means economically. Business is for prohibition. The women of the country as a class—now, there were three, I think, at Washington the other day. One said she represented three hundred women, another said she represented fifty thousand, but you know that when the women begin to speak for prohibition that one woman can say, 'I belong to an organization that numbers ten million women and we are for prohibition.' And they have the vote, these women. Politicians are finding out there is something more now than sweet feminine influence. They are going to discover that the rolling pin may be more effective than ever the steam roller was. The women can vote, and they will. They are for it. One of these women in Washington, they are going to hire her to stay away at the next hearing, she said, 'If we can't get liquor back, I am going to send my two daughters across the sea where they can learn to drink as ladies.' Let her go, let her go. Do you think that America will be greatly alarmed if that lady and her daughters go across the sea to learn to drink as ladies? Let them get that instruction over there if they want it.

Educators For It

"And then the educators of America are behind this. Ten thousand high school superintendents met at Atlantic City last week and the report in the paper says, 'There is a new note in the assembly.' They have always believed in prohibition but now this mass of thinking people say, 'We must aggressively get behind prohibition.' And part of it

is the result of the Hoover commission, for they have been investigating the high school. And Mr. Crabtree, their secretary, says, 'We have reported to the Hoover commission that in the high school—we used to number two million and now we number five million—conditions as compared with ten years ago are infinitely better.' The school men know that, and they are behind prohibition.

"And the churches are behind prohibition. And these editors and some other folk like to attack little Baptist preachers like myself because they think that only a few black hatted fanatics are behind this, but there are other folks too. I wish the next time you write an editorial about the person who preaches prohibition you would take some real big target and aim at it. Cardinal Mercier, man of God, one of the great characters that came out of the war, Cardinal Mercier was a prohibitionist, he wrote: 'Universal prohibition—universal prohibition—would save more lives than universal disarmament. Alcohol has killed more men than war and killed them more dishonorably.'

A voice in the gallery: "Oh, you are talking."

Reverend Gordon: "Don't believe in prohibition? There are organizations of Catholic priests tonight, and Catholic laymen too, as convinced prohibitionists as I am. It isn't all a matter of a few fanatics in the Baptist church. Churches of the country are behind the government without any question.

Chides Editor

"The farmer; it has been suggested that they have been brought to poverty voting for prohibition, and this man makes a bright suggestion. I wonder the government hasn't sent for him, maybe they have. They have been studying this question a long time, there have all sorts of investigations been going on and any number of Boards and Commissions and Committees and they have explored this and that and the other. Did they ever send for you, Mr. Broughton? And here is a man who

has discovered that the liquor folk should give the farmer all he can drink and that will put the farmer on his feet. Why, I have seen farmers get into the gutter that way, you put them in the ditch. The people, oh, the people as a whole are behind this and, therefore, you can and you will enforce it. Mr. Broughton, when you see the tail begin to wag the dog, then you can expect that the wet minority will control the country, but not till then. No, the people can enforce, they are enforcing it pretty well now; maybe that is news to you because you live in Sheboygan. (vigorous laughter) I tell you they are enforcing it as well as they are the traffic laws, without any question. You haven't had prohibition in Sheboygan. (very loud laughter) If you had a little of it, you might like it. (more laughter) You don't know anything about it. But over great stretches of this country the prohibition law is pretty well enforced.

"Mr. Edison said the other day in his telegram to Washington, 'It is enforced now in my judgment sixty per cent, and I expect to see it enforced eighty per cent.' There never will come a time when people will not make liquor and you will get it; there never will come a time when men will not murder, when men will not steal, but the law against robbery and the law against murder, they are good things in their way. We are not going to write them off the book. And this law is serving its purpose pretty well. But it is going to be increasingly enforced because of these changes in selection of officers, because of the clarification of the law in the court, because of the fact that from the highest official down men are being appointed who are dry, not politically merely but personally and really who believe in it. All that is making for the sort of enforcement that we have been needing and wanting. But finally it is going to be enforced because the people will see the wisdom of it. Increasingly they will come to understand what it is all about, and why we have it. The fact of

the matter is men, most of us, don't realize what is happening in America. We move away from the days of the country to the city and that makes a difference. If we are living together out on the farm, a man could do about as he pleased, nobody's business. But when a lad can ride a twenty dollar automobile out in front of a flying train and cause a wreck that cost some million dollars in a second, and thirteen lives, we are interlaced now and I am concerned about that boy. And then we have moved away from the day of the ox-cart and the covered wagon to this flying car, fifty, sixty miles an hour, to the aeroplane.

Evils of Alcohol

"That stuff belonged in a slower and a lower civilization and we are finding out in the scientific laboratory what alcohol is. There is an article from the Life Extension Institute; it is not a prohibition organization; it tells you what alcohol, whether in beer or wine or flasks or what not, just alcohol, what it does with your life. You can send and get a copy. There is Alcohol, Its Effect on the Mind and Vision by the Scientific Temperance Federation of Boston. It tells you, for instance, what it does with your eye muscle—one glass of beer will reduce the capacity of your eye to shift from one object to another fifteen per cent. (Very loud laughter) You don't believe it. (More laughter) I don't care. Ten thousand of you shouting No would not have a particle of influence with me as compared with the result of a scientific laboratory. Now take that. (applause) And these laboratories have told us about this beer itself, and when you find that out, now you don't know and you won't believe me, but it is true and you will find it out: What is discovered in the scientific laboratory today is taught in the schools tomorrow, and then the common people believe it the next day. And they have discovered that this good wholesome beer that my friend Broughton here is preaching up all the time is a narcotic, habit-forming

drug. Now, get that. Now the legislature said that regarding a weed that grows in Wisconsin. I referred to this in my last debate. After they voted down our enforcement act, the first thing these men did was to pass a prohibition act prohibiting smoking. Now here it is, it is law in Wisconsin and your wet legislature did it authorizing officials to search for and seize any smoking preparation and so on, any pipe and attachment of what? Of hashish, a weed that grows in Wisconsin; and they found it was akin to opium and boys were smoking it and were coming under its influence, the habit was forming. They said this was not a time to talk temperance. This is a case for prohibition, and it is there in our law. My friends, the thing next akin and you won't believe it, but it is true, the next kin to hashish is your good wholesome beer; and when you find that out, your fathers and mothers are going to say: 'If that thing is true that it is a narcotic habit-forming drug, then for God's sake, keep it away from my boy and girl.'

Drunk On Beer

"Over in Munich, where they made beer since the time 'when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary,' the capitol of the beer-making industry of the world, they have just now a commission working and worrying over the fact that they have ten thousand drunkards on their hands made through good wholesome beer.

"Over in Japan they have discovered it. First, the man takes a drink, the Japanese say, then the drink takes a drink, and then the drink takes the man.

"Now I have given you these reasons why this law can be enforced. It was written there by the people—this is a democratic country. Whether we are wet or dry we will say 'So long as the law is there, it will be respected.' All of us will hold up the government, especially when the red flag is marching here and there. Change it but change it by discussion, change it by vote, don't change it by nullification, don't change it by defiance, don't change it by mocking the government; re-

spect it like men and good citizens, obey it and change it if it isn't working rightly, but change it by orderly government. The people are behind it, all these classes I have mentioned, increasingly so. Farmers, business men, women, educators, the country, the mass of the people are for it and increasingly as men come to understand what it is all about and why it is here, we will say, let us have it, the real thing, in earnest. I'd hate to be on the side of my opponent here, I certainly feel sorry for him tonight."

Mr. Mauthe: "Mr. Broughton will continue the discussion for the affirmative for the next fifteen minutes."

Mr. Broughton Continues

"Now let us go into the extremely dry state of Texas, the home of Senator Sheppard. The Superintendent of Police of the city of Houston reports as follows: Arrests for intoxication in 1917, 1,443; in 1929, 4,040; arrests for driving a car while intoxicated, 17 in 1917; 161 in 1929. And now we journey to the state of Washington, the home of Senator Jones, author of the "Five and Ten." The number of arrests for drunkenness in Spokane, Washington in 1919 was 663, and 1,968 in 1929, and the number of arrests in 1919 for driving while intoxicated was 22 and in 1929, 194.

Empty Prisons?

"Those favoring prohibition argued that once it became a law, our prisons would be empty. What do statistics show? That in 1910 there was a total of 68,735 inmates and the latest available figures show 96,125. The prisons are bulging to a point where practically every state is forced to provide ways and means, far beyond the appropriations made. Have the prisons been emptied?

Prescribing A Remedy

"It is not easy to prescribe a remedy which will meet the deplorable conditions which now exist resulting from ten years of prohibition. I deem it proper to suggest a plan, the details of which should be worked out by the best minds of our country.

"The substance of the Eighteenth Amendment is that the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is prohibited; and that Congress is granted power to enforce this prohibition by appropriate legislation.

"After the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted, Congress did enact what is commonly known as the Volstead Act to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. The Volstead Act has been the law of the country for the last ten years, except only that it has been amended, increasing penalties.

"Unfortunately the act was drafted and engineered to its final passage by fanatics and extremists on the liquor question. To permit them to draft this legislation was as absurd and ridiculous as it would have been to permit the breweries and whiskey ring to draft legislation, affecting the liquor question in old saloon days. All future legislation on this important subject should be drafted by the best minds of the country who will give full consideration to the habits, customs, traditions and spirit of the average American citizen.

"If there was not a demand for liquor, which must be reckoned with in some way, there would be no bootlegger, speakeasy, or other illegal dispenser of liquor in the country today. This demand has made it possible for all those dealing in illegal liquor in every form everywhere to make large profits in the traffic, resulting in corruption and demoralization of public officials.

A Plan For Modification

"The language of the Eighteenth Amendment only prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors, the meaning of which fairly construed that only distilled liquors, such as alcohol, whiskey, brandy and other hard liquors were meant to be prohibited. It never was intended to include fermented or malted beverages, such as beer and light wines.

"I suggest the following general plan to correct the present evils with temperance as my objective.

"First: Congress should repeal

the Volstead Act, the Jones Law and all other legislation enacted up to the present time to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment.

"Second: Congress should then enact legislation defining the Eighteenth Amendment to include only the sale, transportation and traffic in hard liquor or distilled spirits as distinguished from fermented or malted beverages. This is a fair definition of 'Intoxicating Liquors' prohibited by the amendment. The legislation should further provide that the amendment did not prohibit the government from selling, transporting or dispensing intoxicating liquors; and that the language of the amendment only prohibited persons and corporations.

"Third: Congress should then provide by appropriate legislation for the government to dispense good, pure, wholesome, hard liquor at cost in restricted manner, similar to the system adopted in practically all of the Canadian provinces and in Sweden after prohibition had failed in these countries. This would give the people who require hard liquor a legal way to obtain pure liquor at a low price. This would result in eliminating the manufacture and sale of poison moonshine for the reason that there would be no profit in it. Wipe out the profit in poisonous moonshine liquor and the traffic would cease and with it would go all corruption and demoralization of our public officials brought about by prohibition and profiteering in the liquor traffic for the past ten years.

"Fourth: Should any state not desire the National Government to dispense hard liquor within its boundaries as above provided, the National Government should refrain from doing so.

"Fifth: The dispensation of fermented and malted beverages such as beer, ale and light wines not included by the definition given to the Eighteenth Amendment by Congress should be left to the states to regulate in such a manner as each state may deem advisable.

Present Conditions

"Prohibition has brought the snooper, the lowest of human be-

ings, and has turned us from a law abiding nation to one of crime. At no time in the history of the United States previous to Prohibition was it necessary to call a federal crime commission, or employ prosecuting attorneys to gather evidence against its own men.

"The Volstead Act allowed a set-up of back-alley bar-rooms, the like of which has never been known, and the speakeasy is a coined term that was born in the years of prohibition.

"The underworld and prohibition go hand in hand. In fact there was little or no underworld except in the larger cities until prohibition came. At first rum smuggling was in the hands of disorganized groups, now it is guided by combinations, headed by men of the Capone type, and you have a trust and a monopoly of crime promoters.

"It cost \$6,250,000 to enforce prohibition the first year, while a dry population had stocks in their cellars, and it cost nearly \$50,000,000 this past year with little or no enforcement.

"In 1920, the government captured 15,416 pieces of distilling apparatus and 247,242 in 1929. In 1920, the government seized 153,735 gallons of liquor and in 1929, 30,392,464 gallons. In 1921, the first year of prohibition, the government arrested 34,175, and in 1929, 79,254. Does prohibition pay?

"One of the greatest evils is the home brew made under conditions that are unsanitary and in many instances lay the ground work for undermining health. We had 1,250 breweries licensed in this country before prohibition, now we have conservatively speaking 20,000,000. The commercial ones are located in foul smelling cellars, hidden away from the light of day, and are manufacturing under conditions where filth exists. Dead mice have found their way into these vats and allowed to remain, thereby increasing the volume and the profit for the unrestricted brewer.

Makes Challenge

"I here and now charge that my opponent supports a system that is breeding graft, and which justifies murder in order that the work of

the framers of the constitution may be undermined. Yes, it undermines. So long as there is financial gain, there will be violations. So long as corn sugar, yeast, water, sunlight, and nature form a combination for making alcohol, and you sanction it, we will have moonshine, graft, and corruption. Bring this nation back to the people, with respect for law in the home, and it can be done with good wholesome beer and wine, and poison liquors will no longer fill penitentiaries and insane asylums.

"I ask you to cite instances where prohibition has improved the home, or built up the morale of the young men of today. Is it not a fact that the country is flooded with poison liquor, that crooks are prospering as never before, and foreigners are in a privileged class under prohibition? Yes, while our soldier boys were away fighting for their country's cause, you and your followers, who favored prohibition, knifed them in the back. Is that your idea of Patriotism?

"Every single pastor that brings prohibition into the church, violates the spirit of the constitution which provides separation of church and state. Prohibition is not a moral law, it is a punitive law. In the face of this tell me why you have forsaken the constitution and the real cause of Christianity? Because some have abused the privilege of eating and drinking, shall we curb the appetite for food and drink? Let us all get back to the good old fashioned principle of fair and square dealing with one another. When that day comes, you will find churches taking on new life, new membership and God's work will go forward with greater strides.

Our Greatest Danger

"We have preached the danger of the 'Red' and we have advocated the ballot instead of the bullet. I am going to tell you that the 'Reds' are not half as dangerous as this new menace which clothes crooks with authority to shoot and permits them to employ minor girls

in order to secure evidence with which to convict.

"Abraham Lincoln said: 'This country cannot endure half slave and half free.' I want to tell you that this country will not long endure under a tyrannical form of government fostered by law makers who take a drink themselves and then go out and vote prison sentences such as provided in the Jones Act. They say they are doing it because it is the will of their constituents. This playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde has been going on ever since prohibition.

"Why are the majority of the laws enforced? Because the people back them. If there were a bank robbery here today every man would join in the chase for the criminal. Let a revenue officer attempt to catch a bootlegger who is trying to get away and ascertain how many will assist him.

"Prohibition started out with the assumption that it was going to force reforms on the people and there is rebellion, much the same as when the colonies were born. That rebellion is going on in the nation and it is fomenting and gathering strength, and let me tell you here tonight that this nation cannot go on as it is. Some day there is going to be an awakening. A shooting will kindle a spark which will electrify the nation and then you will find the birth of a new nation. Our traditions and constitution will again utter the sentiments of the founders of this country."

Mr. Mauthe: "You will now hear a discussion of thirty minutes for the negative by Dr. Gordon."

Pastor's Last Rally

Dr. Gordon: "Now, I am very sorry, ladies and gentlemen, that I can't hear when you speak back. If I go on talking when you are trying to talk, it is because I don't hear you. I would be glad to listen and

to answer. I want you to understand that I don't resent your breaking in or breaking out; but that is the situation, I can't discuss in that way.

"Now, I was saying when my time elapsed, I started to say that I was sorry for Mr. Broughton. I was then and I am more sorry for him now. (Laughter.) Now, I don't think he deserves or needs my sympathy, but I want to tell you that if I had his beliefs, if they were mine, I couldn't sleep tonight. (Laughter.) I couldn't if I really believed that crime and corruption, graft, and all this drunkenness was sending one class after another down into hell at the rate they seem to be going; I would be disturbed and concerned. But you know, as I listened to this thing I remembered what a friend of mine told me of some youngsters who were putting on a play 'Faust,' an amateur production, and the time came when Mephistopheles had to go down through a trap-door to the underworld. The minions, his helpers, had gone down and now the old fellow with horns and tails, he had to go below, and something went wrong with the mechanism of the trap door. He stuck in the thing. It caught him around his shoulders. He couldn't get down any further. Some wag from the gallery shouted down, 'Well, thank God, hell must be full.' I have a notion that if all this has been happening at the rate our editor thinks, that must be about the case. And in the very darkness of the picture we ought to get some comfort, hell must be about filled up. But you know, we are not play-acting here tonight, this isn't an amateur play, no performance of any character. We are discussing one of the most serious problems of the time, and there are many people who believe with the editor that 'speak-easies' have come with prohibition. Do you know, oh, there are many here that know that when we had seven thousand saloons in Chicago there were twelve thousand speak-easies? And that isn't a guess; they were paying a license to the United States government for the privilege of beating the Illinois law. I could give you

many instances like that; the speak-easy isn't a child of prohibition.

Cites Tammany

"You say there was no corruption. These youngsters from the high school can turn to the Encyclopedia Britannica and read a chapter or two about Tammany in New York; no corruption?

"They say that the cost of enforcement is going up, up, up. Why, my friends, it is costing us several billion dollars less than nothing. It is costing this country about as much as the Standard Oil Company is costing John D. Rockefeller; it is a source of income. You cite insane asylums and prisons and all that and claim there is no improvement in young men on account of prohibition. Read this article that I referred to a moment ago, issued by Mr. Crabtree of the National Educational Association, Atlantic City, last week. Hoover's Commission has asked these educators to gather facts from all over the country and, my friends, the testimony of a body like that is going to be heard in America. And aren't you really glad that these high school teachers and superintendents who know these youngsters as no other group does, are able to say in official pronouncement the facts already gathered make it perfectly clear that prohibition has infinitely improved conditions among our young people? You are going to get that. And the people are going to believe it by and by. (Jeers.)

"They say that when the soldiers were away fighting for the country that the prohibition preachers stabbed them in the back. Why, I was over there with them; I spent a year with these men, and I think the American Legion ought to resent the idea that is behind this. I know that those men were not all saints. I know, too, that they were not all old soaks. I know that they were just a fair section of American life, the finest, cleanest, upstanding fighting men the nations of the world produced; and I saw them. (Applause.) I saw them when the report came to Pontenazen in France

where I was. I saw those soldiers themselves make a mock grave, and they put a wreath upon it and a beer bottle head down into the dug up earth and then they erected a shaft and on one side they said, 'John Barleycorn loved to death by his friends'; and on another side they said, 'Erected by his enemies'; and on a third side 'He left no widow but he made money'; and on the fourth side, 'He was reputed to have been worth millions but he left only one scent.' Now, when the soldiers got back, read the record in Ohio, they doubled the vote on the referendum against beer. Read the record in California. I tell you, it is unfair to these men to tar them all with one sign. I might go on with that if there were time.

"And then he said the preacher is leaving his business when he takes this matter into the church. My friends, we are not going to come to these folks to ask what we shall do in the church. I think that the great organized church knows its business about as well as some of these folk who never darken the door of a church (applause) and they are pretty well agreed that they are summoned to cast out devils, and that is what they are seeking to do, devils of every kind; war, vice, gambling, drunkenness, every other evil.

Mentions Vice Meeting

"I am glad you had that gospel meeting over here the other day and got concerned about some of your conditions. He talks about conditions in Fond du Lac, but we haven't had to have a meeting like that over there. I know the editor does not like to have me refer to it; he didn't like the idea of the meeting. He wrote an editorial 'hush, hush,' and when I read it I thought of an old fellow who refused to take a bath for fear his neighbors might think that he actually needed one. Conditions are bad enough in Fond du Lac. But this man came over and bought a half a page of our press to write up conditions there. He said he didn't get this by long distance phone. I tramped over the ground,

and then I tramped over his document and I saw place after place that he listed as being there open and doing business, were boarded up, padlocked, gone out of business long ago; and I said to myself if I were fortunate enough to own the bi-weekly Ram's Horn of Podunkville I would not hire this man as a cub reporter if he offered to work for nothing, if that is a fair sample of his work. No, conditions are bad enough everywhere, but you haven't any reason to point any finger at Fond du Lac.

"Now, my friends, who is it that says prohibition can't be enforced? Who says it? (Chorus: "We all say so.")

"Now wait a minute, I will talk. (Laughter.) The association against prohibition; they are saying it. They are the backbone of the opposition, and there are thirty other organizations working with them. And who is back of them? In government reports, you will find that the brewers are the chief supporters and the former liquor dealers. Is this all disinterested? The brewers have lost in the last ten years thirty-five billions of dollars. Mr. Broughton would like to give them a monopoly of that business. That is the first witness. (Laughter.)

"Next, the wet press, they are saying it emphatically. Here is a paper from Oshkosh—four days of wet material. Here is The Sheboygan Press, here is a month of it (throwing papers upon floor and kicking them away). I am not saying that that material is not true, it may be; I am just saying it is wet; it is all wet. The Chicago Tribune; if the columns they have issued in the past year, were put together, it would make a column that would girdle the earth at the Equator. Oh, the wet press is saying it.

Hits Wet Press

"Who is back of the wet press? The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment says they spent ten thousand dollars to get Blaine; I think they got stung. They said they spent thirty thousand dollars to defeat our enforcement act; they

said they have raised several hundred thousand dollars along that line. In the Congressional Record you can find that they bought up a Washington paper and a lot of other papers were subsidized across the country for this particular business. Now get this, I am not saying that Mr. Broughton gets a dollar. I am not saying that The Sheboygan Press is kept. But I am saying that many of these papers are, and any paper that makes a propaganda of the wet business is voluntarily putting itself in bad and questionable company. (Laughter and ohs.)

Dr. Gordon: "Check and double check." (More laughter.)

"Who else says it? Oh, you say everybody is saying it, we are all saying it. I know you are saying it now and after awhile you will say it with cheers as you have before. This meeting began in cheers for my opponent and it will close with cheers for him. I knew that when I came, and I expected it, but you are going to do some thinking incidentally. Everybody, you say, says it; millions are saying it. I admit it. But to a larger extent than you realize; that is an echo, an echo of the wet press.

"You don't realize the power of this propaganda. You remember what they did with you during the war, how they made this country believe that the German people were swine; they did. They made them believe that those soldiers into whose hands I fell just outside of Chatteau Thierry and found them, men, they made them believe that those soldiers mutilated children, cut off the breasts of women, crucified Canadian soldiers, boiled down their own men to make soap. By photograph and fake government documents they proved it; and it was all lies. The press did that. They have a tremendous power of propaganda, and they are using it to the limit to make you believe that prohibition is a failure and it can't be enforced. These editors know what they are about. I have here the word of the professor of journalism at Madison; he says every drop of our blood is colored by the news-

paper. I have the word of the editor of New York Times. He says it is a most subtle influence. A man reads a thing today and resents it. He reads the same thing tomorrow and says there must be something in it. He reads it a third day and half believes it. He reads it again and he has adopted it as his own, and he does not know how it happened and he goes about thereafter preaching the thing as his own original idea. My friends, that is happening on a tremendous scale. It is an echo of the wet press; the power of reiteration. These editors knowing it, have said no matter who owns the Sheboygan Press, no matter who owns the Madison Times, these papers are public institutions. The editors say that and add we must see to it, since the people cannot conduct their public affairs without right information, without facts in their hand, we must see to it that we play fair and give them the truth and nothing but the truth. An ignorant populace voting is much more dangerous than dynamite in the hands of children. These editors know it, and so they have erected their code of ethics and they say 'no headlines except true,' to the story following; no editorial based upon fiction, no distorted news, no suppression. Do they live up to their ideals, these members of the wet press? Why, I have here some illustrations, some headlines here. The Hearst paper sent out a headline in great letters, 'Prohibition Enforcement Breaks Down.' What is the article? It was the Wickersham commission report. Anything fair about that; anything right about that; anything wicked about that, when millions of people only read the headlines?

Distort News

"Then worse than the distortion of editorials and the coloring of news that is going on all the while is the suppression of vital information. Here is an illustration: On February 21 there is an article here in the Watertown Daily Times regarding crime in Chicago—this is on the front page. Here in the Commonwealth-Reporter of Fond du Lac is a great headline and the article follows. It goes on to tell

how certain professors of the Northwestern University find that crime is not in Chicago traceable to prohibition. In The Sheboygan Press on that day there isn't a word of it, and this paper gets that service, the United Press Service. I have other papers here, but I haven't time for them, that show the same thing. It isn't one day, it is going on every day coloring and distorting news, editorials based on fiction, fictitious misleading headlines and worst of all, the suppression of vital information that the people ought to have. If a merchant sells adulterated goods, you call him a parasite; if a doctor thinks more of his money than his patient you call him a quack; if a lawyer defends known criminals you call him a shyster; if a preacher to be popular does not dare to get up and speak the unpopular truth, you call him a hypocrite, and you ought to. Now, I want you, Mr. Broughton, to tell this audience what we in the name of Ananias and Saphira ought to call the editor who follows this course. I tell you that any cause dependent on such support is already doomed, for 'you can fool some of the people all of the time, all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.' (Applause). We are going to find a way to get the facts, and when we get them this law will be believed in and will be enforced.

Mentions Chairman

"Mr. Mauthe, I want to give a little attention to you. This man Mauthe, where is he? (Mr. Mauthe returns from the wing). He believes in prohibition more than I first thought. I like to go hunting, once in a while I take a gun. I won't come down this way (laughter); I will bring a fishing rod when I come down here. I got an invitation to go fishing with Mr. Broughton. I went down to the courthouse and paid a good dollar to get the privilege to go hunting, and they gave me this little book. I was interested and I read it. I found this: 'You can't kill deer here in over half the state and most of the rest you can't most of the time. That went on

through one thing after another. I found about the only thing I could shoot was an English sparrow or perhaps the great horned owl. This man, chairman of the Conservation Commission, was telling me I couldn't, he was writing prohibition, that is the word he used. Here is what they say: 'Prohibited Methods,' I should change that word if I were you. (Laughter). 'Prohibited bait'—you can't even use the kind of bait you want; 'prohibited territory,' 'prohibited fishing' under particular circumstances, 'prohibited methods of fishing.' It finally winds up with a cheering paragraph which tells about a closed season for crawfish and frogs. Actually, that is his book, protecting the ducks and the geese.

Calls His Son

"Charlie here is one of my boys. Come up here, Charlie. Help that boy to the stage here. (Fine boy of about eight years of age takes the rostrum beside the speaker). Here is one of my ten best arguments for prohibition. I have ten of these boys and girls down at our house. Here is a living, breathing talking argument for prohibition. Mr. Mauthe, if you can write a book calling on the state to protect the crawfish and the frogs and the ducks—I love the ducks, too—but don't blame me if I want the government to write another book protecting the kids, I do. And you know there are thirty million boys and girls in America of public school age. Every man who takes a drink here ought to think seriously about this and say to himself, is it worth it? Is it worth it? In the name of God, men, would it be worth while to throw all your drinks away and say, 'Let us join hands and forces together and make prohibition a real thing; let us go with them in the name of the kids.'

(Opening flag).

"I want you to hold that and hold it high, best flag on earth, representing the best government there ever was; because we love that flag and love these boys and girls, we are going to enforce this law.

"My friends, I don't like to have men say what this man said a moment ago. I don't like to have him speak of a rebellion. A rebellion, I think that is awful. When men are marching in Chicago with a red flag and New York and elsewhere to have this man talk of a rebellion against that government. I don't like that. There are folk talking of this government as though it were oppressive and all that.

"Why, this good chairman, he is a good friend of mine, was influenced, I think, by the articles in this man's paper. Anyhow, he came home from Cuba a little while ago and he gave an interview to our paper in which he speaks of the glories of Cuba. Well, it is a beautiful country, I wish I had been with him, but he found some liberties down there, I judge, that he didn't find here and so he went on to say that America had a good many things they might learn from Cuba. And then the interview went on to say that there is one curious thing down there. They limit their people in the matter of paint. They can only paint their houses one color. I said that is curious, but he seemed to like it, he thought it was a good thing after all. Now, in this country there are no restrictions of that kind. We say you can use any kind of paint except one, a certain kind of nose paint. We prohibit a certain kind of nose paint. And there are some people that don't like America on that score. My friend, let us stand up in support of our own flag and our own country. Ours is no oppressive government. We are not fighting an old King George the Third. We are not fighting a Russia. Our own people have written this law in the books at Washington and we must respect it while it is there. And then when we can by vote, by agitation, by meetings like this, by any lawful means change the mind of the people, change our representation in Washington, change the law. The prohibitionist respected the law when we had saloons. There was no talk of rebellion. The government was

lined up in this business, as Mr. Broughton wants us to get into it again. It was a matter of conscience with us, and yet we obeyed the laws and never once did we speak about the spark of fire or rebellion. Now we want you to be good Americans and play fair, good-naturedly follow out the law as it is written. When you can by increasing your vote change the law at Washington, we will subside. We will not keep still. We will carry on our agitation; but there will be no talk of fire, there will be no effort to overthrow the government. But by education and votes we will seek to get back to the place where we belong. We can, Uncle Sam can and Uncle Sam will enforce this law. America is saying that tonight more earnestly, more intelligently, more emphatically than ever before. This is no hour for surrender, no time to call a retreat; this is an hour for advance. This law can and will be enforced.

"I thank you people of Sheboygan for your very, very courteous treatment. I thank Mr. Broughton for giving me this opportunity. And I thank Mr. Mauthe here for not using violence on me as perhaps he was tempted to do a moment ago. I thank you all for this hearing."

Chairman Mauthe: "As I am not one of the debaters here tonight, I am going to call on the last speaker. He will discuss the affirmative side for the next fifteen minutes."

Mr. Broughton in Rebuttal

Mr. Broughton: "I don't know of a time that I had greater pleasure than when Dr. Gordon brought his son to the platform. I want to say to you tonight that I am working for that young boy, and I am working for the boys and girls of the United States when I advocate modification. I am doing it because under the present system our high school girls and our high school boys are out nights and you don't know where they are under prohibition, I know that. (Applause). You know it, and Dr. Gordon knows it, and he knows it well. Dr. Gordon

has said that he is glad that the women are going over to Europe in order that they can familiarize themselves and get a drink. (Laughter). Well, tell me when the women couldn't get a drink in the United States under prohibition. (Laughter). I don't know it, neither do you. And he says over here in Sheboygan that we don't know we have got prohibition. Well, we don't, and they don't know it in Fond du Lac or in the country at large. (Laughter). And now, for the information of the Reverend, I am going to read the places in Fond du Lac county that are not closed, that are running night and day. There is the Rustic Cave (laughter), Sunset Gardens, Farmhouse Inn, Bungalow Inn, The Broken Knuckle, Blue Boar Inn, Idle Hour, Cherry Grove, Banner Gardens, Oly's Inn, Tony's Inn—well, they are all in—Diamond Merchant, Hollywood, Riverside Inn, Pistol Pete's Place, Smoky Lungs, the Red Onion, the Bucket of Blood—I wouldn't have referred to these if the doctor had not referred to Sheboygan. One community isn't any different from another except over in Fond du Lac they don't care what names they select for their places.

"He has referred to Abraham Lincoln, and Abraham Lincoln was a man who believed in temperance but he didn't believe in prohibition, and I am going to quote tonight from Abraham Lincoln on what he said when a question was up that involved the rights of the American people: 'I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. Nothing but the very sternest necessity can ever justify it. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration than to do ought that could be construed into an interference with or to jeopardize in any degree the common rights of its citizens.' Isn't that a message worth repeating? Isn't that a message that we can put up alongside this youth and alongside this flag? And bear in mind that if we had Abraham Lincoln today we would not have prohibition. (Vigorous applause).

"Now that my opponent has re-

ferred to everything that happened in the saloon era, it is only fair that I should point to some of the things that happened over in Canada when they had prohibition and one of the evils that they have to contend with. He has been talking to you tonight about the evils of drugs. Well, they have a drug over in Canada that is about as bad. This is from the premier of New Brunswick, and I kind of held this back because I thought that he might say something and I could use in rebuttal. Now, this letter is written under date of February 8th: 'Men under prohibition unfortunately acquired a taste for what we call 'canned heat,' or the heat producing substance put up in little tins which they buy for a small amount and sometimes strain through a handkerchief and drink. It has something like the fascination of a drug, apparently the victim cannot get clear of it, and men at the police court tell me that the same people come up time after time again, in fact, only stay out of jail long enough to get back again.' We haven't got to that canned heat yet, but we have got poisoned liquor and I have got a lot of fake labels here but I haven't time to show them to you. Now, if the government were sincere, I think they could go out and get the fellows that make and sell the labels and the bottles.

"You would expect that the Baptist clergy would be united on this question of prohibition; especially in the country at large, but they differ, they have honest differences too; and I am glad they do because newspaper men have honest differences. I am going to read these letters:

"Rev. Ira Freeman, pastor of the Lorenz Avenue Baptist Church, of Pittsburgh, Pa.:

"The American people hate 'snoopers.' I may be an abnormal minister, but I had rather entertain a bottle of intoxicating liquor in my home than either a 'snooper' or a 'stool pigeon'.

"It is hard for a minister to bring himself to the point of admitting that our prohibition law is a failure, but it is a huge, ghastly, costly failure. I hope the day will come when not a citizen of this country will touch a drop of intoxicating liquor, but I am fully persuaded that such a happy state of affairs will not be brought about by attempting to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. I shall not assemble arguments to prove that our prohibition law has failed to prohibit, for no proof is needed. The American people are drinking as they never drank before. 'Everybody's doing it now.'"

"Rev. Duncan P. Cameron, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Cottage Grove, Oregon:

"This writer recently made an investigation of a state prison and asked 210 men the reason for their incarceration. Of this group 193 were either in prison directly or indirectly as a result of the present iniquitous prohibition scheme. A system foisted upon the American people by a minority of the Democracy during a time when we were subject to fits of hysteria."

"I note my time is nearly up."

Rev. Gordon: "Go along."

Mr. Broughton: "I want to pay my tribute to my opponent. He was in the World war. I want to pay it for a second reason because he wasn't here to put over this law. I want to pay a tribute to him for the manner in which he presented the cause of the German people in that great conflict. I am deeply appreciative of the fact that

in that great crisis misleading statements were sent out with reference to Belgium and other countries that have since been proven untrue. And I like the frankness of this man when he comes here tonight, and I join with him in saying that I, too, am glad that those lies have been exposed.

"And now there is a question about figures, he said something about my Washington figures. I want to say that yesterday, Attorney Johnson of Louisville, Kentucky, was the last witness of the day for the drys. I believe I am making your argument here, Reverend, now."

Rev. Gordon: "Go ahead."

"Attorney Johnson said: 'Ninety per cent of the Kentucky city prosperity has been due to prohibition. It now is a bone dry town where citizens obey the dry law and like it.' Mr. Johnson was asked at the conclusion of his statement, 'Did you ever hear of the Kentucky Derby?' And he replied that he had. 'Were you ever in the Brown and Sealzbach hotels in Louisville on Derby Day as I have been and did you observe the kind of the bone-dryness there?' 'Well now, congressmen,' said the witness, 'Derby Day you know is Derby Day; toughs and gamblers from all over the world come to Louisville that day and we, well, we tolerate things.'

"Now, that is what the prohibitionists have been doing all the time, tolerating things. They tolerate anything under prohibition, but let us see what are the statistics. I have under date of November 1 a letter from the Bureau of Records and Identification of Louisville, Kentucky, the home of Mr. Johnson, the dry who testified for the cause yesterday.

1920	1078
1921	2515
1922	3406
1923	4172
1924	4998
1025	5207
1926	5039
1927	6367
1928	6501

"This from Louisville, Kentucky, where Attorney Johnson comes from.

"My opponent contends that raising one's voice against an unjust law borders on treason; that a newspaper, whether it is here or in some other city or state, has no right to criticize. That is one of the points that he has raised against me. The right to criticize an unjust law and work for its repeal or modification is a duty that the Constitution grants and it cannot be abridged by any un-American plea that my opponent may suggest. It is a God-given privilege that was handed down as a heritage from the little band of heroic citizens who threw off the yoke of oppression and rebelled against an unjust law of the Mother country.

"President Hoover in his acceptance address said: 'Our country has deliberately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively.'

"Change in the Constitution can and must be brought about only by the straight-forward methods provided in the Constitution itself. There are those who do not believe in the purpose of several provisions of the Constitution. No one denies their right to seek to amend it. They are not subject to criticism for asserting that right.

"I would say to my opponent here tonight that I am exercising that right in this debate. We have exercised it ever since prohibition was written into the federal statutes and we will continue to work for repeal or modification if it takes to the end of our days.

"To my opponent let me say that if the signers of the Declaration of Independence had shown respect for the laws of the Mother country, there would be no republic today.

The signers of that document were in the eyes of the law guilty of high treason. Those who participated in the Boston Tea Party were law breakers. In the history of the world those in the last analysis responsible for reforms were law violators. Laws should be the crystallization of the majority of public opinion. The prohibition law was put over in the absence of three and one-half million young men who were so busy fighting overseas that they were given no opportunity to fight at home for their own freedom of thought and individual action. That was the first step. The second was the confiscation of private property. Could you have respect for a law when it turned on the young men in an hour when they were fighting for their country and by one stroke of the pen took away heretofore legal, licensed property, without compensation?

"Our forefathers objected to taxation without representation, and rightfully so. What are we to say of a law that deprived people of their entire property? Prohibition started off on the wrong foot when it confiscated the property of American citizens. That, however, is in line with the meaning of the word prohibition. It is not in line with temperance, a word that is revered by every true and honest American citizen. They are not satisfied with stealing the Constitution, confiscating property, changing this nation to one of crime, but they now urge prohibition of tobacco—that is their next goal if we allow them to succeed. Is it any wonder that a newspaper or a writer resents anything of such un-American character?

"Now, in conclusion, just let me say that I am grateful for the attention that you have given my opponent. I knew that a Sheboygan audience would give and accord that attention. I knew that you would come here with an open mind and with the idea of hearing both sides of the question. We may be termed radicals, I don't believe that I would want Dr. Gordon to write a law for me on the liquor question and I don't think that I should write one, perhaps my judgment would be warped, but if we can get together in discussions like these, if we could do it throughout the United States there would be a change. Less than five thousand people in the various assemblies and senates of the various states of the United States, were the ones that put over this amendment. You people here in Sheboygan when you elected your assemblymen and the people over in Fond du Lac county when they elected their assemblymen and senator didn't know the question was up. It was a very cleverly planned scheme of the drys and, incidentally, they used the war as an instrument, and and any time you attempt to put over on the American people anything of that character in a time of great government stress and when our American boys are absent and fighting overseas, you are doing something that will not stand the light of day. There is coming a day of reckoning. If prohibition goes on, you will find, as we find in this city, and as we find in my opponent's city, young people going astray, drinking night after night. I wish that Rev. Gordon would go around with me some night. I would take him to some places. (Loud laughter and vigorous ap-

plause) But I would not do it in Sheboygan county, I would go over in his own county. (More laughter and applause) And again let me thank you for the attention that you have given both of us." (Applause).

Mr. Mauthe: "I know that Dr. Gordon and Mr. Broughton join me in thanking you sincerely for your presence here tonight."

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