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## UTOPIA UNLIMITED

By GEORGE CREEL

UNTIL a comparatively recent date, the climate of California completely satisfied every physical, mental and emotional need of the state's inhabitants. With 360 days of sunshine in each calendar year specifically guaranteed by the various chambers of commerce, only the captious felt that life had anything more to offer.

The change came with all the suddenness of a lightning bolt. In August, 1933, exactly twelve months in advance of the primary election, one Upton Sinclair announced his candidacy for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. A Socialist for some thirty years, and the victim of many unsuccessful campaigns in both New York and California, he confessed quite frankly that his change in registration proceeded from expediency rather than any loss of faith in the Socialistic program.

Hard on the heels of his announcement, Mr. Sinclair published a pamphlet entitled *I, Governor of California*, in which he set forth a plan to End Poverty in California. EPIC was the name he gave the program, although others less friendly soon dubbed it EPICAC and even EPILEPTIC. No political platform was ever more free from any hint of doubt,

for at the very beginning the author went on record with this flat statement:

"I say positively and without qualification we can end poverty in California. I know exactly how to do it, and if you elect me governor, with a legislature to support me, I will put the job through, and it won't take more than one or two of my four years."

Almost overnight, the climate lost its fixed place in California conversation, and when EPIC was followed by the explosion of another economic bombshell, sunshine and citrus fruits were even driven out of public consciousness. The Utopians, a secret society, burst into existence in Los Angeles with the avowed purpose to end poverty in America by the simple and direct expedient of destroying capitalism, uprooting the profit system and "producing for use." Converts began to pour in at the rate of 5000 a day, and the movement spread from town to town, and even from state to state, with all the fury of a prairie fire.

Even this was not the end of excitement, for down in Long Beach a certain Doctor Townsend cleared his throat authoritatively and proclaimed a national plan for old-age revolving pensions. Every man and



Upton Sinclair, Father of the EPIC Idea

woman in the United States over the age of sixty was to be given the sum of \$200 a month without other obligation than that the entire amount must be spent down to the last penny between the first day and the last day of each month.

With the same speed that marked the growth of EPIC and the Utopians, Townsend Clubs sprang up in every community in Southern California, lecturers flying from county to county in such numbers as to break down the branches of trees with their weight. A vast happiness permeated the whole Los Angeles area, with elderly people crowding every automobile agency, joyously picking out cars and planning tours in full confidence that the national treasury would soon gush forth a golden stream.

### The EPIC Program

NOTWITHSTANDING fierce competition, EPIC more than held its own, for not only was it first in the field but it was also the case that Mr. Sinclair's promises had a sweep that dazzled imagination. First of all, there were his proposals to have the state pay fifty dollars a month to every needy person more than sixty who had been in California for three years; fifty dollars a month to all adults found to be physically unable to earn a living; fifty dollars a month to every blind person, and fifty dollars a month to every widowed mother, and if the children were more than two in number, the pension was to be increased by twenty-five dollars a month for each additional child.

Getting down to fundamentals, he pledged himself to the creation of the California Authority for Land—the CAL—for the purpose of taking over all idle land, all land sold for taxes and at foreclosure sales, and the establishment of great agricultural colonies where workers would till the soil under the supervision of experts and live in handsome air-conditioned homes equipped with every modern convenience.

Each colony, however, was to have its community dining hall, a community kitchen where the cooking and dishwashing would be done by electric machinery, a community laundry, a model hospital, a great assembly hall where the colonists would gather



Members of the Utopian Society Handling Routine Work at the Los Angeles Headquarters

to hear lectures and concerts, and watch motion pictures produced by the state, a newspaper devoted to culture rather than crime, and a community nursery where infants would be cared for cooperatively while the mothers were working or "learning something in library, concert hall or theater."

A second public body, the California Authority for Production—the CAP—would be authorized to take over idle factories, where the unemployed would produce the basic necessities required for themselves and the land colonies. Laundries, for example, bakeries, canneries, clothing and shoe factories, cement plants, brickyards, lumberyards, and so on, "thus constituting a complete industrial system, a new and self-sustaining world set up for those our present system cannot employ." By way of completing the set-up, the state would buy or lease fleets of trucks with which to take the products of the land colonies to the cities and to carry back the factory products to the waiting agriculturists.

"For every factory and land colony," EPIC went on to explain, "there were opened up stores in which you could buy everything that was produced by any of the institutions of CAL and CAP. You could buy these products at actual cost, and these stores were open not merely to the colonists and the workers but to the general public at hours when they were not crowded. Of course, there was lament from the retailers of the neighborhood, but the friends of EPIC pointed out that anybody was free to become a worker in state industry."

A third public body, California Authority for Money—the CAM—would be authorized to put out a bond issue of \$300,000,000 with which to finance the land colonies and the factories, and also empowered "to issue scrip to be paid to the workers and used in the exchanging of products within the system."

#### Sinclair's Followers

IN THE matter of a tax program, EPIC set forth these proposals: The immediate repeal of the state's sales tax and the substitution of a tax on stock transfers; a tax of 10 per cent on unimproved land, and agricultural land not under cultivation; a state income tax beginning with incomes of \$50,000 and steeply graduated until incomes of \$50,000 would pay a 30 per cent tax, and the exemption of all homes occupied by the owners and all ranches cultivated by the owners where the assessed value was less than \$30,000.

Banks were to be taxed more heavily, and, in addition, Mr. Sinclair made this significant statement: "My campaign for office will be a crusade to persuade the people to withdraw their savings from private banks and turn them over to the state to be used for the development of a state system of industrial production. It would not be very long, I think, before the private bankers would be begging the state to buy their beautiful marble palaces at cost."

Outside of Los Angeles, with its 400,000 people on relief, and some other parts of Southern California, EPIC fanned little enthusiasm. North of the Tehachapi, where native sons and native daughters abound in fairly large numbers, criticism was pointed and persistent. With California already \$30,000,000

in the red, and facing a deficit of \$130,000,000 unless drastic economies were instituted forthwith, where did Mr. Sinclair expect to get his money? Statisticians figured it out that his pension plans alone would necessitate an expenditure of \$300,000,000 a year.

As for the \$300,000,000 bond issue, who would buy the bonds, and what about a redemption fund? And did he not know that the exemption of homes and ranches with an assessed value of \$30,000 meant an actual value of from \$8,000 to \$10,000, and that if he exempted on any such basis, fully fifty-five of California's fifty-eight counties would be stripped of almost every cent of revenue? Statisticians also

Old-line Democrats joined in the attack, bitter at the invasion of their party by one who had been a Socialist for thirty years, and was still a Socialist, for that matter. In support of this charge, they pointed to a paragraph in EPIC where Mr. Sinclair, speaking as the Democratic governor of California in 1938, said: "The Democratic Party had become a conservative organization, prepared to live forever on the deeds of its ancestors. The Socialist Party was active and powerful."

While Northern California raged, however, Southern California's enthusiasm mounted to fever heat. To Sinclair rallied the majority of Socialists, changing their registration even as he had done; to him came thousands of Bellamyites, those devout believers in Looking Backward; such of the 400,000 on relief as were Republicans changed over to Democrats, and in a comparatively short space of time, 1000 EPIC clubs dotted the state, the members conducting a house-to-house, farm-to-farm campaign.

The EPIC booklet sold for twenty cents; admission fees were charged at meetings; an End Poverty League, Incorporated, sold memberships for from one dollar to one hundred dollars, and various elderly ladies of wealth contributed generously. The whole movement quickly took on the aspect of a holy war, and great gatherings of ten and fifteen thousand displayed an emotionalism that made the meetings of Aimee Semple McPherson seem staid and contained.

#### The Utopian Alliance

SINCLAIR'S greatest strength, however, came from the adhesion of the Utopians, grown by August, 1934, to a membership of nearly 500,000 in Los Angeles



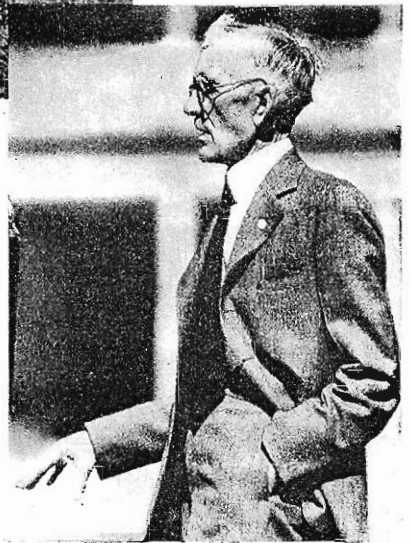
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Upon Sinclair Shown Immediately After His Conference With President Roosevelt, From Which He Emerged With Words of Praise for the President

computed that his tax on stock transfers could not possibly yield more than \$1,000,000 a year, and demanded to know how he expected it to take the place of the sales tax that produced \$50,000,000 a year.

It was also pointed out that even after a sale to the state for taxes, the owner had the right of redemption for five years, with possession of the property during that time. Did EPIC mean to abrogate that right? As for idle land, where was any land in California idle that had water on it? And where were there any idle factories except those with outworn and obsolete equipment?

Speaker after speaker made these points in detail, and went on to show that just as state factories selling at cost would ruin industry, and just as state stores selling at cost would ruin retailers, so would state-owned land colonies ruin the independent farmers who must pay interest and taxes and make some return on their investment.



Dr. F. E. Townsend, Author of the Townsend Plan

County alone. Even those who had watched and studied the rise and fall of hundreds of religious, political and economic cults in Southern California were dazzled by the success of the Utopians, for not only was their beginning meager and unpromising but their offerings seemed too vague to have any large appeal.

It was in the autumn months of 1933, at a time when EPIC was gripping the imagination of Los Angeles, that the idea of a fraternal order was conceived by E. J. Reed, formerly an investment banker in Denver; Walter H. Rousseau, a promoter; and Merritt Kennedy, a gasoline salesman. An insurance feature was the original intent, but after investigation and deliberation, the three decided to make it a "social, benevolent and altruistic society," secret in its nature and dedicated to fundamental economic reforms.

*Back to Looking Backward*

TECHNOCRACY was then enjoying its vogue, and from various technocratic publications, together with Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, Plato's Republic and More's Utopia, the trio drew up a fairly elaborate ritual. As none of them had any money, all being jobless at the time, it was determined to start the organization in private homes, using the endless-chain system for recruiting members.

Their approach to prospective converts was very simple and direct. They painted America as a starving man standing in front of a bakery window piled high with loaves of bread, the glass representing the profit system. All that had to be done to bring a Golden Age of plenty was to remove the pane. In plain words, an end to private ownership, the establishment of a priceless, profitless system, production for use, and the creation of a great cooperative commonwealth with only those between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five called upon to work, and that for a very few hours each day. Essentially the Russian experiment, to be sure, but with the curse of Communism cleverly removed by vows of allegiance to the flag, to the Constitution, and fervent assurances of protection for the sanctity of the American home.

By dint of sweating effort, groups of ten were brought together in various homes, initiated and given numbers, and then enjoined to act as an organizing committee, each member bringing two new candidates to the next meeting. Once the endless

chain swung into operation, the growth leaped from hundreds to thousands, and suddenly the Utopians found themselves California's major organization. With the initiation fee set at three dollars, and dues ten cents a month, there was soon no lack of money, and the master minds decided on expansion.

A first step was the rental of a large building with its own auditorium, but the seating capacity quickly proved inadequate for the nightly crowds, and a contract was signed for the use of the Shrine building that had 7000 seats. The Utopians filled it nine times a week from June first to September first, and there was a night in June when they packed 30,000 people into the great Hollywood Bowl just by way of impressing "reactionaries."

Although a secret society, it was obviously impossible to maintain veils of mystery when from 400 to 4000 candidates were being initiated nightly in some public hall. As a consequence, the ritual of the Utopians became fairly well known, and getting a verbatim report of the proceedings at an induction of candidates presented few difficulties and involved no betrayal of confidence.

When the crowding neophytes are gathered, the chairman of the meeting calls on everyone to stand and take an oath of allegiance to the flag and to the Constitution, after which the declaration of aims is read, and then comes this solemn adjuration: "Cast fear and evil from your hearts. No harm will come to you. You are among friends who think and act in terms of love and the brotherhood of man." Now a voice through the loud-speaker commands: "Let there be darkness," and all lights are extinguished except those illuminating the stage or raised platforms.

At a given cue, various men and women, garbed fantastically, come upon the scene, and through the medium of the loud-speaker it develops that they are Mendicants, groping blindly through the darkness and misery of modern living. Their first approach is to the platform on which sits the Cloth Merchant, but when they ask him for cloth to cover their nakedness, he answers sternly that he must have gold for his wares. The Mendicants then progress to the Grain Merchant, and beg to be saved from starvation, but once again they are told that they must have money, for neither hunger nor nakedness can come between the middleman and his profit.

As the Mendicants turn away, sunk in black despair, the Scribe of Fables directs them to the Moneylender, crouched menacingly and greedily on

a third platform. The unhappy wanderers make their plea to an accompaniment of fiendish cackles from the Moneylender, and at the finish he informs the Mendicants that he will be only too glad to lend them gold if they can produce adequate collateral. On learning that they are without security of any kind, the miser suggests that they become his slaves, paying tribute for the loans "each year tenfold." In as much as there is nothing else for the Mendicants to do, they accept the terms, and through the semidarkness sounds the rattle of chains as the Moneylender binds his victims.

After a recess, during which the candidates discuss the ritual—almost always in tones of awe-struck admiration—the lights are dimmed again, and succeeding Cycles start to unfold. The Mendicants, wandering aimlessly and unhappily about the stage, are arrested by a Constable who threatens them with arrest as "predatory people." In a confidential whisper, however, he indicates a willingness to let them go if they but cross his palm with gold. Having no money with which to buy off the law, the Mendicants are held before a Magistrate, and arraigned for the nonpayment of taxes.

*A California Pilgrim's Progress*

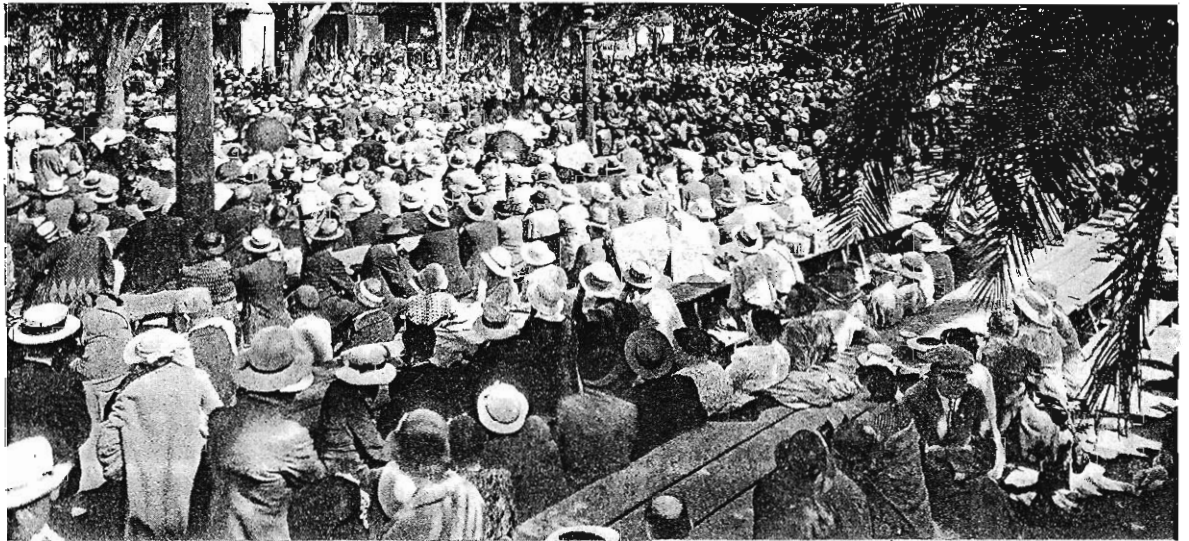
THE Magistrate, a kindly man, is deeply touched by the recital of their vain pursuit of employment, frankly admitting the grave injustice of a social order that penalizes enforced idleness, but just as he is about to order their release, the Moneylender hobbles forward, waving his contracts and demanding that the laws of the land be enforced to the limit. The Magistrate has no other course than to obey the statutes, and the Mendicants, stripped of everything, are turned out to roam the roads and fields.

To them, as they trudge along, come the Grain Merchant and the Cloth Merchant, no longer arrogant and prosperous, but as ragged as any member of the Mendicant band. They, too, out of their aversion attempt to pile million on million, fell into the clutch of the Moneylender, and were picked to the very bone. Interest, it is made plain, spares no one, eventually destroying the high as well as the low.

At this point a bewhiskered old man makes an impressive entrance and, after identifying himself as the Hermit Reason, announces that through his powerful telescope he has seen another and fairer world. If the Mendicants will rid themselves of the traditional thought that

(Continued on Page 78)

SF Mine group



The Great Crowd at the Townsend Picnic in Bixby Park, Long Beach, California

PHOTO BY THE HARRY COMPANY

## NOW Grandpa Has Taken Up Winter Driving



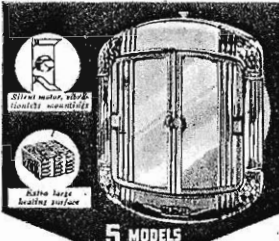
## HaDees . . . THE MODERN SYSTEM OF CAR HEATING

Now elderly people may enjoy the exhilaration of winter driving in perfect comfort. HaDees is the modern system of hot water car heating. It fills the car with beautiful, comfortable warmth on cold winter days. You see it can be installed according to the weather and position of passengers in car.

You can increase the usefulness and pleasure of your car, new or old, with a HaDees. The 1935 Models have increased heating capacity and they can be quickly installed in any car. The cost is only a few dollars. Good today for full particulars.

LIBERTY FOUNDRIES CO., Rockford, Ill.  
(Division of Beard Platen Ring Co.)

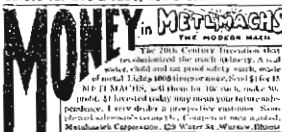
- ★ HOT WATER HEATING SYSTEM
- ★ TRANSFERABLE FROM CAR TO CAR
- ★ COSTS BUT A FEW DOLLARS



## PLASTIC WOOD WILL FIX THAT FOR GOOD



Even if you're all thumbs you can do a fine job of repairing quickly—holes in tile, plaster or wood, broken chair, loose casters, nicks, cracks, loose drawer pulls, etc.—with this canned wood that hardens like soft putty and quickly hardens into wood. You can paint it, carve it—drive nails and screws into it. It's wonderful. Try it. Paint, hardware stores sell PLASTIC WOOD in 9 colors for 25c a tube, 35c a can.



be a sort of reception clerk. He was expected to be polite to callers and to take in the name of any important visitor to the Secretary. I did that for just one day, a day of many people coming in to say a word out of politeness; there was no business transacted. I thought over the situation rapidly. I knew that I was not going to spend my time carrying cards to Mr. Gage's desk.

The second morning I sat myself down opposite Mr. Gage on the other side of his broad table desk, and drew up my swivel chair, close. Neither of us had any idea what my duties were to be and nothing was said when I took

it upon myself to change my desk. However, I kept busy.

One morning about six weeks later Mr. Gage returned to his office after a visit to the White House.

"I had a talk with the President," he said.

I looked up to show my interest.

"I told him I wanted to ask just one favor of him and I said it would be the only one I would ask during his Administration."

"Yes, sir?"

"Well, the President said: 'What is it?' and I said: 'I want Vanderlip made Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.'"

## UTOPIA UNLIMITED

(Continued from Page 7)

"poverty is necessary," and "cooperation collectively toward universal abundance instead of striving selfishly toward individual accumulation," he promises to lead them to the land of Plenty for All.

As they plod the path of pilgrimage, Reason interprets the horrors, confusions and uncertainties of the world that is being left behind, blaming all on the profit system and private ownership of the machinery of production, leading up to the declaration that when everybody works to "produce for use," then everybody has "all he can use."

Another recess, made noisy by excited and admiring comment, and as the hall darkens again, the Fourth Cycle presents the Promised Land. The Medicants are now Forgotten Men by a process of abrupt and unexplained transition, and Reason leads them proudly to seven imposing chairs occupied by six men and a woman, the departments of government in Utopia. Boomingly enough, the loud-speaker drives home the vast difference between governmental bureaus in the Old World and the New.

The Department of Industry proceeds upon the principle of perpetual surplus as opposed to the outworn doctrine of scarcity. Prices and profits are unknown, and every citizen is assured of a constant supply of necessities and luxuries by making his proper contribution to the service of society.

### The Regimented Eden.

The Department of the Interior keeps a daily record of needs and supply, and distributes justly and quickly to every section of the country. The Department of Labor is responsible for production, giving particular attention to the development of labor-saving machinery that will add still further to the people's leisure. The Department of Education has authoritative concern with every boy and girl until twenty-five, striving to find the life work for which each is best fitted.

The Department of National Defense rests largely on a belief in the brotherhood of man, and the Department of Foreign Trade deals in surplus products only. As the traditional money system has been abolished, American goods are sold for the medium of exchange of the country with which the transaction is made, and imports are paid for in turn with the money derived from exports.

All natural resources—coal, oil, timber and water power—are owned by the people, likewise the entire machinery of production, and as many

able-bodied people are assigned to plan, supervise, coordinate, operate and maintain the country's wealth-producing plant as there are jobs to be done. The total number of hours of human effort necessary to carry on at full pace are distributed evenly over the total number of people available for that purpose, so that no imposition is ever worked on any one person or group of persons.

Each and every person, regardless of his age, race, creed, sex, or vocation, and regardless of whether or not he is employed or unemployed, employable or unemployable, is entitled to obtain at will his equitable quota of the goods, services, comforts, entertainments, conveniences and luxuries that are produced and available.

For the purpose of establishing available distribution quota, all persons under twenty-five are considered minors; all persons between twenty-five and forty-five are set down as "available productive people," and all persons more than forty-five are "retired," being considered to have already rendered their share of productive effort. All retired persons, moreover, are entitled to receive 10 per cent more than those in the working-age bracket.

So much for the first four Cycles. The Fifth Cycle is simply the communication of secret signs, symbols and passwords that will permit Utopians to know one another. For example, the interrogation, "Have you a knife?" is met with the answer, "Yes, I have a knife with which to sharpen my wits." The left hand on the heart carries the message, "I bear no malice toward anyone," and when the hand is extended, palm upward, the thought conveyed is that "I am my brother's keeper."

When the summer months of 1934 found the Utopians numbering almost 600,000 in the Los Angeles area alone, and countless scores of new converts daily, the leaders of the movement seemed to have good ground for their boast that another year would witness an enrollment of 30,000,000, covering every state in the Union. The Utopian Society, Western Division, Inc., became the Utopian Society of America, and though Reed and Kennedy, the two original master minds, still retained their iron control, a board of fifteen directors was supposed to share authority with them.

J. Frank Glendon rose to the presidency, straightway changing his signature to Jonathan F. Glendon, and soon hinted at plans for a mammoth motion picture that would carry the

I cannot say honestly whether I spoke aloud, but I know that every fiber of me was asking what Mr. McKimley had said. Even now I can remember Mr. Gage's eyeglasses held delicately between his thumb and forefinger as he fanned them in a narrow arc. He was watching me with quiet joy as he told me.

"The President said: 'All right. Send his appointment over.'"

Suddenly I remembered that an Assistant Secretary rated a horse and carriage.

Editor's Note—This is the second of a series of articles by Mr. Vanderlip and Mr. Sporkes. The next will appear in a fortnight.

gospel of Utopianism to the remotest corners of the United States, and perhaps, throughout the whole civilized world. A second tremendous meeting in Gilmore Stadium drew between thirty and forty thousand, causing the wealthy octogenarians of Pasadena to wonder gloomily whether they had done a wise thing in leaving the East.

Undaunted by the thousand EPIC clubs and the mass gatherings of the Utopians, Doctor Townsend drove forward with his own campaign for followers, a somewhat impressive figure with his gray hair and ascetic face. His appeal, as he took pains to make clear, was not to the emotions, but to the intelligence, for what he dealt in was facts and figures, not figments of the imagination.

What, asked the doctor, was the matter with the United States? Why the depression? Unemployment and lack of purchasing power, of course. All right then. The census shows that there are about 10,000,000 men and women in the United States more than sixty years of age. Give them each \$200 a month, under pledge to spend every cent within the month, and what happens? Since by the terms of the pension plan the recipients must be unemployed or willing to give up work, the 10,000,000 are instantly withdrawn from industrial competition, thus creating a labor shortage in place of the present labor surplus, and the expenditure of their pensions revives purchasing power at once.

### The Townsend Way to Prosperity

Figure it out for yourself, shrugged the doctor. Ten million people with \$200 a month, and under obligation to spend it, means \$2,000,000,000 a month, \$24,000,000,000 a year, all poured into the dry river bed of purchasing power. Every factory in the land would be compelled to run day and night shifts; every farmer would have to till every available inch of his soil; stores would be forced to build additions; and hotels, theaters and railroads would experience an immediate leap in revenue.

"Yes," called out a worried old woman at a meeting, "but what about a trip that would cost more than the \$200 on hand at the time?"

"You could probably make some arrangement for installment payments," replied the doctor. When another questioner, however, asked about a voyage to Europe, he answered astutely that the pension must be spent in the United States. One elderly gentleman, evidently with a love of tinkering,

found out that he would not be allowed to do any odd building or painting jobs around his home, for that would be a breach of the contract not to do wage-earning work of any kind.

With 10,000,000 men and women more or less withdrawn from industrial competition, thus producing a labor shortage, the employers of the nation would have to fight for able-bodied workers, and, opined the doctor, nothing was more probable than that wages would leap up to twelve dollars or fifteen dollars a day. With respect to the method of raising the money, Doctor Townsend admitted that the Government would have to furnish \$2,000,000,000 for the first month, but an immediate sales tax of 10 per cent on everything sold would take care of the pensions after that.

Confronted with the fact that the total retail sales in the United States amount to something like \$32,000,000,000, and that a 10 per cent sales tax would only yield enough for pensions for the first month and a half, Doctor Townsend explained that the expenditure of the \$2,000,000,000 furnished by the Government would double and treble retail sales. As a matter of fact, he argued, consumption would be raised to a point where production would have hard work to keep up, and inside of the first year, very likely, the sales tax could be materially reduced. Not only that, but the age of eligibility for pensions might well be reduced from sixty to fifty-five or even fifty.

Not only were automobile agencies besieged after every Townsend meeting by old people looking at cars and planning tours, but real-estate offices were crowded with men and women wanting to know "Who do I give my property to?" One would have some securities that yielded only \$600 a year, and another owned a home that rented for twenty-five dollars a month, so both figured that it would be wise to give away what they had in order to get \$2400 a year from the Government. This, however, was a misapprehension, for the Townsend Plan does not call on any pensioner to give up a home or other holdings, but merely to withdraw from all gainful occupation.

**When Idealists Get Together**

With the Utopians, the Townsend Planners and the army of EPIC all shouting their various gospels, Southern California reached a state of emotional fervor that made the imported derisives in Hollywood seem cataleptic. Sinclair and Doctor Townsend contributed to the general excitement by a very definite antagonism, for while old-age revolving pensions depended on a sales tax for its funds, EPIC stood like iron against a sales tax of any kind, asserting that it was a tax on poverty that let wealth escape.

The Utopians, however, rallied to Sinclair's banner well-nigh solidly. Doctor Townsend's straight-out offer of \$200 a month for all more than sixty raised a certain amount of wavering at first, but then they remembered that under the "production for use" system, all more than forty-five would not only be retired from work but could also know every convenience, comfort, necessity, and even luxury. When the primary election came around on August twenty-eighth, Northern California let EPIC have both barrels, but the Utopian army in Los Angeles County massed enthusiastically behind Sinclair and gave him the Democratic nomination for governor.

The platform adopted by the Democrats in convention assembled carefully excluded the principal features of EPIC on the score of unrealizability, although retaining and emphasizing the plank on self-help cooperatives, but within two weeks Mr. Sinclair published Immediate EPIC: The Final Statement of the Plan, in which he put forward his original program almost without change, and advanced a new idea in taxation. Figuring that large-scale businesses in California were paying something like \$300,000,000 a year in dividends, he proposed what was virtually a 100 per cent ad valorem tax on all properties above \$250,000; the tax, however, to be payable in goods and services. This, he estimated, would bring the cash payment down to twenty cents on the dollar.

"Let us," he explained, "take the Southern Pacific Railroad as an example. It is compelled to maintain its rights of way, tracks and rolling stock. It has a far-flung executive organization. Its capacity to do business is vastly more than the business being done. If it paid a tax in the transportation of new freight, this would mean only hooking onto existing trains an occasional car for the state, and such new business would necessitate but a small amount of additional labor, fuel and upkeep."

**Work for Fifty Thousand?**

So with oil companies, timber companies, cement companies, and so on. By way of further illustration as to the working of the plan, he outlined his program for the construction of the Central Valley Water project, estimated to cost \$175,000,000, and of imperative and incalculable benefit to California. Fifty thousand men would be put on the job, although competent engineers estimated that not more than 15,000 could possibly be employed, and while vague as to how these workers were to be paid, he was not in any doubt as to how they were to be fed. The farmers were to act as a commissary, taking warehouse receipts which, after the five years necessary for the completion of the project, would be accepted by the state in payment of their irrigation charges. As for materials with which to build the great dams, "under the operation of the EPIC tax there would be a steady stream of lumber, cement, rock, gravel and other materials, with railroad and truck transportation free."

The Townsend Plan, no less than EPIC, burgeoned amazingly. The Republicans, girding for the battle against Sinclair, incorporated in their platform a plank fervent in its support of old-age revolving pensions, and Republican and Democratic candidates for Congress vied with one another in assuring the voters that they lived only to push through the law giving \$200 a month to every man and woman more than sixty.

John Steven McGroarty, California's poet laureate, and running for office the first time, declared that "trade and commerce would boom, and no depression could occur as long as several billions of dollars reached the channels of trade through the pensions each month. The old folks, no longer paralyzed with fear of the poorhouse and dread of having to receive charity, would enrich the world with artistry and their acquired wisdom."

Congressman David J. Lewis, of Maryland, a leading advocate of old-age pensions, intervened at this moment with a blast to the effect that

„SARÁKA“  
ОТЛИЧНО!  
НО МНЕ  
ЭТО НЕ  
НАДО



Says IVAN IVANOVITCH of KOSKOLO  
Phone Volga 000  
(Meaning "Saraka swell! but me no need")

**HOWEVER... millions of Americans do need SARÁKA, and hundreds of thousands wisely use this NEW DISCOVERY upon doctors' advice for habitual CONSTIPATION**

Of course, Ivan Ivanovitch does not need Saráka. Why should he? His food produces sufficient bulk. His hard work gives him exercise 8, 10, even 12 hours a day. And at night, occasionally, he dances the Kazatska hour after hour.

But for you people whose sedentary lives and refined foods make you the victims of habitual constipation, there is great news for you in this new discovery — "that fills the gap in your daily diet."

Saráka was developed from the sap of

a tropical tree, tested for years by a famous laboratory and finally perfected. It produces more, softer and smoother bulk than any other natural material used in the treatment of constipation—5 times that of Psyllium Seed—3 times that of Agar-Agar.

Thus it gives "Bulk plus Motility" in the intestinal tract, which many physicians consider the ideal means of overcoming habitual constipation.

Saráka is on sale in most drug stores in large, medium and 10¢ (trial) sizes.

**Costs You Only 10¢ to Try**

If your doctor has not given you a trial package, get one from your druggist, or send 10¢ in stamps or coin to the Schering Corp., Dept. S-11, Bloomfield, N. J.

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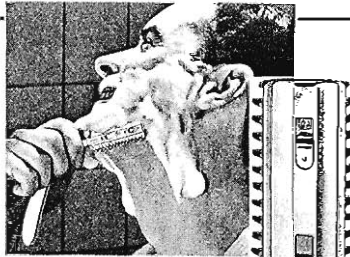
**Quick Facts about SARÁKA for HABITUAL CONSTIPATION**

- 1 Saráka "fills the gap in your daily diet."
- 2 It creates ideal conditions in the intestinal tract, ("Bulk plus Motility" without leakage.)
- 3 Contains no harmful habit-forming drugs.
- 4 Saráka produces 5 times the bulk of Psyllium Seed—3 times that of Agar-Agar.
- 5 Will not disturb your digestion.
- 6 Saráka's smooth, soft action is ideally suitable for constipation.



# NO MORE SORE SPOTS FROM SHAVING

when you shave with this Safe barber-type razor



"Wide-type" razor "saves" off whiskers, often irritates the skin.



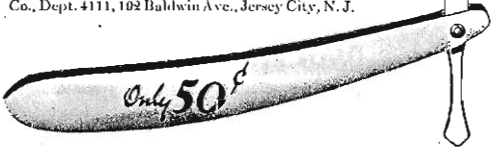
Durham "hollow-ground" blade rests flat on face; cuts off whiskers.

GET at the cause of shaving irritation and those pimples, sore spots and ingrown hairs quickly disappear... often in a few days.

It's easy when you shave with a Durham Duplex, a barber-type razor in safety form. It uses a new and much thicker "hollow-ground" blade which rests flat on the face... exactly like a barber's razor.

The Durham Duplex also shaves with the barber's preferred diagonal stroke. Cuts through whiskers at the surface of the skin. Never scrapes. And it's absolutely safe because a positive guard protects you.

Get your Durham Duplex today. Razor with 3 blades and leather-lined case, 50¢. Durham Duplex Razor Co., Dept. 4111, 102 Baldwin Ave., Jersey City, N. J.



## NEW, IMPROVED GLASS COFFEE MAKER



This lovely Coffee Maker is by one of America's leading inventors. The best gift for the Christmas season. America's most widely recognized and appreciated gift. The perfect Christmas gift for the entire Christmas season.

Manufactured by the Chicago Electric Supply Co., 3112 Roosevelt Rd., Chicago, Ill. Chicago Electric Supply Co. is a member of the National Electrical Manufacturers Association.

One of Sunbeam's BEST ELECTRIC APPLIANCES MADE!

## Quick Drying 61 FLOOR VARNISH



"61" makes concrete floors that are marproof, heatproof and waterproof! Requires no polishing. NOT slippery! At paint and hardware stores. Pratt & Lambert Inc., Buffalo, N. Y.

PRATT & LAMBERT PAINT AND VARNISH

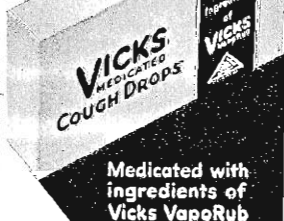
## Girls— A DOLL!



She is twenty inches tall, walks, talks, and has the prettiest curls! You'll love her at sight!

SEND only two 1-year subscriptions for The Saturday Evening Post, taken from folks outside your own home, together with the full price (\$2 each U.S.A.) and the doll is yours. Put this ad to select containing names of subscribers, together with your own name and address. Then send, with the full price to Curtis Publishing Company, 844 Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

## QUICK RELIEF



Medicated with ingredients of Vicks VapoRub

wild proposals were working incalculable harm to the cause. "The distribution of \$2,000,000,000 a month in pensions amounts to \$24,000,000,000 per year. The entire income of all the people of this country last year was less than \$10,000,000,000, and in the best year we have ever had, only \$90,000,000,000. Less than 10 per cent of all people are more than sixty years of age, but this plan would give them more than half the entire income of the country."

High above this warning rang Doctor Townsend's own clarion note, stating that he now had 3,000,000 signatures to his petitions, and that by the time Congress convened, the number might run as high as 10,000,000. Forty-seven states were organized, and either President Roosevelt could "climb on the band wagon" or else have it run over him.

Following the example of EPIC and the Utopians, the Townsanders started their own newspaper, the Crusader, and began to exact dues from active members, in addition to charging twenty-five cents a copy for pamphlets, five cents for petition blanks, and fifty cents a hundred for folders.

### Skeptics Within the Ranks

Only the Utopians showed signs of wear and tear from the fury of the pace. The continued concentration of power in the hands of a small group caused a growing restlessness among the rank and file, and a spirit of insurgency began to develop and gather strength.

What was being done with all the money? What did the trustees mean by voting themselves power to provide for the payment of pensions and annuities to incapacitated trustees or to their widows and dependents? Where was the movement really going? What steps were being taken to write the policies of the society into the law of the land?

The leaders cried out against such questions as the work of the "spies and

the hired hands of the vested interests"; the intelligence department declared that "sinister influences" were at work, and announced that espionage would be met with counter-espionage; guards made their appearance in the temple of brotherly love, and by way of answer to the most specific attack, the trustees put forth a financial statement showing that between October 30, 1933, and July 31, 1934, there had been receipts of \$96,939 and expenditures of \$87,337.

A bellow of protest went up at once. What, for instance, did they mean by saying that only \$1708 had been realized from the

Hollywood Bowl meeting, when everybody knew that 30,000 people had paid twenty-five cents admission? How ridiculous to set down \$3825 from dues when President Glendon himself had announced a membership of 673,000 in July. Was it reasonable to assume that men and women, aflame with enthusiasm for the cause, would not have paid their small fee of ten cents a month?

As the bitterness increased, it resulted in the appointment of a committee of five members to present the demands of the insurgent element, and the committee's first request was for a number of resignations. The necessity for a change in the presidency was stressed particularly.

### The United States of Utopia

Much began to be heard about the American Plan, an Eastern organization committed to the abolition of the profit system, but which stood for a step-by-step program, based on national organization and intensive education of the masses.

The Utopians, insisted the advocates of the American Plan, were getting nowhere with their broad generalizations, and would continue to get nowhere even more rapidly unless they developed a fighting policy, achieving one reform at a time.

Glendon and various other directors resigned in late August, and in the days that followed, the trustees announced a plan for the "democratization of the movement." Local chapters were to be chartered in every American community; these chapters were to elect representatives to a state body, and the state committees would then proceed to choose a national board of directors which, in turn, would elect a national executive committee duly empowered to direct the political campaign for the translation of Utopian ideals into state statutes and the Federal Constitution. With this proclamation there came a certain abatement of insurgency and an abrupt end to the

talk of receiver-ship and prosecutions.

EPIC proposes to stay in the field as a vital political force, extending from state to state. Doctor Townsend is without doubt that he will have forty-eight states fully organized by the first of the year. His petitions signed by millions, thus forcing Congress to adopt his plan, even against the threat of a presidential veto. The Utopians are no less confident that their campaign will have the sweep of a prairie fire, blazing across the country from coast to coast, birthing away capitalism and the profit system, and ushering in the ideal civilization.



Eucalyptus Tree, Santa Barbara, California