



Andrew J. Volstead and Family Papers.

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THE EVENING SUN

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	1920.	1919.	Gain
Morning.....	69,908	64,070	Gain 5,838
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Sunday.....	135,817	123,683	Gain 12,134

BALTIMORE, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1920.

Let Us Get Rid Of The Volsteads.

What does this mean? A special dispatch in this morning's SUN from Washington tells the following story, which for several reasons is worth repetition:

An excited man rushed into the office of Representative Volstead, author of the Federal dry law. The visitor was angry.

"Look what you went and done," he shouted, producing a bonded bottle with broken seal. It was almost filled with whisky-colored liquid. "I paid \$22 for this stuff," the man shouted.

"Taste it." Volstead declined. Instead he had it analyzed. Chemists declared it to be very weak tea. The irate citizen claimed the fraud was Volstead's fault, since the latter wrote the dry law, and demanded reimbursement.

"I'm not a dry and never was," said Volstead. "Somebody had to write the dry law and it fell to me. Now I'm cussed from one end of the country to the other."

It seems to us this anecdote is more significant than amusing. Mr. Volstead states a fact when he says his name provokes more profanity than the ex-Kaiser's, that it is damned heartily from Dan to Beersheba. The name Volstead is one of the few, the immortal names, that are not destined to be forgotten. It will live because it is associated with the most extraordinary piece of legislation ever put on the statute books in this or any other country. It will live either for praise or execration.

Just now the execrationers make far more noise than the praisers. The cursers shout more fiercely and loudly than the blessers. And in view of what Mr. Volstead says, in answer to the gentleman who paid \$22 for weak tea, his praises are not apt to increase in volume. His explanation of his connection with the act that bears his name will create the suspicion that he is trying to hedge, that he is getting scared, that he lacks political courage and honest conviction. Even the dries cannot think much of a man who makes the excuse that he "had to write" the dry law. Why did he "have" to write it? Is a man bound to advocate what he doesn't believe in? What made him write it, who made him write it? Was it the thing that makes cowards of many politicians—not conscience, but a condition of mental prostitution which is willing to sell personal integrity and independence for political office?

Volstead, like many others, seems to be getting frightened, and pleads that he "had" to do it. That's what's the matter with this country now mainly—lack of political courage and honesty. There are thousands of Volsteads scattered throughout these United States. If there had not been, the Eighteenth Amendment would never have been passed. There are Volsteads on every public question that comes up—not liquor alone—whose chief concern is to put themselves on the winning side, without regard to whether it is right or wrong.

Let's chase all the Volsteads out of office this year. Let's put men in office, men who have convictions and who will stand firm for them, who will not flatter the cold-water Neptune for his trident, or the bibulous Jove for his power to thunder—men who will be willing to sacrifice themselves, but who will die sooner than sacrifice principle.

What the country needs above everything else is—Men.

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ATWATER, MINN. JUNE 18, 1920



To Editor: Permit me to say a few words as to the primary election campaign. On June 21st every Republican voter will vote for Americanism or Socialism. The candidates nominated at the Republican State Convention on May 8, 1920, stand for true Americanism. Those nominated by the Nonpartisan elimination convention are more or less associates with Townley and Socialism I believe Mr. J. A. O. Preus for governor should be nominated because he has shown in the past to work for a square deal for all the people. The other candidates nominated were: Louis L. Collins for lieutenant governor, Mike Holm, sec. of state, Henry Rines, state treasurer, Clifford L. Hilton, attorney general, and O. P. B. Jacobson, R. R. & W. H. commissioner. These are worthy men and should be endorsed.

Congressman A. J. Volstead should be nominated by a great majority for the good work he done for the temperance cause and other good legislation. The liquor interests like to see Volstead defeated and do all in their power to defeat him. All friends of good government should vote for Volstead. Yours for the best interests of our people.

Martin A. Anderson.

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	1920.	1919.	Gain
Morning.....	102,784	94,358	Gain 8,426
Evening.....	82,667	72,823	Gain 9,844
Sunday.....	140,639	125,923	Gain 14,716

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BALTIMORE, SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1920.

LOGICAL, BUT NONSENSICAL.

The majority members of the New York Assembly, by whose vote the five Socialist members of that body were expelled, are long on logic. The Socialist, they say, recognizes his obligation to his party as superior to his obligation to the country. They prove it by citations from the constitution and by-laws of the Socialist party. It is all perfectly logical.

Logical, but nonsensical. It is precisely the argument used by the A. P. A. members and other fanatics against the Catholic Church. The Catholic, they say, places his obligation to the church above his obligation to his country.

If this reasoning were carried to its logical extreme it would bar out nearly all the members of all our Legislatures. Actually, if not avowedly, the members of the Republican majority of the New York Assembly place their obligation to the Republican machine above their obligation to their State. The Mahon members of the Maryland Legislature place their obligation to the Mahon machine above their obligation to the State. If the Socialists are traitors, so are they all traitors.

Anthemas upon such hairsplitting. The real issues in this action are its blow to the republican system of government and its incitement to violence. They cannot be hidden by sophistical reasoning of this sort, which is an affront to the common sense of mankind.

MR. VOLSTEAD.

Mr. Volstead, author of the Prohibition Enforcement law, does not appear to advantage in the correspondence, which is printed elsewhere in THE SUN today, concerning the interview with him printed in this paper two weeks ago. Mr. Volstead complains that he was incorrectly quoted in this interview, but he does not specify any specific misquotations.

Superficially, the question would seem to be one of veracity between Mr. Volstead and THE SUN's correspondent, but those who read the Congressman's letters and our correspondent's reply will easily be able to choose between the two. Mr. Volstead says that he did not know who claimed to have obtained this alleged interview, nor upon what occasion. He implies that it was obtained in a two-minute conversation on the street or in casual passing in one of the House cloakrooms. Our correspondent's circumstantial account of the rather formal and prolonged interview shows that Mr. Volstead is either amazingly forgetful or disingenuous in this matter.

Those of our readers who are sufficiently interested to go through this correspondence will, we fancy, ask themselves whether Mr. Volstead did not hear from the radical dry element back home after this interview was published; whether his words in cold type did not appear different to a man suddenly grown more cautious than he had been at the time he uttered them, and whether his letters were not inspired by his political fears. Mr. Tiller, it is hardly necessary to say, is a man of integrity and trustworthiness, otherwise he would not have been selected as one of THE SUN's staff correspondents.

This business of "blaming it on the reporter" is a rather petty one. There is an admiral in the American Navy for whom newspaper men have a profound respect. He is the man who gave to a press association correspondent the story of the premature signing of the armistice in November, 1918. The erroneous report created great excitement and might have had serious consequences, and the individual responsible for it, if he had been a man of less heroic breed than he was, might have been tempted to blame it on the reporter. Being an honorable and a gallant officer, Admiral Wilson promptly assumed full responsibility for the publication and completely vindicated the press association. That was the act of a brave gentleman. Mr. Volstead might have profited by his example.

April 4, 1920 Baltimore Sun

Two Letters From Mr. Volstead And Sun Correspondent's Replies

Author Of Prohibition Enforcement Law Takes Exception
To Interview In The Sun—Mr. Tiller, Of The Sun's
Washington Bureau, Answers Him.

There appeared in THE SUNDAY SUN on March 21 a dispatch from Washington telling of an interview which a staff correspondent of THE SUN had with Chairman Andrew J. Volstead of the Committee on Judiciary of the House of Representatives.

In the dispatch Mr. Volstead was quoted as admitting he was not a "fanatical dry." Generally, the effect of the story was to indicate that Mr. Volstead had at no time, during the drafting of the Volstead Prohibition law, been in favor of the drastic dry program, but, on the contrary, had succeeded in modifying some of the provisions which the dry advocates wished inserted. The dispatch was written in a light vein and was intended to throw some light on the difficulties of a legislator trying to do his duty when confronted by the demands of fanatics such as those who think everything alcoholic should be banished from earth.

Mr. Volstead's First Letter.

Mr. Volstead has taken exception to the interview as the following letter shows:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—
Sir: May I call your attention to the article, copyrighted by you and said to have been written for the St. Paul Pioneer Press and your paper, entitled "Volstead Abused As a Fanatical Dry Declares He is Really a Half Wet"?

This article adroitly insinuates, if it does not directly charge, that I have represented myself as opposed to prohibition; that I am half wet, and that I drew the National Prohibition act unwillingly under some sort of compulsion.

The evident purpose of this article is to create the impression that I am scared because of the threats and abuse by those opposed to prohibition and that I am apologizing for my share in drafting and passing this law. Nothing is further from the truth. I do not know who claims to have obtained this alleged interview nor upon what occasion. Of course, I realize that emissaries of the liquor interest do not require much basis for a story. Tell any of them that you are not a Prohibitionist, but a Republican, and he at once feels justified in saying that you do not believe in prohibition; tell him that you have never signed a pledge or claimed to be a teetotaler and he will write you down as at least half wet; try to explain to him that the National Prohibition act is not drastic or extreme and you are immediately charged with badging, getting scared and lacking convictions. Talk to him two minutes along any such line in a conversation on the street or as you pass him in one of the cloak-rooms of the House and he writes up two columns of stuff, and to give added weight to his fake story puts it all under quotation marks, even though not a word of his supposed interview is correctly reported. The language in this alleged interview is not mine and the quotation marks are without any authority or justification. I have never said anything that would justify an inference that I do not believe in prohibition, nor have I ever apologized in any fashion either for the National Prohibition act or for my share in drafting or passing it. On the contrary, I am more firmly convinced than ever that prohibition is a good thing and that the law for its enforcement is a reasonable and fair measure. Instead of apologizing, I am proud of having had the privilege of contributing my share in this great work. Instead of being unwilling to draw and pass this act, it was a labor in which I felt the deepest interest and to which I gladly contributed months of the hardest kind of work. The opposition has been very liberal with threats and abuse. I have in my possession a number of letters that threaten my life. Can you imagine a person without any convictions courting that kind of opposition?

As you have published this story and criticized me severely upon the assumption that the statements in it are true, I ask that in fairness you publish this statement in answer. Respectfully yours,

A. J. VOLSTEAD.
Washington, March 27.

Mr. Tiller's Answer.

The interview with Mr. Volstead was secured by Theodore Tiller, one of THE SUN's staff correspondents in Washington; in whose integrity and truthfulness THE SUN has complete confidence. Mr. Tiller's reputation for reliability and accuracy, earned during a long career in Washington, made THE SUN unwilling to print Mr. Volstead's letter without also giving Mr. Tiller's side. Mr. Tiller, therefore, was asked to tell the facts regarding the interview. Following is his statement:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—
Sir: I am surprised, distressed and rather angered to learn from you that Representative A. J. Volstead, of Minnesota, author of the Volstead act, has written a letter to THE SUN repudiating an interview with him, published under my name in THE SUN on Sunday, March 21, on the prohibition question.

I reaffirm and stand by that interview in its entirety. I am willing to make an affidavit under oath as to its accuracy and when and how it was obtained, if Mr. Volstead will deny under oath that he did not give such an interview. Below I shall make report of what occurred in such circumstantial detail that perhaps the errant memory of Representative Volstead may return. I can justify his repudiation on no ground, except complete lapse of memory. I should hesitate to believe of Mr. Volstead, notwithstanding his unjustified attack on my veracity and professional standing, that he would make such a denial for political expediency.

At the outset let me say a personal word. I have been a Wash-

ington newspaper correspondent for approximately 14 years. I have interviewed numerous public men. I have never been accused of misquoting any of them, or of breaking a confidence. This has been a matter of professional pride with me. Mr. Volstead is the first man to accuse me of misquotation and "faking."

I interviewed Representative Andrew J. Volstead the afternoon of Wednesday, March 17. I sent into the chamber for him about 2 o'clock. He sent word he could not come out then, because he was in charge of a pending bill—to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday. He was tied up with other bills from the Judiciary Committee until adjournment. As the House adjourned, about 4.30, I met Mr. Volstead at the east elevator, asked him if he was on the way to his office, got in the elevator with him and rode to the subway.

I informed him that the Baltimore SUN wanted a Sunday feature story on how it felt to be "cussed" as the author of a drastic prohibition law.

I also mentioned publication in a Washington newspaper of a little story that some indignant person had walked into Mr. Volstead's office and angrily exhibited a bottle of "cold tea" for which he had paid \$16, thinking it was whisky. Mr. Volstead said that story was incorrect and gave me the correct version, which I published in my story.

Denied He Was Radical.

Going through the subway I talked with Mr. Volstead. I asked him if he was a radical dry. He answered that if he was he didn't know it. He said he was not as dry as 200 men in the House, yet, as I pointed out, Mr. Volstead believed in the abolition of the saloon and that the object of his bill was to stop the liquor evil at its source.

I talked sympathetically with him about his name getting all the abuse simply because he happened to be chairman of the Judiciary Committee and its author. He talked along the same line with me, as quoted.

As we neared the other end of the subway Mr. Volstead said something about how he thought the law would be enforced as to home-made wines, adding "but I would not want to be quoted on this." I observed his confidence and did not quote him, although these particular words would have made interesting reading. I can remind Mr. Volstead what they were if he cares to know.

As we neared the office building elevator Mr. Volstead met Judge Moon, of Tennessee. We all rode up together and Volstead and Moon discussed briefly the Supreme Court decision on the power of Congress to fix alcoholic content. Then Judge Moon went into his office and I went with Mr. Volstead to his. He conducted me into his rear private office, sat down in a big desk chair, stretched out his legs and talked to me for 20 or 30 minutes.

It was not, therefore, a case of talking to an "emissary" of liquor interests, as he says in his letter the interview might have occurred, and "talk to him two minutes in a conversation on the street or as you pass him in the cloakrooms of the House and he writes up two columns of stuff."

Asked Not To Be Quoted.

Representative Volstead asked me not to quote him on one other specific point—a reference to Judge Webb, former chairman of the Judiciary Committee. I did not use that, but can repeat his words if he wants them.

I told Mr. Volstead that I understood Senator Overman had been largely responsible for the "home-made wines" amendment in his bill.

Representative Volstead said that was erroneous, that he had been primarily responsible for this. He explained that he and Representative Steele had drafted such a provision and arranged in advance that Mr. Steele would offer it and that he, Volstead, in charge of the bill, would "accept" it on the floor.

"But," Volstead told me, "some dry over there, like Upshaw, of Georgia, raised a point of order against it and we couldn't get it through. It was somebody like Upshaw, I don't remember just who."

(Upshaw is a radical dry and an evangelist member of the House.)

Representative Volstead then proceeded to explain that he was largely responsible for what few liberal or near liberal features there were in the bill. His "home-made wines" amendment, allowing the making of nonintoxicating fruit juices, he said, was finally put into the bill in conference. It was at this point he told me about the conference argument as to whether a man should have a pint or quart of liquor every 10 days if sick. He discussed also his insistence that persons who had liquor stocks legally acquired should have the privilege of consuming them in their homes. Originally, he said, there was a "ridiculous" proposal to permit a man to possess such stocks, but without permission to use them.

Stood For Concessions.

Representative Volstead pointed out that his law was not so drastic as the laws of probably 30 dry States, such laws as forbid even the possession of liquor. He impressed me with the fact that it was right to have actual prohibition under the constitutional amendment, but that he had stood for a few concessions. He spoke of dry sentiment in Congress and in the

country, the desire to get rid of the liquor traffic as such and so on.

Although there was no inhibition against quotation, I did not use his reference by name to Steele and Upshaw. If there is any jealousy about who allowed the farmer and housewife to make nonintoxicating wines and cider at home I didn't care to stir it up.

Going through the subway, Mr. Volstead told me he had not been averse in the old days to going into a saloon occasionally and taking his drink. I used this in a semiserious way, not offensively. My entire story was an endeavor to write in a rather light, than serious, vein of the tribulations of the author of the Prohibition act who was neither as dry as some of his colleagues, nor as wet as gentlemen with thirsts would have him be. I showed that he leaned backward neither way, but had framed a law which he thought followed the constitutional mandate.

Nowhere, as Mr. Volstead seems to imply, did I put him in the attitude of being forced to write a dry law. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee he was its logical author, as the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee sponsors a tariff bill.

I suggested that if Webb, Clayton, Carlin, Jenkins or any other man had been chairman of the committee his name today would be anathema to the wets, instead of Volstead's. He agreed with me.

Then he told me there was no comprehensive bill before his committee and he had gone to work to write one. One or two short bills that did not cover the ground, he added, had been offered by Representative Igoe, or Dyer, or someone else, he did not recall.

Representative Volstead talked to me frankly in the elevator, in the subway and in his own office. I told him the kind of story we were after. He asked me not to quote him about two matters and I did not. He knew he was being interviewed. There is no reason I should spend some time with Mr. Volstead just to hear him talk. I quoted him, and did not misquote him on what he was willing to talk about.

The Volstead interview was accurate and correct in every essential. It is as near verbatim as a newspaper man with trained memory and notes made as the interview closed can make it.

May I trust that after having furnished details of the time and place of this interview, with a resume of circumstantial details which are brought out in the published story itself, Representative Volstead will refresh his memory and remove his allegation that I, after 14 years of pleasant contact with public men, have been guilty of unprofessional conduct. Yours sincerely,

THEODORE TILLER
Washington, March 29.

Mr. Volstead's Second Letter.

Mr. Tiller's statement was, in turn, submitted to Mr. Volstead for the purpose of permitting him, if possible, to refresh his memory as to the facts regarding his talk with Mr. Tiller. To this Mr. Volstead replied:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—

Sir: I have your letter of the 29th instant. I am glad to be informed of the person to whom and the occasion on which the interview in question is supposed to have been given. The reason why I could not identify either was because, aside from some well-known facts that had been explained to a number of newspaper correspondents, the statements contained in it so utterly misrepresents everything I have ever said that I was at a loss to ascribe it to any particular person.

I am not surprised that a person who would make the statements contained in this interview offers to swear to it. I note, however, this offer is upon a perfect safe condition—namely, that I first swear that it is not true. He knows very well that no public man could afford to dignify his story by entering such a contest. Does he imagine that by swearing to it he can make me or anyone who knows my personal habits believe that I ever said to anyone anything to justify him in charging me with being half wet. If he can do that I am sure he will find it easy to show that I posed as a martyr to the cause of prohibition and whined through a column or more of drivel.

The claim that the interview is accurate is disproved by the interview itself. It contains a number of misstatements of facts which I am said to have made; statements that with my knowledge of the history of the Prohibition act there is no reason on earth why I should have made. It demonstrates that the person who wrote it did not know how various provisions of the act became a part of the law, but in an effort to write something sensational wrote what he thought would serve that purpose and put it out under quotation marks so that he could palm it off on the public as something I had said.

Just about this same time the story that you republished from the Washington Star, which you used as a text for abusing me in an editorial of March 17th, appeared. I never saw the man referred to in that story. The doorkeeper of the House told me on the afternoon of the day it appeared in the Star that a drunken person had been about the House with a bottle of tea for which he claimed he had paid \$10, demanding to see me for the purpose of getting back this money. He told me further that some of the guards

about the Capitol persuaded this fellow to go to some place down town and hunt for me. This is all I ever heard or knew about this man or his tea. I never saw or spoke to him and never saw his tea or had it examined as claimed in this story.

This whole business is just a sample of the old saloon methods. If a person is opposed to the saloon he is accused of being a hypocrite and of getting drunk any time he can do so unobserved.

If you publish in your paper my former letter and Mr. Tiller's answer, I ask that you publish this reply. You can go on and abuse me and the prohibition cause to your heart's content so long as you don't charge me with making a lot of false and utterly ridiculous statements. But I don't propose to allow a person to manufacture that sort of interviews without at least some protest. If there is any honor left among those who champion the cause of John Barleycorn, I ought not to be required to beg for decent treatment in that respect. Respectfully,

A. J. VOLSTEAD.
Washington, March 31.

Mr. Tiller's Reply.

Closing the discussion Mr. Tiller submits the following answer to Mr. Volstead's second letter:

To the Editor of The Sun—Sir:

There is nothing in Mr. Volstead's second letter requiring reply from me. I am content to let the record stand as it is and to have readers of THE SUN, both those who know and do not know me, analyze Mr. Volstead's two statements and my own circumstantial accounts of this interview—then determining which has the earmarks of sincerity and which reveals evasiveness or expedient backpedaling. From Mr. Volstead's original bald claim that he never saw me at all, to his amended reply citing alleged misquotation in an interview I know and he knows he gave and his affected martyrdom as a public man, the record is satisfactory to me. I neither add to nor distract from my previous statement.

Parenthetically, such little history of the prohibition law as appeared in the Volstead feature story on March 21 was furnished me by Volstead himself in claiming credit for certain of the few so-called liberal concessions that went into the law.

I pass over Mr. Volstead's unkind and unwarranted personal allusions to me, but, in conclusion, I wonder if the reader will not question, after all:

If Mr. Volstead heard from the radical dry element back home after this interview was published; if his words in cold type appeared different to a man suddenly grown more cautious than when he uttered them; if the exigencies of politics now make it imperative that Mr. Volstead, as an after-thought, request that his authorized and correctly reported interview be accepted by the voters with belated but emergency "Volstead reservations?"

THEODORE TILLER.
Washington, April 2.

CHURCH DELEGATES INDORSE VOLSTEAD

Lutherans Deplore That Pastor
Has Entered Race as Non-
June 16, 1920 partisan.

Resolutions indorsing Congressman A. J. Volstead for re-election and expressing regret that a minister of their church is opposing him in the primaries as a Nonpartisan league candidate, were adopted last night at a well attended meeting in Bethany Lutheran church, Twenty-fifth and Franklin avs, under auspices of the "Folkets Vel" Total Abstinence society. The meeting was attended by a number of pastors and delegates to the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America convention now in session. Rev. C. K. Solberg offered the statement which was indorsed unanimously by the assemblage, as follows:

"We rejoice in gratitude to God for the great victory won over the legalized liquor evil by the adoption of the 18th amendment and the Volstead prohibition enforcement act, and by the decision of the supreme court as to the constitutionality of national prohibition; and we call upon every lawabiding citizen to elect and support such

men as will pledge themselves to enforce the law without fear or favor.

"We are deeply indebted to Congressman A. J. Volstead of the seventh congressional district of this state for the fearless, faithful and efficient work done in securing this nationwide victory. The people of our state and nation should gratefully appreciate his valuable service in congress and rally around him when he seeks renomination in his district. His splendid record makes him eminently qualified to serve the nation in preserving intact and rigidly enforcing our national prohibition laws which now will be put to a crucial test. We urgently appeal to the voters of the seventh district to honor a most worthy citizen and to insure law enforcement by returning Hon. A. J. Volstead to congress.

"We deeply regret that one of our own pastors is seeking to defeat him at the primaries, having announced himself as a candidate for congress on the Nonpartisan league program, and we protest against the holding of mass meetings on Sunday to boost his candidacy."

Rev. O. J. Kvale of Benson, pastor of a Lutheran church, is the candidate opposing Mr. Volstead, and has left his pulpit to make the campaign.

What the "Wets" Are Saying

LET'S BE WET AGAIN

With all deference to Congressman Andrew J. Volstead, author of the Volstead Prohibition Act and chairman of the House judiciary committee, we sincerely hope that the Rev. Qualle will defeat him for the Seventh district nomination at the coming primaries.

Qualle, to be sure, is a prohibitionist, of perhaps even more marked a stamp than Volstead—but he is not Volstead, and Volstead is the one man who is best able to defeat the wishes of the people of the United States by keeping the country bone dry. Between Volstead and any other prohibitionist there is no comparison.

The defeat of Volstead, even by a pronounced "dry" candidate, would be a victory for the wet faction, and, we believe, for a majority of the people of the country.

So here's to the Rev. Qualle. We hope he defeats Volstead—because if Volstead is defeated in his own district, it can hardly help but be a solemn warning to the powers that be in Washington that the people are about tired of their pettifogging with matters that concern themselves solely, and of their negligence in regard to matters that relate to their pocketbooks, health and general happiness and prosperity.

(Reprinted from the Twin City Reporter of May 28, 1920.)

VOLSTEAD PRAISED FOR FARMER AID

Plank Proposed in Republican Platform Indorsing Demands for
Legislation by Farm Organizations

(H. C. Stevens in the Minneapolis Journal)

Chicago, June 7th.—Representatives of the National Board of Farm Organizations, whose headquarters are in Washington, are here to try to secure the insertion of a plank in the republican platform indorsing their demands for legislation. Congress has already taken a step in meeting some of these demands in the passage by the House of Representatives of Representative A. J. Volstead's bill permitting co-operative organization among farmers.

"We are grateful to Mr. Volstead for having put this legislation thru the house of representatives," said C. A. Lyman, secretary of the organization, today. "He has kept faith with the farmers of the west. While it was not passed by the senate, we are confident that it will become a law in the short session which begins in December. Mr. Volstead has done a great service for the farmers of Minnesota and other states in thus advancing their cause."

Mr. Lyman said that although the prospect of the passage of the Volstead bill was good, he believed the republican platform should have a plank pledging the party to support this and other measures advocated by the farm organizations. A committee has been appointed to draft the proposed plank, headed by Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania and se-

cretary Lyman. Other men who will assist in this work include the following from the northwest; J. W. Bachelier, Mission Hill, S. D., secretary of the So. Dakota Farmer's Union; O. J. Mosley, Mitchell, S. D., organizer of the farmers union, and O. J. Tittmore. Omro; J. Alex Rayburn, Arkansasaw of Rohm, Black Creek; E. J. Hertzfeld, Manawa; E. J. Hommerening, Oshkosh; Walter C. Foster, Milwaukee and Arthur Sampson, Madison, all of the Wisconsin Society of Equity.

The proposed plank will commit the republican party to bring about direct dealing between producer and consumer, free and unquestioned right to organize and to purchase and to sell co-operatively, representations on general boards of a miscellaneous organization, appointment of a secretary of agriculture friendly to the farmers, to ascertain and make public facts concerning the great and growing evil of farm tenancy, to secure improved credit facilities for the farmers, to uphold and enforce the national conservation policy and especially to stop forest devastation, the payment of the war debt by highly graduated income tax by those best able to pay to secure effective control over the packers and other organizations dealing in food supplies, and to uphold the right of free speech, free press and free assembly."

(Issued by H. P. Bengtson, Granite Falls, Minn.)

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New York Herald

18 AUGUST 1921

The Fourth and the Eighteenth

The Hon. Mr. VOLSTEAD of Granite Falls displayed great good sense and tactical shrewdness when he refused to lend his powerful aid to the attempt of the extremists among his followers to override and nullify the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution in the interest of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Fourth Amendment was proposed by Congress in 1789, one hundred and thirty years before the adoption of the liquor prohibition amendment of 1919. The Eighteenth Amendment in no respect repeals or impairs the guaranties of the Fourth as to the rights of citizenship:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

Judge STONY declares this fundamental provision indispensable to the full enjoyment of the rights of personal security, personal liberty and personal property. He calls it little more than the affirmance of a salient constitutional doctrine of the common law. "Let us never forget," says this great commentator, "that our constitutions of government are solemn instruments, addressed to the common sense of the people and designed to fix and perpetuate their rights and their liberties. They are not to be frittered away to please the demagogues of the day. They are not to be violated to gratify the ambition of political leaders. They are to speak in the same voice now and forever. They are of no man's private interpretation. They are ordained by the will of the people; and can be changed only by the sovereign command of the people."

Now, the doctrine or idea has become prevalent in certain quarters that because an amendment of the Constitution in 1919 prohibits the manufacture or sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors and gives to the Congress and the several States concurrent power to enforce the prohibition by appropriate legislation, the guaranties of an amendment of the Constitution in 1789 become therefore inoperative if they stand in the way of the convenience of enforcement. There could be no more absurd or generally destructive proposition. It amounts to saying that a statute can wipe out a constitutional provision; that Congress, under pressure of expediency, can change that which can be changed only by the sovereign will of the people expressed in the prescribed way by the ratification of a constitutional amendment.

It follows that the House substitute for the Stanley Senate amendment, adopted on Tuesday at Mr. VOLSTEAD'S instance, in no sense legislates new permission or license or protection to the householder against search and seizure unsupported by special warrant. The language of the House substitute, which Mr. VOLSTEAD himself offered for the Committee on the Judiciary, and for which his followers voted, is simply in this respect a reaffirmation of the guaranty already firmly established by the Fourth Amendment. But in one important particular, very significant of intent on the part of the less intolerant leaders of the prohibition cause, it adds to the protection of the home brewer or home distiller. The Volstead substitute not only reaffirms the guaranty of the Fourth Amendment against household searches without a special warrant, but it goes further and requires that even a special warrant shall not issue unless there is reason to believe that the home manufacture is sold or for sale. And when Representative FIELDS of Kentucky, in the interest of more drastic regulation, attempted to remove this distinction between home manufacture for personal consumption and home manufacture for commercial purposes he got no help from Mr. VOLSTEAD and Mr. VOL-

STEAD'S followers joined in defeating the Kentucky prohibitionist's amendment.

So we are getting back to the Constitution, after all, by steps in which the more reasonable and tactful of the prohibitory leaders are participating. The remaining inconsistency appears in the fact that the Fourth Amendment's guaranties apply just as directly to illegal searches and seizures from the person, in the case of forbidden goods in transit, as they do to the householder's household premises. The Stanley amendment adopted by the Senate recognizes the wider extent of the incontrovertible principle which Mr. VOLSTEAD'S own substitute limits at present to the private dwelling.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in these remarks upon the violation of the larger guaranty for the sake of the smaller purpose, however expedient or desirable such enforcement may be, THE NEW YORK HERALD is expressing no sympathy with the violators of law and no denial or question of the good which the prohibitory experiment is doing in the United States when reasonably conducted within bounds to which its own constitutional operations are constitutionally subject.

Kvale, Disqualified, to Carry Fight to State Supreme Court

Minneapolis Tribune

Volstead Becomes Nominee for Congress If Judge Johnson Is Upheld.

July 21, 1920

The state supreme court will be asked to pass upon the decision made yesterday by Judge Albert Johnson of Red Wing, disqualifying the Rev. O. J. Kvale of Benson as the Republican nominee for Congress in the Seventh district.

Judge Johnson yesterday held that the Rev. Kvale had violated the corrupt practices act by referring to Andrew J. Volstead, his opponent and present congressman, as an atheist. Mr. Volstead automatically becomes the regular nominee and, if the decision is upheld by the court, will have his name on the ballot in November as such.

James A. Manahan, chief counsel for Kvale, the Townley candidate, said that an appeal would be taken just as soon as the transcript and decision had been studied.

High Court's Action Awaited.

No plans for filing Mr. Kvale as an independent candidate in the fall election will be made until the supreme court acts.

Judge Johnson's decision was the case brought by 49 voters against Mr. Kvale. The chief issue was the reference made to Mr. Volstead as an atheist by Mr. Kvale.

"Such charges made in a Christian and God-fearing community like the Seventh district by a minister of the Gospel, whose word could well be taken as true under ordinary circumstances, would lead to disaster and defeat of the opposing candidate," said Judge Johnson in his memorandum.

"Beyond any question the offense against the corrupt practices act herein disclosed was a most deliberate, serious and material infraction of the law."

"Any person of whom it could be truthfully written that he is sneering at preaching upon Bible subjects, that he is an atheist and opposed to the Bible, would, in a community like the Seventh district, under the doctrines of the church be condemned as unfit for the society of men, unfit for any public trust and assigned to damnation after death. Clearly, the charge was grave."

Text of Decision.

The findings of the court follow:

"The court having heard and considered all the evidence introduced upon the trial, the stipulation of the parties made in open court and filed in said proceeding, and the argument of counsel finds as facts here:

"That each of the 40 persons who signed and filed the petition for contestee in the above entitled proceedings is, and at the time of the holding of the primary election for said petition, was a resident and legal voter of the Seventh congressional district of Minnesota and had the right to vote at such primary election for the nomination of the candidate on the Republican ticket for the office of representative in Congress of the United States from said district.

"The contestee herein at the time herein referred to was and still is a resident of Swift county.

"That for many years prior to June 21, 1920, Andrew J. Volstead was and he still is a resident of Yellow Medicine county and on that date and 40 days prior thereto he was a qualified candidate for nomination for the office of representative in Congress of the United States from the Seventh congressional district of said state on the Republican ticket at the primary election held on that date, and that at the same time the said contestee was a candidate for the same nomination. That there was no other candidate for said nomination at said primary election.

"That on said 21st day of June, 1920, the primary election, as provided by law, was held in the said congressional district for the nomination of a candidate for the Republican party for said office to be voted for at the next general election. That at said primary election contestee received 17,369 votes and said Volstead received 15,059 votes for the nomination for said office.

Action Held Deliberate.

"That in his campaign for the nomination for said office, and as part of said campaign prior to said primary election, said contestee, knowingly, deliberately and intentionally prepared, wrote and caused to be printed a circular of, concerning and in relation to said Volstead as such candidate, for distribution among the voters of said district. That said circular was not in itself any part of any issue of any newspaper except that it was prior to said election inserted and published as a paid advertisement in the Swift County Monitor, a newspaper published at Benson, in said county. That said circular contained a statement charging that Mr. Volstead had made sneering allusions to contestee's preaching on the miracle of the five loaves and the two small fishes; that said circular contained a statement charging that Volstead is a pronounced atheist and opposed to the Bible.

"That each and all of said statements were and are false. That said Volstead never made any sneering or other allusions to the preaching of contestee upon said miracle or any other subject, and never questioned his faith therein. That said Volstead never has been and is not now an atheist nor opposed to the Bible. That said Volstead from his childhood has been and is now a believer in God and in the Bible and is not opposed to either. That said Volstead during his youth and since has attended Christian churches and helped to support the same.

Voters Declared Influenced.

"That Republican voters residing in said district during said campaign and at said primary election were to a large extent Christians, members of the Lutheran and other churches and believers in God and the Bible, and had reverence and respect for God and his word.

"That contestee was then a minister of the gospel, ordained in the Lutheran church and had charge of a congregation at Benson in said county and district.

"That prior to said primary election and on June 17, 1920, said contestee caused said circular to be distributed through said Congressional district among voters therein; on that date 5,000 copies of said circular were mailed to individual voters in said district.

Imposition Serious One.

"That said acts of said contestee constituted deliberate, serious and material violation of the laws of the state relating to nomination and election and that there is no justification or cause therefor.

"That Andrew J. Volstead made, published and circulated in said district prior to the said primary election, the circular attached to said answer marked 'Exhibit 1' and introduced in evidence as Exhibit 'B.'"

"That except as herein found the allegations in the petition and other pleadings have not been proved.

"As conclusions of law the court finds that the contestee is guilty of vio-

lating the law of this state in relation to nominations. That because of such violation the contestee is not duly or legally nominated for office of a member of Congress for said district at said primary election and is not entitled to have his name placed or printed upon the official ballot as a candidate for that office.

"That because of the facts herein found, the said Andrew J. Volstead was duly nominated as a candidate of the Republican party for said office at said primary election.

"Let judgment be entered accordingly.

"By the Court—

"ALBERT JOHNSON,
"District Judge."

Memorandum of Decision.

Judge Johnson's memorandum of decision follows:

"There has been much talk and much comment in the press in relation to this case. It is a very plain and very simple case, yet it is of the highest importance. It is needless to say that in the determination of this case nothing but the evidence and the law will be considered. The lawyer and the minister stand before court with equal right to be heard. The fact that these opposing candidates are Republicans, one supported and the other opposed by the Nonpartisan league, could have no possible bearing upon the decision of the court.

"It appears that contestee wrote and caused the circular to be distributed among the voters of the Seventh congressional district. It appears in the circular that Kvale charged that Volstead had made sneering allusions to contestee's preaching on the miracle of five loaves and two fishes. The testimony shows that this statement is not true. It also appears in the circular that Kvale charged that Volstead was a pronounced atheist and opposed to the Bible. That is also untrue.

"There is no question that contestee knowingly made these charges. He wrote the circular himself and delivered it to his friends for distribution in the district as a campaign document a short time before the primaries. The motive, intent and purpose of the making and distribution of the circular are clearly apparent. The false statements are not trivial or accidentally made, nor is there any excuse or justification appearing in the record for the offense.

"Such charges made in a Christian and God-fearing community like the Seventh district by a minister of the Gospel, whose word could well be taken as true under ordinary circumstances, would lead to disaster and defeat of the opposing candidate. Beyond any question the offense against the cor-

rupt practices act herein disclosed was a most deliberate, serious and material infraction of the law.

"Any person of whom it could be truthfully written that he is sneering at preaching upon Bible subjects, that he is an atheist and opposed to the Bible, would, in a community like the Seventh district, under the doctrines of the church be condemned as unfit for the society of men, unfit for any public trust and assigned to damnation after death. Clearly the charge was grave.

Circular Was Unsigned.

"It also appears that the circular did not bear the name of the author, as required by Section 573, General Statutes 1913. Said section 573 provides that: 'Any person who shall knowingly make or publish or cause to be published, any false statement in relation to any candidate or proposition to be voted upon, which statement is intended to or tends to affect any voting at any primary or election, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.'

"Section 599, General Statutes 1913, provides: 'Any 25 voters of the state, or any political division thereof may contest the right of any person to nomination position or office for which said voters had the right to vote on the ground of deliberate, serious and material violation of the provisions of this act or of any other provisions of law

relating to nominations and elections.'

"The contestee assumes that he was justified in making the charge as an answer to political speeches in which the character and acts of the Nonpartisan league were attacked and a circular published by Volstead. There is no justification in any of these matters for committing acts specifically forbidden and made a crime under the law. The policy of the law is to add a refinement to political campaigns by prohibiting all persons from knowingly making and distributing false statements in relation to candidates for office tending to affect voting.

"It appearing to the court beyond every doubt that the contestee violated the corrupt practices act, it follows as a necessary consequence that his nomination must be annulled. A seat in Congress cannot be obtained in that way.

fect on any efforts to modify the prohibition enforcement law.

When word was received that the Rev. O. J. Kvale, another bone-dry advocate, had defeated Volstead for the nomination little was thought of it until an examination was made of the majority membership of the House judiciary committee. Then it was shown that with the expected continued Republican majority in the House, the next three ranking Republican members of this committee are "wets."

Representative George S. Graham, Pennsylvania, ranked next to Mr. Vol-

stead among the Republicans on the committee, followed by Representative Leonidas C. Dyer, Missouri, and Joseph Walsh, Massachusetts.

With Mr. Volstead put out of the race by the primary election, it would have made no difference in the organization of the next House of Representatives whether Mr. Kvale had been elected or not, so far as the chairmanship of the judiciary committee is concerned. Hope for the wets is not altogether lost, however, as the Nonpartisan league is hoped by the wets to show exceptional strength in the Seventh

Minnesota district, and if the court decision stands, Mr. Volstead, they hope, may fall of election in November, and a wet will certainly succeed to chairmanship of the House judiciary committee.

THE TWIN CITY REPORTER'S
CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS

It is popularly supposed that the passage of the eighteenth amendment to the constitution and the recent decision of the Supreme Court, upholding it in every particular, have combined to settle the liquor question for all time in favor of absolute prohibition. This, however, is far from being the case. It rests with Congress to define the alcoholic content of legal beverages, and therefore the wets are as much in politics as ever, making even now a desperate attempt to secure some modification of the drastic Volstead act which limits alcoholic content to one-half of one per cent.

This makes our Congressional district a centre of national interest, for Mr. Volstead, the author of the act that bears his name, is again running for Congress. The wets do not dare to put up one known to be in favor of their cause as their nominee. They have therefore secured as their stalking horse a minister of the gospel, the Rev. Kvale of Benson, who so far forth is stultifying his sacred office as to misrepresent Mr. Volstead's record in Congress and to promise on the side (as we are credibly informed) the German farmers that he "will get them back their ragar beer." This man is without experience, without other than local reputation, and whereas he ought to be giving Mr. Volstead his loyal support, in company with every other man of his profession in this district, he is carpingly criticising, misrepresenting and if he is not telling untruths on the stump convicts himself of gross ignorance. His friends boast of his patriotism, but we are informed that he was practically pro-German at the outset of the war and fell in line very grudgingly and very hesitatingly because he knew that discretion in the circumstances was better than disloyalty. He is one of our numerous little patriots by compulsion.

As if to add to the disgraceful position in which Mr. Kvale has placed himself, "The Twin City Reporter" comes out flatfootedly for him in its issue of May 28th. This filthy and abominable sheet, one of the leading exponents of the garbage can school of literature, in an article headed, "Let's Be Wet Again" says:

"With all deference to Congressman Andrew J. Volstead, author of the Volstead Prohibition Enforcement Act and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, we sincerely hope that the Rev. Kvale will defeat him for the Seventh District nomination at the coming primaries.

"Kvale, to be sure is a prohibitionist of perhaps even more marked a stamp than Volstead, but HE IS NOT VOLSTEAD, and Volstead is the one man who is best able to defeat the wishes of the people of the United States by keeping the country bone dry. Between Volstead and any other prohibitionist there is no comparison. The defeat of Volstead, even by a pronounced dry candidate, would be a victory for the wet faction, and we believe, for a majority of the people of the country.

"So here's to the Rev. Kvale. We hope he defeats Volstead—because if Volstead is defeated in his own district it can hardly help but be a solemn warning to the powers that be in Washington that the people are about tired of their pettifogging with mat-

ters that concern themselves solely, and of their negligence in regard to matters that relate to the pocketbooks health and general happiness and prosperity."

Yes, "here's to Rev. Kvale," the minister of the gospel who has achieved the unique distinction of being endorsed by "The Twin City Reporter". He is surely in an enviable position. It remains as the plain duty of all Republican voters of this district to repudiate him at the primaries on the 21st. The eyes of the nation are upon our Congressional district. Let us endorse a man who has served us well and faithfully, a man who stands high in the councils of Congress, a man who dared obey the plain dictate of the people of our nation when he embodied their wishes in the act that bears his name.

It is interesting to discover that some of our good friends have overcome their prejudices, erstwhile held against "preacher-politicians."

(Rev.) A. W. MacNeill.

TRYING TO DECEIVE THE MOTHERS OF THE 7TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Those who fought to drive the liquor evil from the country are working for my re-election because I fought the dry fight through Congress for them and they feel that I must be re-elected to defend the dry cause in the next Congress.

Because of this fact my opponents fear my candidacy may appeal strongly to the women, the mothers, of the district.

Among the women voters my opponents are busy spreading most unjust reports. They say that I favor military training and want the boys taken from their mothers for army service. Nothing could be more untrue than that. I have always opposed and always shall oppose compulsory military training in peace time.

The committee of which I am chairman has charge of prohibition and much other legislation, but has nothing to do with military affairs. That is in charge of the Military Af-

fairs Committee; the Judiciary Committee has not and can not report a bill on that subject.

If a bill for compulsory military is taken up for consideration by Congress, I shall fight it and do all I can to defeat it.

All liquor legislation must pass through the committee of which I am chairman. If I am re-elected I shall see to it that no bill defeating prohibition shall be reported from such committee.

These unfounded reports that have been circulated are as unjust to the women as they are to me, because they are intended to deceive the mothers and cause them to overlook the seriousness of the prohibition situation.

Issued by and on behalf of

A. J. Volstead,

Granite Falls, Minn.

Republican Candidate for Congress

7th Minnesota District

W. C. T. U. Presidents Telegraph from Many States Urging Return of Volstead, Dry Leader in Congress

The Ohio Women's Christian Temperance Union representing 40000 voters do hereby earnestly appeal for Volstead's election. It is of national and worldwide importance. Do not fail us.

FLORENCE D. RICHARD,
President, W. C. T. U., of Ohio.

Dry forces of Nation and World hoping for Volstead's election. His defeat will be interpreted as repudiation of Volstead Act. If defeated, this important place on committee will according to priority be taken by wet and this will be victory for wets however dry his successor may be.

ELIZABETH PRESTON ANDERSON,
President, W. C. T. U., of North Dakota.

We appeal to the great W. C. T. U. constituents of your state to arouse dry friends to do their utmost for the election of Volstead. It is a matter of deep concern to every state because of the influence on Congress and foreign countries which are striving for prohibition.

MRS. A. HUNGERFORD,
President, W. C. T. U. of Colorado.

As it is a question of national and world wide importance, I urge you to exert every effort to bring about the re-election of Volstead. We are all looking to you to do your best.

LELA G. DYAR,
President, W. C. T. U., of Nebraska.

All prohibitionists are watching Minnesota with great interest, realizing the necessity of the return of Mr. Volstead to Congress. We beg of you to leave nothing undone to secure his return, upon which will so largely depend the security of national prohibition.

IDA B. SMITH,
President, W. C. T. U. of Iowa.

The above are copies of telegrams received by members of our organization.

Granite Falls Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Miss Carrie Barnes, Granite Falls, Minn., President.
Mrs. H. A. Mikkelson, Granite Falls, Minn., Secretary.

Andrew J. Volstead's name will be found on the ballot printed on blue paper, designated "County Ballot." Please put an X mark in the square after his name.

(Over)

BRYAN AND OTHER NATIONAL DRY LEADERS APPEAL TO US TO RE-ELECT VOLSTEAD.

Bryan Writes to Local Democrat.

[Reprinted from The Minneota (Lyon County) Mascot.]

No man in Congress is as heartily hated by the "wets" as is Mr. Volstead, and by the same token he should occupy a warm spot in the heart of the "drys"—and he does, for even William Jennings Bryan has come out in a strong letter advocating the re-election of Mr. Volstead.

Miami, Florida, Oct. 12, 1920.

Hon. B. B. Gislason, Minneota, Minnesota.

Dear Sir:

I am greatly interested in having the next Congress favorable to the Volstead Act. Your Congressional District has rendered a great service to the Nation in sending Mr. Volstead to Congress. As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and author of the famous Volstead Act, his re-election is very important. If he is defeated, the liquor interests will proclaim it a "wet" victory throughout the country. In addition, the next Chairman of the Judiciary Committee will be "wet," if Mr. Volstead is defeated.

The liquor interests are making a hard fight to secure a beer and wine amendment. There is no Congressman who is as well posted about the provisions of the National Prohibition Code as Mr. Volstead. Every friend of the Prohibition cause should rally to his support.

As author and champion of the Collective Bargaining Bill to authorize the Association of Producers of Agricultural Products, he should have the support of farmers who are making an up-hill fight to secure their rights in marketing their products.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

When Bryan, a life-long Democrat, rises above party politics and supports a prominent Republican, for the sake of Prohibition; when the Prohibition National Committee and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, state and national; when the Anti-Saloon League, state and national, all work for Volstead, it shows that THOSE IN POSITION TO KNOW are aware of how important is the re-election of Mr. Volstead at this time.

We have heard that the rumor is being spread casting doubt on Mr. Bryan's statement. In order to make sure of his position, a telegram was sent to Mr. Bryan. Read what he says in a telegram, Oct. 21st, to our State President, Miss Hendrix:

"Very anxious for Volstead's re-election. Have sent several telegrams for publication, urging all friends of prohibition to support Congressman Volstead."
WM. J. BRYAN.

All Have Issued Statements Endorsing Volstead.

VIRGIL G. HINSHAW..... Chairman, Prohibition National Committee
ANNA A. GORDON..... National President, Women's Christian Temperance Union
ROZETTE HENDRIX..... State President, Women's Christian Temperance Union
P. B. BARKER..... General Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of America
GEO. B. SAFFORD..... State Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of Minnesota
WILBUR F. CRAFTS..... Secretary, International Reform Bureau

Let us all get behind Volstead and see that he goes back to Congress by such a big majority that the wet interests will finally realize that the American people mean to be rid of the Liquor Traffic now and for all time.

[Issued by the MONTEVIDEO W. C. T. U., Mrs. J. M. Gordon, Montevideo, Minn., President; Mrs. H. Munson, Montevideo, Minn., Secretary; on behalf of Andrew J. Volstead, Granite Falls, Minn., Congressman from the 7th Minnesota District, candidate for re-election.]

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Among the women voters my opponents are busy spreading most unjust reports. They say that I favor military training and want the boys taken from their mothers for army service. Nothing could be more untrue than that. I have always opposed and always shall oppose compulsory military training in peace time.

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Andrew J. Volstead's name will be found on the ballot printed on blue paper, designated "County Ballot." Please put an X mark in the square after his name.

(Over)

on the floor of the House. It was not taken up. Even as it was, it would not have prevented anyone from criticizing anything or anybody in any way, or from advocating any change in the government by peaceful means. It only sought to punish those who urged the use of force and violence or murder as a means of changing our government. The number of lies that have circulated about this legislation is amazing. A man is simple indeed who believes that Senators and Representatives are such idiots that they could be induced to repeat the folly of enacting a law such as the sedition laws that put the old Federalist party out of existence. Can anyone believe that the Republicans with a majority in Congress would put into the hands of a Democratic President and a Democratic Attorney General power to put all the Republicans in jail who might criticize the administration or advocate any sort of change in the government. I don't care how radical a person is if he only seeks to effect his purpose by peaceful means.

The National Prohibition Act which bears my name is strongly supported by those who favor prohibition. The complaint that it prohibits beer and wine is a complaint against prohibition. No prohibition state permits the sale of either, or the sale of anything stronger than this law allows. Beer and wine means the return of the saloon, and with the saloon you will always have the sale of whiskey. The provision in regard to the use of cider and fruit juices in the home has been persistently misrepresented. Cider made in the home may be kept and used there no matter how hard it becomes or how much alcohol it develops. And non-intoxicating fruit juices, though they contain more than half of one per cent of alcohol, may likewise be made and used there. To protect the home against unreasonable interference no search is allowed even under a search warrant unless it is used as a place for sale of liquor. The approaching election

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is likely to determine whether we shall have prohibition or a return to the saloon. The liquor interests are engaged in a desperate fight against this law. I have any number of letters threatening vengeance for my share in this work—a number of these even threaten my life.

One feature of this Act has been quite generally overlooked. It repeals many legal restrictions so as to make it cheaper and easier to produce alcohol for industrial purposes. There is now on the market a competitor for gasoline made largely of alcohol which is said to be better than gasoline for automobiles.

In submitting for friendly consideration my candidacy for renomination, may I not ask who can render the greater services—a new man, or one who has the knowledge and experience that only years of service can give, and who for that reason occupies one of the very highest positions in the House of Representatives? Not only is experience of value in the legislative work but also in assisting people in regard to such matters as land titles, passports, admission of immigrants, improvement of rural route service, pensions for soldiers and their widows, compensation and allotments and vocational training for those injured in the war. To deal properly with these and a multitude of other matters, a knowledge of law is often desirable as well as an acquaintance with men in charge of and the methods of doing business in the various government departments. Hon. Champ. Clark, former Speaker in the House, and in 1912 a prominent candidate for President on the Democratic ticket, in a speech discussing the subject made this statement:

"It is an unwise performance for any district to change Representatives at short intervals. A new Congressman must begin at the foot of the class and spell up. Of course the

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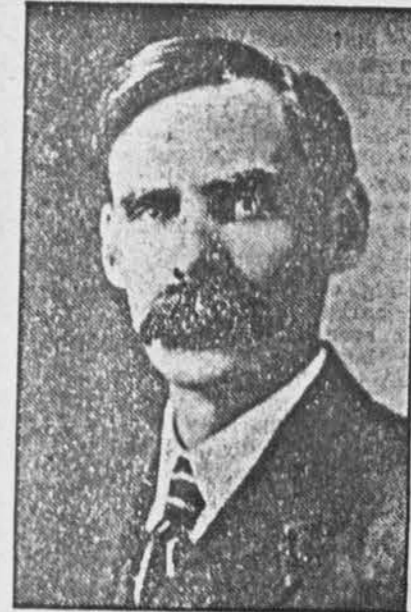
more brains, tact, energy, courage, and industry he has the quicker he will get up.

"Go through the whole list and you will find, with few exceptions, that the men of long service have the high places.

"New England and the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg have understood the value of long service all along, and, having elected a fairly good man to Congress, they keep him in the harness."

The middle west has now a larger influence in Congress than it has had in any other period of its history. Michigan has the chairmanship of the Committee on Ways and Means; Wisconsin, Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Iowa, Appropriations, and Agriculture; Kansas, Rules; and Minnesota, Post Office and the Judiciary. The men who occupy these positions have served in Congress as long, and most of them longer than I have.

The position won and the knowledge and experience gained as your Congressman are due to your kindness and are at your command. In the future, as in the past, I shall be glad to give my best efforts to deserve the loyal support that you have given me.



ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD

Member of Congress, Seventh District
Minnesota

CANDIDATE FOR RENOMINATION

June 21, 1920

Issued by A. J. VOLSTEAD
GRANITE FALLS MINNESOTA

To the People of the Seventh Congressional District:

As my duties at Washington have prevented me from making a personal campaign, I respectfully submit the following brief statement. It will not be possible to discuss the many difficult problems considered by this Congress. It takes time and work to dismantle our huge war machine and readjust the abnormal conditions resulting from it. There are some matters, however, that I wish to call attention to.

The right of farm organizations to collectively market the products of their members has been claimed to be violation of anti-trust laws. The Capper-Hersman bill sought to give this right, but because of its form met too much opposition. After consulting with the officers of various farm organizations I redrew the bill and secured its passage in the House. Representative Hersman supported my bill and Senator Capper introduced it as his own. The National Grange, the National Board of Farm Organizations, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and a large number of other farm organizations supported it. Some who are posing as friends of the farmers are attacking it for containing some of the very things that the farm organizations most strongly insisted on. I would rather trust the judgment of these experienced officers of farm organizations not in politics than those who for political reasons are willing to fight the best friends the farmers have. Not only have I always consistently supported every measure in the interest of the farmers, but I believe I know as much about the needs of farmers as many of those who are posing as their special friends. My home was on a Minnesota farm until I commenced to practice law, and ever since I had money enough to purchase a farm I have

owned one, though it has not paid me very much.

These attacks, which appear to come from a Washington office, I am creditably informed originated with a group of radical labor agitators who are affiliated with those who are pushing the so-called Ralston-Nolan bill, a bill pending in Congress which, if enacted into law, would add at least one hundred dollars in taxes to every quarter section of land in the district. This bill aims to shift the burden of taxes from income to land—an effort to put into effect Henry George's scheme of socialism which rests on the idea that owners of land should pay a tax equal to what the land would rent for, and thus make every land owner in effect a tenant. These same parties also sent out statements that I am opposed to any bonus for ex-service men, though they knew different.

I have tried to get Congress to arrange so the government can loan to the farmers, through the rural credit system, the necessary money to keep that system going while its validity is being questioned in the courts. Pending decision in the courts, it can not function properly. One hundred million dollars has been advanced by the government for that purpose, and I hope more may be provided.

Great difficulty has been experienced in securing fair standards of grain. On several occasions I have appeared before the Bureau of Markets and the Secretary of Agriculture to urge better grades. For the same purpose I appeared with a delegation before the President, and last fall went to New York and with others urged before Julius Barnes, president of the Federal Grain Corporation, a change in the methods of treating the lower grades of wheat. We obtained a material change, one that Mr. Hagen, the North Dakota Agricultural Commissioner, in a recent inter-

view said saved the farmers of that state ten million dollars. A like saving must have resulted to the farmers of our state.

I introduced what I believe was the first bill requiring that government coal lands should be leased instead of sold. A law of this kind has been passed at this session of Congress and will no doubt prove of value in localities where the government has coal lands. It will place the disposition of these lands on a much fairer basis to the government and at the same time make it possible to more effectively control the price to the consumer.

Several years ago I introduced a bill to place in the Interstate Commerce Commission supervision of the issuance of railway stocks and bonds. It was then considered extremely radical, but I secured President Roosevelt's promise to recommend such legislation, and he did so in several messages. The provisions of that bill, which was no doubt the first one of its kind introduced in Congress was made a part of the Esch railroad law passed at this session of Congress. This will make it impossible to issue any more watered railway stocks or bonds. It has taken a long time to get this legislation but I have always been confident that it would eventually become a law.

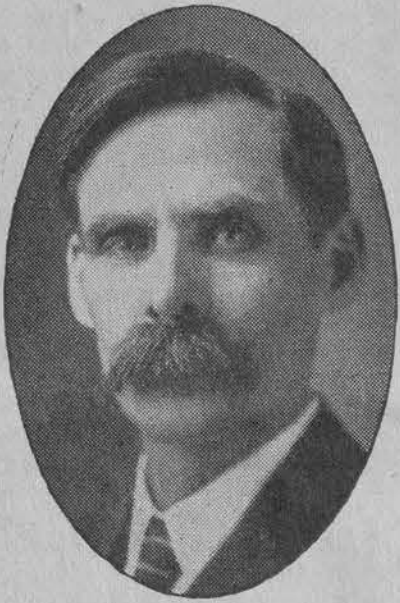
The Esch railroad law, which has been persistently misrepresented, provides that one half of all earnings of any railway above six per cent upon the actual value of its property shall belong to the government. Watered stock can not be considered in fixing that value. The average rate of railway income authorized by this law is only six per cent of such actual valuation—certainly not an extravagant rate. There is no guarantee of income of any kind after the expiration of six months from the date of its passage. This law does not forbid strikes, that was not considered a practical remedy, but it creates a Rail-

road Labor Board composed of three representatives of the railroads, three of the employees, and three to look after the interests of the public. This board has power to investigate all such controversies and publish the facts—public sentiment is relied on for a fair settlement. This is the first law that recognizes that the public suffers severely in case of strikes.

That the law does not favor the railways is demonstrated by the fact that railway stocks went down in price instead of up when it passed, and stocks sell for less than one-half of what they sold for before the war. The railroads are begging to borrow money at 7% on long time bonds. The Northern Pacific, one of the strongest roads in the country, lately sold a large bond issue at 7% running ten years. This law practically takes from the railways control of their properties and places it in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission to be run in the interest of the public. There was no chance for government ownership of the roads after the experience we had during the war. It is easy to play politics by damning the railroads, but those who are responsible must provide service so that we can move our crops and continue business or there will be a reckoning some day. I wish I felt sure that the railroads would be able to do business successfully under this law.

My opponents are criticizing me because of my attitude on sedition bills. The only sedition bill that I have voted for was one passed during the war. There was just one vote against it in the House—Meyer London, the Socialist member from New York. That law is inoperative now. I have not voted for any peace time sedition law. When such a bill was reported from the Judiciary Committee I was asked to make a favorable report on it to the House. I refused to do so, and gave notice that I would offer several amendments to it

WHAT HAS MR. VOLSTEAD DONE IN CONGRESS



ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD

Republican Candidate For Congress
Seventh Congressional District,
Minnesota

The Republican Club of Granite Falls submits the following from the record of Mr. Volstead, taken from the Congressional Record at Washington. We who are his neighbors and who know him intimately and his attitude on public questions, present this in answer to the numerous charges and misrepresentations current in this campaign. We believe that it will prove to any fair minded person that he is progressive in politics, and that his efforts have been in the interest of the common people. He sprang from that class and has remained true to the core. No man in public life today has been more maligned.

The great progressive measures sponsored by President Roosevelt and other leaders of progressive thought have had his active support. The National Prohibition Act, of which he is the author, is legislation years ahead of his time. No other country has taken such an advanced stand as this. It remained for the Seventh Congressional District Representative to sponsor this great work. If he had done nothing else, this alone would have stamped him not only as a progressive but as one of the great statesmen of his time.

The following extract from an address of former Governor John A. Johnson may be read and re-read with profit in these times:

"The tempest is raging now, but when the winds have spent their force, the troubled waters will be smooth again * * * out of the present industrial and political chaos will come order * * * it will not come from the extremist who does not believe in government; it will not come from the theorist who believes commercial progress is wrong; it will not come from those who deny the property rights of others; it will come, not through excitement, anger or hate, but after a calm study of the true conditions and a fearless determination to arrive at what is best for all the people."

We submit the following measures on which the speeches hereinafter quoted were made:

1. Collective bargaining.
2. Government price fixing of grain.
3. Canadian reciprocity.
4. Capitalization of railroads.
5. Anti-trust laws.
6. Prohibition.

The Collective Bargaining Act passed by the last House of Representatives was a bill prepared and passed by Mr. Volstead and which is an Act to authorize the association of producers of agricultural products to market their own products.

C. A. Lyman, secretary of the National Board of Farm Organizations, speaking of this legislation, said:

"We are grateful to Mr. Volstead for having put this legislation through the House of Representatives. He has kept faith and has done a great service for the farmers of Minnesota and other States in thus advancing their cause."

In the Congressional Record of May 31, 1920, page 8593 and other pages, Mr. Volstead in speaking of this measure in the House said:

"I will use a little time to explain the bill first, Mr. Speaker, I ask that when five minutes are up I be notified. This bill seeks to give to the farmers the right to organize to sell the products of their own members. The first section is modeled upon the ordinary statute authorizing the creation of corporations. Instead of providing that any individual may become a member of a corporation upon conforming to certain regulations, this provides that the farmers may become members of certain associations, which are described and limited so as to make them actually co-operative associations for the purpose of aiding and assisting their respective members in the marketing of the crops that they produce.

"The contention is that these associations if they are organized for the purpose of carrying on any business, so as to give a profit to their members, they are subject to the Sherman law. This is one of the contentions that is being urged against these associations, and it is for that reason that they are asking for legislation of this kind. Now a great many of these associations have been consulted in reference to this bill and so far as I know they are all favorable to it, and it seems to me that the situation demands that we pass something of this kind.

"I want to say to you that in the various European countries farm associations are permitted to do the very thing we seek to authorize under this bill, and it seems to me that America ought to not lag behind in this respect. They are being authorized in a great many of the States in this country, but when they come in contact with interstate commerce they run up against threats that they are subject to prosecution under the Sherman Anti-trust Act. It is necessary for them at least to have some capital on which to do business, and to make some profit that they can save for the purpose of taking care of losses that are always incident to any business, and it seems to me that we ought to give them this right. The provision in the bill that the profit must not exceed 8 per cent is intended to protect the farmers. It is designed to compel the officers of these associations to pay the proceeds from the products of the members to the members, to the farmers. Some of them insist that the dividend should not exceed 5 or 6 per cent instead of

8 per cent. These associations should make money for the members and not for the association. In these days of high money rates it was thought necessary to make the rate 8 per cent, otherwise it might not be possible to get the necessary money to do business.

"It seems to me that we ought to treat the farmers fairly instead of sneering at them, as some have done in this debate. They ought not to be prosecuted nor persecuted for doing the only thing that will give them a fair deal. We only ask that they may be given the rights that they are accorded in every other country. Congress ought to have the fairness to insist that they be given the means to protect themselves, so a few middlemen do not rob them of their profits. The commission merchants are the ones that are making the profits now and fighting this bill. Can you afford to ignore the demand of the farmers for this legislation and suffer so great and vital an industry to be exploited by these men? You are not going to do it."

WAS VOLSTEAD TRUE TO HIS CONSTITUENCY WHEN THE PRICE OF WHEAT WAS FIXED DURING THE WAR?

Speech of Andrew J. Volstead in the House of Representatives, Congressional Record, May 18, 1918, on the Food Productions Bill:

"Mr. Volstead. Mr. Chairman, the passage of this bill is demanded as a necessary war measure. Its object is to increase our food supply—a thing that is very necessary. The question is whether the means provided are effective. I believe there is a much better method.

"The chief means relied on is aid to farmers in combating pests and diseases that lessen his production, and instructions as to methods of producing and marketing his output. This is the old method that we have been trying for years. At best it is slow in accomplishing results and is more suited to years of peace than war. The way to get quick action is to pay for what you want. Increase the price of agricultural products, and every possible effort will be made to swell the output. Turn to the agricultural reports and you will find that years of high prices for any particular grain have been followed by an increase in the acreage for its production, and low prices by a decrease. But prices do not only affect acreage. The farmer in anticipation of a crop that pays well selects for that his best land and cultivates and fertilizes it more liberally than he can afford to do for his less profitable crop.

"This is illustrated in another way. While the world's prices remained low the European countries did not raise any more to the acre than we do; but since prices have been maintained at a higher level the production per acre has greatly increased. This same tendency has lately been noticeable in this country, and if prices could be maintained here at the European figures we would no doubt produce as much per acre as they do. It is not a question of skill; it is a question of economics. Nature restores the fertility of the soil slowly. If you want to hasten restoration you can do it by fertilizers, but fertilizers cost money and must be paid for in an increased price for the product.

"Instead of passing this bill, which I am afraid is too much in the interest of those who are to get the jobs, the House had better accept the Senate amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill fixing the price of wheat at \$2.50 per bushel instead of \$2.20. With this added incentive to increased production of wheat much better results could be anticipated than from the passage of this bill. It is not too late to do that now. Only a few months will pass before the winter wheat must be sown; besides, it will insure extra care in gathering and conserving the growing crop. Apparently the Government has done everything possible to discourage the growing of wheat. It has fixed prices so wheat has for months been the cheapest and least profitable of all crops. As it is the most essential, it should have been the highest. It has been a financial sacrifice to sow it.

"One thing that has made many farmers of the Northwest feel that they have not had a square deal is the fact that last fall, just before their crop came on the market, the price was fixed by the Government at \$2.20, though the going price was then more than \$3, a figure that the more southern wheat raisers had received for most of their year's winter wheat. On top of this came a system of grading wheat under grades established by the Agricultural Department that proved to be very unjust. Every effort was made by the Representatives and Senators in Congress from that section to secure a correction of those grades but without result. I had some personal experience under those grades, as I raised on a farm that I own near my home quite a little wheat. The grade I received was way below the milling value of the wheat and way below what it would have graded under the old Minnesota grades. I have had a good deal of experience under the old Minnesota grades, as I have sold wheat every year for many years, and for that reason know how they compare with the Federal grades.

"The farmers in asking for \$2.50 per bushel for wheat are not asking a favor; they are asking that a less sacrifice be demanded from them. Fixing the price has not helped them. If prices were not fixed, wheat would no doubt be twice \$2.50. Mr. Hoover says it would be much more than that, and he certainly ought to know. The farmer would not complain if the prices of things he must buy were fixed at fair figures; but it is a bit tough to have the Government limit the price of his wheat to less than half of what it would naturally bring in the market, and at the same time permit him to be exploited by war profiteers.

"If \$2.20 was a fair price when the President fixed that figure last fall, it ought to be raised now. Since then everything the farmer must buy has gone sky-high. Farm machinery, for instance, has about doubled and so has nearly everything else, including labor. In the meantime the farmer has lost much of his help, as his boys have either volunteered or been conscripted, a loss that adds greatly to his expenses.

"It is insisted that laboring men in the large cities are against the increase. But labor ought to be fair. Everything is on an inflated basis. But is this opposition justified? The wages of unskilled labor, the ones most in need of cheap food, are, as a rule, more than double what they were before the war. The average person ordinarily uses less than a barrel of flour a year, and he now uses less than half a barrel. The raise asked by the farmers could not increase the cost per individual more than

a dollar per year. A person whose wage has been increased more than that for each day is hardly in a position to object. The reason why labor may justly complain is due, not to what the farmer gets, but the excessive profits demanded by the middlemen, especially in this part of the country. Mr. Young of North Dakota has just called our attention to the fact that the retail prices of all kinds of meats in this city are more than double the retail prices in St. Paul in my State. The Government has the power to correct this injustice, which affects both the farmers and the consumers, and this should be done.

"It has been urged in opposition to this increase that the farmers are opposed to it. I need not deny that. The petition, letters and telegrams I have received demonstrate the contrary. Despite the somewhat stepmotherly treatment that the farmers of the Northwest have received, they are thoroughly loyal and deserve better treatment. Like the great body of our citizenship they were anxious to keep our country out of this war, but when war was finally forced on us they entered the struggle with as much alacrity as any other class and have demonstrated by their acts their absolute devotion to the cause. They and their sons have volunteered for military duties and submitted cheerfully to the draft. They have subscribed liberally for Government bonds and have given generously of their time and money to the Red Cross and other war work. In making this statement I do not exclude the people of German ancestry. A Member of this House said to me recently that in several counties of his district the boys volunteered so freely that the draft became unnecessary, and that a roll call of these volunteers sounded like a roll call of the Kaiser's army. Our citizens of German origin are justly proud of the record they made in the Civil War, and every loyal citizen of the race will be equally proud of the record they will make in this war. Their boys are in the trenches shoulder to shoulder with our boys and are doing splendid work. One of the very first to fall in France from my State was Lieut. J. P. Rosenwald, the son of an old friend of mine, Hon. J. E. Rosenwald, of Lac qui Parle County. While I sincerely mourn his loss, Minnesota is proud of the record he made. Before he fell he was twice decorated for bravery in the field. Loyalty to home and country is a German trait. Rosenwald sprang from that race and exemplified that virtue.

"In the last Liberty Loan drive the Minneapolis district heads the list in the liberality of its subscriptions. It almost doubled its quota. A very large share of those subscriptions came from the farmers. What we expect of every man is enthusiastic devotion to our country's cause. We can do a great deal to create such devotion by removing every reason for just complaint and by encouraging those who do well. The farmers have done splendidly. Why not treat them more fairly? Their request for \$2.50 per bushel for wheat will make it possible for many of them to aid the country still more by increasing the production of this important crop. It is the practical, the fair, the effective way to secure this necessary increase."

MR. VOLSTEAD'S STAND ON THE GRADING OF GRAIN THE FARMER PRODUCES.

Speech of Hon. Andrew J. Volstead in the House of Representatives, Congressional Record, Friday, September 27, 1918:

"Mr. Volstead. Mr. Speaker, when this bill was passed this summer it contained a provision fixing the price of wheat at \$2.40 per bushel. The President vetoed it because of that provision. The veto message was disappointing. It was evidently written under a misapprehension of the facts. While I realize that a discussion of the matter can have no immediate effect in restoring the legislation, it may be of value in hastening a correction.

"The farmers receive their pay for their work in the prices they get for their products. When the Government arbitrarily reduced the price of wheat from more than \$3 per bushel to \$2.20 they were deprived of that much of their wages. Suppose the Government, instead of sanctioning the increases in the pay of labor, had demanded a law reducing existing pay a dollar a day, what do you suppose would have happened? And still that is in effect what has happened to the farmers—that is, the Northern farmers. Their Southern neighbors raising cotton and other Southern products have so far not suffered.

"There is another grievance that the Northern farmers have against this Government affecting the price of his wheat—that is the grading of his grain. Some years ago a demand was made that the National Government establish grades on grain and supervise grading. Congress was finally persuaded to give the Secretary of Agriculture power to fix grades and license inspectors to see that these grades were enforced. The grades have been established, and farmers and others interested in grain have been in trouble ever since. The Secretary evidently started out with the idea that this law gave him the mission to reform not only the method of raising grain but also the grain trade. Instead of fixing the grades to determine the value of the grain actually raised, he insists that grain must be raised to meet his grades, and instead of making his standard fit the actual and necessary conditions in the trade he insists that these conditions must be changed. His whole proceeding has been arbitrary and has ignored the experience of the last half century.

"The grades in existence when the Secretary was given his commission divided the ordinary spring wheat into five regular grades, No. 1 hard spring wheat and Nos. 1 to 4 Northern spring, making in all five grades. The No. 1 hard served the purpose of a premium grade for especially higher quality grain, so as to insure the farmers who raised such wheat its full value.

"These grades had been developed after many years of practical experience and were the result of thorough and painstaking study by State officers of my State and others charged with establishing and applying grain standards. The Secretary, disregarding the experience of others, has in place of these five grades prescribed fifteen different grades for the ordinary spring wheat, besides four sub-classes with five grades each of other classes of spring wheat, making in all thirty-five regular grades, besides a number of other sub-grades designated otherwise than by numbers. I do not understand how anyone could in all seriousness prescribe as an honest and practical wheat-grading system one that divides the ordinary spring wheat into so many grades. If the person who invented this scheme was required to purchase wheat at an ordinary country elevator during a rush season, he

would see how ridiculously impractical and dishonest his grades are. To create all these different grades it was necessary to fix all sorts of hair-splitting distinctions that can not in the nature of things be accurately determined except in a laboratory. Wheat must as a rule be graded by the local buyer on mere inspection, with practically no instruments except a small sieve and a pair of scales. Many of the most important tests that distinguish these different grades can not be determined by either of these instruments. No two men, no matter how competent and experienced, will agree as to the grade of a very large part of the grain offered for sale. The local buyers are, as a rule, required to give bonds to account not only for the quantity of grain they purchase, but also for the grades they pay for. The inevitable consequence is that these buyers must decide every question of doubt against the farmer. The owner of a local elevator is in no better position. Early this fall I was informed that a local buyer near my home lost some \$1,700 because he had purchased wheat at too high a grade. The farmers complain bitterly, and with reason; in the end they are the losers. The difference between the price at Minneapolis and the local elevator, only a little more than a hundred miles distant, was this fall from 30 to 40 cents per bushel, while under the old grades this difference was rarely more than 10 to 15 cents. If these grades actually determine the milling value of the grain, there might be some excuse for insisting on them, but anyone who will look at the market reports will find that on the same day in the same town and for the same grades the millers pay different prices according to the milling value of the grain.

"From the standpoint of the grain trade, this scheme is also utterly impractical. The elevators that purchase the wheat from the farmer in the great grain-growing sections have, as a rule, not more than five or six bins in which to store wheat. This makes it necessary to either grade all the wheat into five or six grades, regardless of what grade the wheat happens to be, or grade according to standard and then mix the various grades. In either event the farmer who happens to have a high quality of grain can not hope to get a price higher than the average of the wheat stored in the bin with which his is mixed. It is manifestly unjust to reduce the grade of wheat because it may contain a small mixture of other grain equally valuable for wheat flour. The milling value is what the trade is interested in; still, under the Federal grades, such a mixture reduces the grade and, under present conditions, the price paid for it. Mr. Livingston, of the Agriculture Department, at a public hearing at Indianapolis, in speaking of these grades, said:

"Complaints come from all parts of the United States regarding all classes of wheat. The least complaint was in the Pacific Northwest; but complaints have come from all the territory east of the Rocky Mountains, and they come principally from country grain dealers and producers."

"He also made the following statement: 'We formulated the grades which are now in effect, and when fixed prices and other war measures came in we received complaints from everybody except the millers.'

"Hoover, the Food Administrator, who buys wheat for the Government, has likewise condemned these grades as unjust.

"There is good reason why the millers should be satisfied. They and the terminal elevator companies are the ones who profit. The millers last year, though the crop was very short and their business consequently light, more than doubled their earnings—this in spite of the fact that labor, fuel, and many other things were unusually high.

"Against these grades we have repeatedly and earnestly protested, not only to the bureau in charge of making and enforcing them, but also to the Secretary of Agriculture and the President himself, but all without effect. The farmers are not asking an opportunity to profiteer, but only that they be not discriminated against. There is no danger that the farmers will become plutocrats. Only about 14,000 out of more than 6,000,000 have an income large enough so they pay an income tax.

"I understand that the President recently appointed a commission to determine what would be a reasonable price for wheat under present conditions. If newspaper reports are correct, it came to the conclusion that \$2.50 would be fair. It has not been possible to get a copy of that report. Whether this was the finding of the commission or not, I hope the President may reconsider his opposition to the figure fixed by Congress, and that Congress may be willing to relieve us against that overscientific system of grading to which the Secretary of Agriculture appears to be wedded."

HAS MR. VOLSTEAD BEEN CONSISTENT IN HIS WORK FOR THE FARMERS?

Speech of Hon. Andrew J. Volstead in the House of Representatives, Congressional Record, Thursday, April 20, 1911, on Canadian Reciprocity:

"Mr. Chairman: In the time allotted to me, I wish to confine myself to one or two points. I did not intend to take any part in this discussion, because I have stated my views quite freely on other occasions. As preliminary I might say that my friend who has just addressed us (Mr. Nye) appealed to sentiment, and in his inimitable style ridiculed as sordid those who oppose this treaty. It is true generally that in this discussion there has been an appeal to sentiment rather than sense, ridicule rather than reason. But, gentlemen, it seems to me the question for us to settle can not be solved by such means. Sentiment will not satisfy the man that is robbed, nor ridicule deter him from retaliating against unfair treatment. Reciprocity between our people should be our first consideration. This is an Act to help special interests at the expense of our farmers and to help the cities at the expense of the country. Yes, but they tell us that the farmers can not be hurt, because it is insisted that the prices of farm products are fixed in foreign markets. This assertion, though absolutely ridiculous as to most of the products with which this treaty will place us in competition with Canada, has been repeated over and over again in this discussion.

"If the domestic price of wheat is fixed by the export price, then the price at Minneapolis should be the foreign price less the cost of placing it on the foreign market. The Interstate Commerce Commission a day or two ago gave me the export freight rate from Minneapolis to New York at 13.8 cents per bushel by the all-rail route, and 11.8 cents by the lake-and-rail route; and the Department of Com-

merce and Labor says the ocean rate from New York to Liverpool has been from 4 to 5 cents per bushel during 1910. This makes a total freight rate of 18 cents per bushel, rail and ocean, and 16 cents by lake, rail, and ocean routes. This is just about what it has been in the years past. I will print in connection with these remarks tables which I obtained from the Department of Commerce and Labor. These tables give the prices of wheat at Minneapolis, Winnipeg and Liverpool since September 1, 1909. They show that during 18 out of the 20 months wheat at Minneapolis was too high priced to permit of the export of a single bushel. For three months it was higher than the Liverpool prices. In the face of this fact, can anyone contend that Liverpool fixed the price of our wheat during that time? Like tables can be had for a number of years in the past. Everybody who has lived in my section of the country and paid any attention knows that this is true, as newspapers in their market reports have constantly called attention to it.

"The total export of wheat and wheat flour during the calendar year of 1910 was equal to about 62,000,000 bushels; of this about 24,000,000 bushels was exported as wheat, the balance as flour. The Pacific Coast exported last year wheat and wheat flour amounting to approximately 17,000,000 bushels. This wheat does not come in competition with wheat raised east of the Rocky Mountains, where you propose to dump Canadian wheat, as the freight rates are too high to make such competition possible.

"Now, let us deduct from the 62,000,000 bushels this 17,000,000 bushels. This leaves 45,000,000 bushels. Deduct from this the durum wheat, 20,000,000, and you have left some 25,000,000 bushels. Nearly all of this 25,000,000 bushels goes out as a low-grade flour, for which there is a very poor market in the United States. The reason why the higher grades do not go to foreign countries is well known. Nearly all the wheat that enters the foreign trade, except that from Canada and the durum from the United States, is a soft winter wheat of poor quality. To make a good flour from this it is necessary to mix it with a higher grade. For some years Europe imported high-grade flour for this purpose, but soon found it more profitable to mix the high grades of wheat with the low grades of wheat. This not only gives better results, but is otherwise more advantageous.

"When you come to consider that this export comes in small lots, at different times of the year, and is of the character that I have suggested, there is no difficulty in understanding why the tariff affects the price of wheat. The difference in prices between Canada, the United States and Liverpool is an absolute demonstration of this effect. But let me call your attention to other farm products. Wheat is but one and to many sections not the most important.

"No one has contended that any foreign market fixes the price of our barley, flaxseed, rye, buckwheat, oats, hay, potatoes, butter, cheese, eggs, and the like. Barley is in many sections more important than wheat. The United States produced some 162,000,000 bushels last year. Of this an amount no greater than that produced in a single township in my section was exported from the east half of the United States. A small amount was exported from the Pacific Coast, but that barley can not come in competition with barley raised in the great agricultural section of our country, as the freight is 50 cents a hundred pounds from the Pacific Coast to Minneapolis. The brewers are about the only ones that will profit by Canadian barley. We produced 33,000,000 bushels of rye last year. Of this less than 20,000 bushels went beyond our borders during that time. The distillers of rye whisky smile over the prospects that cheaper Canadian rye will add to their profits. Flaxseed is another important crop. Until last year we produced enough for home consumption, but as prices had not been sufficient to pay for production, the acreage decreased; this in connection with a small crop in North Dakota left the home market short. We exported last year less than \$7,000 worth and imported more than \$18,000,000 worth. Canada has the soil and situation to put our farmers out of the business of raising flaxseed. Barley and flax usually sell in Winnipeg for about 20 cents per bushel less than in Minneapolis.

"Our production of buckwheat, oats, potatoes, hay, butter, cheese, eggs, and the like is just about equal to our home consumption. There is no export of any consequence of any of these. Those who are in favor of this treaty have studiously tried to force wheat to the front as the only article affected. Is not this a trick to divert attention from the real issue? It will not only affect every article that I have enumerated, but every farm product, both North and South. The opening of the Mississippi Valley took from Eastern farmers hundreds of millions of dollars. It gave you ruined farms, deserted homes. You propose to open another empire of rich soil, in which plant food has been stored for untold centuries, and let our farmers, who are compelled to fertilize their soil and expend on it very much more labor than is required on new land to produce a crop, compete, and at the same time you expect them to support a system of protection for the factory. You have promised him different treatment. You may have the power to make him submit, but are you sure that it will profit you? If he was getting an undue advantage he might not find fault; but there is no class of our citizens that receive as little reward for toil or privations as does the farmer."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT RECOMMENDED LEGISLATION ALONG THE LINE OF VOLSTEAD'S STAND ON WATERED STOCK OF RAILROADS.

Speech of Hon. Andrew J. Volstead in the House of Representatives, Thursday, April 28, 1910, on the Constitutionality of the Provision Regulating the Capitalization of Railways:

"Mr. Chairman: A few days ago we had the pleasure of listening to the very able speech of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Russell) in regard to the pending bill. I was very much interested in the views that he expressed in regard to the constitutionality of the so-called stock and bond provision of the bill, and while I fully concur in his conclusions, I would like to offer some observations on the question. Some four or five years ago I introduced a bill embodying this and a number of other features contained in the pending bill. It was then a new proposition for national legislation and met with considerable hostile criticism. It was especially contended that the provisions regulating the issue of stock and bonds were unconstitutional. I called President Roosevelt's attention to the bill, and he

endorsed the idea very strongly. He shortly afterwards recommended legislation along this line, the same as President Taft has since done. It is my understanding that the value of outstanding stock and bonds may be considered for the purpose of determining the value of the property, but that the amount of the stock and bonds is not material to the inquiry. Nor have I been able to gather much real consolation from the Northern Securities Company case that he refers to.

"I would rest the right to regulate the issue of stocks and bonds upon three different grounds. First, any corporation that engages in interstate commerce assumes the duty of making suitable provisions for and taking care of that commerce. This is a duty which the National Government has power to enforce. It does not appear to me as necessary to cite any cases in support of this doctrine. It is familiar to every lawyer. Much of our legislation in regard to common carriers rests upon this duty. It is a necessary doctrine, as railways are necessarily monopolistic in character. They occupy the public highways, and if they do not discharge their duties to the public, they obstruct traffic. As such it is necessary to make reasonable provisions for maintaining and increasing their facilities as the traffic may require. To enforce this obligation Congress must have the power to prevent railway corporations from squandering their resources and impairing their credit.

"As a second reason I wish to call your attention to a line of decisions from which I think it may be fairly gathered that Congress has the power to enact this legislation. It is firmly established that a corporation created under the laws of one State can not claim the right to do business in another State. Corporate power can not extend beyond the jurisdiction of the sovereign granting it. There is an apparent exception to this rule as to corporations engaged in interstate commerce. (Pensacola Tel. Co. v. Western Union Tel. Co., 96 U. S., 1-12.) A State can not exclude a foreign corporation from entering the State to carry on such commerce; but this is not in fact an exception, for the reason that the State has no jurisdiction over interstate commerce. It is as though such foreign corporation did not in fact enter the State, as it does not enter a field over which the State has jurisdiction. It enters the domain, or, so to speak, the territory, in the State over which the National Government has exclusive control. As to interstate commerce, the National Government is a sovereign power.

"A State may not only exclude, but has power to prescribe the conditions upon which a foreign corporation can enter and do business in the State.

"Nearly all railways were at first mere local roads, beginning and ending in the same State, and were then only incidentally engaged in interstate commerce. They have outgrown the condition and have become national highways and national post-roads, chiefly engaged in interstate commerce. State commerce, in many States and upon many roads, is incidental and almost negligible in quantity. These corporations have long since outgrown state lines. Their traffic extends from sea to sea and reaches even beyond that to distant continents. Take as an illustration the Great Northern, incorporated under the laws of my State. Its lines of rail cross five States and extend into a number of others. The prosperity of these States depends in a large measure upon the wise management of this road.

"From an examination of the subject I have become satisfied that Congress can legislate along this line; that its power is such that it may even supersede State legislation, though I do not believe it would be good policy to attempt that at this time, and I believe that the bill very properly leaves State legislation not inconsistent with it intact.

"In conclusion I wish to refer briefly to one or two other matters. I think the provision contained in the bill for the control of the issue of stock and bonds is defective. To make any such regulation effective so as to prevent fraud on the public and bankruptcy of the carriers it is also necessary to control the payment of dividends.

"To allow a corporation to borrow money or issue stock for the purpose of securing funds with which to pay dividends is contrary to the common law. It adds to the fixed charges upon which the public is asked to pay dividends. I would not seriously object to this if dividends were properly limited and surplus earnings in years of prosperity were applied to payment of stock and bonds issued for dividends, but without a provision to that effect stockholders will not be generous enough to have surplus earnings thus applied."

MR. VOLSTEAD HAS ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST THE TRUSTS AND BIG BUSINESS.

Read the Following Speech of Hon. A. J. Volstead in the House of Representatives, Congressional Record of October 7, 1914, on Anti-Trust Legislation:

"Mr. Speaker: The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Webb) has given us his views of this bill and has attempted to defend it and show its virtues. Allow me to point out some of its vices. This bill proposes a radical change from the policy that has been approved, both by Democrats and Republicans, in the past. There are no platform declarations in favor of any such policy as this. Heretofore whenever commerce has been restrained, whenever monopoly has been attempted, we have denounced it as a criminal offense. We have never undertaken to palter with it in any fashion. We have always said that a man who was willing to rob the many was no less guilty than the man who robbed a single individual.

"IN THE BILL PRESENTED HERE YOU ARE PROVIDING ONE RULE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL WHO STEALS FROM YOU, AND AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT RULE FOR THE ONE WHO STEALS FROM THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE. THE RICH OFFENDER THAT ROBS THE PUBLIC OF MILLIONS AND IN CONSCIENCELESS FASHION SQUEEZES THE LAST PENNY OUT OF HIS HELPLESS VICTIM MUST NOT BE SENT TO JAIL; HE IS TOO GOOD FOR THAT; BUT IF SOME POOR FELLOW ROBS A HEN-ROOST AND GETS CAUGHT, WOE BETIDE HIM. Jails are made for such as he. This bill contains a great many sections, but there are but four sections that deal directly with trusts by defining offenses that lessen competition or tend to create monopolies. They are sections 2, 3, 7 and 8. These sections were enacted as a part of the House bill. They then contained criminal penalties in line with a policy that has always been pursued in dealing with like offenses. Now they come back to us without such penalties, but with a provision

for their enforcement that seems to me utterly ineffective for any practical purpose.

"There are only two sections in the bill—both inserted in the Senate—that contain criminal penalties. But let me remind you that those only protect corporations. They do not deal with the acts that directly oppress the public; that put persons out of business; that send people to the poorhouse. They deal with offenses against corporations, and are designed to protect corporations against the dishonesty of their officers. It is a singular fact that only those two sections have criminal penalties. It would thus appear that those who are sponsors for this bill are more anxious to protect the stockholders of a corporation—perchance a trust—against the dishonesty of its officers than they are to protect the people injured by the trusts. If you illegally ruin a competitor or rob the public, you are only to be admonished to quit; but if you do the same thing to a corporation you go to jail. When this bill becomes a law it will give notice to the courts and to the prosecuting officers that hereafter a new policy is to be pursued, not one of punishment, but one of moral suasion.

"I believe in protecting labor and its organizations. I believe that their rights should be carefully guarded. No one is worthy of a place upon this floor who does not sympathize with their struggle for better wages, for better conditions, a happier and better lot. They do not ask to be placed beyond the reach of the law, and resent the empty promises and pretenses of those who seek to deceive them. This bill grants to labor no bill of rights not heretofore recognized outside of the matters I have called attention to. This bill only puts into statutory form present law. I am perfectly willing that the rights of labor should be written into the statute, but when you write it do it in plain English, so that we know what it means, and so there can be no question about it. It will take a good deal of litigation to determine whether it changes existing law or not.

"If you were to ask the trusts what sort of legislation they wanted you to pass on trusts, do you not feel confident they would tell you this is the right kind of a measure? Under this they will never spend any sleepless nights for fear of a prison. Would they not ask you for a bill that would complicate the present situation with all sorts of legal conundrums, that would complicate it by not attempting to define the thousand and one questions that must of necessity come up under the two varying systems that you provide? This bill will mean a mint of money to the lawyers and years and years of delay. Now that the Sherman law has become plain by the decisions of our Supreme Court, now when there is some chance to make that law effective, you step in and write upon the statute books a law that is a surrender of your past position, a surrender of every effort that has been made in years past.

"The idea of sending these men that are guilty of robbing the public to a commission, there to dicker and compromise in secret for the privilege of continuing their unlawful practices, is ridiculous as a remedy. Make your laws effective. If you had written in section 14 a penalty of not less than one nor more than five years in prison, and had wiped out your fine, you would have made the trust magnates find out what the law is. There is no difficulty today in knowing what the Sherman law means. Anybody that cares a rap can tell to almost a dead certainty whether he is inside or outside of the law. If you will make the offenders toe the mark by the stringent criminal penalties that you promised during the last campaign you will make them deal fairly with the public. If you had written that kind of a bill, you would not be here explaining and apologizing for this measure.

"I will tell you what your troubles are. You are scared. The industrial condition is such that you dare not pass a trust bill. This is not the time to write such a law. When you met in December you thought that you could write one, but as the months have gone by, and as you have seen the idle freight cars accumulate, seen the business and income of railroads diminish until they have had to beg for increased rates to save them from bankruptcy, seen the factories cease operation, seen thousands of idle men tramping the streets from one end of this land to the other, seen industries paralyzed, and a money panic that has forced into circulation more than \$300,000,000 in emergency currency, you have realized that you could not pass a trust law; but, not willing to confess a failure, you are trying to fool the public with this bill."

AS FATHER OF THE VOLSTEAD ACT, KNOWN AS THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION LAW, MR. VOLSTEAD STANDS AS A NATIONAL CHARACTER AND A PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN 25 YEARS AHEAD OF HIS TIME.

Speech of Hon. A. J. Volstead in the House of Representatives, Congressional Record, March 23, 1920, on the National Prohibition Act, of Which He Is the Author:

"Mr. Speaker: As the national prohibition act, familiarly known as the Volstead Act, is being constantly attacked as an extremely drastic and unreasonable measure, I may be permitted to offer a few observations. During the consideration of this measure, I made no special effort to defend its general character, but as the various provisions were reached for consideration sought to explain and justify their retention in the bill. Having introduced the bill and having had charge of its passage in the House, I have naturally enough been subject to all sorts of threats and taunts. The Act has had very bitter opponents as well as strong and earnest supporters, both inside and outside of Congress. In justice to the Members of the House, I am glad to say that they have all treated me with the utmost kindness and courtesy, for which I am sincerely grateful. The bill has met opposition from two classes: First, from those who are opposed to all legislation on the subject; and, second, from those who believe that a prohibition law should be passed but who are opposed to any effective measure. Until recently few have openly advocated repudiation of our duty to pass a law to make effective the prohibition amendment. Nearly all opponents have posed as in favor of what they are pleased to call a reasonable enforcement act. To discredit this legislation these forces have joined in the cry that this law is so drastic and cruelly severe that none but the most extreme crank could support it. To this campaign, carried on in and out of Congress, many newspapers have

given energetic and persistent support, and no doubt many good people who have had no opportunity to examine the measure have felt apprehensive of the sanity of those who stood sponsors for it. Everyone knows how difficult it is to refute a general charge of this kind—a charge accompanied with no bill of particulars. Perhaps the most effective answer is the overwhelming vote cast in both branches of Congress; the House passed it by almost three to every one that the opposition could muster, and the Senate gave it approval without even a roll call.

"In concluding this branch of my subject I desire to call attention to a matter somewhat personal to myself. A fake story has been going the rounds in some of the newspapers to the effect that I do not believe in prohibition of the liquor traffic, and that under some sort of compulsion I wrote the prohibition act because I happened to be chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary. This story misrepresents my attitude and everything I have said on the subject. I should treat this as I have other stories had it not been made use of as a text for editorials abusing the prohibition cause generally.

"These editorials, among other things, charge that I am hedging, getting scared, and am lacking in convictions. Let me assure my friends among the enemies of prohibition that they are off the scent and are barking up the wrong tree. I am not only convinced that prohibition is a good thing, but also that the law passed to enforce it is a good law. I am gratified to know that the distillers, the brewers, and the friends of the saloon are against this law. Prohibition is not intended to provide a bar over which a person can order hard and soft drinks at will. If the gentlemen who have published this story imagine that their campaign of misrepresentation and abuse has had any effect on my attitude, they are very much mistaken. Every report that has come to me indicates that the law has worked wonders for the public good. Their frantic appeals for personal liberty have not disturbed me any more than their complaint that the prohibition law is sufficiently drastic to actually prohibit. I have no sympathy for the kind of liberty they want, liberty to restore the saloon and nurse the brothel; liberty to fill the jails and crowd the almshouses; liberty to wreck manhood and blast hope; liberty to profit on suffering and insanity; liberty to gratify their alcoholic drink habit at the expense of ruined homes and wasted lives—none of these are inalienable rights.

"The frantic effort made by the saloon interests to discredit prohibition and the confident claim that a reaction has set in against the law does not square with the facts. We have been assured and reassured that labor was bitterly hostile to the law. The Literary Digest, to ascertain the actual facts, sent to labor leaders in every section of the country an inquiry on the subject, which was printed on March 13 in that magazine. Five hundred and twenty-six replies were received, and approximately 30 per cent of those replies are, as this magazine states, based on actions taken at regular meetings of various labor organizations. Out of these 526 replies only 143 opposed prohibition, 345 answered that prohibition was a benefit to the workingman, 38 expressed either doubt of its value or that it had not been given a fair trial. When it is remembered that prominent labor leaders made a strenuous campaign against this law the result is remarkable.

"The Sun and New York Herald, heretofore hostile to prohibition, published a two-page article in its March 14 issue, headed:

"Bowery is rolling in wealth. Day of the dawn and outer gone. Bread lines abandoned. Missions get fewer appeals for help and saloons pass into other business. Prohibitionists report decreases in disease and crime, quoting official figures."

"The facts quoted eloquently demonstrate the value of this policy.

"The New York World of March 20, giving an account of a speech delivered by Bird Coler, commissioner of public charities of New York City, prints the following:

"Commissioner Coler said that, since the dry era, the municipal lodging house has been practically vacant, only about 40 of its 900 beds being occupied. The alcoholic ward at Bellevue Hospital has practically ceased to exist as such, he said, only 15 or 20 patients having been received within the last month. Besides, he said, commitments of children, because of poverty, have shown a marked decrease.

"I can only say this to my friends in the Democratic organization in the city, State, and Nation," said Commissioner Coler, "that if any of them were sitting in my place, with a chance to observe the betterment of civilization prohibition has brought, he would take no other stand than to present these facts to the American people.

"The results of the disuse of alcohol have been more astounding than even the claims of the most ardent prohibition advocates."

"The Brooklyn Daily Eagle adds its testimony, under date of March 26, by publishing from a speech by Frank Vanderlip, one of the great financiers of this country, the following:

"With a true combination of moral insight and plain common sense we have amended our Constitution and have provided the greatest single economic factor looking toward material prosperity ever created by legislative enactment. I believe that the economic value of prohibition will eventually be an influence for the prosperity of society the like of which will amaze ourselves and the world."

Issued by the Republican Club, of Granite Falls, Minnesota, in the interest of the candidacy of Hon. A. J. Volstead, of Granite Falls, Minnesota, candidate for Representative in Congress from the 7th Congressional District of Minnesota.

H. J. BEBERMEYER,
Granite Falls, Minn.,
President.
WESLEY DODSWORTH,
Granite Falls, Minn.,
Secretary.

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VOLSTEAD FIGHTS FOR REELECTION

ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD, Republican, of Granite Falls, was born on a farm in Goodhue County, Minnesota, where he made his home until he commenced to practice law at Lac qui Parle in 1884. In the spring of 1886 he located at Granite Falls where he has since made his home. Before his election to congress he held the position of president of the school board, mayor and city attorney of Granite Falls, and for fourteen years county attorney of Yellow Medicine County.

In Congress

He has served on the Committee on Public Lands, on Education, and the Judiciary. On the election of a Republican house two years ago he was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee, a position he now occupies.

In a brief sketch such as this it is impossible to mention the multitude of matters that have engaged his attention or give any adequate idea of the services he has rendered. The commanding position he has won as chairman of one of the greatest committees in the house testifies to the power and influence that he has attained and to the services he is in a position to render. The following from his record will indicate the character of his work.

He introduced in Congress the first bill to take from the government the power to issue fictitious, or so-called, watered stocks and bonds. He secured President Roosevelt's assent to this legislation and has constantly urged its passage ever since, until at this session of Congress it became a law as a part of the recent railway law. He drew and secured the passage of the Minnesota Federal Drainage Act, known as the Volstead Drainage Law—an act under which large quantities of swamp lands in northern Minnesota have been made suitable for homes. This act has since its passage been copied and applied to like lands in other states. Many millions in value have been added to the state under this law. He pioneered the legislation to lease the Government's coal lands instead of selling such lands. He introduced the first bill for that purpose and saw this legislation enacted into law last February. It will give to the Government the fair value of its property and has in it provisions that should lessen the evils of monopoly in coal where the Government has coal lands.

At the request of Mr. Vreeland he wrote the original draft of the Vreeland Emergency Currency Act and actively participated in shaping that legislation. This act served to prevent a panic at the beginning of the European war. Under its provision hundreds of millions of dollars in currency were issued for that purpose. He drew and passed, despite the bitterest and most persistent opposition, the National Prohibition Act, known as the Volstead enforcement law. The Soldiers and Sailors Civil Rights Act, designed to protect the property interests of the service men while in the service, was nearly all written by him; so were several of other very important acts made necessary during the war. To aid the ex-service men in forming a permanent patriotic

organization he passed the act incorporating them under a Federal charter; and has since the war been instrumental in passing a number of important acts required as reconstruction legislation.

In opposition to the Minneapolis mills and the board of trade he has persistently fought the so-called Canadian reciprocity scheme under which Canadian agricultural products

ducing the Republican and Democratic national conventions to indorse such legislation.

Strong Endorsement

C. A. Lyman, secretary of the National Board of Farm Organizations, speaking of this legislation, said:

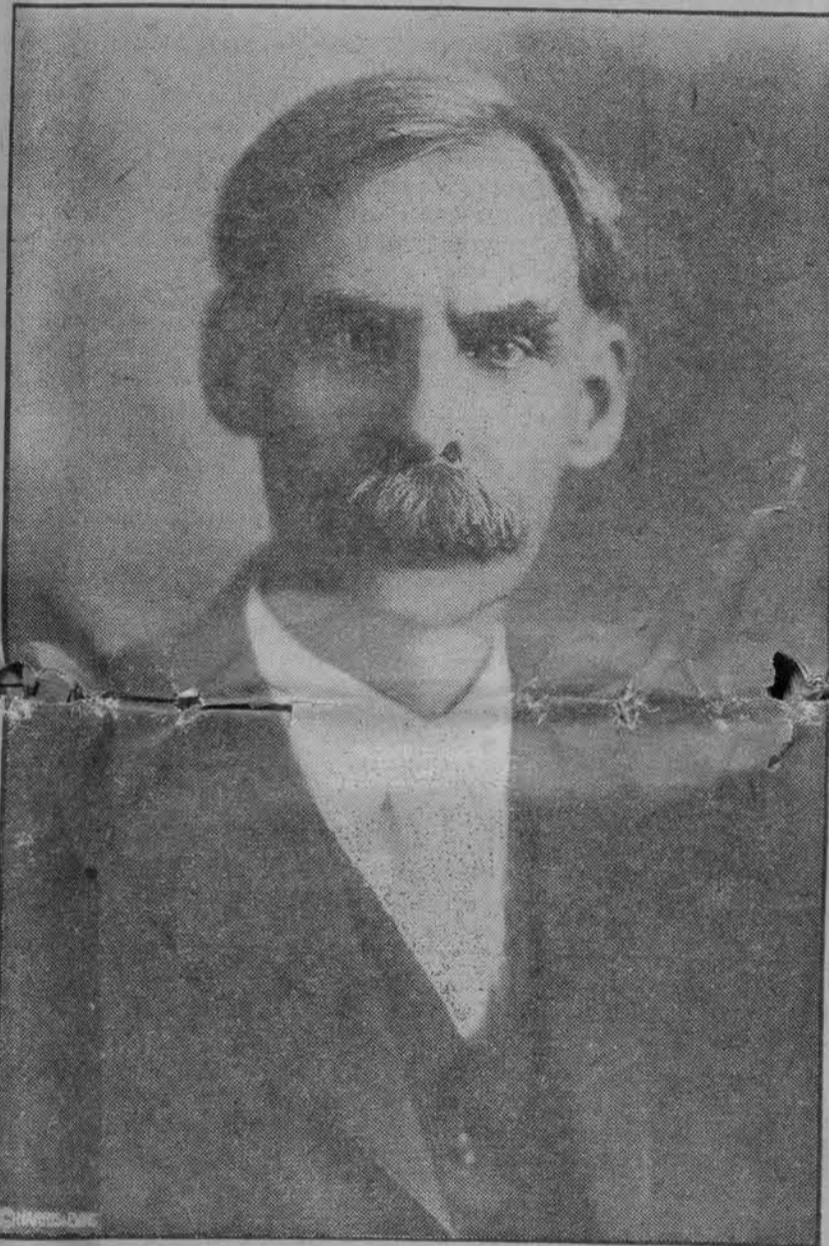
"We are grateful to Mr. Volstead for having put this legislation through the house of rep-

Agricultural Legislative Committee of California representing seventy thousand farmers doing an annual business of over two million dollars today vigorously endorsed Volstead-Capper Bill. (Signed) R. N. WILSON, Secretary, Agricultural Legislative Committee.

From New York to California this legislation has been indorsed by farmers who, under it can organize for mutual benefit, and because they have the control in their own hands, can prevent others not actual bona fide farmers from gaining control or dictating the politics of their associations.

No measure designed to aid the farmer has ever failed to secure Mr. Volstead's active support, and a great many of these are presented at every session of Congress.

He has given much consideration to the legislation designed to regulate the meat packing industry that has been under consideration in the Agricultural Committee of the House during the last session of Congress, and has been frequently consulted in regard to it, and he has announced that the hearings commenced in the judiciary committee relative to trusts and monopolies will be continued with a view to the enactment of effective legislation to protect the public. This legislation will require the best thought of the most capable and experienced men in Congress.



HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD

would have been placed in direct competition with the products of the American farmer. He has always been a sincere friend and supporter of the Federal Farm Loan Act, and made an effort during the last session of Congress to have the Government advance the necessary funds to keep it going while its validity is being questioned in the courts. In his effort to secure fair grain grades he has repeatedly appeared before the Bureau of Markets, the Secretary of Agriculture, the President of the Federal Grain Corporation, and the President of the United States.

He drew and secured the passage in the House, after consultation with officers of representative farm organizations, a bill to authorize farmers to combine for the purpose of marketing their own products. The passage of this legislation in the House by an overwhelming vote after an extremely bitter fight was no doubt potent in in-

representatives. He has kept faith and has done a great service for the farmers of Minnesota and other states in thus advancing their cause.

Mr. Gray Silver, Washington representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation, expressed appreciation for this work in the following letter to Mr. Volstead:

Permit me to congratulate you on the passage by the house of the Volstead co-operative marketing bill, which will have a very beneficial effect in enabling farmers to do team work in supplying our nation's food needs. A recent court decision shows that all farmers doing co-operative work have been exposed to severe penalties, including jail sentences. Your bill will, when passed by the senate, remove this menace and farmers may then freely work in groups to supply food that all may be well fed.

Farmers who have associated themselves together for collective bargaining voiced their approval of this bill:

DESERVING W. VA. CONGRESSMAN

Matthew N. Neely, who represents the Fairmont, West Virginia, district in Congress, was born in that state in 1874. He attended West Virginia University, from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws. In 1903 he was married to Alberta C. Ramage of Fairmont. At that time he had established himself in the practice of law, being a member of the firm of Neely and Lively. He was mayor of Fairmont from 1908 to 1910; clerk of the West Virginia House of Delegates, 1911 to 1913; member 63d, 64th, 65th and 66th Congresses, representing the First West Virginia District.

He is a Democrat in his party affiliations, was a private in the First West Virginia Volunteer Infantry in the Spanish-American War; served in the West Virginia National Guard, moving upward from corporal to major. His home is in Fairmont, West Virginia, where he has lived throughout his mature life.

Mr. Neely's record in Congress has been in accord with the sentiment of his district, which is overwhelmingly dry. While he is a Democrat and stands with his party on purely party questions, he has his own convictions and never hesitates to follow them.

His position on the Judiciary Committee allowed him to give great help to Congressman Volstead in the passage of the Volstead Act for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. He is very popular in the district and should be elected by a handsome majority.

MRS. BOOLE MAKES WINNING FIGHT

MRS. ELLA A. BOOLE is making trouble for the politicians in New York. They are not at all certain what is to be the outcome of her strenuous campaign for the United States Senate. If the truth were told, they greatly fear her election. She proved in the primaries that she was a vote getter and so great is the discontent over the way in which progressive people, prohibitionists and suffragists have been misrepresented by Senator Wadsworth, that thousands of Republicans are turning to her, believing that she would be a credit to the Empire State in the upper branch of Congress.

Mrs. Boole's home is in Brooklyn, but perhaps no woman in the state is more widely known than she. For more than twenty-five years she has been identified with the W. C. T. U. of the state, most of the time its honored president, and for six years was secretary of the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian church.

She has spoken in all the cities of the state, in every county, and in literally hundreds of towns. She is well informed about legislation, too, for she has appeared at many hearings at Albany before legislative committees, and no advocate of prohibition or public morals has been heard with greater profit.

She was vice-chairman of the New York division of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense and represented the state at the conference of all state chairmen held in Washington during the war.

She is deeply interested in education, herself a college woman and a former teacher. She is a trustee of her college, the College of Wooster, and the only woman on the board.

As president of the state W. C. T. U. she worked for woman suffrage in New York state, and is committed to improve legislation concerning education, child welfare, the home and high prices, women in gainful occupations, public health and morals and independent citizenship for married women.

It goes without saying that Mrs. Boole believes in the Eighteenth amendment and in the Volstead act, as

BOMB ORIGINATED IN AMERICA

The bomb as an expression of social discontent and class hatred was born in America of foreign parentage, according to the New York Sun. Thrown by an unseen hand, it first blazed out in destructive malignity at the Haymarket square riot in Chicago, May 4, 1886, killing seven policemen and wounding sixty persons. It was an innovation in anonymous murder on a wholesale plan.

Cowardly and destructive minds in all countries hailed it as the safest known means of slaughtering unprepared people without being detected. The French anarchist Ravachol tried it in 1892, but was caught and imprisoned. Vaillant, whose right name was Konigstein, threw a bomb into the crowded pit of a Barcelona theater two years later and killed thirty persons and wounded eighty. But while he was hugging himself on his fiendish exploit he was arrested, identified as the thrower of the bomb, convicted and put to death.

Assassins by bomb in this country have been more cautious in covering up their tracks. Years ago they invented the time clock bomb with which to spread sudden death at a safe distance. But it was betrayed so often by the ticking of its clock that murderous minds pined for a silent missile of destruction—silent, that is, up to the moment of its deadly action. This burning war was supplied by a German spy, Scheele, the chemist and ship bomber, who invented a bomb that could be timed accurately to explode when a quantity of acid had eaten through a metal partition,

constructed by the Supreme Court. She believes in law enforcement and that officials should be held to strict account in the performance of their duties.

Mrs. Boole believes, with many Republican leaders, that agreement should be reached upon such reservations to the League of Nations as will enable the United States to enter and so preserve the peace of the world and end the twenty-one wars now being waged. Such agreement can not be reached when party alignment, rather

than a desire to advance world peace, is the controlling purpose.

Mrs. Boole is running in opposition to Senator Wadsworth, who was designated by the Republican convention as their nominee. The enrolled Republican women had strenuously protested his nomination, but the Old Guard triumphed and their protests were unheeded. Now the Republican women and men have a candidate for whom they can conscientiously vote, for Mrs. Boole stands for the two issues that Senator Wadsworth has opposed—

Harding's Latest League Statement

In an effort to keep up with Senator Harding in his pronouncements on the League of Nations and that the readers of this paper may have his own utterances on which to form conclusions, there is reproduced here with the full text of the latest statement which Senator Harding has made on the subject. Comment will be found on the editorial pages.

"It seems to me that there should not remain a shadow of a doubt as to my exact position as regards the proposed League of Nations as drafted at Paris and submitted to the Senate and as regards the great world sentiment for a better understanding among nations to discourage war and generally to advance civilization. Let me reiterate my position as explicitly as my power of words permits:

"First—I am unalterably opposed to going into the League of Nations as that particular proposition now stands. That proposal is contemptuous of and potentially destructive of the American Constitution. It is not favored by the American people.

"Second—I am in favor of a world association—call it what you will, the name is of slight consequence—that will discourage or tend to prevent war and that will encourage or tend to encourage a better understanding among the nations of the earth. The old order of things is done with not only in America, but throughout the world, and the United States, quick with sympathy, always just and usually led by common sense, must play its part in this new order.

"Third—I believe that such an association can be formulated without wrecking the Constitution that remains the cornerstone of our liberties and of our happiness; without seizing or filching the sovereignty that is our pride and our inspiration to fine living and good works.

"Fourth—I earnestly believe that the conscience, the ready sympathy, the sense of justice and the plain common sense of the United States can be depended upon by the rest of the world, and that it would be stupid as well as unlawful to attempt to chain our sympathies, our sense of justice and our common sense, to the these strong, fine, dependable American qualities to the possibly selfish ambitions and aims of foreign nations or group of nations, whose ideals are not the same as ours, never have been and never will be.

"Fifth—It is my purpose, when elected, to take the whole people into my confidence as regards these matters, to seek their advice, and, most importantly, to act consistently with their advice, and to the end to be my pleasure as well as my duty to call on the best minds, the clearest minds, that America affords. I think that the time has come when I can ask the advice of American women, and especially the mothers of America.

"The substance of these things has been said in some form or other in every address, and I say it all definitely now, because I am not always fully reported, and I want America to understand my thought of co-operation as well as the abiding opposition to the League proposed."

Says Dry Law Reduces Crime

NEW YORK—There was a 34 per cent decrease in the number of offenders brought before the courts in seventeen of the larger cities in the state during the first three months of the year, from the same period last year, according to Charles L. Chute, secretary of the state probation commission, who attributes the decrease in crime to prohibition. His figures show that 45,143 offenders of all ages were arraigned in these courts during January, February and March, 1920, whereas 68,535 offenders were brought before the same courts during the first three months last year. The decrease is 23,392, or 34 per cent.

"In the opinion of practically all the judges and probation officers consulted this remarkable decrease in court work is attributable largely to the effects of prohibition," Mr. Chute says. "In practically all of the courts by far the greatest decrease has been in cases of public intoxication, disorderly conduct and other offenses growing out of drink, although there has been a decrease in other offenses as well.

Reduction Shown

"Every court covered by the investigation showed a reduction in court cases due to prohibition. There were no exceptions. For instance, in all

the magistrates' courts of New York City there was a decrease of 52 per cent in cases of public intoxication. Only 914 persons were brought before all the magistrates' courts for the first three months of this year for intoxication, as compared with 1914 for the same period last year.

"One police justice writing to the commission expressed the view of many when he said, 'Prohibition has made the police business dull compared with the old regime.' A probation officer states that he finds 'prohibition is instrumental in bringing about better home conditions.'

"A woman probation officer who deals with delinquent boys and girls says: 'Prohibition has turned the tide for the women and children. Despite the cost of living, men who formerly neglected their families have been able in many cases to start bank accounts, make payments on homes, clothe their families well, put coal in the cellar and get food in the larder, things unknown in some of these homes before the saloons were closed. The best of it is, the majority of these men tell me they don't want the former conditions to return because they have learned what enjoyment can be gotten out of home life not disturbed by drink.'

women's political rights and the Eighteenth amendment.

Since he believes women unfit to share in the government of the state and nation, how can he be expected to approach to a satisfactory solution the many problems dealing with women and children.

The 2.75% beer bill was passed in New York state last winter with the consent of the same leaders that insisted on the nomination of Mr. Wadsworth. He has announced himself as favoring the sale of beer and wine. Do you want to weaken the Eighteenth amendment? Do you want to bring back the saloon with all its evils? Mr. Kramer, the Federal Prohibition Enforcement Commissioner, says if the sale of beer and wine is legalized the Eighteenth amendment can not be enforced. A vote for Mr. Wadsworth means the endorsement for his views, and nullification of a part of the Constitution.

The nation and the state need the woman viewpoint on many matters of vital interest to the welfare of the nation. Here is an opportunity for the men and women of New York state to vote their convictions.

Make the Church Vote Count

Let the church people and all those interested in the moral welfare of the country organize their votes and vote solidly on this one issue for a United States Senator interested primarily in the moral welfare of the country.

Do you believe in the Eighteenth amendment and the Volstead act, as construed by the Supreme Court?

Do you believe that woman's viewpoint would be of value in the United States Senate?

Senator Wadsworth does not represent either of these principles. Mrs. Boole does.

HOW TO SELECT A GOOD KNIFE

Picking a good pocket knife or razor is an art known only to a few. Even the experienced cutlery buyer is taken in occasionally. But there is an old rule—the better the polish the better the blade, the New York Times says. Not only does the lower grade not take as high a polish as the high grade article, but it would not pay the makers to expend upon inferior steel all the work and time that is required to give to the blade the fine polish associated only with the best.

Good steel is not only hard but it has also an energy of its own. The cutting ability of a knife, a razor or a pair of shears is derived from the fineness of the edge. A fine edge can be produced only of steel that is full of life and springiness because the blade must not only cut but must select the most suitable spot for entering the material.

A high class razor cuts the beard without bending the finest hair, an inferior razor pulls the hair before cutting it, hence the unpleasantness connected with its use.

High class steel has a voice of its own. The finest tuning forks of olden days were made of the best steel possible. So the blade of a knife will speak to you when you are able to understand its voice.

A FRIEND APPROVES

Dear Mr. Stewart:

If you can spare them, I would very much like to have about three extra copies of the Enquirer of October 7th on account of the splendid editorials which it contains, particularly the one in regard to the League of Nations. I have not seen a more clear and precise presentation of this matter anywhere than the article referred to. I am glad to note that you are keeping the Enquirer up to its usual high standard.

Milton, Pa. B. B. CANNON.

A FAITHFUL TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE

The people of the Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania Congressional District are not to be beaten out of a chance to vote for the re-election of Congressman Milton W. Shreve. The Erie-Crawford district is one of about fifty where the wets are making a strong effort, hoping by their success to gain control of the next Congress.

Having served his district faithfully, and having stood like a rock for prohibition and its effective enforcement, he was defeated in the Republican primaries, his opponent having the aid of 2,000 Democrats who, availing themselves of the opportunity to participate in the opposition party primary, voted against the present Congressman.

Believing that the people should have the right to pass on his services and decide for themselves whether he should be re-elected, he came out as an Independent and Prohibition candidate. The result is a three-cornered fight. The Republican candidate is Robert J. Firman and the Democratic, Max B. Haibach.

The issue is clearly drawn and the dregs who wish to be represented by a man who will stand for the maintenance of the Volstead act as a measure of enforcement of national prohibition should mark the square opposite the name of Milton W. Shreve.

He was born in Venango county, Pennsylvania, in 1858. He was educated at Allegheny College and Bucknell University. In 1885, he was married to Mary Hill, was admitted to the bar in 1893 and from 1899 to 1902 was district attorney of Erie county, Pennsylvania. He served in the Pennsylvania house of representatives for three terms—1906-1912, being speaker in 1911. He was a member of the Sixty-third Congress and was elected again to the Sixty-sixth, the present Congress, and is now a candidate for re-election.

That the voters may know why he is running, he has issued the following statement:

"I am running for Congress on an independent ticket at the request of hundreds of citizens of the district who feel that the Republican prevented from nominating me."

DESERVED

We fail to remember distinctly whether it was Solomon or Marcus Aurelius or Artemus Ward who said: "Wonders never cease." Anyhow, out of Indiana comes a wonder to make even the most jaded soul sit up and take notice.

"Tom"—we beg pardon, the Hon. Thomas Taggart is running for election as United States Senator, in which capacity he once served by appointment.

A few years ago, if anybody had charged before "all Israel and the sun" that Mr. Taggart was a booze hater and a booze seller and some other things rather worse, we doubt if he would have thought it worth while to deny it.

In those circles where the late lamented John Barleycorn is most sincerely and mostly mourned for, no name has been supposed to stand written higher on the lists of the truly sorrowing than that of the French Lick Springs hotelkeeper.

When the wet hosts made their last desperate rally at Frisco, the more or less dragged plumes of the Taggart were "full high advanced" in the van of the fray—so to speak; and the great god, "Personal Liberty," might almost be pictured as falling with the dying cry, "Git Edwards, git! Hump Taggart, hump!"

was defrauded of the nomination by the bi-partisan registering of approximately 2,000 Democrats at the instigation of the Erie whiskey ring."

That they may know the good reasons why he should be re-elected, let the following array of facts testify:

He worked and voted for woman suffrage.

Secured \$214,000 for repair of the

break in the peninsula at Erie, the work being nearly completed.

Secured the passage through the House of a bill providing for the preliminary survey of Erie harbor with the purpose of developing the port of Erie and the peninsula.

Voted for H. R. No. 212, directing the secretary of war to sell surplus food supplies.

Voted for the establishment of the

budget system of conducting national business, which means a big saving in taxes.

Voted for the soldiers' rehabilitation bill and to increase the appropriations for vocational training of disabled ex-service men from \$6,000,000 to \$8,000,000, then to \$12,000,000.

Voted for the Federal minimum wage bill.

Voted for the agricultural bill carrying large appropriations for good roads.

Secured pensions for many Civil War veterans; voted for the Fuller pension bill, which gives substantial increases to Civil War veterans and their dependents.

Voted for the return of railroads to private ownership after Government control had shown a deficit of millions of dollars.

Voted for the deportation of radical aliens and to deny them readmission to this country.

Secured allotments, insurance, property discharges and performed other services for over one thousand ex-service men in the district.

As a member of the appropriations committee, voted to reduce estimates of Government expense by more than \$1,000,000,000.

Secured the passage through the House of a bill saving the grape industry in Erie county by reducing the tax on grape juice.

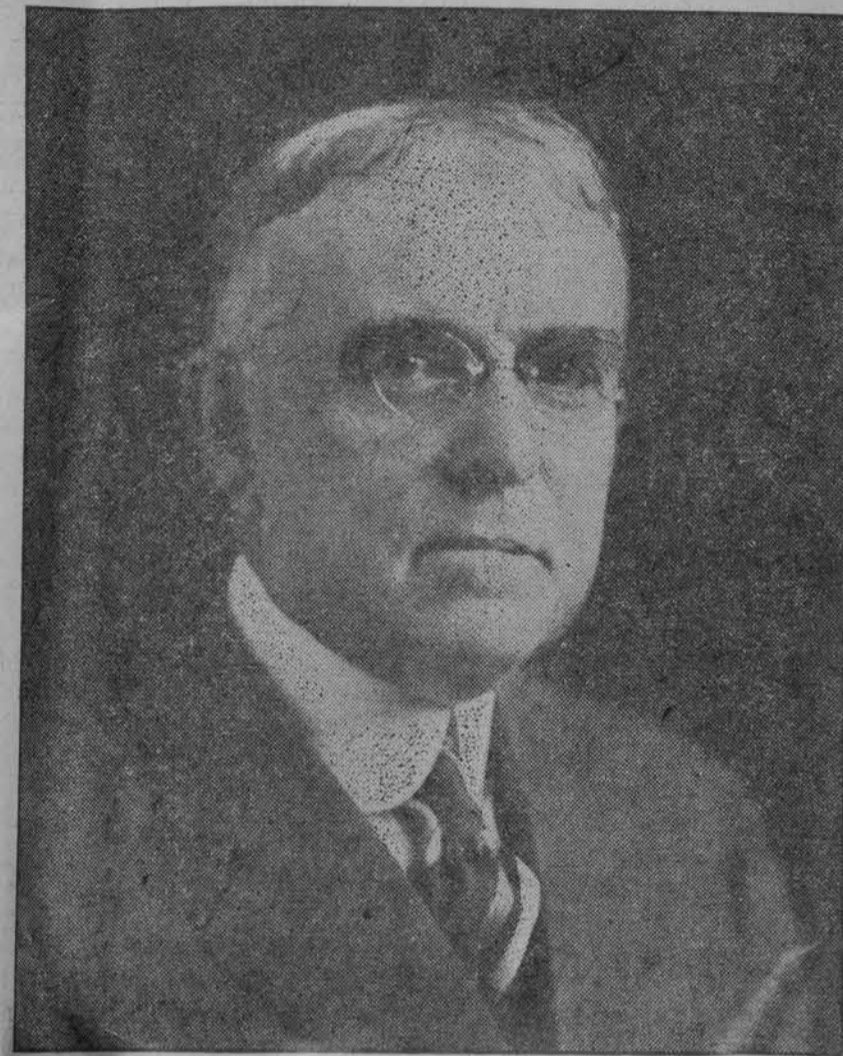
Voted to turn over to the department of agriculture all surplus army trucks for use by the highway departments of various states.

Saved the old custom house at Erie for the old soldiers, who have used it for a club house for years.

Voted to oust Victor Berger from Congress.

How to Vote

If one desires to vote the Republican or Democratic ticket, with the exception of Congress, and desires to vote for Milton W. Shreve, it is necessary only to place an X in the party square and then to place an X after the name of Milton W. Shreve.



Congressional Candidate Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania District

OLIVER W. STEWART APPOINTMENTS

Sunday, October 24th

- 10:30 A. M. State Normal School, Edinboro, Pa.
- 2:30 P. M. Stone Church, Meadville, Pa.
- 7:45 P. M. First Presbyterian Church, Erie, Pa.

Monday, October 25th

- Noon City Hall Corner, Union City, Pa.
- 2:30 P. M. The Armory, Corry, Pa.
- 6:15 P. M. Near Depot, Corry, Pa.
- 8:00 P. M. First M. E. Church, Titusville, Pa.

DO YOU KNOW

That a roadster is an open automobile holding two passengers?

That a coupe is a closed car with two doors, one on one side and one on the other, holding from two to five passengers?

That a touring car is an open automobile holding from five to seven passengers?

That a sedan is a four-door closed car holding five or more passengers?

That a limousine is a four-door closed car of about the same capacity as a sedan, but with a partition between the driver's seat and the passenger compartment in the rear?

That in the so-called town car, and in the brougham and cabriolet, the driver's seat is unprotected, while the passengers occupy the closed portion to the rear, with or without a rear-half collapsible top?

That a landaulet is on the order of the limousine, but without the streamline top, or continuous roof? And that the back portion of the top is collapsible?

That a speedster is a roadster with snappy, speedy lines?

That a sport model is a four-passenger model on the order of the touring car?

That a phaeton is a four-passenger open model?

That a chummy roadster is an open car with two to four-passenger capacity, with less space between the rear seat and the front seat than in the touring model?

That many manufacturers have pet names, such as sportsters, tourster, runabout, sport coupe, and so forth, and that you may know the meaning of them all and what they are when you see them—some day?

TAXES IN OMAHA

The tax rate in Omaha, Neb., which was \$10.16 on the thousand when the state was wet, has been reduced to \$9.28 with prohibition in effect. The reduction in crime has permitted a reduction of the police force of 133 to 165. The number of persons receiving relief in 1916 was 1,334, and in 1918, 793.

they asked him, right out, the following question:

"Will you, if elected to the United States Senate, use your vote and your influence for the effective enforcement of the present Prohibition law, honestly and in good faith, without any increase in the alcoholic content of permitted beverages and without any weakening of any other of its provisions?"

Think back just a little way in political history and get the proper setting by remembering how many candidates for the United States Senate would even have put the letter in their waste basket without taking time to do it. Nay, verily, the time is not long past when hardly a venerable Senator would have failed to go down on his knees by the grate and burn any similar letter and pulverize the ashes, lest the very fact that he might be known to have received it should cause the mighty lords and masters of the bung-master to frown.

But the Hon. Mr. Taggart answered the letter and this is what he said: "It affords me great pleasure, dear madam, to answer this question with emphasis, 'Yes!'"

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TRUTH WITHOUT FEAR

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1920

Vol. 11, No. 17

New Readers

SEVERAL thousand new readers will see the National Enquirer in this issue for the first time. Some old subscribers who had allowed their subscriptions, months or years ago, to lapse, will recognize in it an old friend come back again. We ask all such to look it over carefully. It should have a place in the home of each.

This paper, founded by Governor Hanly and his associates in 1915 has never ceased to serve the cause of prohibition, suffrage and progress and it intends to keep on aiding in every righteous movement. The discussions of public questions are from points of view sometimes radically different from those of the editors of daily papers. Its feature stories and news pages are unique.

Respectfully we ask old subscribers and new readers to examine the special offers which are made on other pages and to send in their subscriptions or renewals at once.

Help us to make the National Enquirer a power for righteousness.

The Volstead Campaign

MINNESOTA has a congressional candidate who is the key to the prohibition situation. His name is Volstead—Andrew J. Volstead. He lives at Granite Falls and has been in Congress eighteen years. He is the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House. Should his party remain in control of the lower branch of the national legislature and should he be re-elected, he will be continued in that chairmanship. Should he fail of election and his party remain in control, the next man in line of succession to the chairmanship is a wet. Thus, at a glance, it is seen that the campaign of Andrew J. Volstead for re-election is something which concerns the entire nation; indeed, it concerns the world.

Should he be defeated his defeat would be heralded far and wide as a proof that the nation was swinging away from prohibition, and across the seas men would construe it as an evidence that the tide had turned and that America was getting ready to abandon its national prohibition policy.

On the front page of this issue appears the counterfeit presentation of the famous Minnesota Congressman. Also there will be found a brief story of his achievements. Take a look at his face. He is the straightforward, incisive, clear-cut character that his face indicates. He has courage, ability and judgment. The first, without the other two, often leads to rash action; the second, with either the first or third missing, means that the possessor is as one tied to a post or uncertain which way to go; the third, with the first or second lacking, may enable one to advise others while he himself lacks steam or dynamic power. Volstead has them all.

It seems incredible that a district, which is overwhelmingly dry, could be made to hesitate for a moment in sending back to Congress a representative whose name has become a household word and whose position in Congress in point of influence is such that he is a marked man—a star of the first magnitude.

The wets are conducting a shrewd campaign against him—the wets outside of his district. Quietly and secretly they are exerting

every influence they can for Volstead's defeat. They would be willing to help elect an angel in order to overthrow him. Their aim is the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee—not merely the representation from the Seventh Minnesota District.

He is making a brave fight and the National Enquirer and the Flying Squadron Foundation are helping him all they can. Other organizations are giving assistance. The nation may rest assured that the forces of right are alert and do not intend to allow this splendid man to be retired from Congress without getting before his district the facts in the case.

Those who have the privilege of voting for Andrew J. Volstead should realize that they are doing something more than select a personal representative in Congress. They have the safety of our national prohibition policy in their hands. Failure on their part will be felt around the world. The defeat of Volstead would be a national and a world-wide calamity; his triumph, a victory for law and order and for progress.

Andrew J. Volstead should be elected.

Milton W. Shreve

VOTERS of the Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania Congressional District will fail the nation if they do not re-elect Milton W. Shreve. He has had a prominent part in the present Congress, serving on the Committee on Appropriations and his record of support of prohibition, woman suffrage and other reform movements is without a flaw. There are only a few districts in the United States, compared with the total number, in which the wets are fighting with any hope of victory.

By massing Democrats in the Republican primary, it was possible to defeat Mr. Shreve for re-nomination on his own party ticket; but, responsive to the public will, he accepted the Prohibition and Independent nomination against the Republican and Democratic candidates.

United support of him by the men and women of his district who believe in the principles for which he stands, will result in his re-election to Congress. The opportunity is too good to lose.

The Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania District should re-elect Milton W. Shreve.

Duty of Ohio Voters

OHIO voters have a double duty to perform. They should elect ex-Governor Willis to the United States Senate and they should ratify the act of the legislature providing for the enforcement of the eighteenth amendment within the limits of the state. The record of Governor Willis on state and national prohibition is well known and needs no question or doubt. Neither wets nor wets who are wets would stand in the United States Senate on a proposition to repeal or modify the Volstead act by increasing the permissible alcoholic content in beverages. He has been a tower of strength to the prohibition movement in the state, a faithful public servant at all times and deserves the high honor of an election to the office for which he is a candidate.

Ohio is in the limelight this year. It has three presidential candidates, has won the championship in baseball and has a chance to crown it all by electing a dry senator and by approving the act of the legislature enforcing prohibition within the limits of the state.

It is now up to the men and women of Ohio.

The Call to Women

IN THE past it has been the custom to think of woman as needing help. Our minds have been trained to that thought. She was considered the weaker vessel. She was politically voiceless and helpless. Where her interests were at stake, she was thought of in terms of benevolence or philanthropy and not in those of warfare and power.

Now we are compelled to readjust our thought. The question is not so much, how can we help women as it is, how can they help the world, the country, humanity. The ballot is theirs. They have power. They need ask no odds of anyone. The girl standing behind the ribbon counter has a ballot which matches that of J. P. Morgan or any other king of finance. His vote counts one; so does hers.

It would be too much to expect, at the very first election after the adoption of the national equal suffrage amendment, that women, as a class, would appreciate their power and their responsibility. Some do not as yet. The great majority are alive to the opportunity and will make the most of it. There should be a determined effort to reach every woman in the land who is entitled to vote and interest her in this election for her own sake, as well as for the country. The very act of voting sets one to thinking, and the country needs the woman's thought on public questions.

There are some districts in which dry congressmen are being

hard pressed, where the women alone could save the day if they were aroused to the situation. It will be a burning shame for any congressman to be defeated because women, who thanked God for prohibition, failed to go to the polls and vote for a man who stood for the national prohibition amendment and for the Volstead act.

It would not be precisely correct to say that women are on trial, for no matter what they do with or about the ballot, they will continue to possess the voting privilege. It is to be hoped, however, that when the smoke of battle rolls away and the votes are counted, the women will be found to have acquitted themselves nobly.

It is their day of opportunity.

Charles A. Hawkins

VOTERS in the Twentieth Pennsylvania Congressional District have a splendid chance to retire a wet and put a dry in his place. The present member who chances to be a Republican was against the Volstead act and according to the House Record, voted to recommit an appropriation bill with an amendment repealing the Volstead act and against any appropriation for its enforcement.

There are evidences that he is beginning to realize that he made a mistake but wise voters will take no chances when they have a sure thing offered to them.

Mr. Charles A. Hawkins is not a recent convert to prohibition. He has stood for it and for woman suffrage throughout many years of consistent warfare. He is a man of fine ability and gives many evidences of becoming a faithful and devoted public servant.

The election of Edward S. Brooks, his Republican opponent, will be hailed by the wets throughout the nation as a saloon victory. They could not have asked for a better representative of their interests than he has been. It would be a calamity for the dry voters of York and Adams counties, Pennsylvania, to send him back to Congress to misrepresent their dry sentiments when by voting for Chas. A. Hawkins, they will gain a congressman who will stand foursquare on every moral question and who will support the Volstead act through thick and thin.

It is not often that the voters of any congressional district have the opportunity of rendering such signal service.

The nation expects the good people of York and Adams counties to do their duty.

Matthew M. Neely

MATTHEW M. NEELY, representing the First West Virginia Congressional District, is a Democratic congressman who should be re-elected with an increased majority. His record in Congress is one which fair-minded and progressive people can approve. He has supported prohibition and woman suffrage and as a member of the Judiciary Committee, gave his powerful aid to the passage of the Volstead act, which bears the name of the chairman of the committee.

Mr. Neely is standing on the record he made. The wets are making a desperate effort to defeat him. No plea of party regularity should influence the dry Republican in his district to vote against him. By the same rule under which dry Democrats are urged to support Volstead, a Republican in Minnesota, dry Republicans are urged to support Neely, a dry Democrat in West Virginia. There should be no party politics in this fight. More important than any mere party victory is the election of a dry Congress. The only way to elect a dry Congress is to elect dry men who are candidates for Congress and Matthew M. Neely is one of them.

He ought to be re-elected.

New York's Opportunity

NEW YORK has an opportunity such as seldom is offered to any state. With an unsatisfactory United States Senator running for re-election, Democrats and Republicans can combine with the prohibitionists in the election of Mrs. Ella A. Boole, the Prohibition party and independent nominee. The Empire State may be the first to be represented in the United States Senate by a woman, and in this case, by a woman of highest ability and standing.

She is a college woman and was once a teacher and is now a trustee of the College of Wooster from which she was graduated, the only woman on the board. It will not be claimed that this necessarily fits her for a seat in the United States Senate, but it does prove that she laid the foundation for a broad culture and that she had the opportunity to train her mind in such way as to be able to grasp great principles and apply them. That she embraced the opportunity and made the most of it is proved by her public career.

She does not believe that mere party alignments should be a

controlling purpose in dealing with the League of Nations. Her position is that there should be an agreement reached upon such reservation as will enable the United States to enter the league and so preserve the peace of the world.

Senator Wadsworth, her Republican opponent, candidate for re-election, was opposed to the eighteenth amendment, to the woman suffrage amendment, to child labor, and practically all of the progressive causes which have come before the United States Senate during his term of office. By no possibility can he fitly represent the sentiment and thought of the majority of the people of New York.

Republicans who so feel, as many of them do, can vote for Mrs. Boole. They are not required to support a Democrat. Democrats, who wish to see the state represented by someone who is in tune with the prevailing thought and sentiment of the state, do not have to vote for a Republican. They can cast their ballot for Mrs. Boole.

She is a woman of splendid presence. She has poise and balance. Her mental equipment is of the best and her splendid endowments would make her a marked figure in the United States Senate.

She can be elected if the forces of right in New York State, who are of her kind, will get behind her campaign; if the members of the many organizations with which she is affiliated and has worked would devote themselves from now until election to the canvass of their particular communities and precincts on her behalf, she could be swept into the United States Senate by a large majority.

Her election would strike terror to the gangsters, would paralyze the wets, and cheer all who are devoted to higher ideals. Nothing which the people of New York could do would confer a greater benefit upon the country and the world.

The nation needs Mrs. Boole in the United States Senate.

Harding's Latest Statement

ON PAGE two of this issue of the National Enquirer is found Senator Harding's latest League statement; that is to say, the latest up to the hour this is written. They are coming so thick and fast that one dare not predict that the senator will not be out with another or several before this appears in print.

Before perusing this editorial, the reader is asked to turn to the senator's statement on page two and give it careful consideration.

The senator expresses surprise that there should remain a shadow of doubt as to his exact position, yet despite his avowal, that doubt continues to this minute and it is inherent. He himself has stated that he has no constructive policy. Therefore he does not know where he is going. Men who are lost quite generally travel in circles.

Is Senator Harding so going? If he is, then in due time, he will go around the circle and back to the League of Nations for which he stood and voted as a United States Senator. It is for precisely that reason that many friends of the League of Nations, as it now is, are going to vote for him. They believe he is bewildered, that he has no sense of direction and that he is destined finally to land fairly and squarely in the camp of the League advocates. That is what makes it possible for audiences to listen to him as he denounces the present League of Nations and then go away resolved to vote for him.

That is not complimentary to Senator Harding. It implies a belief that he does not know what he is going to do. But it is complimentary to the extent that it is based upon a belief that the senator intends to do right and that he will, finally, as he discovers where and what the right is.

For example, the very first reason he gives for opposition to the present League of Nations is that it is "contemptuous of and potentially destructive of the American constitution," which is so much nonsense. No League of Nations, no treaty of peace, no action with reference to our foreign policy could destroy the American constitution. Senator Harding's fears are those of the small boy who sees danger at every turn of the road as he journeys homeward in the twilight.

He avows himself in favor of a world association to discourage or tend to prevent war and he declares that the United States must play its part in this new order. If the Senator will listen, he will discover that the American people wish something more than an organization which will merely tend to prevent war. They desire something by which a war-mad nation can be curbed and that implies force and power.

He is entirely correct in saying that an association can be formed without wrecking the constitution. We all believe that. The senator's reference to the "possibly selfish ambitions and aims" of the nations with which we have to co-operate does him little justice. It may be true that their "ideals are not the same as ours, never have been and never will be;" be that as it may, England need not apologize for the ideals with which she fought this war, neither need France or Belgium. They put enough upon the altar to justify

them in confronting even the United States and challenging comparison on the basis of sacrificial service to mankind.

Such language from Senator Harding now will not give him added influence with our allies should he later, as president, be called to deal with them.

Nothing much more preposterous has been suggested than is found in the fifth section of Senator Harding's statement. He declares that it is his purpose when elected to take the whole people into his confidence as regards these matters and "to seek their advice, and, more importantly, to act consonantly with their advice." That is a big undertaking. Presumptively he means he will act consonantly with the advice of the majority. It is not possible that Senator Harding believes that when he gets through conferring with the whole people that they will be all agreed as to the course which he should pursue. He had some glimpse of that difficulty when he said that as a move toward that end he would call into conference the best minds that America affords. That is very good. Suppose they disagree. They will disagree. The only certain thing is that after Senator Harding has called together the best minds of America, he will have a discordant assembly on his hands. Some minds will be diametrically opposed to others and in that hour Senator Harding will have to determine for himself what course to pursue. Thence onward, he will be opposed by those whose advice he did not take and they will charge him with being an autocrat; they will claim that this is a one man government; and that he is absolutely heedless and is going on to destruction, refusing to listen to wise men when they speak to him.

It would be interesting to know just why Senator Harding issued this remarkable statement. One can not escape the conviction that he has heard from the people; that his managers discovered that his election was being endangered by the undisputed claim of Borah and Johnson that Senator Harding is with them and is opposed to any League of Nations. In the meantime the country is called upon to take him on faith and the grounds for faith are none too good. He admits that he has not a single constructive idea for the future, but intends to consult with wise men.

Were it not for his avowal in favor of the Volstead act and his promise to use his influence and power against a return of the liquor traffic, there would be hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of prohibitionists who would turn to Cox. As it is, many of them feel that Senator Harding finally will discover that the only way by which America can get into a League of Nations is by joining the one which is now in existence and that he will conclude to favor so doing.

Should Governor Cox even yet declare himself in favor of giving the Volstead act a fair trial before consenting to its modification or repeal, the League of Nations people, who favor prohibition, would flock to his standard. But he seems to have concluded to make his bed with Tammany and the liquorists.

And there he lies.

Another New York Tunnel

CONSTRUCTION of another tunnel under the Hudson River is the order of the day. Increased facilities are to be afforded to people outside of New York to get in, and to those on the inside to get out. The other day, a group of engineers and public officials participated in the ceremonies on the Manhattan side, which marked the breaking of ground for one of the great airshafts of the big tube.

Engineers expect to complete the structure by 1924. The cost, estimated at \$29,000,000, is to be borne equally by the two states. Shore works, including shafts and approaches, will require eighteen months to construct, after which actual work of boring under the river is to begin.

Continued congestion at the ferries between New York and New Jersey prompts the belief of tunnel engineers that 5,000,000 motor and horse-drawn conveyances will use the tube in 1924, with traffic showing a steady increase, reaching an annual figure of 22,000,000 vehicles by 1943. Tolls based on the ferry rates will be levied for twenty years to pay for the tube, and then it would be free for the use of all.

Four driveways, two in each direction, will be provided. A sidewalk, two feet in width, also is planned. The tunnel comprising twin cast-iron tubes each with an external diameter of twenty-nine feet, will be six feet wider than the Pennsylvania railroad tubes under the Hudson and East rivers.

Traffic blockades, now common on ferries, would be precluded by providing at each end of the tube derrick-equipped trucks to take stalled automobiles in tow. Three driveways in each direction will be furnished on the approaches, because slight inclines there are expected to slow down the movement of the vehicular queues.

Ventilation to rid the tunnel of carbon monoxide gases from automobile exhausts will be furnished by four large shafts and also by an air duct under the roadway and an exhaust above. Smoky vehicles circulate poisonous gas freely in closed places, but chemists working on the tunnel ventilation system estimate that at the highest point of saturation there will be only 3½ parts of carbon

monoxide to 10,000 parts of air in the tube. It requires eight parts of the gas to 10,000 parts of air, they figured, to give a man a headache.

So accustomed is the public mind to the contemplation of great public works of this kind that a single one causes scarcely a ripple on the surface. While the millions cross and recross the Hudson River, or dive under it in the tubes and tunnels already constructed, the work thus described will go on and the public be none the wiser until some day, four years later, the doors will be thrown open and millions will go surging through and the tide of travel by ferries and the other tubes will appear to be undiminished. By the time the new tunnel is ready for operation, the population on the Jersey side will have grown so great, and the traffic will be so heavy that plans will be in the making to provide for still another.

What New York will be a century hence baffles the imagination.

Enforcing Prohibition

SLOWLY but surely the nation is coming to grips with the lawless liquor traffic. It is not surprising that there have been some charges of corruption on the part of men who were appointed to enforce the law. It should be remembered that some of them were purely political appointees who had no interest in the success of prohibition, but who saw in the appointment an opportunity to get a salary. A few of them may have been corrupt and were willing to supplement what the Government pays them with ill-gotten gain from the liquor traffic.

Honest officials have been beset with difficulties due to the failure of Congress to make an adequate appropriation for the enforcement of the law. Men like Federal Prohibition Commissioner Kramer, Major Dalrymple and others have been over-worked and have had all too little help.

But the net is closing around the law violators and once the country gets past the election, they will find the going more difficult and the dangers becoming constantly greater.

There is no discernible indication that the people desire anything other than a stringent and vigorous enforcement of the law. The wets have consoled themselves all along with the thought which they have often voiced that the nation would soon grow tired of restrictions and that multitudes would join in the demand for the repeal or non-enforcement of the law.

There is no such demand. On the contrary, there is a growing impatience at law violation. The instinct of the American people which commits them to the constitution and its enforcement as our only safety from anarchy and lawlessness, stands them in hand at this hour. So certain of it are the candidates that they are pledged to law enforcement. No man would dare present himself as a candidate for the presidency with an announcement that, if elected, he would repeal the law. So it has come about that both Harding and Coolidge stand for the supremacy of the law and that they intend to keep the presidential oath of office.

Once we get past the election and into the next administration, the public demand for law and order will be such that the administration—whatever is at the head of it—will make quick work of the liquor traffic.

John Barleycorn is doomed.

William A. Ayres of Kansas

KANSAS has but one Democratic congressman. His name is William A. Ayres and he represents the Eighth or Wichita district. The Enquirer is not particularly interested in him as a Democrat, for it has been the duty of this journal to oppose more than one wet Democrat trying to break into Congress.

But William A. Ayres is not of that sort. He stands on the right side of the prohibition issue and has a record which should commend him to the voters of his district. Although it is strongly Republican, he was first elected in 1914, again in 1916, then in 1918, and now in 1920 is running for re-election.

The writer knows nothing about his opponent who may be dry—probably is. He ought to be since he is running on the Republican ticket in Kansas; but the fact is that Honorable William A. Ayres stood for prohibition in Congress when it took courage to do it and he deserves, on that basis, to be rewarded by the prohibition people who appreciate that kind of thing.

If he were a man of no ability, were he possessed of a character which would not bear inspection, his vote for prohibition would not protect him from criticism or opposition, but he is not that kind. He is forceful and able and it is hardly to be doubted that his splendid service in Congress, standing for the home against the saloon, will commend him to the men and women of his district, who will determine on the Second of November who is to represent them in Congress.

They will honor themselves in electing William A. Ayres.

CHARLES A. HAWKINS FOR CONGRESS

The Twentieth Pennsylvania Congressional district consists of York and Adams counties and is represented by Edward S. Brooks, of York, who voted to break down the Volstead act by unfriendly amendments and who voted in favor of the motion to recommit legislative appropriation bill (H. R. 6810) with an amendment providing for the repeal of the Volstead act and to strike out the appropriation for prohibition enforcement.

Asked to explain his position he stated in a letter that he thought he was correctly representing the sentiment of his district.

His renomination by the Republicans forced the dry people to look elsewhere for a candidate and they found one in the person of Charles A. Hawkins, who has accepted the Democratic nomination and who stands flatly and squarely for national prohibition and its enforcement. In a letter to Mr. W. McConkey Kerr, secretary of the York County No-Licence League, Mr. Hawkins says:

"I thank you very much for your expression of confidence in my sincerity and for the opportunity which you offer. You can readily understand that such an expression is gratifying to one whose attitude in favor of temperance legislation has always been the same both before and since the pro-temperance side of the issue became popular.

"I stand for the national prohibition amendment and for the Volstead act for its enforcement, and I favor an appropriation by Congress sufficient to make enforcement effective. The present Congress has failed to appropriate sufficient money for the purpose. There is no possible excuse for the bootlegger nor for the maintenance of places for selling intoxicants in wilful violation of the law. I am opposed to increasing the alcoholic content of one-half of one per cent provided by the Volstead act, or to weakening the act in any respect. My experience shows that it needs amendment at any point it should be amended by its friends, not by its enemies.

"The benefits to the people experienced from prohibition, and the violations of the law (and these will soon be minimized), are a parent for discussion.

"Respectfully,
(Signed)
"CHARLES A. HAWKINS."

Mr. Hawkins is a public-spirited man, who is well known throughout the district and has the confidence of the people.

In connection with his candidacy, the York Gazette speaks as follows: "Too good to be true." That is the remark made by a well-informed citizen of high character when he was discussing the probability of the election of

He Hadn't Started

Hiram Meadows was an old-fashioned farmer. He firmly believed in that quaint and worn-out saying, "Early to bed, early to—." How does the rest of it go? He couldn't get along at all with the modern type of farm hand. So, after thinking matters over, Hiram decided to reform. After many trials he secured a strapping big fellow and resolved to keep that hand if humanly possible. Accordingly, on the first morning he waited till 4 o'clock before sounding the breakfast call.

"Get out of there quick if you want anything to eat."

"Thanks very much," growled the gem. "But I never eat anything just before going to sleep."—Kansas City Star.

PAYING THE PENALTY

Every state which has failed to pass a code for the enforcement of the Federal prohibition law is losing thousands of dollars in fines.

Charles A. Hawkins to Congress from this district.

There is absolutely no question as to Mr. Hawkins' ability. He stands head and shoulders above the average run of Congressional aspirants in mentality. There is absolutely no question as to his integrity. No man has ever breathed a word of suspicion against Mr. Hawkins' character. There is absolutely no question about his freedom of all domination by any interests, political or otherwise.

If Charles Hawkins goes to Congress,

he will go there unfettered by any promises, by any obligations to any particular political or private interests. He will go there prepared to take his oath of office within any mental reservation whatever. Any one who knows the man must realize this is true. He will not spend one cent for any questionable expenses. He will not make one promise in any wise improper. If elected it will be by the free ballots of the majority of the voters of this district, and to them, and to them only, will he be under obligation. And when

CHARLES A. HAWKINS



Candidate Twentieth Pennsylvania Congressional District

STEWART DATES IN HAWKINS' DISTRICT

Wednesday, October 27th

10:00 A. M. Dallastown.
2:00 P. M. Firemen's Hall, Delta.
3:30 P. M. Public Square, Fawn Grove.
4:30 P. M. M. E. Church, Stewartstown.
6:15 P. M. U. B. Sunday School Room, Red Lion.
8:00 P. M. Court House, York.

A Progressive Bloc

(The Nation)

THE great two-ring political circus now showing has ceased to attract even the mildest interest. Tight-rope walker Harding's performance is so crude as to excite little save derisive laughter, while the weapons brandished by sword-swallower Cox are so evidently made of papier mache that the crowd turns its back on the Democratic ring before the real act begins. The sideshows are doing no business at all. The Farmer-Labor tent is utterly empty; a government, solicitous for the morals of its citizens prevents the star performer of the Socialist show from exhibiting under its canvas; and the Eighteenth amendment makes impossible the sale even of red lemonade in the Prohibition booth. A board electorate, having passed the milestone of Babe's fifth homer, turns its attention to an unexampled baseball scandal and the world series. The second four years of Wilsonism were too much for the ordinary American. Judging from all present indications, he has simply made up his jaded mind to jump from the frying pan into the fire by voting for Harding. At Marion they are busy building a super-cabinet to function around a "normal" President.

The real battleground has accordingly shifted to the back porch, where two groups of politicians are striving each to assert a proprietary interest in the amiable stuffed figure that the Republicans have set up as a candidate. Between the parties, no matter how loud they shout, there is no issue, national or international, but within each party there is an issue. The Republicans as a party, of course, are against the Wilson League of Nations, just as the Democrats are for it. But while the dominant Republican group must for partisan reasons fight the Wilson League, they are in reality no less earnest than the President himself in desiring its equivalent. Mr. Elihu Root, recently sojourning abroad in behalf of international peace, may fairly be presumed to have been not inactive during recent months in the difficult task of devising a rubber-tired, ball-bearing substitute for the creaking abomination that was patched together at Versailles. The real issue in this League of Nations business as in all domestic questions is not between the parties, but between the everyday people and the exploiting interestaries within each party.

It is by no means too early, then, to look forward to the next political development possible from the progressive viewpoint. All indications are that reaction is to carry the coming elections by overwhelming majorities. There is no reason to hope that the next Congress will be notably more liberal in either branch than the present whose members are so busy trying to get re-elected. From the action of the majority, then, nothing is to be hoped. But at each end of the Capitol there exists a saving remnant of individuals (they can scarcely be said in either case to make up a group) who have at any rate some realization of the issues and have stood in some measure for the popular interest. Why should not these individuals, without necessarily breaking party ties, yet recognizing the unreality of the issues separating the parties, unite as a progressive bloc for common action on the grave questions that must be faced in 1921 and the years following. The League question might well furnish a rallying point for such a bloc. As for other issues there are a plenty—labor, transport, the agricultural problem, civil liberty, our fiscal policy, etc.

Certain names at once come to mind: La Follette and Norris and Walsh and Borah, whose political independence has just been demonstrated anew; Johnson, Harris, Capper, France, McKellar, and Sheppard in the Senate, for example; and in the House men like Huddleston, Kelly, Frear, Baer, Cars, Sinclair, Browne, James, Fuller, of Massachusetts, Keller, Mason and Randall of California. There is reasonable hope for some reinforcement of the group in the House, but the course we have suggested depends for its effectiveness, not upon large numbers, but upon courage and clearness of purpose. We recognize full well the difficulties of that course, and we entertain no illusions as to the character of some of these political leaders of ours. But such as they are, they represent the best we have to work with at present; and unless progressives are to despair utterly of political action, they must think out some mode of getting forward in the midst of the prospective wilderness of reaction. We would accordingly urge upon these and other like-minded political leaders the desirability, nay the necessity, of some such action if the progressive thought of the country is not to be voiceless in the next two years. The formation of such a bloc might have immediate practical consequences of importance. Should the Senate be closely divided again, as is not impossible, even a small group of Senators, acting fearlessly together with a fairly clear conception of the issues involved, might, by utilizing the partisan di-

(Continued on Page 16)

CONTEMPORARY EDITORIAL COMMENT

MR. ROOSEVELT PERCEIVES

(Milwaukee Sentinel)

Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, candidate for vice-president on the Democratic ticket, has made another astounding discovery.

It will be recalled by lovers of humor, that Mr. Roosevelt, quite early in the campaign, unearthed the fair raising discovery that the Republicans, headed by that arch-villain Will Hays, than whom a milder mannered pirate never scuttled ship, were raising a campaign fund of \$32,000,000 for the purpose of corrupting the electorate and preventing the otherwise free and untrammelled voters of the nation from expressing their natural desire to vote for Cox and Roosevelt.

Following this tremendous announcement Mr. Roosevelt quieted down and while he has been making some speeches around the country he has not particularly disturbed the political waters or aroused such manifestations of enthusiasm as to warrant particular comment on his adventures.

But on arriving at Denver a few days ago Mr. Roosevelt announced that his discovering facilities are still in excellent order and functioning more efficiently even than does the League of Nations.

This, he asserted, had been proved to him by his discovery that there is a tremendous swing of public sentiment toward the Democratic party; that the people are turning by hundreds of thousands to the Wilson covenant and that panic and consternation are rife among the Republican leaders in consequence.

There seems to be something in the rarified atmosphere of the Mile high city which stimulates candidates. It was in Denver, it will be recalled, that Governor Cox discovered the divine authorship of the League Covenant. Now Mr. Roosevelt in the same city discovers what no one else has discerned—a tremendous revulsion of public sentiment in favor of the Democratic party and the certainty of an almost unanimous election of Mr. Cox and himself.

This is most gratifying and pleasing and reassuring. The fact that Mr. Roosevelt has been able to discover a fact that no one else has been able to discover; that he alone has been able to see those hundreds of thousands of voters scuttling to the Democratic ranks, either marks him as a man of extraordinary perspicacity or is a mighty good advertisement for Colorado ozone as a stimulant for the prophetic vision.

Of course if the converts to the Democracy do not materialize in any greater proportion than did the \$32,000,000 of the Republican campaign fund discovery Mr. Roosevelt's latest perceptive triumph will fizzle out at the back end. But he has made it and announced it anyway.

THE WILSON-SPENCER CONTROVERSY

(Minneapolis Journal)

The "official version" of what President Wilson said at the eighth plenary session of the Peace Conference at Paris, concerning which his controversy with Senator Spencer of Missouri arose, has now been published in Mr. Wilson's behalf. Two things are to be observed about this publication:

First, it is not an official version at all, but the transcription of an American stenographer's notes. The official version of these debates remains a closely guarded secret document. Mr. Wilson has never been willing to have it published. Even now, when he has challenged the accuracy of Senator Spencer's charge, he does not produce the official docu-

ments, but relies on the volunteered version of an American stenographer attached to the American mission, who heard the debate and preserved his notes.

Second, the version offered does not contradict Senator Spencer's original charge, namely, that the President had promised Rumania and Serbia that "if any nation ever invaded their territory, he would send the American army across the seas to defend their boundary lines." On the contrary, the plain implication of the whole argument made by the President was that such succor would be sent.

To understand the situation it is necessary to remember the topic of debate. The Great Powers proposed to put into the treaty a clause safeguarding the rights of minorities in Rumania, Serbia and Czechoslovakia. To this strong objection was made by Rumania and Serbia. They were ancient sovereignties and independent states, and therefore not to be dictated to in domestic matters.

President Wilson's reply was that these states were adding large new territories as a result of the war, and that the Powers, in order to assure themselves that the peace to be made would prove permanent, were entitled to require such a pledge.

For, said Mr. Wilson in the version he has now authenticated, back of a peaceful and permanent settlement "lies this fundamentally important fact that, when the decisions are made, the Allied and Associated Powers guarantee to maintain them." If that didn't mean a pledge that the United States would send its army if necessary to defend the boundaries of Rumania or Serbia, what in the name of common sense did it mean?

Here we have the crucial point about Article X once more. It is evident that Mr. Wilson meant Rumania and Serbia to understand exactly what he forced into the Covenant in Article X. And when later on he was questioned at the White House by his visitor at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he declared that, while Article X placed no legal obligation on the United States to go to war in behalf of any member of the League, it did involve a moral obligation that was far stronger.

The various versions of what Mr. Wilson said to Rumania and Serbia, "official" and otherwise, are all consistent with Senator Spencer's charge. Moreover, they are consistent with the language of Article X and with the utterances of Mr. Wilson in explanation of that article.

MERELY A SIDE ISSUE

(Detroit Free Press)

In the present stage of the controversy between Senator Spencer and the President as to what was said by the President at the peace conference about sending American soldiers and ships to Europe for the defense of Rumania and Serbia strong partisans on either side may claim victory. The stenographer's notes which the White House has finally produced show that the words used by the President at the eighth plenary session were not the words which Senator Spencer imputed to him.

On the other hand, the version which the White House now gives out may be taken by implication to contain the promise which Senator Spencer said the President made explicitly. But judgment may still be reserved if one pleases until the evidence is all in and Paris is still to be heard from. The official version of the session is on file there and the President has asked that the veil of secrecy be lifted sufficiently to make his own words public.

When that report arrives the contestants will be able to rest triumph-

ant, retire defeated or renew the battle on the other flank as the facts warrant and circumstances dictate, but when it is all said and done what difference will it make to the voter?

The whole question is whether the President at a particular time said that under particular circumstances the American army and navy would be sent to Europe. Assuming that he is right and that he never said what was ascribed to him it is still a fact that, to use his own words, force is in the background of the League. Nobody doubts that and nobody denies it. Neither does anybody deny that the kind of force contemplated is military force, to which the United States, if it joined the League, would be in honor bound to contribute whenever the League decided to exercise military force.

This is the big fact beside which the question of truth or accuracy which has arisen between Senator Spencer and the President is entirely secondary.

That question is important only as it helps one to judge the President and his methods. It is of no material value in judging the issues of the campaign notwithstanding the President's foolish invitation to the voters of Missouri to express their opinion of it at the polls.

COCKRAN BOILS OVER

(Buffalo Express)

The statement of Senator Harding that he would not interfere in Ireland is responsible for the "renewal of the war of extermination now being waged under the orders of Lloyd George," W. Bourke Cockran declares. Mr. Cockran's statement was made in reply to a telegram he received from John A. McGarry and eleven other Irish sympathizers in Chicago who signed themselves members of the National Anti-League association. He adds:

"There should be a protective duty on these products produced at low standards of living, and no one question confronting the next Congress is more important. In this matter Georgia is peculiarly interested."

And the Manufacturers' Record, exponent of all that concerns the South, says:

"The influx of such products only tends to lessen our activity and lower the standard of living of highly-paid American wage-earners to the three-eighth-cent-a-day labor of the East. The tariff issue is to be the dominant issue for the next few years. We must save America by a protective tariff or see American agricultural and industrial interests swamped by the products of men and women working for a small fraction of what American farm and industrial labor is receiving."

The most radical of Northern protectionists never were more emphatic in the championship of their policy. A few of them lived to see the seed sown in the South sprout and grow, but they did not realize their dream of the Solid South being broken on that issue. Were they alive, they now might find a more substantial basis for their vision.

Such quibbling and misrepresentation is unworthy even of Bourke Cockran—and that's saying a great deal.

What comfort will Ireland find in the San Francisco platform—which Mr. Cockran helped frame?

Wherein does Cox's official position on the Irish question differ from Harding's?

Where is the proof that atrocities—by either side—increased in Ireland after Harding spoke?

And what justification is there for any such version of Harding's reply? Certainly nothing that has been made public justifies putting such words into Harding's mouth?

What's eating Cockran and the other bosses that helped to nominate Cox is the knowledge that Irishmen, in greater number than ever before, intend to vote the Republican ticket this year.

PROTECTION IN THE SOUTH

(Cincinnati Enquirer)

The susceptibility or public sentiment to influences that touch the pocketbook has no better illustration than the development of the protective tariff policy in the South, and the increasing volume of protest from there against foreign competition in cotton seed, peanuts and soya beans.

Not many years ago the South was a free-trade stronghold. It is only since the industrial awakening of that section that the protective policy has received a hearing there. The increase of iron and steel furnaces, of textile mills and other manufacturing plants has been the chief causes of the change. This was the basis of Republican hopes years ago, that the protection issue would break the "Solid South."

With the diversification of agriculture, protection has found additional champions among the producers of raw materials, until the old freed traders of that section would turn in their graves could they realize the extent of the spread of the doctrine which they were wont to denounce as nothing short of pernicious and destructive of American development.

Today there is a protective tariff convention sitting in New Orleans, and it is said to be planned to make as vigorous a presentation of the need for protection of all Southern products as ever emanated from a similar convention in New England on behalf of textiles and footwear. The Atlanta Constitution is one of the strongest advocates of this once forbidden policy. Of the competition of foreign products which most affects the South, it says:

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And the Manufacturers' Record, exponent of all that concerns the South, says:

"The influx of such products only tends to lessen our activity and lower the standard of living of highly-paid American wage-earners to the three-eighth-cent-a-day labor of the East. The tariff issue is to be the dominant issue for the next few years. We must save America by a protective tariff or see American agricultural and industrial interests swamped by the products of men and women working for a small fraction of what American farm and industrial labor is receiving."

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TEACHERS AND PLUTOCRATS

(Nashville Tennessean)

Nashville heard a few irrefutable statements made Tuesday which should cause every citizen to stop his affairs for a moment and think of the precarious condition which our public school system has reached. Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, who spoke in the Commercial Club at a meeting of the Citizens' Conference Committee on Education, proved that the cost of keeping a prisoner in jail for one year in Tennessee is more than the salary which we pay the elementary school teacher. He proved his statement by figures.

Dr. Claxton also pointed out that Tennessee is far behind other commonwealths in educational matters. He showed that in Ohio there is "a

state law fixing the minimum wage of an elementary teacher at \$800, while in North Carolina the standard teacher is protected by the law, which makes the minimum wage \$1,200 yearly."

We have known for a long while that Tennessee was behind many states in its school system. The literacy reports of the Government more than once have caused all of us to blush. Tennessee's rating alongside other states in this regard has not been cheering. But, ostrich-like, we have hidden our faces from the facts, hoping for better times in the future, and believing that some geni with a lamp would appear and suddenly make everything right.

But no geni can appear. The future of the state rests primarily on the public school system. Unfortunately, those leaders from whom we might expect the most interest in educational matters have given little time and less thought to this important subject. Their own children are educated in private schools, and the needs of the masses have not been impressed upon them.

The majority of parents, especially in the country districts, can not afford to send their children to private instructors. They must make the most of the advantages which the state provides. And what can we expect of a school system which does not pay a decent wage to its teachers?

All school salaries in this state are comparatively low. In the city they are better than in the country districts, but it is especially in rural communities that excellent instructors should be provided, and they can not be obtained for long for the miserly salaries which we pay them.

In years past earnest young men and women chose to make of teaching a life-work. They scrimped and saved, went through the normal schools at great sacrifice to themselves, and then devoted the remainder of their years to the youth of the state. But these teachers today are leaving their profession in alarming numbers. Many of them can make more money in a bank, punching an adding machine than they can in the school room. One can not blame them for seeking better positions. A teacher must eat, the same as a plutocrat.

But this is not the worst phase of the situation. Because of the poor wages which we pay, hundreds of young high school students, who otherwise would study for a teaching career, now turn their backs on that profession and go into other lines of work which are more remunerative, and, in many instances, not as difficult to pursue.

These prospective teachers have seen the older ones in the ranks leave the schoolroom forever, because they could not make ends meet. They have heard the tales which these veterans told of underpay, and lack of opportunity. One can not blame them for seeking another vocation.

As a consequence of this, there are very few trained persons who are willing to devote their lives to the instruction of the young. The material from which school boards have to choose is far from promising. But our children must go to school, so the board members are forced to take almost any applicant who applies, no matter how unfit he or she may be for these duties.

The remedy for this condition lies with us—the citizens of Tennessee. If we arise in numbers and demand that our children's teachers continue to be trained men and women who are devoting their lives to this work, then those who have the power to change conditions and raise salaries will see that this is done. Otherwise we will continue as in the past few years—and the best-prepared instructors will go to other states where higher salaries are paid, for a teacher must eat, the same as a plutocrat.

LLOYD GEORGE EXPECTS US

(Rocky Mountain News.)

From long-distance observation Great Britain, speaking through its press, foresees the election of Senator Harding. The fact, however, does not deter Lloyd George from predicting that after the Presidential election America will enter the League of Nations. He gives this as his belief in an interview which constitutes the feature article on the first page of a periodical named the Lloyd George Liberal Magazine, and evidently intended to be a personal organ for the Prime Minister.

The British Premier does not admit that the League has been scrapped, but he contends that it will not be effective until all nations come in. "At present it is only a league of allies," he says, and he argues that not only America, but Germany also must be admitted before it presents a completely organized front to the world. The admission of Germany he conditions upon proof of good faith in the discharge of her treaty obligations, and it is evident he has strong hope that such proof will be given.

The significance of the British Premier's confident prediction that America will enter the League after the election lies in the fact that he must be fully aware of Senator Harding's attitude and of the views of such influential advisers in the Republican party as Mr. Root. On this assumption, it is not straining too far to predicate the theory that Mr. Lloyd George regards a reorganization of the League on the basis of a revised covenant as a possibility to which he would enter no serious demurrer.

If Senator Harding has been emphatic in repudiating what its opponents term the "Wilson League," he has been no less emphatic, although less expansive, in declaring his determination to bring the United States into co-operative relations with the League members for the better of the world and enduring peace of the world.

It is reiterated determination which carries assurance to the British Premier. He is more concerned about the principle involved in the League conception than he is about the precise form embodying it. If the present form is not sufficiently elastic to make room for the United States, then, in his belief, the League, as it exists, can not be effective.

It seems reasonable to assume, from the attitude of the British Premier and from the known position of other British and French statesmen, that should Senator Harding propose a revision of the Versailles Covenant his proposal will meet with friendly consideration.

CHAMPIONS OF THE WORLD

(Cleveland Plain Dealer)

Today Cleveland is profoundly grateful to a group of about twenty-two professional athletes. Cleveland's baseball team has at last put Cleveland on the baseball map, and has written her name so large that it will not soon be erased. Cleveland has won the championship of the world. And she has won it in a way which will not soon be forgotten.

The Brooklyn, Cleveland's opponent for highest honors, scored six runs in seven games, an average of a little less than one run per game. Cleveland scored twenty-one runs, which is not a large number for seven games, but it fairly represents Cleveland's margin of superiority. Not since the world's championship series became an American institution has one contestant more clearly and decisively outclassed its rival. Some series have been won in straight games, while Cleveland was contented with five out of seven, but not even in those one-

sided contests was superiority more evident.

The championship is a good thing for Cleveland. For more than a week it has centered the nation's attention on the Fifth City. Not even the Presidential campaign has availed to lessen interest. Cleveland's achievement is the talk of the United States. Sunday's wonderful game, which made Smith and Wambegans immortal, will be remembered as long as baseball is played. The series stands unique because of the tragic loss of Chapman, and the playing of a twenty-one-year-old boy in his place. It stands unique because of the marvelous showing of Mails, fresh from the green shrubbery of the Pacific coast. And it will be remembered because it was the series that was played close on the heels of the sickening disclosures of baseball dishonesty and definitely and probably permanently wiped away the stain with which a handful of petty crooks had smeared the national game.

Cleveland is altogether satisfied. The city plugged along for forty-two years without winning even a league championship. And then came the double glory.

The city thanks Jim Dunn, the owner; Tristram Speaker, the manager and playing exemplar; and every one of the twenty-two who labored, faithfully and undismayed in the face of seeming disaster and deepest grief, to bring honor to the city whose colors they wore.

WHAT COULD HARDING ACCOMPLISH?

(Boston Post)

With most of the Republican leaders supporting the Republican national ticket, there is an appearance of harmony that is anything but real. On the League of Nations issue, the leaders are wide apart. Very likely, there are other differences of great domestic importance upon which they do not agree.

Under such circumstances, what would it profit the Republican party to win the election?

Beyond the spoils of office, upon which there is splendid unanimity, there is every appearance that no concrete program of policy and legislation could command the united support of the party leaders or the approval of the rank and file.

Mr. Harding would make a separate peace with Germany. Would Congress sanction that? He would restore the higher tariffs of the old Republican days, apparently failing to comprehend that higher tariffs would ultimately conduce to the higher cost of living. Would Congress sanction that?

And if these two difficulties were surmounted, what would be the Republican policy with respect to taxes? What revision of the income tax rates would they favor? In what degree would they transfer present war burdens from the shoulders of the war profiteers to the consumers? In what way would they amend the Federal Reserve Act so as to restore to Wall street a larger measure of control?

These are but a few questions that come to mind when the possibility of a Republican victory is suggested, so it would seem that the new administration would either go to pieces through irreconcilable disagreements, or through such a revival in privilege as would be certain to wreck the party within four years.

The Republican platform is explicit upon no important issue. It is so colorless that both Mr. Taft and Hiram Johnson can accept it and support the colorless candidate who upholds it. Since it is without a known coherent policy, since it pledges nothing, since it is harmonious in no respect save in the desire for spoils, what could the Republican party accomplish for the

country and how could it avoid utter destruction when it had floundered through four years of evasion and opportunism in such a period of crisis?

And what could the ordinary citizen—those who do not expect privilege—expect by voting to install such an administration in Washington?

There is not one benefit that an unselfish American could hope to enjoy, so far as one can judge by either the Chicago platform or the rapid phrases uttered by the candidate. A voter might vent a grudge, or seek a special privilege or voice a prejudice, but that would be all.

Granting that in political psychology, an intermittent craving for change is inevitable, what reasonable change could an unselfish voter wish now? Would it be in the matter of profits or wages? Would it be in lessening the strength of our defense? Would it be such a policy of isolation as would default on the obligations of the peace our armies and navies won?

Granting that there have been mistakes made during the present administration, haven't the achievements been epochal? And wouldn't it be better to safeguard those achievements than to react to conditions that might upset the world again and ultimately arrest our national growth and bring an era of deadly stagnation?

Surely it must be plain that the peace era is full of danger. Would it be wise to throw all of our machinery into confusion and risk both the prosperity and security we enjoy?

If there were ever a time when the American voter ought to be vigilant and thoughtful surely now is the time.

A FRUIT OF THE INITIATIVE

(New York Times)

Oregon is a shrine where the vestal lamp of reform or change burns forever. Still, one feels, sometimes or oftener, that she's too good for human nature's daily food. On election day her voters will have the happiness of voting on an initiative proposal called an anti-compulsory vaccination amendment. This would prohibit "vaccination, inoculation or other form of medication" as a condition of entrance or attendance at any school, college, educational institution, or of "the employment of any person in any capacity, or for the exercise of any right, the performance of any duty or the enjoyment of any privilege"; and would repeal all provisions, constitutional, statutory, municipal, of charter or ordinance, in conflict with itself.

That is, it would make infection and contagion constitutional, upset all health regulations, protect disease and the communication of disease, encourage and disseminate disease, discourage and prevent health. There are some rare reformers in Oregon, but a queerer specimen of their pernicious activity has seldom been offered to that long-suffering and much-voiced state.

COX'S CAMPAIGN NOTE

(Buffalo Express)

There is a law of the state of Ohio which forbids contributions by corporations to campaign funds. The evidence taken by the senate investigating committee at Dayton shows that when running for governor two years ago James M. Cox raised \$5,000 by a personal note for campaign purposes and that this note was later taken up and paid by a corporation.

Senator Edge says that the case is one of a prosecuting officer. And this is the man who asks to be elected President of the United States! If the Democratic party were high-minded, he would be withdrawn from the ticket unless he can offer satisfactory disproof of the evidence presented.

The Evolution of Wilson

Editorial by J. Frank Hanly reprinted from National Enquirer of May 30, 1918

THE SPIRITUAL insight of President Wilson into the great verities that underlie the structure of the world's civilization has, we think, been keener and clearer than that of any statesman, either here or abroad. It is well for us that it should be so. It has enabled him to envision the profound and vital issues involved in the momentous struggle and to speak to and stir the hearts of all free peoples everywhere.

The war is to be won by the imponderables, the indefinable things—things that can not be weighed or handled or counted—things of the soul, of the conscience and the inner self. There must be armies and there must be navies and all the gross material of war, but back of these there must be the imponderables. These spiritual things, he has been able to see and to express and envision with a felicity of speech, a simplicity of diction and a loftiness of eloquence which have elated the democracies of the world into a new concept of international right, justice and brotherhood, a concept upon which alone the world's peace and happiness can be founded.

Accustomed to the cloister of the university, to the dream and theory of student life and intellectual pursuits, a man of peace and opposed to war, he was "too proud to fight." The awfulness of the war, the stupendousness of the crime, shocked him. Every prompting of his fine mind and sensitive soul led him not only to the hope that his own country should be spared participation in the crimson baptism consequent thereon, but to every endeavor to so shape events that it should be spared such participation. He was slow to believe that men responsible for the administration of the government of any modern or civilized people could intend the overthrow and destruction of all the great elemental rights of both men and nations.

When our rights were invaded, our honor insulted, and atrocities too unforgivable to go unredressed were committed, he sought to argue the perpetrators into penitence and regret, in the hope that they could thereby be persuaded and deterred from further conduct so utterly reprehensible.

He went into the presidential campaign proud of the fact that he had kept us out of war for two full years when half the world was aflame with battle, and made the fact that he had the basis of his plea for re-election. Upon that plea alone he won, upon that ground he was recommissioned.

Scarcely had his second term begun, indeed, before it had begun, he found his hopes shattered and his efforts to redress our wrongs without the sword ineffective and futile. He was dealing with a government and a people utterly without appreciation or sense of established or recognized human rights, individual or national—a government and a people mad with power and that knew no god save that of might. Proud that he was, he was compelled to fight.

He was given no choice. The dread decision was made, but even then his mental attitude and concept of Germany remained almost unchanged. Even as he stood with sword in hand he sought peace by parley and the offer of terms fair and generous to the verge and strain of duty—"peace without victory."

Indeed, it was not until the close of another full year of war, and for us a year of imperfect and hesitant preparation, that he was able to grasp the stern, relentless fact that he was dealing with a foe that desired no peace but one of subjugation and annihilation.

Speaking at Baltimore on the anniversary of our entrance into the struggle, he confessed his "utter disillusionment," and announced the only policy possible to us or the allied nations.

Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

A few days thereafter—in his Red Cross speech in New York—he gave evidence of a full acceptance of the theory he had enunciated at Baltimore and of his purpose to make that theory an accomplished fact, declaring:

The first duty, the duty that we must keep in the foreground of our thought until it is accomplished, is to win the war. I have heard gentlemen recently say that we must get five million men ready. Why limit it to five million?

I have asked the Congress of the United States to name no limit, because Congress intends, I am sure, as we all intend, that every ship that can carry men and supplies shall go laden upon every voyage with every man and every supply she can carry.

And we are not to be diverted from the grim purpose of winning the war by any insincere approaches upon the subject of peace. I can say with a clear conscience that I have tested these intimations and have found them insincere. I now recognize them for what they are, an opportunity to have a free hand particularly in the east to carry out their purposes of conquest and exploitation.

And now the military affairs committee of the House has reported a bill giving him power to call out draft registrants without limitation, as fast as they can be handled by the War Department. The measure is almost certain to become a law before the adjournment of Congress.

This means an army of ten million men—an army more numerous and powerful than any ever heard or dreamed of by any responsible government since the beginning of time.

The thing is stupendous, so great that its cost is left out of the calculation. It is based on the belief that any expenditure necessary to accomplish victory will be justified.

From a man "too proud to fight" and an advocate of "peace without victory," the President has become the proponent of a policy of force so colossal in numbers and in power as to stagger the mind.

Nor has the evolution been in the mind of the President alone. It includes that of the nation. In his disillusionment and his rise to the advocacy of the mobilization and expression of the nth degree of our might, the President typifies as he has never done before the thought and purpose of the American people.

The momentous issue involved, fateful to the race to its latest generation, and our resolve that there shall be no terms but the submission of the foe, followed by acceptance of the great verities the President has so clearly sensed and envisioned, justify the great adventure.

This nation stands today with its resources, its man power and its will to win, the one unsurmountable barrier between autocracy and world dominion. The world depends upon us. Its freedom in the last analysis rests upon the American army, the weight of our guns and the length of our sword.

It is well for America, the world and all the race, that the President has reached and voiced with us the great decision and equally well that the nation has accepted it and is prepared with him to give it effect with the last ounce of our collective might.

But with the evolution that has come to the President and the change in his attitude, his value and love for the spiritual things, the imponderables, has not lessened. Assurance of this is found in his Red Cross speech:

There are two duties with which we are face to face. The first duty is to win the war. The second duty, that goes hand in hand with the first, is to win it greatly and worthily, showing the real quality of our power not only, but the real quality of our purpose and of ourselves.

As it is with him, so it is with the nation. Even as we rise to the full expression of our might, we are mindful of the high and solemn duty that our might shall be greatly and worthily exercised to the end that it shall not destroy but preserve the things for which we have risen.

A nation sublime in its power, but sublimer still in the restraint and justice with which it administers the trust that follows its victory is a vision of sublimity unforgettable in meaning and immeasurable in promise.

There is in it the guarantee that freedom shall not be lost the race, and that justice and the rights of man shall not perish from the earth, but shall be maintained to the end of man until time shall write finis upon his affairs.

A Perilous Policy

Editorial by J. Frank Hanly reprinted from National Enquirer of May 16, 1918.

THE ENGLISH, Scotch and Irish committees appointed by the British government to make an investigation of the proposition for the purchase of the liquor traffic by the government have made a report in favor of the feasibility of the scheme and recommended its adoption.

They recommend the purchase by the government of breweries, distilleries and public houses, with the means of supply, stocks on hand to be regarded as working capital, to be taken over at a sum that shall equal the capitalization of the net profits of the concerns owning them, that is, on the basis of the profit they were capable of earning before the war, and that any payment therefore shall be by Government guaranteed stock, issued at a price that shall enable it to command in the market a cash equivalent to the sum arrived at by the capitalization of the net profit the business was making at the time the war began.

It is estimated by the committees that the cost of the purchase to the government will exceed four hundred million pounds—more than \$2,000,000,000.

For the British government in the midst of a war for its life to add this vast sum to its present incalculable indebtedness—an indebtedness that must inevitably be augmented by other incalculable sums before the war ends—it seems to us would be the limit of financial folly. The cost of the purchase ought of itself to preclude acceptance of the scheme.

But there are other greater reasons than the matter of cost, why an enlightened government, in the midst of a death grip struggle for the preservation of its institutions, the liberties of its people and its own life, should refuse acceptance of a proposition so unconscionable.

The character of the business precludes a Christian or civilized government from purchasing it at any price. The essence of the thing offered the government, and which if it accepts, it will pur-

chase, is not the physical property belonging to the traffic—that is only an incident—BUT THE RIGHT TO DEBAUCH, DEGRADE AND DESTROY THE PHYSICAL, MENTAL AND MORAL CHARACTER AND EFFICIENCY OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. This we submit is a right that no government can purchase, for it is a right that does not exist. Governments are instituted among men for the purpose of conserving and effectuating the welfare of their peoples. THEY CAN NOT BUY, ACQUIRE OR HOLD A RIGHT TO DEMORALIZE AND DESTROY THOSE WHOSE WELFARE THEY HAVE BEEN CREATED TO SERVE, WITHOUT DEPARTING FROM THE PURPOSE OF THEIR CREATION.

That a great free and enlightened Government should burden its people with a dividend-bearing indebtedness of more than \$2,000,000,000 to purchase such a right at such a time and under such circumstances is, it seems to us, unthinkable, and, that it should undertake to exercise it after acquirement, unendurable.

There is yet a further consideration. If such a government should so far forget itself and so depart from the purpose of its being as to purchase this impossible right, it could not exercise it without becoming a despoiler of its people, a wrecker of their happiness, a profiteer and a direct sharer in the spoil accruing therefrom.

The government that would do that would have no right to ask men to die or sacrifice that it might live, for it would not be worthy of life.

Men are dying in Flanders' fields and on Picardy's plains today because they believe the British government in purpose and in form is so well calculated to conserve human welfare and effectuate mortal happiness that their death and loss is justified, and that government may be preserved to their posterity, and lift above it a shield that shall forever guarantee its happiness.

For the British government to mortgage the posterity of these men while they are so dying, in a sum so immeasurable, for the purchase of a right which it can not buy, acquire or hold, or if purchased, exercise without betraying the purpose of its existence and the confidence and the love they bear it, and are sealing with their sacrificial deaths, would be to become a thing execrable among men, and to forfeit all right to the further allegiance of its people.

We can think of no act in which the British government could indulge that could more quickly and completely estrange its friends on this side of the sea—both in United States and in Canada—than for it to do this impossible thing.

For Great Britain to become the owner of this nefarious traffic and itself to administer the poison it distributes, at a time when we are preparing for its annihilation and the complete and eternal divorcement of government from a part and partnership with it, would destroy, as by an act of war and dishonor, the mutual confidence and regard upon which the high endeavor and will to do, necessary to win the war, is founded.

For her to make this unholy alliance with a foe which her own premier has declared to be a greater enemy than the armies we are summoning our best and noblest manhood to fight, would be such a betrayal of a high and solemn confidence that we could neither forget nor condone it.

It is to be hoped that the proposition submitted will get no further, for the sake of Great Britain herself, for our own sake, for the sake of the great cause for which both she and we fight and for the sake of the common interests that make us one today.

The Civic and Moral Value of Prohibition

Editorial by J. Frank Hanly reprinted from National Enquirer of May 9, 1918.

ON MAY 1st, prohibition became effective in the state of Michigan. The result was an immediate and striking reduction in the number of arrests and police court cases in every city in the state where bars had been previously conducted.

According to a news dispatch, the work of the police department had been so minimized in the first four days following the taking effect of the law that the members of the force were actually suffering from ennui. On the second day, there was not a single arrest for drunkenness in the whole twenty-four hours, and injuries from accident had fallen in number to a new minimum.

On April 3rd, the Indiana prohibitionary law became effective. At the close of the first month, the decrease in crime, in drunkenness and in the number of arrests in the wet cities throughout the state was anywhere from 25 to 50 per cent.

In the city of Indianapolis, Albert Mathey, turnkey for twenty years at police headquarters, declared the number of arrests had been so reduced as to be surprising. In twenty-four days, March 3 to 26, inclusive, the total number of arrests was 930. Of these, 112 were for intoxication. For the same period in April, but twenty-four persons were arrested for drunkenness and the total

number of arrests for crime was but 618—a decrease of approximately 33 per cent.

In twenty-three former wet cities of the state, there was a decrease of 24 per cent in the number of arrests of women, as compared with the same period in March, and a decrease of 25 per cent in the number of arrests of men. The decrease in these cities in arrests for intoxication approximated 70 per cent.

The decrease in arrests is not due to police laxity. On the contrary, police regulation and surveillance have been stricter and more effective since the taking effect of the law than prior thereto. During licenses, many cases of intoxication were protected and kept from the public and from police apprehension within the places where liquors were sold. Under no license, there is no opportunity for such protection. Every case of intoxication is exposed to public view and is the subject of police apprehension.

There has not only been a reduction in the number of arrests, but there has been an even greater reduction in the commission of crime. And this, in spite of the studied and persistent effort on the part of liquor forces to defy and break down the law in every wet center. According to press reports, this has been particularly true in Columbus, Evansville, Terre Haute, Hammond, Gary, South Bend and Ft. Wayne. In almost every instance, these gentry have been caught and fined, and not infrequently prison sentences imposed.

Both Indiana and Michigan are learning by actual experience what every other prohibition state has learned—that the dram shop and vice and crime go hand in hand, each reacting upon the other, and producing a never-ending stream of broken, crime-stained and degenerate humanity.

A half century of abstinence and consequent sobriety will make for the American people such an incalculable heritage of physical and mental efficiency and moral worth as will astound the world. It will do for the nation much more than it can do for the individual state. Once obtained and established, the time will quickly come when men will look upon the liquor traffic as they now look upon

Indiana Dry

Editorial by Oliver W. Stewart, reprinted from National Enquirer of April 4, 1918.

SINCE the last issue of the National Enquirer went out from this office, the state of Indiana has gone dry, as the result of the law, passed by the legislature, which went into effect on the second day of April, 1918.

True, there are cases pending and soon a decision of the Supreme Court of the state will declare the law valid or unconstitutional. Whatever the decision, the fact will remain that the people of the great commonwealth of Indiana, speaking through their legislature, put the stamp of their disapproval upon the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

Indiana is dry. The vision has come true, which J. Frank Hanly had when, as Governor of the state, his irresistible influence forced the enactment of a county option law.

Then, by many, he was called a political imbecile; today men acclaim him a far-seeing patriot. Knowing what was best for the people of the state of Indiana and believing the hour had come to drive straight forward at the liquor traffic, he began the fight and today the state is white, which so signally he loves and served.

It falls to the lot of few men, so early in life, while yet they are standing "on the vantage ground of life's serene meridian," to see their hopes achieved—their plans carried to fruition. Such is the lot of J. Frank Hanly, who turned his back upon political preferment, and reward and chose the hard and rugged, but upward, path.

When Indiana turned from darkness to light, from the legalized liquor traffic to prohibition, his name was on the lips of tens of thousands as they thanked God for a state made clean.

It is not true, as often said, "that republics are ungrateful." Sometimes they may seem to be unmindful, but finally they give credit where credit is due. Let no one doubt that in the annals of Indiana, the name of the Governor will be writ large, who started the battle against the power and greed of the organized liquor traffic.

As these words are penned, he is in the midst of the fight in Wisconsin where local elections afford an opportunity to rid the state of scores of saloons. Before he returns, the paper will be on the press and this editorial in print. It is the first time that the Associate Editor has presumed to write, on the editorial page, about the Editor-in-Chief in his absence, but the writer well knows that he is saying what is in the hearts of multitudes of people not only in Indiana but throughout the union.

Indiana dry is a monument to J. Frank Hanly.

Lesson IV. October 24, 1920

WHAT THE KING REQUIRES

Matt. 5: 1-48. Print 5: 1-10, 43-48

Golden Text.—Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. Matt. 5: 48.

Topic.—The character which Jesus requires. Time.—The summer of A. D. 28, about the middle of the three years of Christ's ministry. Place.—The Horns of Hattin, two or three miles west of the Sea of Galilee is the traditional site.

TOPICAL LIGHT ON THE LESSON

By Rev. I. F. McLeister

I. The Sermon On the Mount, Matt. 5: 1, 2.—Jesus had now been engaged over a year in spreading the good news of the kingdom. His miracles of healing had advertised his work throughout Syria. He had come to the important matter of choosing an apostate of twelve men. As was his custom in approaching a great event he had sought out a secluded place for prayer and had spent the night there. (Luke 6:12-17). The next morning he chose from among his disciples, twelve men as his apostles. It was now time that a statement of

principles, a party platform, should be made as to the character of the new and spiritual kingdom he proposed to establish. Jesus was not a policy man, he followed principle. He boldly and in plain language laid down plank after plank of imperishable truth as the platform of the new covenant religion. He was a master of assemblies, a most charming, magnetic speaker. Our lesson study takes up but a few of the great sayings recorded in Matt. 5-7.

II. The Beatitudes, Matt. 5: 3-10.—From "beati" the Latin word for blessed, we get the well known title for these eight verses. Every one wants to be happy and in his original plan God created everything to be completely and continuously happy. Sin came in and great has been the toil of mopping up the stream of human wretchedness. Now Jesus calls us back to first things, saying, in substance, "Would you be happy—be holy." His foundation for Christian character is deep. It begins in being "poor in spirit." Christ can not come into many hearts because they are already full, they are rich in their self-sufficiency. Linking into this sense of need which must be a deep and profound conviction of the mind that of ourselves we are poor and helpless

and in need of a Savior, must come the grasp of this conviction upon the emotions, hence, "blessed are they that mourn." Mourning is expressing grief. This mourning has to do with prayer, with humble pleading and asking. The law of the kingdom is, they that ask shall find. We next observe those who have mourned and have been comforted are made joint heirs with Christ, inheritors of the earth in the great scenes "when the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ." (Rev. 11: 15.) They are the meek because they have the Christ nature. In such a selfish, hustling day as is ours there would seem to be no place for the meek person here described, but a closer view shows that the humble, mild and gentle folks are blessed. Their inheritance will be good when title deeds to ill-gotten gains are aflame.

The next statement speaks of the blessedness of those who "hunger and thirst after righteousness." This is a sign of life, it takes life to hunger and thirst. To know Christ at all implies a desire to know Him better, to love Him better. This also carries a most assuring promise to the justified believer who is seeking the grace of entire holiness, to be filled with the

Spirit. The promise of Christ is, "they shall be filled." Two great principles of ethics, of good living are found in verses 7 and 9, where blessings are pronounced upon the merciful and the peace makers. These words have a close bearing upon the great mission of Christ coming as described in the angel's song, "On earth peace, good will toward men." The Jewish hearers might observe that Christ proposed to free them from the Roman yoke and all other yokes in His own way, and not as a rabid revolutionist. Next comes one of the brightest gems of truth, verse 8, "Blessed are the pure in heart." It is a great favor, but its attainment is possible. It comes not by man's development, but by God's bestowment, not attained, but obtained. The blessedness attached is, "they shall see God." "A sinful heart makes a blind eye. We see now, "in a glass darkly," but then "face to face," (1 Cor. 13: 12.) We have looked at seven descriptions of blessedness, the number of completeness. The eighth, verse 10, does not describe an element of Christian character, but rather it tells what the world will do to the persons who have these Christ-like qualities. The account given in Luke 6: 22, 23 is a more com-

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THE CHURCH AND ITS CHILDREN

Lesson V. October 31, 1920

HEW DOWN THE CORRUPT TREE—WORLD'S TEMPERANCE SUNDAY

Matt. 7: 13-39. Print 7: 15-27.

Golden Text.—Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.—Matt. 7: 19.

Topic.—Complete destruction of the liquor traffic. Time and Place: Same as last lesson.

TOPICAL LIGHT ON THE LESSON

By Rev. I. F. McLeister

I. The Two Ways, Matt. 7: 13, 14.—The scripture that describes the two ways is included in the lesson text, but not in the portion that is printed for today. Here life is alluded to as a journey and the picture is an apt one. Jesus had been laying down the laws of the kingdom, now He is appealing to men to enter it. They must know that it means serious business, they must enter by a straight gate. Though narrow, it stands ajar. It is wide enough to admit what is good and proper in us for Christ's service, but it shuts out all evil. The broad way prides itself on being liberal, an exponent of personal liberty. It affords space for every invention, addition and improvement that men may choose to put into formal religion to make it more palatable for the unregenerated heart.

II. Trees and Fruit.—Good and Bad, Matt. 7: 15-33.—Jesus pursued His appeal to the conscience and the judgment by another illustration from life. In a land where fruit trees were taxable it was important that each tree should prove its worth, its right to live. Leaves were nice to look at and necessary to life, but in due season, the fruit must appear or down goes the tree under the axe of a dissatisfied owner. By the same rule, Jesus said, are we to know men and doctrines. It is to be expected that in a religious movement so great, so marvelous, so democratic and so loaded with glorious promises as the religion of Jesus Christ, many leaders, preachers, teachers would attach themselves. One and all must come to the acid test, what fruit can you produce for time and eternity. It takes time to produce fruit and time is a great test of men and movements. Let us learn to bide our time in the flamboyant spring-time of a lot of new things in religion and wait for the summer heat and sober harvest days. Not what does it promise in May, but what can it show in October is the test.

We observe, too, that a tree bears fruit according to its kind. This fact is the joy of the Christian and the despair of the sinner. Jesus plants the good tree or the heavenly vine in the humble, believing heart and He does not "just try to be good," but the good is there and bears its own fruit.

III. The Two Buildings, Matt. 7: 21-27.—In the conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount appears one of the greatest appeals for godliness to be found in the Bible. In plain but vital language Jesus describes two builders. The wise man is a "doer" of the whole Word. When he hears of repentance he does that; of prayer, he prays; of humility, he humbles himself. In short, he digs deep and builds on the rock. In his secure dwelling he spends a happy life and his children rest safely there. The foolish man "doesn't take any stock in this repentance business." He gets religion easy. He "confessed Christ long ago," or he "just made a start." He builds a showy structure, but when the great deeps of life are breaking up, health goes, friends are swept away, winds of adversity blow, his house goes down and he is left without shelter for his soul. We offer a few modern appli-

cations of this kind of a building. Salvation by ethical culture, by baptism, by mere religious instruction, by reformation, by legal observance of the seventh day, mind healing or spiritualism. Let us bear in mind that disposing of sin is the vital issue. That is foundation work, it is vital, it is fundamental.

IV. The Case Against the Liquor Traffic.—It is very fitting indeed that in connection with such a lesson as this and on the Sabbath just before one of our great national elections, the liquor traffic should have a posthumous examination. We try it on the three tests of today's lesson, its foundation, its way, its fruit.

The foundation of the liquor traffic is an evil lust of the flesh. It is built on the shifting sand of perverted appetite. Its history shows it belongs to the baser elements of life. Gal. 5: 19-21. It can make no pretensions to being established on Christ, the rock foundation. Its house will fall. In America it has already met its end, and the nation is happier, richer and in every way better.

Its way is the broad way that leads to destruction. It seems to the tempted the easier way, its course is down grade, it delights to boast of personal liberty, but it ends in destruction. Its gate is wide and in the days of the open saloon many went in and the broad way was thronged with a motley crowd. On the other hand, gates to the best things are always narrow, to piety, learning and skill.

The fruit of the liquor traffic shows it is a corrupt tree. We have laid the axe to its roots, it fell with a crash, now it is no small task to watch the old stump and keep down the sprouts. Here, as elsewhere, constant vigilance is needed to maintain the fruits of victory.

MEDITATION AND PRAYER

By Rev. J. Herbert Bean

Scripture Matt. 7: 17.

Unfruitful trees as cumberers of the ground are hewn down, how much more important that obnoxious trees teachers would attach themselves. Economic or social institutions that hurt the body politic or blight in any wise the social life or the individual person should not be tolerated for a day.

Our authority for the destruction of the obnoxious in the order of human society is this injunction of the Savior to hew down the tree that bringeth not forth good fruit.

Our authority for characterizing the liquor traffic under any form as a corrupt tree is the fact it always bears; full jails and penitentiaries, almshouses and insane asylums; wretched homes and broken hearts; widows in penury and wives in sadder thralldom and children destitute and maltreated.

Were it true that only the immediate associates of the dealers in drink suffered, there would still be binding upon us the destruction of this traffic for their welfare. But when the contamination of this awful blight is worse in the ranks of men than the cedar-rust or San Jose scale in the forests and orchards of this natural world, it becomes the good citizens' paramount duty to lend his every aid to the hewing down and utter destruction of this corrupt tree bearing untold evil fruit.

Through all ages drunkenness has been a curse to the world; individuals and nations have burned in the fires of its kindling. Does it not seem strange that democratic America could have even enthroned the rum demon as she did in the days of license? Today his crown of authority has been taken from his unholy brow by the hand of the Eighteenth amendment and the Volstead enforcement

ENFORCING PROHIBITION

MONDAY, October 25, Organizing Justice, Exod. 18: 13-27; TUESDAY, October 26, Enforcing Laws, Rom. 13: 1-5; WEDNESDAY, October 27, Making Wrong-doers Pay, Exod. 21: 28-36; THURSDAY, October 28, Laws That Bite, Ezra 7: 11, 25, 26; FRIDAY, October 29, Praying for Blessing; I Tim. 2: 1-4; SATURDAY, October 30, No More Curse, Rev. 22: 1-5; SUNDAY, October 31, Topic—Making Prohibition Effective. Matt. 12: 43-45; Jer. 31: 33, 34.

Some Bible Hints

To remove the saloon out of the life of men without putting something else in its place is to leave the house "empty," and something evil will arrive and occupy it (v. 44).

A reformation that does not enlist the will of a man is worthless for him personally; Christ must take the place of the saloon to make a man's life safe (v. 45).

If God's law is loved prohibition will also be loved (v. 33).

Liquor feeds on ignorance of God and prospers only where God is not (v. 34).

Suggestive Thoughts

National prohibition will be made effective by the Federal Government, which will tolerate no tampering with law. Heavy penalties will discourage the law-breaker.

Liquor is now placed in the class of dangerous drugs like opium and prussic acid. To enforce the law the public must help to corral law-breakers.

Churches are beginning, like the Salvation Army, to urge "soup, soap and salvation." We need public places for social relaxation to take the place of the saloon.

The tendency to make intoxicating beverages at home must be met by fine and imprisonment.

A Few Illustrations

Morgan Memorial, Boston, an institutional church, has established a social hour, which is designed to take the place of the saloon. In many cities the church may provide social centers where men may spend the evening.

Cities that have really tried prohibition have found that it pays. Larger incomes and better living conditions will make business men support prohibition.

World-prohibition is now the goal of temperance reformers. No nation is safe for prohibition as long as any nation is addicted to drink.

To make prohibition effective we must have temperance city governments, temperance representatives, and temperance officers of the law. The public can get what it wants along these lines.

To Think About

How many women help to make prohibition effective?

What substitutes has our town provided for the saloon?

act is pulling down his throne, builded of widows' tears and orphans' woes.

So unholy a thing deserves no quarter and to temporize with it means to spare the life of the asp and prolong the days of the cicatrice to sting to death generations unborn.

Returning to the scripture symbol we'll hew down the rum tree, even dig up its roots lest it sprout, because its fruit is always and only evil.

Prayer

Lord and Savior! friend of sinners and foe of sin! Thou holy One! we lift

How many Endeavorers help prohibition?

A Cluster of Illustrations

Prohibition means increased national efficiency and better morale for the whole nation. It means increased real estate values.—Ex-Governor Foss.

Drinking is a purely social habit and prohibition will be helped when hotels establish bars for soft drinks.—Hill.

Each decade will make clearer the gains of abstinence and will bring to its support a larger number of thoughtful people. The pressure of economic conditions will add to the disadvantage of the drinker and force to the wall those seeking to relieve their misery by the use of drugs.—Simon N. Patten.

Clubs, or modified Y. M. C. A. "Huts" will provide every good element that the saloon ever contained, without any of the bad elements.—Anon.

our hearts to Thee for that glorious and full redemption we have in Thee. We praise Thee for those divine injunctions given us; which followed would bring in a new earth of righteousness.

Give us an unsullied love for men and an uncompromising hatred of sin. Give us that true love for all men that would put away from men as far as possible the pitfalls of sin; that hatred of sin that gives no quarter.

Give to the Christian citizenship of America today that loyalty to Thy teachings that shall not find ease in Zion till that corrupt liquor traffic tree shall have been utterly hewn down and destroyed. Amen.

TOPICAL LIGHT

(Continued from Page 12)

plete statement of grace triumphant in persecution. The history of the church in the days of the martyrs shows it is all true and practical.

III. Laws of the Kingdom Concerning Enemies, Matt. 5: 43-47.—The attitude of the Christian toward his enemies is required to be to love them. This is impossible to the unregenerated heart, but Christ, by His example shows how it can be done and by His proffered grace makes it possible. This love is to be expressed by deeds, "do good to them" and by words, "pray for them."

IV. Standard for Christian Character, Matt. 5: 48.—We believe Jesus was serious when He spoke these words, "Be ye therefore perfect," and that He intended them as a description of prime Christian experience. The perfection is one of grace. We might paraphrase it thus, As God responds in the absolute perfection of His nature, so should the Christian believer have the graces herein described of Christian perfection.

AN HONORED PROMOTION

Dear Mr. Stewart: It is an undisputed fact that the world has suffered an irreparable loss in the tragic death of Governor Hanly. His going home was indeed a fitting and honored promotion.

The Dysart W. C. T. U., Altoona, Pa.

ALL MISS HIM

Dear Mr. Stewart: I was so sorry to hear of Governor Hanly's death. It was quite a shock to me, but I am so glad that you have taken up his work and pray that you may be even more successful than he, though I know you will miss him as well as the rest of us.

Mrs. Annie E. Weaver, Birmingham, Ala.

"My Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ"

By J. FRANK HANLY

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DR. FRANK WOODBURY, Member Committee on Education International Sunday School Association, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

I have had My Lord and Savior Jesus Christ three days. I have read it four times, once quietly to myself and three times to friends. It is a most compelling statement of the person and divinity of Jesus Christ. It is a masterpiece here on earth.

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Record of Public Utterances and Attitude on Liquor Question of Governor James M. Cox and Senator Warren G. Harding

Governor Cox
(Digest for the Press.)

The following is a summary of the statement of Governor Cox's public record and utterances on the liquor question which the Anti-Saloon League of America submitted to him on September 3, 1920 inviting him to correct it or to make any comments on it which he desired to make before it was given to the press.

1. He advocated the license provisions in the constitution of Ohio, adopted in 1912, and the license law enacted under it.

2. In a public debate on License and Prohibition he said: "I differ strongly with Mr. Poling as to the best plan for settling the great moral question. I believe license to be the common sense solution."

3. On November 4, 1918, the people of Ohio voted in favor of an amendment to the state constitution which prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. In a message to the legislature Governor Cox urged the passage of laws for the enforcement of this amendment. Among other things he said: "This amendment is not the expression of caprice. The subject in question has been an issue for several years. Nothing can be more subversive of public interest than indifference to or defiance of the organic laws of the state." Referring to the proposal that enforcement of the law be left to local communities, he said: "It is respectfully urged upon you to give no place to such sophistry." With regard to a counter proposal, namely, that the state alone should be the responsible unit of law enforcement, he said: "This is most unsound in theory and would be a dangerous practice." After discussing both of these suggestions, he concluded his message as follows: "Reduced in plain terms, therefore, the enforcement of the law in the first instance should be with the public officers of the community, but a vigilant eye should be with the state, and power or removal from office should be given the Governor in case of delinquency."

4. He signed the enforcement code passed by the legislature and made the following statement as a part of the record: "The legislature has exceeded the authority granted in the prohibition amendment." Being requested to name any provision in the code in excess of the constitutional power, he failed to do so.

5. In the Chicago Tribune, October 26, 1920, he is quoted as saying: "The following statement in the wet-dry issue. If there should be any reaction from the present situation I think it will go no further than an amendment of the Volstead act to permit light wines and beers."

6. The secretary of the Ohio Liquor League filed with the secretary of state as required by law a statement showing expenses to the amount of \$1,200 for special delivery stamps, etc., by the Ohio Liquor League in connection with the general election held in 1918, attaching the following statement: "And the purpose for which the sum was paid in connection with the candidacy of James M. Cox for Governor of Ohio at the general election on the seventh day of November, 1918."

7. In a letter to its constituency by the Ohio Liquor League, the following statement appeared: "At Asheville, Ohio, on October 3, 1916, he (Cox) said: 'I favored the license law then and I favor it now and it ought to be in the hands of one who believes in it rather than in the hands of one who discredits the law.' ... Any man who sincerely believes that prohibition is a bad thing for the state of Ohio should devote his time unceasingly from now until election night and persuade as many voters as possible ... for Cox. ... Do not let us be charged with being guilty of ingratitude."

8. In a signed statement by Frank S. Evans, Chief Inspector and Law Enforcement Officer of the Liquor State Licensing Board of Ohio, August 6, 1913-May 26, 1919, Mr. Evans alleges: (a) "the license law gave the Governor the power to appoint the State Licensing Board; (b) the friends of law and order threatening to bring charges against Governor Cox said that he would remove the mayor and enforce the license law even if he had to send the militia to Cincinnati; (c) under these conditions the mayor of Cincinnati closed the places in question; (d) Mr. Evans, who was a Democrat, was retained in office by Governor Willis, a Republican, and the successor of Governor Cox. Under Governor Willis he says he "was given

a free hand in the enforcement of the law." Raids were made in Cincinnati on saloons which were violating the Sunday closing law, which resulted in great opposition to Governor Willis and his administration. In this connection he adds: "During all the time that I held my position as a law enforcement officer under Governor Cox no similar effort was made in Cincinnati to enforce the Sunday closing law;" (e) in 1916 Governor Cox succeeded Governor Willis. Mr. Evans, who was retained in office by Governor Cox, says: "During this period the wet and dry elections were held in Ohio and my authority to act freely in carrying out my duty to enforce the laws was constantly being taken away from me and it was becoming more difficult to enforce the law;" (f) in 1918 Mr. Evans secured evidence in seventy cases against violators of the Sunday closing law in Cincinnati. He says: "The State Licensing Board refused to do anything with these cases. I was called off at least three times when I planned to insist on a prosecution of these cases and made raids where they were violating the law. ... I never got any support from the State Licensing Board or Governor Cox in the prosecution of these cases. ... (g) in August, 1918, Mr. Evans handed in his resignation to the State Licensing Board because, he says: "I found it impossible to honestly enforce the law under the handicaps which were being placed about me;" (h) the State Licensing Board sent his resignation to Governor Cox, who requested Mr. Evans to call and see him. Governor Cox stated that he would not accept the resignation, but would retain Mr. Evans. At the earnest solicitation of the friends of prohibition and law enforcement, Mr. Evans agreed to continue in office, which he did until May 26, 1919, when the office was abolished through the enactment of state prohibition.

9. In the New York Times, and other papers, Governor Cox is quoted as having made the following remarks in connection with the adoption of national prohibition: "When representatives of any cause use it (the government) artfully to accomplish even a worthy result the mere fact of trickery should distrust and resentment. The spectacle of dancing our character of government when two million American patriots were in Europe fighting for the preservation of the government itself, no man can justify."

10. The paragraphs on law enforcement contained in his speech of acceptance of the nomination for the Presidency are quoted.

(Digest for the Press.)

The following is a summary of the statement of Senator Harding's record and utterances on the liquor question which the Anti-Saloon League of America submitted to him on September 3, 1920, inviting him to correct it or to make any comments on it which he desired to make before it was given to the press:

1. While a member of the Ohio legislature he voted for municipal and ward option, and for a law to increase the jurisdiction of mayors to enforce the township local option law.

2. In the United States Senate he introduced an amendment limiting the time for the ratification of the Eighteenth amendment to six years, and in a speech in which he advocated his resolution he made the following points: (a) his purpose was to eliminate "this unending prohibition contest in the halls of Congress;" (b) he said: "I am not a prohibitionist, Mr. President, and never pretended to be. I do claim to be a temperance man;" (c) he expressed his unwillingness "to deny the settlement of this much mooted question by the popular will in the only manner in which the Constitution provided;" (d) he regarded it as unwise, imprudent, and inconsistent to force the issue at this time;" he said: "I do not think a prohibition amendment will be effective, Mr. President. You can not make any law stronger than the public sentiment which sees to its enforcement;" (f) he said: "so, then, in spite of its unthriftiness, in spite of the lack of prudence in submitting it now, since we have come to this question of prohibition as a war measure and there has been a yielding on the one hand against drastic prohibition in the food bill, I think this submission is a sort of a compromise between the contending forces, and I am willing to be counted a compromising agent."

3. On the District of Columbia prohibition bill he voted for the Underwood amendment providing for a referendum by the people of the District of

Columbia, which was defeated, and then voted against the bill. In a speech in the United States Senate in which he explained his vote, he said: "I objected then (in the campaign in which he was elected to the Senate) as I should object again, to being measured in my fitness for a place in the Senate by the single yardstick of prohibition, but having the question to meet, I met it in accordance with the platform of the party which honored me with the nomination, wherein we promised in that campaign that the nominees of our party would carry out, to the best of their ability, the expressed wish of the people of Ohio in the pending non-partisan constitutional election. ... In that election a considerable majority of the people of my state voted against prohibition. So, in accordance with the pledge I publicly made and with the result which was recorded in that election, I am here opposed to the pending measure. I have no freedom of action in the matter. It has ceased to be a question of moral judgment with me. I have a pledge to keep with my constituency, and in accordance with that pledge when the final vote comes, I shall vote against this bill."

4. He voted "nay" on the following measures: (a) the amendment to make the Reed bone dry amendment apply to the District of Columbia; (b) an amendment prohibiting the importation or withdrawal of distilled liquors from bond for beverage purposes; (c) an amendment substituting "distilled" for "intoxicating" in the Eighteenth amendment; (d) prohibition for the Philippines; (e) an amendment to permit the distillation of liquors into alcohol for explosives and industrial purposes; (f) an amendment prohibiting the use of any cereal, grain, sugar or syrup in the production of intoxicating liquor during the war.

5. He voted "yea" on the following measures: (a) the resolution to submit the national prohibition amendment; (b) the amendment prohibiting the use of food materials in the manufacture of distilled liquors; (c) an amendment to authorize the President to take over distilled liquors and pay the cost plus 10 per cent; (d) an amendment providing that the Eighteenth amendment should not be enforced until Congress had made provision for the assessment and payment of damages to the property employed in the manufacture of said liquors resulting from the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment; (e) a proposal that two amendments to the Constitution be submitted giving the voters choice between the phrases "distilled" and "intoxicating;" (f) an amendment to the prohibition of the use of any cereal, grain, sugar or syrup in the production of intoxicating liquor during the war to "spirituous" rather than to "intoxicating" liquors; (g) an amendment to permit the use of rum in preparations of tobacco; (h) the Volstead act to enforce National prohibition; (i) the motion to pass the Volstead act over the President's veto.

6. From Senator Harding's paper, The Marion Star, are quoted three editorials favoring the enforcement of local liquor laws, and holding the law-breaking liquor vendors responsible, in a great measure, for dry majorities in local option elections in Ohio.

7. The paragraph on the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment contained in his speech of acceptance of the nomination for the Presidency is quoted. No reply to these communications was received from either Governor Cox or Senator Harding. Governor Cox's executive clerk replied that Governor Cox was on his Western tour and would be back about October 5, at which time we could be assured of a very complete and explicit reply.

HENRY BEACH CARRE,
Secretary, Special Committee.
Time Extended
The committee extended time as requested by Governor Cox's secretary. Since then the following has been received:

Marion, Ohio, September 20, 1920.
My Dear Mr. Carre:
Replying to your letter of September 3, earlier answer being impossible owing to the pressure upon my time, let me say that I have spoken for law enforcement in a way that admits of no double meaning.
I voted for the resolution to submit the Eighteenth amendment, and the law to enforce it. We can not have an enduring Republic if we consent to less than square enforcement of law. In connection with this subject I know of no other question at issue.

Very sincerely,
(Signed) WARREN G. HARDING,
Mr. Henry Beach Carre,

Secretary, Special Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Senator Harding's secretary sent the following for the record.

Telegram to Senator Harding
September 22, 1920.

Senator Warren G. Harding, Marion, Ohio.
The undersigned committee are appointed by the National Legislative Conference, in session at Washington, this week, composed of twenty-three national temperance and prohibition organizations, representing many voters, to ask you respectfully the following question and to report your reply, namely: Do you stand by your record as indicated by your vote on the Eighteenth amendment and on the Volstead act for its enforcement. Kindly wire your reply to the chairman, care of the Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C., Howard H. Russell, chairman; Anna A. Gordon, Clifton N. Howard.

Reply of Senator Harding
September 22, 1920.
Howard H. Russell, Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Replying to your telegram, my record stands and I stand by it. I did not know that there was any question about it.

WARREN G. HARDING.
In a statement in the public press relating to the questions asked by the National Legislative Conference, Governor Cox declared it was unfair not to submit the identical question to both candidates. Consequently the following identical questions were wired both candidates:

Nashville, Tenn., October 9, 1920.
Senator Warren G. Harding, Marion, Ohio.

Dear Sir:
In view of Governor Cox's insistence that identical questions be asked Presidential candidates regarding prohibition, the Anti-Saloon League of America propounds to you the following: "Will you, if elected, favor or oppose modification of Volstead Act to permit the manufacture or sale of beer or wine or increase the alcoholic content, thus rendering the enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment more difficult? Immediate telegraphic reply requested. The same question is being asked Governor Cox."

H. B. CARRE.
In the telegram to Governor Cox the word "you" was substituted for the words "Governor Cox" in the beginning and the words "Senator Harding" for "Governor Cox."

Senator Harding's reply:
Marion Ohio, October 11, 1920.

H. B. Carre, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
My recorded vote for the submission of the Eighteenth amendment and the law to enforce it answer your telegram. I stand by the record made in the public service.

WARREN G. HARDING.
Governor Cox's secretary says he will endeavor to present the communication to Governor Cox. No reply has been received.

Lesson in Arithmetic

Arithmetic, according to the average small boy, was simply invented in order to give teachers a good excuse for punishing their unhappy pupils. And, certainly, little Tommy Smith found it the unpleasant feature of his young life.

"Now, Tommy Smith," said the school teacher one morning, during the usual hour of torture, "what is the half of eight?"

"Which way, teacher?" asked the youngster cautiously.

"Which way!" replied the astonished lady. "What do you mean?"

"Well, on top or sideways, teacher?" said Tommy.

"What difference does that make?" "Why," Tommy explained, with a pitying air, "half off the top of eight is nought, but half of its sideways is three."

JUST A BRIEF REMINDER

As I take this occasion to express my personal thanks to those who have responded so promptly to my appeal for an Emergency Fund of \$3.00 from each to aid in the fight to elect dry congressmen, I venture to remind the hundreds of others who intended to help and have not done so that the opportunity is passing. In faith that our friends would not disappoint us, I have gone ahead with the campaign, incurring expenses which can be met only by the consecrated gifts of devoted men and women who believe that John Barleycorn ought not to be allowed to get to his feet again.

This dry congressional campaign was planned by Governor Hanly. I would have abandoned it the day after his death but for the confidence and faith that the friends throughout the nation would stand by us and permit the Flying Squadron Foundation to go ahead along the lines he had drawn.

When these words are read, I will be in the heat of the battle in eastern districts, but I go, believing that you who have not replied, will join those who have with your contribution of \$3.00 or more.

So I take this opportunity of thanking you in advance as I thank them after the gift.

What you do should be done quickly.

Oliver W. Stewart, President
FLYING SQUADRON FOUNDATION.

BLANK FOR REPLY

OLIVER W. STEWART,
President, Flying Squadron Foundation,
122 East Ohio Street,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Sir: Herewith I enclose \$_____ in answer to your Emergency Appeal for the Flying Squadron Foundation.

Yours truly,

Name _____
Street and No. _____
P. O. _____ State _____

STEWART'S APPOINTMENTS IN NEELY'S DISTRICT

Tuesday, October 26th

- 10:00 A. M. First Christian Church, Follansbee, W. Va.
- 12:30 P. M. Penn & Main Street, Follansbee, W. Va.
- 3:30 P. M. Park Theatre, Foundsville, W. Va.
- 6:00 P. M. Midway Theatre, McMechen, W. Va.

PROGRESSIVE BLOC

(Continued from Page 7)

vision, prevent the enactment of reactionary special-interest legislation that will otherwise slip through.

More important by far is the education which a battle waged by such a group would give to the public. Economic thought in the United States is shockingly backward, and political opinion sadly demoralized. The press is mostly in the hands of reaction, and in consequence it is almost impossible to get before the people the facts on which they might form intelligent opinion and base intelligent action. An informed and courageous minority group could make of these facts news that the dailies could not afford to ignore. The public, it is true, is little interested in Congressional debates. During recent years it has had too little reason to be. Should "a little group of wilful men," however confident in the rightness of their course, from time to time block the progress of the powerful financial and political machine that is going to ride over us during the next few years, their action and the reasons for it would be real news. A few months of such action would have far-reaching educational results.

Thus, an independent group might well serve as the much-needed point of crystallization for the liberal sentiment of the country now held in solution. Some meaning might, perhaps, be injected into the campaign of 1922 or 1924, as opposed to the mummery of 1920. For the events of the years just ahead are likely to prove highly educational, provided only there be at

hand a group of men in position to point out their meaning. In a period of sharp reaction the progressive bloc would in this task none the less be working with the times; for the body

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of the people, after all, are eager for the light. And only the truth can show the way out of the darkness that envelops them.

The frank Republican reaction after March 4 will be preferable to the present reaction with its hypocritical veneer. The issues will be clearer and more easily dealt with through Congressional elections.

DR. CHESTER Miller
DENTIST
1107 ODD FELLOW BLDG.
CHILDREN'S WORK ESPECIALLY

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