

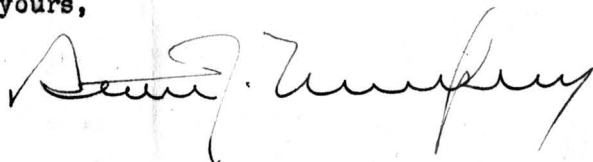
26 Broadway  
New York

March 17, 1921.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Referring to your suggestion that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., contribute toward the fund which you are raising to meet Mr. V. Everit Macy's conditional pledge for work in Westchester County under the so-called "Yonkers Plan," Mr. Rockefeller will contribute Five thousand dollars (\$5,000.) for one year on the same conditions as Mr. Macy's pledge, except that his contribution is limited to one year. He prefers not to commit himself at present for any longer period.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John D. Rockefeller, Jr.", written in a cursive style.

Mr. William H. Anderson,  
The Anti-Saloon League of New York,  
906 Broadway, New York City.

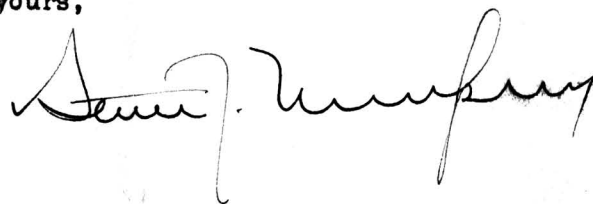
26 Broadway  
New York

March 17, 1921.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I enclose a letter from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
written in compliance with the suggestion in your letter to me of  
March 4th. You are at liberty to make such use of this as you deem  
proper.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John D. Rockefeller, Jr.", written in a cursive style.

Mr. William H. Anderson,  
The Anti-Saloon League of New York,  
906 Broadway,  
New York City.

26 Broadway  
New York

April 29, 1921.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

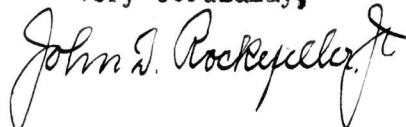
I have just returned to my office after an absence of some weeks, but am leaving this afternoon for a further absence of several weeks. Mr. Richardson has mentioned to me your letters to him and to me of April 16th, with their enclosures, none of which have I had time to read.

Mr. Murphy during his lifetime was so familiar with your work and so interested in it that my father and I were glad to keep in touch with the work through him. Since his going I have been casting about in my mind as to who can take his place in this relationship. I have thought of Mr. Richardson, but because of his preoccupation with other matters which press upon him, it does not seem wise to name him to take Mr. Murphy's place.

Mr. Raymond Fosdick, who has been working with us in the Bureau of Social Hygiene for a number of years, whom I know very well, who knows our point of view and whose point of view we know, who is keenly alive to and interested in all the great problems of the day, is giving a considerable portion of his time to various of our interests. I have thought that Mr. Fosdick is by far the best fitted of any of our associates to represent us in keeping in touch with your work. I am, therefore, referring your letters to Mr. Fosdick and asking him to see you at your mutual convenience. I am also sending to Mr. Fosdick a couple of letters which have come to us here, in connection with my gift of \$5,000, made recently through Mr. Murphy, and the letter which accompanied them, and have asked him to have a word with you in regard to the use which you are making of this letter. While with my consent Mr. Murphy authorized you to use the letter in any way which might be helpful, you may feel after seeing the several communications to which I refer that a somewhat modified use of the letter would be wiser.

I am sure that you will find Mr. Fosdick fully in sympathy with the great principle for which you have worked so long and so courageously. While you and he may not always agree on method or detail, I am confident that you can count on his complete sympathy and understanding as regards the vital matter at issue.

Very cordially,



Mr. William H. Anderson,  
906 Broadway,  
New York City.

May 16, 1921

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
26 Broadway,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Rockefeller:

I very greatly appreciated the exceedingly kind letter which you sent me respecting the appointment of Mr. Fosdick and the reference of my request to him, and also highly appreciated the cordial message which you sent by Mr. Fosdick the other day. I should have acknowledged your letter immediately if it had not been for your suggestion of further absence.

From what I knew of Mr. Fosdick, although we had differed on some questions of detail, I would have felt sure that he would give you his honest best judgment on the merits of any proposition which you submitted to him, but I felt that it was exceedingly gracious of you to give me this reassurance.

I have had two very pleasant interviews with Mr. Fosdick and have been glad to tell him everything that he wished to know about the League and its operation and this specific fundamental educational proposition, and his personal attitude and spirit left absolutely nothing to be desired.

If there should be any doubt about the granting of this request of ours I wish that if possible I may have an opportunity to say whatever may need to be said.

This does not mean that under any circumstances there would be any doubt in my mind as to your interest in the cause, your desire to do the best thing for it or the wisdom and soundness of the principles which guide your decision.

What I mean is simply this. If twenty-one years of wholehearted devotion to a cause in obedience to an impelling sense of duty count for anything then I am as certain as it is humanly possible for a man to be that this is a grave crisis, that this aid is needed, and that it represents the difference between reasonable assurance of safety



Mr. Rockefeller. --2--

and the imminent probability of the breakdown of prohibition through the failure of enforcement. Feeling this way I am intensely anxious that the cause shall not fail of indispensable support through any failure on my part to make the presentation as strong as the cause itself, - hence the request.

Assuring you that the fact that in the multiplicity of your cares and the diversity of the things that have a legitimate claim upon your thought and attention it is in your heart to be interested in this cause and that you have found time to express it is encouragement even beyond what you may be able to imagine, in the carrying of this always heavy load, and appreciating your willingness to consider this matter, I am,

Yours very truly

State Superintendent.

A-O

CURTIS, FOSDICK & BELKNAP

ATTORNEYS & COUNSELORS AT LAW

WOOLWORTH BUILDING

NEW YORK

JAMES F. CURTIS  
RAYMOND B. FOSDICK  
CHAUNCEY BELKNAP

WILLIAM J. CURTIS  
COUNSEL

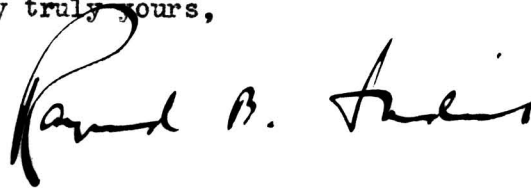
CABLE ADDRESS: CURTISITE

January 13, 1922

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of January ninth, which I read with interest, particularly the clippings which you were good enough to send me. You seem to lead a most active life and I wonder how you stand it physically. I am hoping to write you within a week in connection with the matters which we have discussed before.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Raymond B. Fosdick". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Raymond" being more prominent and the last name "Fosdick" written in a more compact, stylized manner.

Mr. William H. Anderson  
906 Broadway  
New York City

CURTIS, FOSDICK & BELKNAP

ATTORNEYS & COUNSELORS AT LAW

WOOLWORTH BUILDING

NEW YORK

WILLIAM J. CURTIS  
COUNSEL

CABLE ADDRESS: CURTISITE

JAMES F. CURTIS  
RAYMOND B. FOSDICK  
CHAUNCEY BELKNAP

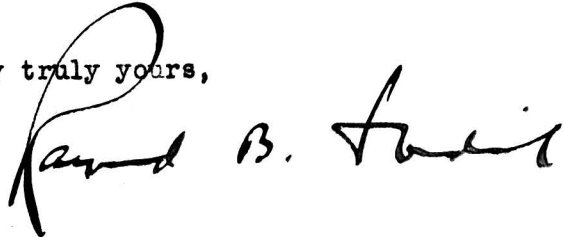
January 16, 1922.

Dear Mr. Anderson:-

I have had opportunity to talk over at some length with Mr. Rockefeller the various proposals which you have made to me in the last two months, and I have shown him your letters relating thereto. Mr. Rockefeller asks me to say that, while, of course, he is deeply interested in your plans, and appreciates the difficult financial situation which your organization is trying to weather, he does not feel that he would be justified in giving a larger percentage toward this year's budget than he has already given. I know that this news will be a disappointment to you, but under the circumstances I cannot help feeling that Mr. Rockefeller's decision is wise.

In case you would like to talk this matter over with me, please do not hesitate to arrange with my secretary for an engagement. I want you to feel that we have acted from conscientious motives, although the decision in the matter cannot be altered.

Very truly yours,



Mr. William H. Anderson,  
Anti-Saloon League,  
906 Broadway,  
New York City.

April 25, 1922

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
26 Broadway,  
New York City.

Dear Mr. Rockefeller:

The Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of New York is an executive committee of twelve members elected by the State Board of Trustees, to which every denominational body is entitled to elect representatives, most of them doing so, and which is the supreme power of the League, the smaller board having full power in the interim between the annual meetings of the general board. This smaller Board is also the Committee on Finance and meets every month except during the summer vacation.

Mr. Anderson, the State Superintendent, has reported fully to this Board the report to him by Mr. Phillips of conversations with Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, who has represented you for the past year in considering applications from the Anti-Saloon League, to the effect that in connection with the question of further gifts from you, Mr. Fosdick, according to Mr. Phillips, was prepared to raise the question as to whether Mr. Anderson should not be eliminated from the Superintendency because of his vigorous activity, and even whether the time had not come for the Anti-Saloon League itself to fade out of existence because of the antagonisms that it has created in the fight for the enactment of prohibition and later for its enforcement.

The emergency confronting the entire prohibition movement, focusing in New York, so gravely requires immediate relief in this desperate field to obviate probability of loss of much of what has been gained, and we know from intimate acquaintance with the situation that it would be so utterly impossible to prevent disaster if a radical change were made at this time, that we do not propose any discussion of this matter now.

This Board, which has heartily approved of Mr. Anderson's policies and methods because they have been in complete accord with its understanding of the policies of the

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.--2--

Anti-Saloon League movement and its interpretation of the wishes of the churches and active friends of prohibition generally, believes that the real fight on prohibition is yet to come, and that there is no escape from a square meeting of it until wilful efforts at violence and nullification and deliberate incitement thereto in wet centers have been crushed out by the weight of an aroused militant public sentiment for law and order to such degree that the further aspects of this question can be considered and settled in the light of soberness and reason and upon the intrinsic merits of the issues involved.

However, the Board desires that it shall be understood that it will at any time be glad to confer with or receive suggestions from any friend of prohibition who desires to bring before it or is in possession of any information which such friend and supporter of the cause believes should be brought to the attention of the Board for its information and guidance in fully and properly discharging its responsibility (to its general church constituency and the various denominational bodies which officially elect the majority of its members) for the best and most effective administration of the work of the Anti-Saloon League.

This Board knows the mind and heart of the thousands of churches of the state which have not only furnished most of the money but have contributed practically all of the efforts that brought about the prohibition victory, — efforts that were greatly helped by the large financial assistance from yourself and your father and three or four other men, which made it possible to get the truth more completely to that church constituency. We know that there never was a time when Mr. Anderson stood stronger in the confidence of these churches, and had more loyal backing from the thousands of co-operating pastors and tens of thousands of militant church members who must continue to do the work and make the direct and immediate contribution to working public sentiment on this question without which even unlimited money would be not only impotent, but might possibly do damage through provoking reaction. It is our deliberate conviction that in this crucial national campaign there is nothing which could prevent a calamitous slump in New York if Mr. Anderson should be taken out of the leadership.

Further, it is our deliberate judgment, respecting which at the proper time we are open to light, as we take for granted is the case with Mr. Fosdick as your representative respecting his present tentative views, that the churches of this nation, functioning effectively through the Anti-Saloon League, are the only influence sufficiently strong to stand between the American Nation and Nullification with all that it implies of the breakdown of law generally. It is our judgment that if we should vote to disband the Anti-Saloon League the churches in this state which formerly were futile on this question, — helpless in the hands of liquor controlled politicians, but now able through the League to crystalize into results their convictions on this vital issue, — would immediately call a convention and create another Board to carry forward this work. But serious, if not irreparable harm would have been done meantime.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. --3--

The Board is fully cognizant of the terrific burdens borne by Mr. Anderson and we have repeatedly wished that we might carry a greater part of the load. We believe that this situation offers the opportunity, and therefore, with respect to this application, this Board has officially relieved Mr. Anderson of the responsibility of defending his administration which we have approved step by step, as he has counseled with us and been guided by us in determining every question of policy.

As the official spokesmen of some 4000 churches in this state which are supporting this work we respectfully request, not that you abandon, but that you waive at least for the coming League fiscal year, the ten per cent. basis, the sudden application of which a year ago without warning has caused severe hardship and jeopardized the safety of the work during the past year, and we specifically request that you contribute \$25,000 on May 1 and \$25,000 on July 1, in order to make possible the doing of certain things which can be done more effectively and economically in advance, some of which cannot be done at all unless done in advance, and which we believe to be essential to the vital and fundamental point of arousing the people of this state to prevent any loss in our next congressional delegation. The holding of the law underlies any sort of enforcement program.

We respectfully submit that we know, and the records show that the overwhelming majority of those in New York City who are complaining against the present methods of the League never helped in any phase of the work for prohibition, and probably never will help anything on this question that is sufficiently positive to accomplish results. This applies both to individuals and churches.

We submit that in the conduct of a work of this kind which involves the most bitter conflict, short of war, that has ever torn the country, because of the enormous financial stake, and the appetite, passions and selfishness involved, the essential thing is not first to placate those who have never made any sacrifice or performed any service in this behalf, but to hold the confidence of the tried and tested friends who have made possible the victories thus far and keep them moving forward in the progressive accomplishment of results that will ultimately convert most of the others.

That this has been done is shown by annexed statement respecting the attitude and support of the churches and the actual cash contributed from them for the year just closing, which we think is a surprising showing in the light of general financial conditions. It is upon the basis (1) of this showing, plus (2) the critical danger that exists at the present time, that we make the specific request above, pledging you that if you will thus make it possible to keep up the work of getting the facts to the membership of the churches in order in some measure to obviate the vicious newspaper propaganda which is disintegrating respect for all law, the churches that we represent will continue and increase their support.



Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.--4--

In this connection it is pertinent to call attention to the fact that Mr. Anderson has worked out the most comprehensive, constructive plan and program for enforcement that has been offered in America, and which in all of its essentials was adopted last December by the Anti-Saloon League of America with the working cooperation of all other recognized prohibition organizations. That is, the enforcement work of the entire Nation will be projected and carried to completion upon the basis wrought out in New York while at the same time the fight was being maintained to create a condition and a public sentiment that will give any kind of constructive program a fair chance to be adopted and carried into effect.

In short, Mr. Anderson, through the Allied Citizens of America, Inc., has anticipated Mr. Fosdick's suggestion of an organization that will not encounter the antagonism stirred up by the Anti-Saloon League's effectiveness, and, if supported until the backbone of the insurrection is broken in its last stand here in New York City, will, we are convinced from what we have seen him do in the past eight years, through the Anti-Saloon League develop a situation that will make success possible for what has been purposely designed and carefully kept as a non-controversial movement at least as respects its general organization and officers.

Further, we respectfully submit that the foundation established, the good will built up among those willing to work and sacrifice for prohibition enforcement, the organization effected, the service enlisted and rendered and still available, which it would cost millions of dollars a year to hire if it could be purchased at any price, constitute a foundation that would justify and make safe in every respect as well as highly desirable in the interests of law and order, a vastly larger contribution this coming year and for a year or two thereafter, than we have above specifically requested as the minimum that is necessary to prevent further scaling down of this work below the margin of reasonable safety in the protection of victories already won.

If after providing this emergency relief you are willing to consider the matter of larger contribution we will communicate with you officially in this respect in order that you may understand that it is not Mr. Anderson as an individual who has been making requests of you, but that he has back of him both the official representatives and also the rank and file of practically all of the churches in this state that have any definite conviction and sense of practical responsibility on this question.

In conclusion, the Board desires to assure you that it understands fully the methods and strategy being employed by Mr. Anderson at this time in relation to New York City, that it considers that they are not only defensible, but that they are the only tactics that offer any promise of results in sufficient time to prevent the apparent reaction from becoming a reality. This judgment

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. 5

of the Board is based upon intimate observation for many years of the application of identically the same methods in all essential fundamentals to the various of the progressive phases of the work which we consider closely analagous to the present situation. We sympathize thoroughly with Mr. Fosdick, who, we understand, is heartily in favor of prohibition though only recently brought into such close range contact with this phase of work, for we confess frankly that there was a time when we ourselves were concerned, if not alarmed, at the furore created even among known friends of prohibition. But those methods have been completely justified and practically all of the friends alienated by them who were sincere are now among the staunchest supporters of the League or at least cooperating heartily with it. And where a good friend was actually lost, those same methods as shown by results, raised up many to take his place.

Our feeling is that when we have secured a leader who is willing to sacrifice his own personal popularity in order to advance the cause, the least that those who stand for the cause can do is to back him up and let him fight to advantage for us and our cause. Therefore, the Board of Directors has unanimously adopted this letter as an official communication, requesting that the President of the League sign it for the Board.

Yours respectfully,

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

By The Board of Directors

\_\_\_\_\_  
President.



(COPY)

CURTIS, FOSDICK & BELKNAP

July 25, 1922.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I thoroughly enjoyed your letter of July 22nd and except for the fact that I am just leaving for a month's vacation I would ask you to come down at once and talk things over with me. Can we put this interview over until September?

I am always glad to talk with you, and I think we have established ourselves in each other's confidence so that we can be perfectly frank with each other -- even brutally frank. I have never said behind your back what I have not said to your face -- and I have said some pretty harsh things to your face. On this basis, therefore, we can afford to ignore whatever other people may quote us as saying about each other. Certainly I never said what I am quoted to have said by your friend Mr. Phillips.

So come down some time in September, and tell me in your refreshing hammer and tongs fashion how generally dead wrong I am.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) RAYMOND B. FOSDICK.

Mr. William H. Anderson  
906 Broadway  
New York City.

## THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, State Superintendent

16th Floor, 906 Broadway, at 20th Street

NEW YORK CITY

Telephone Stuyvesant 8490-96

April 30, 1923.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
26 Broadway,  
New York City.

My dear Mr. Rockefeller:-

On this, the last day of the fiscal year of the Anti-Saloon League of New York for which you and your father made a contribution, I desire to express appreciation of your generosity and the confidence and the sincere interest in the prohibition cause which you have manifested for years.

That it may be clear that this communication from me is not intended even most remotely as a request for further contribution I wish to say that after all I have gone through for more than three months in the way of unjust and groundless accusation based upon nothing more censurable than a willingness to make sacrifices, even in an unusual way, to advance the cause to which I have given my life, at a time when help on any ordinary basis was beyond reach, I do not feel that I, as an employee of the Board representing the churches which constitute the Anti-Saloon League, am called upon to expose myself, by such request, to the possibility that you may feel it necessary to rebuff me as an expression of confidence in your own employees.

Nevertheless, whatever obligation you may possibly feel in that direction does not lessen my appreciation of the support which your father has given to this movement in this State for about twenty years, nearly ten years since I have been here, and which you have extended for six years.

I not only regret that circumstances for which I am not responsible, at least in any blameworthy sense, have precluded my asking you for further contribution, but I also wish to make clear that still more do I regret the fact that these same circumstances beyond my control have compelled me, in self-defense of my own reputation and the interests of the movement that I represent, to say and do things that may have caused some annoyance to you.

If your support had merely been withdrawn on the recommendation of some representative of yours, and no information had been given out that could be used with hostile intent in an hour of supreme crisis in an effort to drive away other support of the League, no word of criticism or otherwise respecting your withdrawal would ever have reached the public from or through me.

But in justice to the Anti-Saloon League as well as myself, the duty rests upon me to point out that the responsibility for the dragging of your name before the public in this matter does not rest upon either the Anti-Saloon League or upon me.

It was the activity of the District Attorney's office which unquestionably would not have gone into this thing except for the encouragement received from Mr. Foadick, and Mr. Foadick's assistance to the propaganda conspiracy through betrayal of confidence which is solely responsible for your name being published and re-published over the whole country in connection with these false charges.

Your name was first published the day following Mr. Foadick's ostentatious parade to the District Attorney's office, exploited in the newspapers for the apparent purpose of lending the influence of your name in support of the inquiry.

Your name was published in connection with the statement, which it was claimed was with full knowledge derived from an authoritative source, that you and your father had cut off your contributions because of the charges made by a discharged employee of the Anti-Saloon League, and the additional statement that your joint contribution was \$100,000 instead of \$25,000 for the past year.

Mr. Foadick had personally definitely told me after these charges had been brought to his attention, after he had talked with Dr. David James Burrell, the pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church and president of the State Board of the League, and after he had talked with me and had given me the impression that he was entirely satisfied, that you had not cut off your contribution. At this same interview in November, as the closing thing, he agreed to take up with you the question of an additional \$25,000 contribution and later actually wrote me about it, which would have been utterly inconsistent with frankness and good faith if in fact your contribution had been already cut off entirely.

I waited for weeks for him to make a statement to the public in harmony with his statement to me that your contribution had not been cut off, and to correct the amount. Then, when it became clear that this apparently wilful propaganda effort to use the reputed withdrawal of your contribution because of these charges, and the impression that it was four times as much as it really was, aggregating 40% instead of 10% of the League revenue, would, unless met with facts, injure the League as so designed by those responsible for it, - and not until then, - I proceeded to correct the false impression acquiesced in if not specifically given out by Mr. Foadick, and started in to undo the damage that had been done. And every move that I have made, and every word that I have uttered since, which involved the use of your name, has been made or uttered in self-defense against a situation entirely created by your representative in his breach of faith and his assistance to the conspiracy of propaganda which first exploited your name in an effort to crush the League.

All of these matters are covered in detail in my addresses to various ministerial gatherings contained in the file of papers hereinafter mentioned and sent under another cover. I assume that as an honest man you want the truth about any employee of yours no matter from what source.

You were kind enough to say in your authorized statement some two months ago that you hoped that nothing wrong would be found by the district attorney. That hope has been borne out, for, after three months, after every scrap of alleged "evidence" in existence was raked up and presented, the grand jury selected to be held for this case has been discharged.

It is not necessary for me to comment on this. I enclose, as part of this letter, editorials from the Utica OBSERVER-DISPATCH, Rochester TIMES-UNION, Elmira ADVERTISER, Schenectady UNION-STAR and the Binghamton PRESS, and I could send others, for example a still longer one headed: PECORA FAILS TO "GET ANDERSON" from the Gloversville LEADER-REPUBLICAN, which closes as follows:

. . . . . Therefore the prosecutor withdrew his case as gracefully as he could with the statement that he would try again before some future jury. This remains to be seen, but in the minds of many if not most people the Anderson case has now become a closed incident, with the laurels resting upon the brow of the League superintendent.

However that may be, the action by Mr. Pecora gives Superintendent Anderson an opportunity to make the best of the failure thus far to secure an indictment and he will doubtless hail the prosecutor's attitude as a complete vindication of himself and justification of all he has said as to the real nature of the charges and the sinister motive which he has so emphatically declared lay behind them.

Possibly Mr. Pecora will make another effort to "get Anderson", but in the meantime Mr. Anderson will continue the great work he has so successfully guided for years and doubtless strengthen his forces through the failure of Pecora. Supt. Anderson has passed through the fiery furnace and emerged unsinged by its flames.

Further, the collateral conspiracy of propaganda, the existence of which I have established to the entire satisfaction not only of the League constituency but the fair-minded public, has finally and completely failed. Along with this there has also failed the attempt to discredit the Board of Directors which has stood by me.

Five Methodist Conferences, the only authoritative bodies which are eligible to elect members of the League Board of Trustees that have met thus far this spring, which represent the Methodist churches in two-thirds of the territory of the State which contains more than four-fifths of the population, have in the strongest and most explicit terms, with unusual enthusiasm, reaffirmed their confidence in the management of the League and have re-elected every one of their Trustees except in the case of two vacancies, - one caused by death and the other by removal from the Conference, - and among those re-elected were the three Board of Directors members from the Trustees chosen by these five conferences.



Within the past two months authoritative gatherings such as these Conferences (covering New York City), various Presbyteries and the duly constituted bodies of other denominations, together with informal gatherings such as ministers meetings in the greatest up-State cities, such as Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo, and many smaller cities, with a total membership of more than 3000 pastors, with just one adverse vote in only one of the entire lot, have expressed their confidence in the League Superintendent and management, and practically all of them have specifically called for continued or increased support.

The one vote was in the case of the Baptist Ministers Association of Albany, Troy and vicinity which contains the one pastor in the State who publicly joined in the wet demands for the elimination of the State Superintendent. This man has always been an opponent of the Superintendent and has been associated with one of the discharged employees who made the "charges" which have fallen so flat. When a motion of confidence was brought up about two months ago he opposed it and it was tabled. The next month due notice was given, and it was taken from the table and passed on a roll-call vote of twenty-four to one.

No single thing in connection with the whole work of the League in the nearly ten years I have been in the State has obtained the unanimity and enthusiasm of expression that has marked the repudiation of these baseless charges and the determination of the pastors to stand by. The 3000 or more pastors within the bodies and groups that have thus far acted, represent more than a majority of all of the pastors of the State of New York of the denominations committed to prohibition work, and the attitude of the others is well known.

I have set this out with this degree of particularity because I take what you will undoubtedly concede is a justifiable pride in the establishment of the fact that the confidence which you have been kind enough to repose in me for the past several years has been justified, and is shared now, in spite of false charges, by the representatives of the churches.

I have previously sent you some copies of our official paper, "THE AMERICAN ISSUE, New York Edition", containing various addresses. I am now sending you under another cover a complete file beginning with the number of February 17, which began to lay the foundation for reply to the propaganda conspiracy. The only missing number is February 24 which contained my first open defiance, concluding with the paragraph:

Further, while I have answered all of the District Attorney's questions that did not call for violation of confidence that is still binding, and have voluntarily turned over the League books and left them in his custody for weeks, and while everything pertaining to official action will be dealt with on a basis of due decorum, I wish now, in recognition of the splendid loyalty of the Anti-Saloon League constituency, to serve notice on whom-

ever it may concern, that I do not intend to be crushed, run out, intimidated or silenced by any bunch of wets, whether rich or poor, silk-stocking or rough-neck, or any set of pseudo-drys who want to do dry work in a manner that is acceptable to the wets.

which was apparently published throughout the country. The church at which it was delivered is giving over \$1000 this year instead of \$500 for the year before that service. And that is just a sample.

The next number, March 3, contains the full text of the statement to which you made reply, the text of your statement as it was published here and the full text of my rejoinder the same day before the New York Ministers Meeting of the Reformed Church which with a very full attendance promptly passed a strong resolution of confidence, signed by the individual members.

The other papers contain the action of the Board of Directors of the League of February 27 and March 27, the text of the formal action of various denominational bodies and groups of pastors, the comment of religious and other papers, just a few of the published utterances of pastors from their pulpits, and just a small portion of the flood of letters that came in to the League office.

They also contain the full text of what I have specifically said to those various gatherings of ministers about this controversy, in order that it may be understood just what they responded to, and in order that it might also be established that there was no pussy-footing on my part, but that on the contrary I met the issue face to face, and head on, and fought it out on its merits once for all.

You will find in all these addresses a clear distinction between you and your representative, and nothing but courteous appreciative expressions concerning yourself.

I do not pretend to say that there may not be some friends of the cause who believe that it would have been better if some things could have been done in another way. But not only have they given the management of the League the benefit of the doubt that it is entitled to on its past record, but all mere questions of the wisdom of details of policy have been burned out and swallowed up in the refusal of the constituency of the League, and especially the leadership of that constituency as represented by the pastors, to submit to the "framing" of their representative, the wanton ruining of his reputation and possible unwarranted criminal proceedings against him because of loyalty to them.

The net result has been, judging from the expressions of some 1500 pastors I have actually spoken to (resolutions of confidence were voted by many gatherings that I never reached personally), that while it has been unpleasant and hard on the Superintendent, these charges have reacted strongly in favor of the League and have so strengthened it in public confidence by the double showing: (1)

that nothing could be found against its management; (2) that the Anti-Saloon League is the only thing that today stands between the nation and the return of the liquor traffic, as greatly to increase its capacity for usefulness.

There are many other things that might be said but I confine myself to the particular controversy into which to some extent you were drawn by the activity of your own representative.

In closing I wish again to assure you that not only have I no unkind feeling because you may have felt compelled to discontinue your support as I have no choice save to assume, but I have deeply regretted being compelled to mention you incidentally in the exercise of the fundamental right of self-defense.

I wish you to know further that if anything which I shall in the future be compelled to do or say to set the League right before the public, to repair any possible financial damage from the broadcasting of your reputed withdrawal of support, or to complete the task of eradicating false and unjust impressions respecting my personal integrity, shall be distasteful or annoying to you, that fact will be sincerely regretted by me because of both my appreciation of your personal worth as a man and your generosity to good causes, including the Anti-Saloon League.

And I sincerely trust that in the future, at least after the dust of this particular controversy has settled, I may, in my general relation as a man and a citizen, be considered worthy of your esteem and confidence.

Yours respectfully,

State Superintendent.

WHA\*GLG.

August 22, 1923.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.,  
26 Broadway,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I enclose copy of the last number of the AMERICAN ISSUE, dated July 28, in which you will find on page 230, some reference to Mr. Fosdick and yourself. I think there are perhaps other references in others of the statements.

Also you will find enclosed a reprint of some editorials of the sort that do not appear in New York City papers. The most significant one is from Mr. Ford's international weekly, "THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT".

As bearing on the question as to whether activity against me within the personnel of your organizations was confined to Mr. Fosdick who stands convicted on the facts and by his silence of betrayal of confidence and assistance to and acquiescence in dishonest and untruthful propaganda against me and who, leaving me out of it, has, on the word of an admitted attempted blackmailer and self-confessed perjurer, actively helped discredit the Board of Directors officially representing the federated dry churches of the State, I thought I ought to say that I have come into possession of definite information that one of the best known men connected with the management of the Rockefeller Foundation said, during the previous attempt which fizzled out: "We know Anderson's crooked and we are going to get him".

I happen to have definite knowledge of activity in behalf of Mr. Fosdick directly connected up with him after the Grand Jury last winter and spring refused to find an indictment or it was discovered that it would so refuse to bring pressure upon the District Attorney to compel him to go ahead.

I do not quite understand why the Foundation personnel should be so interested and so hostile but Mr. Fosdick admitted to me within the past twelve months that practically every one of your advisers if not hostile to prohibition itself was hostile to the Anti-Saloon League and of course you yourself admitted to me something over four years ago things that indicated very strong hostility on the part of your advisers connected with the management of your Foundation to your continuance of your contributions.

The Directors of the Anti-Saloon League are neither fools nor children. Notwithstanding your standing for Mr. Fosdick, I believe in your personal fairness on this matter. I wish it might



be possible for you to look into this Foundation business a little. I happen to know it is being looked into by others. In fact, this specific information was brought to me as one of the interesting and unexpected things that was turned up in an investigation into the present active management of the Rockefeller Foundation, which is being conducted for purposes with which I have absolutely nothing to do.

I wish to emphasize again the proposition outlined in a letter sent you several months ago, to which I have received no reply and which perhaps you did not receive; viz., that if in the course of self-defense and the defense of the Anti-Saloon League and its constituency and the cause it represents it becomes necessary to use your name (always with recognition of your service to the cause and expression of belief in your personal sincerity) in a manner that is distasteful to you and your father, it is your representative, Mr. Fosdick, who is responsible for this. I believe you will recognize as a fair man that in self-defense against a monstrous frame-up it is impossible to stop anything that is essential to spare or consider the feelings of one who no matter how general it may be in fact sustains and upholds the person largely responsible for the vicious and unjust attack and against whom the defense must be made.

I think if you and I could have talked together there would never have been anything of this. I do not feel warranted in proposing a conference for I am not willing to run the risk of being snubbed. On the other hand, I do feel that your interest and your assistance to the cause in the past together with the fact that you have undoubtedly been imposed upon makes it incumbent upon me to say to you that if you do want to talk with me absolutely no advantage whatever will be taken of and no publicity given to the fact that you expressed such desire or that such conference was held or anything said by you in it.

Yours very truly,

State Superintendent.