January 3rd, 1918

His Excellency Charles 3. Whitman, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

Wy dear Governor Whitman:

Pursuant to our conversation, just by way of reminder, I request that you secure from the Attorney-General, or such other official as you desire, an opinion as to the vote required for ratification of the Federal Amendment.

Yours very cordially,

His Excellency Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chamber, Albany. N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I noticed in Mr. Barnes' Albany Journal last night a statement to the effect that your failure to say anything in favor of the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment indicates a recognition on your part that there ought to be a vote and that the people ought to have a chance to express themselves.

These fellows of course are hard to please. If you had come out and recommended ratification they would have said you were trying to put something over. When you failed to come out and recommend it, they tried to distort it into tacit advocacy of their scheme for side-tracking the whole business.

Under the circumstances it occurs to me that it would be a good thing for you simply to answer a letter such as I enclose, and if you think it wise to do this, I will give out the correspondence. Of course if you prefer not to do so at the present time, the letter to you will be "forgotten" at this end of the line. I am rather inclined, however, to think pretty strongly that it would be well to nail this early in the game and keep them from attempting to use with the Legislature your failure as an indication that you are really with their scheme.

I do not presume to suggest any form for your reply, but it occurs to me that you might well cover two points; first; that there is no possible warrant of law for a referendum; second, that there is no need of the legislature waiting for a special election on this question, and that if any man believes that his district wants this thing ratified, or if he believes that the constituency which elected him wants it ratified, it is his duty to do so recognizing of course that if a man is honestly in doubt, he is justified in waiting until the doubt is dissolved, but I imagine these fellows will take this much for granted, and it isn't well to give them too much comfort on that point,

because if you give them anything, they will distort it into something else. It would be a good chance to get in a sentence about representative government and the compact that was entered into by the states in the formation of the Federal Union. It will come with more force from you than anybody else if you will point out the two methods indicated by the Constitution for ratification, both of which involve action by a body elected by the people in districts. It might be well to point out the fact that it is up to Congress to decide which of these two preliminary methods should be used in a particular case, and that Congress has sent it to the Legislatures.

You know there are a lot of members of the Legislature who do not think very clearly on some of these things, who can be held in line if they are fortified by the Constitution, especially if it is interpreted to them by somebody in a position such as you occupy. It isn't necessary for you to touch the question of the actual merits of the case at all for the purpose that I have in mind.

Enclosed letter, No. Three is the one that I am submitting for your consideration as to whether you think it wise to make a reply.

Yours very cordially,

"THE CHURCH IN ACTION AGAINST THE SALOON"

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON. STATE SUPERINTENDENT

156 FIETH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY SUITE 1219 PRESBYTERIAN BUILDING

CYRUS P. KEEN, ASST. STATE SUPT. ABNER B. BROWN, ATTORNEY

OFFICIAL ORGAN

"THE AMERICAN ISSUE" NEW YORK EDITION

WEEKLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR

ROLLIN O. EVERHART FRITAR

REV. SAM L. HAMILTON, SUPT. MAX W. BEYER, ASST. SUPT.

DISTRICT OFFICES UP-STATE CAPITAL (ALBANY), CENTRAL (SYRAGUSE-WESTERN (ROCHESTER) BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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January 3rd, 1918

His Excellency, Charles 3. Whitman, Executive Chamber. Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I notice in a newspaper hostile to Prohibition, controlled by a man who has been very prominent in New York politics, a suggestion to the effect that your failure to recommend that the Legislature ratify the National Prohibition Amendment indicates that you are disposed to favor some action or expression by the people before the Legislature acts.

To us this seems like a palable, though fairly clever attempt to claim at least tacit approval from you of the scheme fostered by the liquor interests for a popular referendum on the question of the ratification of this amendment, which proposal goes directly contrary to the express provisiona of the Federal Constitution, as we understand it, and which is being pressed in the main by men who opposed a referendum when they thought the people might gain some rights on the liquor question under it.

In view of this attempt to distort your failure to make official recommendation in favor of ratification in your annual message into an implied endorsement of the liquor side, I respectfully request, in case you are willing to do so, that you make clear whether or not your failure to recommend ratification in your message was intended to have the meaning which it has thus been sought to give it, and also an expression of your opinion, in case you are willing to give such expression, whether a member of the Legislature must wait for special action within his district before he is warranted in voting in hardeny with what he believes to be the defi-While we recognize nite wish of his constituency. in fact it has been the basis of our campaign from the beginning - that a man should reflect the sentiment of his district, we claim that the mere fact that a proposal has come up after election is no excuse for the failure of a legislator to discharge his duty to his constituency if it/reasonably clear what that constituency wish.

13

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13

January 7th, 1918

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

We are going to have a great Union
Preachers' Meeting in the Metropolitan Life Building
Auditorium, Monday the 28th. I don't want to embarrass you and will not press this at all if you
would rather not take it up, but if you believe that
it will not hurt you or interfere with the most effective campaign this Winter, I would like to have
you make a short speech at this Preachers' Meeting.
By short, I of course mean anything you want up to
fifteen minutes, and I would not limit you to that
if you felt you needed more time. The main address
will be made by Dr. Baker, our National Superintendent.

I am not ready to say that I have a positive judgment on the thing yet, but offhand it strikes me that this would be a good move and that it could not hurt you to come and tell the preachers that you are in favor, but that it's up to them to focus sentiment on the Legislature. If you think of doing it, I would be glad to know as soon as possible so that we can advertise the fact.

Yours very cordially,

PERSONAL

January 7th, 1918

His Excellency, Charles 3. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

My judgment is that the fight for the amendment ratification ought to be pushed whether we can get it through or not. New York is generally regarded over the country as being so far behind on this question that it would not be taken as a defeat in case the measure failed to go through the Senate. If it went through the Assembly that would be regarded as a magnificent partial victory, and would really bring encouragement throughout the country instead of discouragement.

This would get the Assembly committed and ease things up for the coming Fall campaign, for the man who votes for it once would have to stand for that. It would get the Senate singled out and get the fire of the public focused on the Senate, and would make it easier to defeat any men in the Senate who are public enemies generally.

I am not coming to Albany this week because I am working on the big Concerted Discussion. If you are to be down this week and wish to see me, I will make it a point to see you.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent

I don't mean by this that I have lost hake of getting it through this time.

Jan. 10, 1918

His Excellency.

Governor Charles S. Whitman,

The St. Regis.

How York City.

My dear Governor Whitman:-

If you have not already made an appointment to see Mr. Phillips, I wish you would see him tomorrow (Friday) for a very brief time. He will come any time that you suggest if we can have an hour or two's notice. We have some information respecting a matter that has been discussed with you that will be of interest and possibly of assistance.

Yours very cordially,

State Swerintendent.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED		
Fast Day Message		
Day Letter		
Night Message		
Night Letter		
Patrons should mark an 2 site the class of service of OTHERWISE THE TELE	oppo- lesired; GRAM	

WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY MESSAGE.

SENDER'S ADDRESS FOR ANSWER WESTERN UNION
WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

	Receiver's No.	
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	Time Filed	
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NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SENDER'S TELE-PHONE NUMBER

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to Jan. 14th, 1918		Jan 14th 1919	191
To_	Governor Charles S. Whitman,		
	Executive Cha	mber, Albany, N. Y.	
	Will call 11 o'clock to-m orre	ow and would like to see you	
-	as soon thereafter as conveni-	ent for you.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
•, •		William H. Anderson	
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	Charge Anti-Saloon League of I	New York	
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ALL TELEGRAMS TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a telegram should order it REPEATED, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this ne-half the unrepeated telegram rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, THIS IS AN UNREPEATED TELEGRAM AND PAID FOR AS SUCH a consideration whereof, it is agreed between the sender of the telegram and this Company as follows:

1. The Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any UNREPEATED telegram, beyond the amount received for sending the same; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any REPEATED telegram, beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or abscurtelegrams.

2. In any event the Company shall not be liable for damages for any mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of this telegram, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of FIFTY DOLLARS, at which amount this telegram is hereby valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing hereon at the time the telegram is offered to the Company for transmission, and an additional sum paid or agreed to be paid based on such value equal to one-tenth of

3. The Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this telegram over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination. 4. Telegrams will be delivered free within one-half mile of the Company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or

towns. Beyond these limits the Company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to

contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price. 5. No responsibility attaches to this Company concerning telegrams until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a telegram is sent to such office

by one of the Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender. 6. The Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after, the telegram is

filed with the Company for transmission. 7. Special terms governing the transmission of messages under the classes of messages enumerated below shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.

8. No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY INCORPORATED

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

FAST DAY MESSAGES

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT MESSAGES

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the ensuing business day.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard day message rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard Night Letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rate for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO DAY LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "Day Letter" service, the following special terms in addition to those enu-

merated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Day Letters may be forwarded by the Telegraph Company as a deferred service and the transmission and delivery of such Day Letters is, in all respects, subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams.

B. Day Letters shall be written in plain English. Code language

is not permissible.

c. This Day Letter may be delivered by the Telegraph Company by telephoning the same to the addressee, and such delivery shall be a complete discharge of the obligation of the Telegraph Company to deliver.

D. This Day Letter is received subject to the express understanding and agreement that the Company does not undertake that a Day

Letter shall be delivered on the day of its date absolutely and at all events; but that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject to the condition that there shall remain sufficient time for the transmission and delivery of such Day Letter on the day of its date during regular office hours, subject to the priority of the transmission of regular telegrams under the conditions named above.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. for delivery on the morning of the ensuing business day, at rates still lower than standard night message rates, as follows: The standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO NIGHT LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "Night Letter" service, the following special terms in addition to those

enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Night Letters may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such Night Letters at destination, postage prepaid.

B. Night Letters shall be written in plain English. Code language

is not permissible.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing:

January 18, 1918.

His Excellency, Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

PERSONAL

My dear Governor Whitman:

Pursuant to your request through Mr. Phillips with reference to the constitutionality of the concurrent jurisdiction clause of the Federal Amendment, I took the matter up with Mr. Wheeler our national counsel and he has taken it up with Mr. Webb, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and both Mr. Webb and Senator Sheppard will write you on this point so that you will understand that if you get letters from them, it is because of my request through Mr. Wheeler.

I will have copied and sent you either with this or else later, a copy of Mr. Wheeler's own statement on this point.

I see that the New York Herald announces this week that an unofficial canvass or poll by Republican leaders shows 27 Senators who may vote for ratification, depending perhaps on the outcome of the votes in the cities on April 16th. The Herald says that Prohibition stock went up a number of points.

Even though it should not be possible to get it through the Senate, I think we ought by all means drive it through the Assembly and I have not at all given up on the Senate.

You will be interested to know that Speaker Sweet told Mr. Daveryof our staff that he thought the League could not consistently oppose a referendum. I do not understand that he meant that he was going to insist on it himself but I thought this was illuminating.

Yours very cordially,

January 19th, 1918

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Hon. Wayne B. Wheeler, our National general counsel, respecting this concurrent jurisdiction clause, also copy of my ownstatement about Mr. Wickersham as an authority on liquor questions.

Yours very cordially,

Mr. William H. Anderson regrets
exceedingly that attendance upon an
imperative meeting of the Executive
Committee of the Anti-Saloon League
of America at Uashington on Thursday,
January twenty-fourth, will make it
impossible for him to accept the
kind invitation of Governor and Hrs.
Unitman for the evening of that
date.

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I tried to call you yesterday but could not get you and may not succeed to-day. I just wanted to report about the big Proachers' Meeting here in spite of the bliszard amidthe fuel order. I am sending you a copy of the resolutions adopted. You will notice the last one in particular. My statement respecting your attitude was received with great enthusiasm, and Mr. Bryan himself complimented you in the heartiest manner and emphasized the fact that it took great courage for a man to do what you have done, and said he regretted that he was not a New York minister long enough to vote in favor of this resolution.

Dr. Baker, our National Superintendent, in his address also complimented you, which was received with great applause. It was emphatically a Whitman Field Day among the preachers of New York and vicinity.

At Baltimore a week ago last Sunday addressing the great annual Lyric meeting, which I started ten years ago, which filled the largest hall in the city to overflow, with practically all men, I outlined your attitude and said:

"If the liquor interests do not quit fighting him, they will make Charles S. Thitman the next President of the United States."

This was received with tremendous applause even in this Democratic stronghold.

I want to have a little talk with you as soon as possible, but the Legislature seems to be marking time, and I could use my time to far better advantage getting things started. The "Concerted Discussion" was evidently a success.

I want to talk with you about the War-Emergency Prohibition Bill. I can set your mind at rest I think

on some phases of that. However, that is the thing the people are interested in. I don't think I am completely fooled, and if I can size things up at all that is the thing which is meeting the greatest response among the people, and the fire is likely to break out almost any time.

I note from the newspapers that a lot of communications of an identical sort have come to you urging the closing of the salcons during the war. I assume that I need not disclaim responsibility for that. The most that I have proposed to the preachers was that they write you or have a resolution passed expressing appreciation of your attitude.

I have suggested to the Superintendent of the Rhode Island League, where they have this Referendum up, that he telegraph you, and I would be very glad in case he does so, if you see your way clear to wire him that you disapprove of any proposal to put a Referendum on the National Prohibition Amendment because there is no warrant in law for it and because it cannot have any binding force and therefore is useless.

There are a number of rumors and rumors of rumors floating in the papers of a political sort, and I should be glad to have my information brought down to date.

I have not yet been able to secure an interview with a certain gentleman with whom you talked. He seems to be very busy in emergency conferences and special meetings of various important boards that he is a member of. I do not mean that he has turned me down, but simply that he hasn't yet gotten to it.

Did Senator Sheppard and Congressman Webb write you about this concurrent jurisdiction proposition? Is there anything else on this that you want me to get for you?

You said that you thought a constitutional majority is necessary for the Amendment. Mr. Wheeler, our National counsel, insists that nothing more is required than what is required to pass a joint resolution. I would be glad if you would have the Attorney General give y ou an opinion on this point and let me have a copy of it. It may be that we will not need to have 26 votes in the Senate, although of course we would rather do it that way if possible.

Yours very cordially.

Same letter sent to St. Regis, New York City.

Jammery 31st, 1918

His Residency, Charles C. William, Executive Charleso, Albert, H. Y.

My dear Governor Thitman:

I understand you are to speak to-morrow evening in New York at the meeting of the Federation of Homen's Clubs of New York City and Long Island.

this Fodoration has already passed a Resolution in favor of For Prohibition, and a Resolution will be introduced again at this mosting in favor of For Prohibition, and in all probability it will include ratification of the Federal Anondment. At least that is the present calculation.

It is suggested to me that I communicate with you so that you will know the situation and can refer vigorously to the Prohibition question in connection with your speech. We do not know of any opposition to a Retification Resolution beyond just the little feeling in some quarters that it is not wise to introduce it for fear there may be opposition. If you hit the ratification question strongly, there is no doubt of a Resolution going through, they tell me. And it will be a big thing if we can get a body like this representing New York City, to declare for ratification.

I am sending this actor both to Albany and to the St. Regis, for I don't know when you will leave Albany to fill this engagement.

Yours very cordially,

Same letter sent to Hotel St. Regis, New York City

January 31st, 1916

His Expollency, Charles S. Thitman, Exponsive Carriers, Allyny, S. Y.

By door Covernor Thitmen:

I told you over the 'phone about the enthusiasm over your mame at our big Union Preachers' liseting, and enclose copy of the Resolutions. I apoke in Baltimore at the Lyric on the 10th to 3,000 men and they strongly applouded the suggestion that the liquor non are in present of making you the next President.

I have suggested to the Superintendent of the Miode Island League, for they have up the proposition of a referendum on ratification of the National Amendment, that he wire you. If you see your way clear to wire him that you disapprove of any such proposal because there is no warrant in law for it and because it cannot have any binding force, I shall be very glad.

Did Sinator Sheppard and Congressian Webb write you about the nutter of concurrent jurisdistion?

Just by way of memorandum, do you expect to have the Atterney General give you an epinion as to whether a majority of the querus is sufficient to ratify the Federal Amendment? Hr. Wheeler, our Mational counsel, says that it is, unless there is senething in the Constitution or legislative rules to prevent. He says that it requires only the came vote required for the passage of an ordinary Resolution by the Legislature.

Hr. Davey tells no that the letters are pouring in totthe members following "Concerted Discussion."

Yours very cerdially.

February 1st, 1918

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Hotel St. Regis, New York City.

My dear Governor Whitman:

This is just to call your attention to the letter written yesterday about the mention of Prohibition at the meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs of New York City and Long Island. I feel that this is very highly important.

Mr. Phillips wants to see you at the earliest possible moment about some new developments of a situation respecting which you talked with him. I have an appointment this morning with a man with whom you talked. I really had it for yesterday, but he was swamped and had to put it off until this morning. Mr. Phillips wants to see you about still a different man who has been mentioned in your conversation with him and me.

I still want to see you myself to-morrow to talk over briefly some legislative and political matters.

Yours very cordially,

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Our Mr. Keen was in Syracuse vesterday in charge of a conference of representatives of Executive Committees of most of the cities that will vote in the Spring. The representative of the Syracuse Post-Standard followed him to the train and told him that Senator Walters and Senator Argetsinger and others are plotting something with reference to the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment which they balieve will put you in a hole and give you no chance of escape.

Of course I suppose this will not be any particular news to you as you are used to being politically assassinated by your opponents and seemed to have thrived upon it, but I pass it on for what it is worth. It may be interesting as indicating present intentions.

In view of the effort now on in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey, to secure a referendum on ratification, I am rather inclined to suspect
that it is something with reference to that. On
that there can be no compromise, and I have not the
slightest doubt that the decent element will stand
with you.

Will you be in New York next week? I am leaving tomorrow night for Rochester and Buffalo for a series of meetings which will probably be the last ones that I will permit to take me away from base. I will probably not come up to Albany next week on account of its being such a short week, with a holiday in addition to a heatless Monday. If my train is on time I will leave Rochester at 2:24 Sunday afternoon, come on to Albany and be there about \$:30 or so, and take a sleeper down from Albany. If you are going to be in Albany Sunday evening and be free, I will call you up and run up to the Mansion, as I wish to

talk with you about a certain matter of procedure before I start in. I am thinking somewhat of setting up a clamor for an early hearing by the Assembly Committee, taking the position that the Senate Committee is stacked anyhow and we don't even care for a hearing.

Yours very cordially,

February 12th, 1918

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I am enclosing you copy of statement which I am sending out to-day about the state amendment project, which you see mixes the Speaker up with it, also cory of my telegram to Samuel Gompers, also statement directly aimed at Speaker Sweet which I shall give out to-morrow.

It is a pretty good thing that we caught on to this situation in advance. I think we can defeat this statemamendment proposal without much doubt. They may try to do something by saying that you last Fall came out in favor of the referendum. You will probably have to meet that and make a statement on it. We can take the matter up with you by letter if you wish to do it that way, but the answer is perfectly easy, namely that you made this statement before the National Amendment was passed and had the right of way.

As I think about it, I am inclined to think it would be a good idea rather to beat these fellows to it, and write me a letter in reply to the one I am enclosing, to be given out at once.

It is very laughable that Speaker Sweet should fix the Hearing on the day that Mr. Bryan is to be in Albany anyhow under our control. That will help get a crowd if nothing else would.

The whole thing is plain as daylight. The Speaker evidently intended to discourage ratification and invite the members of the Assembly to vote against it planning to rush this other proposition through later and get a good temperance record with which to oppose you, and even your friend Brown would get a good temperance record the way they had it doped out.

If we had not anticipated this last Fall and withdrawn the state amendment, we would have been up against it pretty hard, but I have secured acquiescence in this withdrawal and in the proposition that the Federal

Amendment has the right of way from all of our radical friends.

Of course if you do not think the time is opportune to reply to the enclosed letter respecting the state amendment, we will let it drop or hold it in abeyance, but my judgment is that they really intended to hold off springing their scheme until after the Hearing. I am sending word to over 5,000 pastors to-morrow, setting things out in full, urging that they get action promptly in the way of pressure both on the Speaker and their Senator and Assemblyman against this state amendment proposition.

It occurs to me that it is a good opportunity for you in your reply to make it good and strong to the effect that the Legislature is charged with responsibility for dealing with this Federal Amendment proposition and that the effect of a state amendment now is to block the larger thing, and that they had a chance to act on this state amendment last year, in which case their good faith would not be open to question.

You know how far you think it advisable to go. My judgment is that hit will be well for you to go to the full limit that you consider expedient.

I believe we can checkmate these fellows by proposing that we will stand for the state amendment if they will prove their good faith by ratifying the National Amendment first. I have left it open for youtto call attention to the fact that the Legislature of Kentucky first ratified the National Amendment and then voted for submission of the question to the people of the state for action, covering such portion of the seven years as complete ratification may require.

Yours very cordially,

Feb. 19th, 1918

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I think I shall not come to Albany but will spend the time getting ready for the hearing and stirring things up to get a crowd. I think we will have a crowd all right.

I see from the press reports that you are accused of inspiring my attack on Sweet, but I presume we can both rest under the weight of the accusation.

I would like to have Mr. Glenn furnish me with the names of 5,000 to 10,000 leading Republicans in this state, including the active party workers in every County. I would like to have them arranged by counties. Five thousand would make a pretty good list. I want to put these fellows on The American Issue list regularly so they will know what's going on in the state and the country. I am not after simply your friends and supporters; in fact I would like to get some of our stuff into the other fellows' heads. Will you take it up with him and see that he sends me an up to date list? Of course I don't want just a hit or miss list and don't want anything except what is hand picked. I think we ought to have the actual workers and committee men down as far as things are organized. I suppose a list of the Republican County officials and Republican members of the Boards of Supervisors ought to be included as well as the chairmen and executives. Provided we can get certain funds, we want to spread out a good deal on our publicity.

Yours very truly,

Feb. 19, 1918.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Reverend E. E. Barker, Jr., our Western District Superintendent, writes me that a Mr. John Hall called him on the phone and inquired about Betz's attitude toward the Anti-Saloon League. Barker found on inquiry that Hall was going to the State Farmers Meeting at Syracuse tomorrow to oppose Betz. Barker told Hall that he had spoken in the church in which Betz is a member and carefully avoided stirring anything up; and asked me to wire whether he should push or discourage opposition to Betz. I wired him to keep out.

We have no use for Betz, but we have taken out of his hide with interest about everything he did to us. It seems to be generally conceded that we killed him politically up there. At any event he does not dare run for Congress. However, so far as I know he has been keeping his mouth shut about us of late.

I wish you did not have him on board, but so long as he lets us along we shall not bother him, and in any event do not intend to plan into the hands of those who are trying to embarrass you.

Yours very cordially,

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I have taken steps to get some prominent man from Toronto to speak at the hearing. The Master of the State Grange thinks he can be there and will be glad to speak for ratification, he writes me. We expect to have a thoroughly representative crowd.

I enclose an anonymous letter which came to my house yesterday from Albany. You will observe that it is on good paper. I fancy it was written by somebody around the Assembly. I send it to you in order that you may just have an idea of how these fellows are beginning to fight.

Needless to say, you do not need to make any statement or explanation to us.

It looks like things are warming up politically, although I doubt if there is any more fuss or prediction of your defeat than there was two years ago at this time.

I feel that every additional inch we can gain in the way of progress toward ratification at this session will be worth from two to ten times as much as the same effort would produce for us in the fall.

I do not feel that we have to pass ratification this time. I do feel that we need to make a fight for it which the people will feel deserves to win and which the people will believe would have won if the subject had been fairly treated.

It seems to me that the wets were exceedingly foolish in putting a wine and beer exemption on the State Amendment Resolution, which I am informed over the phone was introduced today.

Gov. Charles S. Whitman -- 2

Our position will be that we will oppose the State Amendment under any and all conditions until after ratification is disposed of first.

Yours very cordially.

State Superintendent.

A-H

Albany, N. Y. February 16, 1918

Mr. W. H. Anderson Yonkers, N. Y.

Dear Sir: --

You are doing a great deal of harm when you uphold a man like Governor Whitman and knock Assemblyman Sweet. latter is a clean moral, sober man, while the former is a soak, and if you don't know it it's time you did, for you are only making yourself ridiculous. When Whitman was stumping for the last campaign he was "full" three-fourths of the time. and members of his party never knew what was going to happen In fact, everybody around the Capitol knows that he is one of the worst boozers in the country, and when you uphold him and decry Sweet you are doing harm to the cause of Prohibition. I know for a fact that there have been more than one instance when people having appointments with Whitman at the Capitol could not see him for he was at home drunk. Now this is not simply TALK: I know what I am talking about, and the less you have to say about Whitman and his prohibition the better it will be for prohibition. It is true he stood for prohibition, but only because he thought the majority of votes were on that side. He never does anything except for the advantage of Whitman.

I have listened to your talks more than once, and I always felt like coming right up to you after the meeting and advising you to cut out the Whitman stuff, for you drop several degrees when you spiel that.

I am on your side and for that reason I don't like to see you make yourself ridiculous.

(Signed) A Friend.

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

You will be pleased to know that I have had a conference with Mrs. Boole and have reached a very satisfactory arrangement with her. There is a better feeling and a better understanding and a better working basis between the W. C. T. U. and the Anti-Saloon League than ever before. You will be interested to know that out of it will come, I think, the elimination of any sort of leadership that Mr. Miller may be presuming to exercise on the temperance question. I do not mean to commit Mrs. Boole against Mr. Miller. I am speaking as to my own intentions and the possibilities growing out of this understanding.

Mr. Miller has been kicking up a fuss about my presiding at the hearing, but that is settled between Mrs. Boole and myself.

Yours very truly.

His Excellency, Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I supposedyou have noticed that the women have said that they would rather forego enrolment which means foregoing the opportunity to vote in the Fall primaries for Governor, etc., than to accept anything else than personal registration in places above 5,000. There is an element of danger in this if that proposition should be taken seriously and they should be cut out of the primary. I presume you are watching this.

Yours very truly,

March 1. 1916

His Excellency. Governor Charles S. Whitman, The St. Regis, New York.

Dear Governor Whiteran:-

I have asked Mr. Phillips to see you about a matter of very great urgency. Will you kindly see him at the earliest possible monont? He will be up around the hotel this evening to see you if it is possible. If utterly impossible please make it a point to see him at the earliest possible moment tomorrow morning. You will appreciate the need of heats when you see him.

Yours very cordially,

His Excellency, Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chamber, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

The vote in the Assembly was vary gratifying, and I know without anybody telling me where some of it came from. It gives a big impetus to ratification for next Fall, even if the proposition should fail in the Assembly, but we do not want it to fail and I hardly think it will.

The gentleman that we spoke about went South on the day appointed, without having done anything, even for immediate needs, on this legislative situation. A letter from his secretary amounts practically to the clinching of the larger proposition, although we are sure of that anyhow. Because of this we are not able to do the things in Jefferson County that we would like to do. I assume that Mr. Machold will be controlled by the Speaker, but he is considered possibly doubtful. Machold is not very responsive to moral sentiment. I am told that Frank Kenyon, who was, in a sense, Machold's manager, when the League fought him a number of years ago, would have influence with him, and also that Mr. McKinstrey, Editor of the Watertown Times, might have influence, and that you would probably be in a position to have somebody see these men and get them to speak to Machold. The information comes to me from our Mr. Brown, who lives in Watertown who, as you know, is a cousin of Elon, but has no use for him.

The Rev. O. R. Miller writes me that he thinks you ought to call a special election to fill Halliday's place, and that he has written you to that effect, and that he thinks I ought to wire you. I have given him to understand that I was not going to make any request.

Our hard fight is going to come in keeping temperance men from voting for the State amendment as "the best thing that can now be gotten" or as "a step toward the larger

thing" or on the basis of "a half loaf is better than no bread". We shall simply have to insist that the principle "ratification first" has no exceptions of any kind whatsoever.

If this State amendment is a liquor scheme to block ratification (and no intelligent man doubts it) then it is none the less a liquor scheme for that same purpose. Muring the period when it is actually succeeding in blocking ratification, I think this is self-evident, and if it is a liquor scheme, then there can be no excuse for any temperance man voting for it at all. I think I am going to be able to hold the entire temperance line-up, so far as organizations are concerned, to this point. I may have a little trouble with Mr. Miller, but am prepared to deal with him summarily if need be. I think it would be well if you talk with members of the Assembly, to just help them see this. It is surprising how hard it is for intelligent men, whose devotion to the cause cannot be questioned, to hoist this proposition clear on board.

It looks to me as though things are shaping up to such form that we can fairly "eat 'em alive" next Fall.

I shall be in Albany on Monday and Tuesday to attend the hearing on Monday and speak against the State amendment proposal and stay over Tuesday for the vote in the Assembly.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M

State Superintendent Anti-Salcon League of New York. The Escollary, Covernor Charles C. Uhiteman, (In Dulicate) Hetal St. Royle, How York, Escoptive Charles, Albany.

My done Governor Talitains-

I noted by Clym voots ago for a list of prominent Republicans. To curit to have had then before this. It would have been highly valuable, he has never furnished then.

I spoke to you about it and you said they could be potten for us, but of course you more busy and courseless it and I out one he did the sees.

This can come to us right off the hat. Then we expend to have all of the can been the us right off the hat. Then we expend to have all of the can been thereparated that the state. Then the state of the can have any called a position. This chould be a list of some thousands and we caple to have then to begin to indectable the state of some to be a list of some themselves the state of the caple to be come to them carly must meet. This caple to be come to them carly must meet. This yeu listed see int for me, and in the meantime caple of it.

Yours very occulially,

Como Sucorlinonlant.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Enclosed find a copy of the national edition of The American Issue which goes all over the entire country. Each State has its own paper and then there is a purely national paper. This national paper has a circulation of over 100,000 among the leaders of thought throughout the country, and goes into most of the newspaper offices. The national and state papers together have a circulation of over half a million and your message and the comment on it will be carried generally throughout these state papers.

I took the precaution to send word out in advance to the general manager of our publishing interest and they held up the paper a whole day in order to get it into last week's so that it would be served up to our people while it was still fresh. I think you will agree that they have handled it very well indeed, considering the hurry with which they had to deal with it.

There will be sent you from the printer tonight, the advance sheet of an article which will appear in this week's New York State paper which we are sending to all the newspapers in the State, to the Congressmen, to a selected list of dailies over the entire country, to the leading religious papers of the entire country, to the member of the State Legislature, to all of the Washington correspondents and our State Superintendents.

This article is exposing the bone-headed folly of the Republican leaders of the Legislature, in playing into the hands of Mr. Hearst and Taumany on this Ratification matter.

In addition, the American Issue this week will have a very strong article showing up Speaker Sweet, particularly his falsehood and his attempt to use Mrs. Boole as a cat's-paw.

It looks to me as though we are gaining ground all the time. Mr. Barnes Albany Journal Editorial about the Referendum and Mr. Hearst's compliment to you for your courage in insisting the Legislature should settle the question this time, have removed every possibility of any wide-spread or general criticism of your course.

I think that when we get through with the Speaker he will feel that he committed suicide the night your message was read.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

HIS EXCELLENCY, HON. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, The Capitol, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

If you are going to be down on Saturday, I shall be glad to see you if I can do it in the morning. I have agreed to take my offspring to the circus Saturday. I haven't gone out anywhere with them since Christmas - haven't had time.

Things seem to be going first rate, but I am anxious to have a little chat with you just on general principles.

Mr. Walter F. Ballinger, President of the Philadelphia Methodist Social Union, who has invited you to speak, is one of the managers of the Board of Temperance. Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Church. It is not for me to say whether you shall accept an engagement of this sort, but if you find it convenient to do it, I imagine they will give you a great time.

In case this finds you in Albany, I shall be glad if you will have a wire sent me to the effect that you can see me Saturday morning in case you are coming down. If not, rerhaps I will see you next week in Albany. There is nothing of sufficient importance to justify your inconveniencing yourself in any degree.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.

WHA/M

HIS EXCELENCY, HON. CHARLES S. WHITMAN, The Capitol, Albany. N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I wonder if you have paid any attention at all to the bill requiring reports which have been introduced by Senator Nichols and by Mr. Meyer. Mr. Davey has proposed a certain amendment to Senator Walters, and Senator Walters has agreed to confer with him before any bill comes out of Committee.

As I indicated to you once before, we are entirely willing to make a report of any expenditures bearing on any election, but we object absolutely to being required to make a total report of our general contributions, because the brewers have been trying for years to get the names of our supporters so they can be boycotted. We are entirely willing to report the total amount of money that we received. We practically send that to every paper once a year anyhow.

However, this general question is not up so far as we know. The bills that are pending are election bills and apparently designed to prevent any such thing as happened in the Fusion campaign last year, but we think that they ought not to be so broad as to cover a concern like ours which is permanent. The amendment which Mr. Davey has proposed at my suggestion is to the effect that a permanent organization of religious or philanthropic character—not a political party or affiliated with a party (and we might even say "and not nominating candidates for office") shall only be required to report the total amount of its receipts.

This would require Fusion Committees and things of that kind to report in full, but it would not penalize organizations like the Anti-Saloon League

and the Citizens Union and the things that are run for decent politics.

Yours very cordially,

THA/M

State Superintendent Anti-Salcon League of New York

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRE	
Fast Day Message	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE TELEGRAM WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FAST DAY MESSAGE.

WESTERN UNION MESTERN UNION TELECRAM

NEWCOMB	CARLTON.	PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

	Receiver's No.	
-	Check	_
	Time Filed	

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

April 8, 1918

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Chambers, Albany, N.Y.

We heartily concur in request of various cities for special message for special legislation providing for second day for city local option vote. Registration returns indicate impossible to get vote cast in one day.

William H. Anderson.

(Charge to Anti-Saloon League)

ALL TELEGRAMS TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a telegram should order it REPEATED, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated telegram rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, THIS IS AN UNREPEATED TELEGRAM AND PAID FOR AS SUCH, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the telegram and this Company as follows:

1. The Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any UNREPEATED telegram, beyond the amount received for sending the same; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any REPEATED telegram, beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure

telegrams.

2. In any event the Company shall not be liable for damages for any mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of this telegram, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of FIFTY DOLLARS, at which amount this telegram is hereby valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing hereon at the time the telegram is offered to the Company for transmission, and an additional sum paid or agreed to be paid based on such value equal to one-tenth of one per cent, thereof.

3. The Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this telegram over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its

destination.

4. Telegrams will be delivered free within one-half mile of the Company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the Company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this Company concerning telegrams until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a telegram is sent to such office by one of the Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after the telegram is

filed with the Company for transmission. 7. Special terms governing the transmission of messages under the classes of messages enumerated below shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all

the foregoing terms.

2. No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY INCORPORATED

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

FAST DAY MESSAGES

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT WESSAGES

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the ensuing business day.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard day message rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard Night Letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rate for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO DAY LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "Day Letter" service, the following special terms in addition to those enu-

merated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Day Letters may be forwarded by the Telegraph Company as a deferred service and the transmission and delivery of such Day Letters is, in all respects, subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams.

B. Day Letters shall be written in plain English. Code language

is not permissible.

- c. This Day Letter may be delivered by the Telegraph Company by telephoning the same to the addressee, and such delivery shall be a complete discharge of the obligation of the Telegraph Company to deliver.
- p. This Day Letter is received subject to the express understanding and agreement that the Company does not undertake that a Day

Letter shall be delivered on the day of its date absolutely and at events: but that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect is subject to the company's obligation in this respect to the company's obligation in the com to the condition that there shall remain sufficient time for the trai mission and delivery of such Day Letter on the day of its date durin regular office hours, subject to the priority of the transmission of reular telegrams under the conditions named above.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. for delivery on the morning of the ensure business day, at rates still lower than standard night message rates. follows: The standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for the tran mission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard day rate for words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO NIGHT LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "Ni Letter" service, the following special terms in addition to th

enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Night Letters may at the option of the Telegraph Comr be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with r to delivery by mailing such Night Letters at destination, pos prepaid.

B. Night Letters shall be written in plain English. Code lang.

is not permissible.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing:

His Excellency, Gov. Charles S. Whitman, The Capitol, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I have a letter from Mr. Tower to the effect that he had seen you and that you were disappointed about the result of the city votes.

I have been trying to see you for some little time to talk this matter over. I arrived in Albany last Friday at 8 o'clock and called the Mansion at once, but you were out. I had to leave very early for Gloversville to speak at the Troy conference, and when I got back I found you had left for New York City. I called something after 8 o'clock when I got home but you were out. I called up Sunday morning to know whether I could see you Sunday. I could have waited over until half past three in the afternoon before leaving for New Britain, Ct., where the New York East conference was in session, and where I was to make an address, but Mr. Foster told me that every minute was taken.

I will come to Albany early next week, if it is necessary to see you. I would like to be able to go, if possible, on the 4:50 train, getting up there about 8 o'clock, and have some time with you in the evening and then return on the midnight train.

However, if you are going to be down here and have time to see me, I would rather see you down here. I will be speaking next Sunday morning, but will be free in the afternoon, or I could see you Saturday, which would be still better if it suits you. Will you kindly have Mr. Orr or somebody phone or wire me?

In the meantime, however, I want to say that while we would have been glad to have had a larger vote, we are not at all cast down, and we were not deceived. You will remember that I told you that the big cities would not vote dry. Take Rochester for example - I have been in the game too long to be carried off my feet by the reports of the local committees.

On the strength of the local report, it did look like Syracuse would go dry. However, we made only one

prediction as follows; - "A minimum of half, and on the strength of the local reports we would not be surprised at anything up to 30." The part about half was our actual prediction. We could not slap the local committees in the face by failing to indicate the possibility of more than that.

The point is that it is possible to fool a good many people the first time. As our paper, the American Issue will show in this week's number, New York has done far better than Illinois did the first time.

No city the size of Syracuse ever voted dry the first time, whether in a suffrage state or a non-suffrage state. Unfortunately, many of the local people started too late. Some of the localities were not well organized. There are many things that operate against a wet and dry fight that do not enter at all into a general fight, which has political angles. There are many people who will not vote for local prohibition because they think it cannot be enforced - who are strong for national prohibition.

THE WOMEN AND THE CITIES OF NEW YORK STATEHAVE DONE FULLY AS WELL AND REALLY MUCH BETTER THAN THE WOMEN AND THE CITIES OF ANY OTHER STATE HAVE DONE AT AN EQUIVALENT STAGE OF THE FIGHT.

Temporarily, the pôliticians count it as a prohibition defeat, but they will get over that and whatever has been lost in the way of advantage of position will, in my judgment, be more than offset by the fact which we can now hammer home, that it is necessary to organize.

I am very clear that there is no hope for the Republican party except on the basis of a strong attitude for ratification.

You will appreciate now why I worked so desperately hard to head off a vote in the big cities, or a referendum vote in the state, because I knew that a campaign of misrepresentation, falsehood and corruption would win out in a large proportion of the places the first time, although I believed that if there could be an honest, free expression of the wishes, intelligence and moral conviction of the eitizenship of the state, prohibition would carry with an ample margin.

I have headed off some efforts to get pressure for a special session. There are some others brewing, but I think we can head them off also.

I confess with perfect frankness that things in many respects would have been a little easier, at least for the time being, if there had been 30 cities go dry, which is the extreme limit that we thought at all possible, but the people might have taken too much for granted and, through over-confidence, brought on a defeat at a time when it would have counted a great deal more

One very strong argument used in the cities was that the matter would be settled by the nation or the state as a whole, and "why should this city disrupt things in advance of the general action." Another thing that was used with the Catholics, was the proposition that the bone-dry law would interfere with sacramental wine. The National amendment is expressly limited to a prohibition of the traffic in liquor for beverage purposes, so this argument does not lie.

Further, the war situation is daily strengthening the demand for prohibition.

In short, the only thing in the world that disturbs me a particle, is the fact that some of our friends are a little distressed over what they feel is an unsatisfactory showing. The trouble is, they expected more than the circumstances warranted.

I cannot come up either Monday or Tuesday. I have a conference of considerable importance on Monday, and Tuesday I have a board meeting, but I can come after that next week if you have not been able to see me before. I presume I could come on the 4:50 train either Monday or Tuesday evening if I could get back on a slaeper and knew long enough in advance to make arrangements.

Yours very cordially,

M/AHW

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.

His Excellency, Gov. Charles S. Whitman, The Capitol, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I think it is highly important that you see either Mr. Phillips or me, either here or in Albany, early next week. We have some things of very great importance to say, and wish to call your attention to some things that we have been doing to protect the situation and which, in all probability, have escaped you. Mr. Phillips will go to Albany Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday to see you or, if as the papers say, you are to be here on Tuesday, going back Tuesday night, and coming down again on Thursday, he can see you here, but if you are too rushed here he will go to Albany.

I am enclosing copy of my last statement about Mr. Bryan and the apparent preparation to help Mr. Hearst.

I also enclose copy of the American Issue. In the last article you will see how we are going after Mr. Miller on this special session question.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M-Enos.

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.

Governor Charles S. Whitman, Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I am quite sure that I voice the sentiment of the temperance forces in this community when I say that there are no reasonable advocates of prohibition that expect you to call a special session.

I regret that there has been any agitation, but I am sure that the substantial people of this state feel that you have done all that any governor could possibly do.

We expect to take off our coats and get out and work for you this fall.

I know you are busy, and you need not feel that it is necessary to take the time to reply to this letter.

Yours very truly,

HIK/E

Cally de Mr. anderson

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman. Executive Chambers. Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I enclose copy of letter to Mr. Glynn.

The papers say you are to be down here Thursday. Mr. Phillips wants to see you without fail not later than Thursday about a very important matter.

I am getting some very fine letters from ministers indicating their reaction respecting this gas explosion of the Allied Forces. The only place in the State from which there has been any unfavorable reaction at all is from Buffalo, where a few of the Methodists who are great admirers of Clinton Howard, because they themselves are party Prohibitionists, are trying to start a bear dance. However, Bishop Burt of Buffalo who has returned, is one of the warmest backers of the League, and has no patience with this radical bunch, so that cannot get anywhere much.

The thing that will dawn on some of these radicals after a while is that I forced them to endorse you, so there is really no issue between us, and so as they have to stand for Ratification and War Prohibition, and as I busted their State Prohibition proposition, they are standing for the same program of legislation as the Anti-Saloon League, so their utterances are no more serious than any other expressions of ill nature.

It seems to me that things are working along in pretty good shape. I enclose copy of statement that I gave out yesterday to the press of the State. It was mailed to every newspaper. The World carried it nearly in full, and two or three other papers mentioned it.

Yours yery cordially.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, St. Regis Hotel, New York City.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I wrote you at Albany that it is highly important for Mr. Phillips to see you tomorrow. Another reason has come up which adds still more to the necessity of it. He is going to call up in the morning as we understand you are expected at the St. Regis tonight. I hope you can plan to give him an interview without fail sometime during the day or evening.

I have word from Mr. Abner Brown, our attorney at Watertown, that Mr. Pitcher has said he will not run. Mr. Brown had a conference with Mr. Kellogg and Mr. Kellogg didn't commit himself. My impression is that it is pretty important, especially now that Mr. Pitcher is out of the race apparently, to encourage Mr. Kellogg to run, or we might find ourselves without a candidate at all. Mr. Kellogg does not care to announce himself until after the 25th, when the women enroll, as he does not want to be generally known simply as the women's candidate.

It would be a calamity if we should again not have any candidate against Brown.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of N.Y.

His Excellency. Covernor Charles S. Whitman, The St. Hegis. New York City.

My dear Governor:-

I enclose copy of open letter to Mr. Lewis, to be released for publication next Saturday. This may help a little.

I hope you will see Hr. Phillips temorrow (Friday) without fail even if you have to split the Zodiac to get him in.

Yours very cordially.

State Superintendent.

His Excellency. Governor Charles S. Whitman, St. Regis Hotel, New York City.

Dear Governor Whitman:

This will introduce Rev. J. Foster Wilcox, the temperance field secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society. He is of the salt of the earth; he knows New York thoroughly; he is heartily with the Anti-Saloon League; helds in mind doing some things with the Baptist Associations in this State that the League wants done for their bearing on the coming primaries and elections.

I hope you can see him and do whatever he wants. He has had so much political experience that I do not believe he would ask you to do anything that you cannot afford to do.

Yours very cordially.

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York

WIA -M

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman, St. Regis Hotel, New York, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I thought you would be glad to have copy of the resolution adopted by our State Board endorsing your humble servant in the matter of the yelp that was made for my dismissal by some of the radicals here, and also with reference to the Bryan matter.

The Board further adopted the following resolutions with respect to you and the Speaker. You will see the contrast between this action, really representing the Churches, and the action of the Allied Forces.

"Commends Governor Whitman for his service in behalf of City Local Option, his successful efforts in helping secure the necessary votes for submission of the National Amendment by Congress, for his out-spoken stand in favor of Ratification, and for the ringing message by which he defeated the referendum fraud and helped clear the track for a square fight on the merits of the issue next time.

"Expresses the judgment, for the benefit of the Prohibition constituency, that the acts of Speaker Sweet, despite claims made in his behalf, materially obstructed Ratification, particularly his personal approval of the referendum in the early critical days of the session when legislative opinion was crystalising, his failure to embrace the opportunity afforded by the Covernor's message, and his public attempt to put the Governor in a false light."

If you are in the city next week I would like to have a little chat with you and get your ideas on a number of phases of the general situation and also report to you anything that I may have picked up that may be of interest to you.

Yours very cordially,

June 3, 1918.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman. Executive Chambers. Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor:

I sent you a letter to the St. Regis. I do not know whether it reached you or not before you left. As a matter of precaution I am sending you a duplicate with enclosures to Albany. Will be mighty glad to see you this week if it is convenient. I have an engagement Thursday evening, but can see you almost any time except that.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Bnc.

June 11, 1918.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman. Executive Chambers, Albany, N.Y.

Copy to St. Regis Hotel, New York, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Snolosed find copy of my open letter to Mr. Lewis yesterday. The Times printed it almost in full and the Sun a considerable part of it this morning.

Yours very cordially.

State Superintendent.

Enc.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman. Executive Chambers. Albany. N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Our National League would like to have from you "your impressions as to the value of the prohibition policy and the effect of prohibition upon the schools, crime, pauperism, business, and the general character of the people, in those portions of your state where local prohibition has been tried."

I have replied that I do not know whether you will think it advisable to make such a statement, nor whether we think it advisable to get you to do it. If you think that it is all right I shall be very glad to have it to send on.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

June 29, 1918.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman. Executive Chambers. Albany. N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

For your information I am enclosing copy of letter to Mr. Glynn; also copy of the Wadsworth letter referred to. I am anxious to see you about some of the purely political phases of the situation whenever it is convenient. I can do it either Monday or Tuesday of next week, if you are down here, or beginning with Tuesday the ninth. It occurs to me that this declaration that, we do not desire a platform declaration may relieve the situation somewhat for you.

Yours very cordially.

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.

Encs.

Copy sent to the St. Regis.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Capitol, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I enclose copy of statement which is going out to the news-papers of the State today to be released on Monday.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M-Enc.

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES

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July 9, 1918.

Governor Charles S. Whitman, Albany, N.Y.

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Please wire siggesting date and approximate time.

William H. Anderson

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CHARLES P. BRUCH,

THE FASTEST TELEGRAPH SERVICE IN THE WORLD

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Capitol, Albany, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I believe your attitude upon the prohibition question is entirely clear to every person who has kept track of events. Nevertheless it is being misrepresented with a persistence that is positively mendacious, for reasons which are perfectly obvious, and there are still many intelligent people who have not heretofore paid any attention to this question who have been aroused to interest by its relation to the winning of the war, and by the prominence given it in the present New York campaign. For the sake of these and the more effective answering of the misstatements which have been made, and in justice to all parties and interests concerned, I respectfully request that you state again your attitude upon the matter of a State Prohibition Amendment, which certain parties are seeking to use to obscure the real prohibition issue, and also as respects Ratification or the National Prohibition Amendment.

Yours very truly,

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.

WHA/M

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, New York. PERSONAL

My dear Governor Whitman:

Pursuant to our conversation the other evening I enclose a suggested draft of a plank for the prohibition platform, for use in the improbable contingency that it may be considered necessary to pass something of this kind to prevent the passage of something worse.

You will notice that this is so worded as to avoid tying anybody's hands for the future. It does not leave the matter to the Legislature but puts it up to the people of the various districts to select representatives. In other words, this plank is for the only kind of a referendum on national prohibition which the Constitution contemplates, and I believe is strong for that reason.

I have gone into this very carefully and had the advice of our expert staff men and have covered every point that can come up from the prohibition angle. This will not interfere with pressure being brought to bear in the home districts upon the members of the Legislature to vote for Ratification, because it recognizes the people as the ultimate authority. In fact, such efforts can be made for the purpose of protecting the people's right and carrying out the people's will.

I think that I have devised the only possible form of an amendment of this sort that will obviate the danger of trouble in the future. This one I do not believe will cause any trouble.

Nevertheless, I am not in favor of the adoption of even this one unless there seems to be actual need for it. I stand with you absolutely on that point.

Since Col. Roosevelt wanted Mr. Wood to see Mr. Cooks and Mr. Cooks was strongly of the opinion that a plank leaving the matter to the Legislature should be adopted, and Mr. Lord, who is close to Mr. Cooks, seems to have the same notion, I am wondering whether Col. Roosevelt, and perhaps others, think that a declaration leaving it to the Legislature is really avoiding action, or whether they know exactly what they want and are proposing this as a means of preventing you from going down the line for Ratification at any proper time. The more I think about it, the more I am confirmed in my opinion that we do not want even this much.

I had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Will Hays today. He is strongly for prohibition as you know, and he committed himself squarely to the idea that there should not anything be put in. He said this matter of leaving it to the Legislature was the least harmful thing that had been proposed, but he thought that ought not to go in. I think he expects to see some of the prominent Republicans who are wet to see if they will not let-up in their demand for a declaration on the question. Coming from Indiana he knows the effect of a platform declaration on the fortunes of the Party.

Your suggestion in response to my statement that I would not advise that you make any utterance before the Saratoga meeting, to the effect that you did not know whether you could keep still, leads me to raise the question whether it would be advisable for you to say something of a sweeping general character, entirely apart from the matter of platform utterance.

I am enclosing a letter which you can either ignore or reply to as you see fit, and also a memorandum of some things that might be said. I have covered that Lewis matter of last December in general terms, but you may think it better to leave that out entirely. The rest of it is an explicit statement setting out your position with technical accuracy and putting on the arousements in the way of a broad appeal. I understand perfectly that some fellows might say that this was a bid looking to 1930, but nevertheless, any man is warranted in trying to protect his Party. Of course, I am not presuming to furnish you with language or anything of that kind, even though you see fit to make a statement, hor do I wish to assume the responsibility of actually advising you to make it before the Saratoga meeting, although I cannot see any harm that could come of it.

However, I am clear that immediately after the Saratoga meeting you ought to make a statement as near like this one as your judgment approves, which we can put into the hands of our workers all over the State and the ministers and church committees generally, to use in their hand to hand work to overcome the lying tactics of the opposition.

It might be a very good thing for you to write me such statement as you are willing to make at your convenience, so I will have it to give out as soon after the Saratoga meeting as is advisable, it being understood that we shall not give it out

until after the Convention is over.

I haven't any doubt of our ability to hold our people in line if we get the facts to them. The most convincing thing is a definite statement direct from you. I have endeavored in my letter to you to lay a reasonable foundation for your making another statement. If you wish to send me something for use after the Convention it might be well to change the date on my letter in your acknowledgement, so that it will not seem that there has been any delay. I really worked this thing up several days ago but did not suggest it the other night and probably would not have done so until after the Saratoga meeting if you had not made that particular statement.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M-Encs.

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Mansion, Albany, New York.

Personal.

My dear Governor Whitman:

The paralyzing action of the coal operators with its endorsement by Dr. Garfield as Fuel Administrator, makes it particularly important for the Republican Party to be right on the Prohibition question, and I think will greatly inure to our advantage. It occurred to me that it might have created a condition that would make it seem more propitious for you to make some statement for use before the meeting at Saratoga. I am still clear that there ought to be something very explicit not later than immediately afterwards, but an entirely content to accept your judgment as to action before that time.

I thought you ought to know that we have direct information that Mr. Glynn has not been helping us in the matter of securing certain assistance. In other words, his notions as to what the Anti-Saloon League ought to do are about 10% of what some of us who know a little about the Prohibition work from the inside believe ought to be We have the information that he has definitely expressed himself to this effect, that is that if we were in a position to do work upon such a basis we would be in a fine position to do a lot of work. He evidently has no comprehension of the need of arousing the last Prohibition voter for the election, and the need of doing some things before the primary solely for the sake of their bearing on the election because they can be done more advantageously before the primary. He does not seem to realize the importance of having a large number of workers out in the various sections of the State, and keeping church voters' lists fully informed. I thought you ought to know this so that if the opportunity offers you can set others of your friends right. They need to be set right as to the extent to which the Anti-Saloon League can help in this campaign under favorable circumstances. I do not mean that Mr. Clynn has actually tried to interfere with anything, but just simply has some very contracted notions.

I am wondering what you think of the suggested plan? I am to see Mr. Cocks today.

I now contemplate leaving here at one o'clock Wednesday for Saratoga, getting up there about six. I shall not be intrusive and shall not do anything to advertise my presence, but will be there if wanted. I have engaged a room at the United States Hotel.

I am enclosing copy of my challenge to Mr. Lewis. a statement about the Socialists and a letter which, with these two documents, was sent yesterday and today from our office to between 9000 and 10,000 Republicans of the State, covering the entire list of committees

Gov. Charles S. Whitman - 2.

contained in the book issued by the Party, together with most of the names of the especially prominent men who were invited to the big Republican get-together pow-wow after the Progressive split in this State.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Encs.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

OFFICIAL ORGAN THE AMERICAN ISSUE" (NEW YORK EDITION) WEEKLY, ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR ROLLIN O. EVERHART, EDITOR

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NEW YORK

His Excellency Governor Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chamber. Albony, N. Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Another matter that elipsed my mind when I wrote you earlier in the day: told me that you were very anxious to have Mr. Pitcher run in Brown's district. I got in touch with Mr. Abner Brown, our attorney, the next morning as I agreed. He said that Mr. Pitcher was going to stick in the race but that he, Pitcher, was very anxious to know your attitude. I told Abner that I was not outhorized to speak for you but that Figure and said to me that you were anxious to have Mr. that as a mere matter of fact, provided he was careful not to use it in any manner that would cause you any embarrasement with Wilcox.

My information is that Wilcox is an erratic kind of a chap and not at all a safe man to get behind. Unfortunately, a Miss Easterly, representing the Suffragettes seems to be for Milcox. It occurs to me that it would be helpful if you could do two things - first: to have some further information conveyed to Mr. Pitcher; (3) get word to the State Suffragette leaders to call off Miss "Lasterly or set her right.

Brown advises me by letter since that telephone conversation yesteriay morning that Hr. Pitcher says he is going to stick. As I size Hr. Pitcher says he is going to stick. is up this suffrage complication is the only serious danger.

Yours respectfully,

HAR

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman. Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Saratoga. I have not the remotest idea of being obtrusive. As the representative of an agency vitally interested, I will be there for the purpose of seeing and hearing for myself so as to get absolutely first-hand impressions from the inti-Saloon League viewpoint. I shall not conduct any propaganda or give out any statements or distribute any literature or have anything to say, unless I am asked, and if I am asked my intention is to say that the inti-Saloon League has nothing to ask of the Republican State Convention except that it let us alone. If I am wanted by you I will be there.

are not going to attend the Convention but that you will be in Saratoga. Since my talk with Mr. Glynn I have decided to come up earlier than I originally intended, and expect to arrive about six-thirty Tuesday evening. I will be available if you want me, but will not be in your way unless you do. I wish you would see that somebody looks after giving me a ticket to the Convention.

I enclose copy of letter to Mr. Clynn which may be of interest to you.

Yours very cordially,

Enc.

State Superintendent.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, State Superintendent 16th Floor, 906 Broadway, N. E. Cor. 20th Street Phone Gramercy 7192-8

July 30,1918.

His Excellency, Hon. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chamber, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I am very anxious to see and talk over a number of things.

I see that Mr. Hearst has come out for

Ratification.

I am anxious to find out what, if anything you know about any further effort to bring a "compromise" candidate out against you in the primaries.

matter and the best way to meet the Democrate. Of course, you have the whole thing outlined in your message, but we can go a little farther in the way of a constructive defense, namely, that the American system, which is a system of checks and balances, provides as an offest to the requirement of two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress and Ratification by three-fourths of the states, that every section of the citizenship of the state shall have a chance to be heard, so that the farmers in a rural state could not overwhelm a city, neither can a city by manipulation, leave the farmers without some voice. These so-called referendum folks are in a conspiracy to deprive the people of the state of the right the Constitution really gives them, and it is they and not we who are seeking to rob the people of their real chance on this issue.

Did you see the statement which I issued about the Democratic Convention action? I enclose a copy of it.

I have not seen you since my telegram to Col. Roosevelt was actually sent. I polished it up a little bit and added a couple of paragraphs and, I think, improved it. Mr. Perkins congratulated me on it and said he thought it was helpful.

I had quite a talk with Mr. Glynn and Mr. Cooks the other day pursuant to the suggestion of a mutual friend of ours. The result was satisfactory but I wish to say by way of caution

which the prohibition question is to figure in the coming campaign, and the absolutely vital need of meeting the defection from the Republican Party on the arguments that will be put up by the Democrate. I do not think he realizes how serious the whole proposition is. I am thoroughly satisfied that we can win out but I think that it will have to be done from the purely moral viewpoint at least ten times as much as Mr. Glynn down in his heart really believes to be necessary. I do not by this mean to intimate that he is in any way blocking us, for I am satisfied now that he is not, but he is not himself fully satisfied. On this point you have a far better comprehension and I am throwing this out by way of precaution.

I see from the papers up in the Jefferson County District that Kenyon is having his troubles on account of breaking his promise to Pitcher.

I am informed, I think reliably, that all of the state employees, the canal workers, the excise department representatives and, in fact, everybody connected with state work, is openly for Wicks in Oneida County.

I feel that fellow must be beaten if it is humanly possible. Senator Davenport is not asking that the state employees come out for him, but that they really and truly quit helping Wicks and that the matter be put up to them hard so that they will understand that it means real business.

We have nothing to hope for from Wicks. He had decided to quit but the Hearst element got behind him.

We are not going to fight any Republican Legislative candidates in the election, when to do so will let the Democrate in, but we must push some things in the primaries, and if we are to get Ratification some of these senate districts must be nailed down, as well as a lot of the Assembly districts. There will be some places as, for example, up in Ottinger's district in New York, where the women and the temperance people generally on their own initiative are just simply insisting upon making a fight. We cannot stop it and I do not know that ought to try to.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M

State Superintendent

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Covernor Whitmen: --

You told me that you would be in Albany on Monday and could see me Monday evening. I will leave here somewhere around four to five o'clock and get up there about eight o'clock and will plan to come to the Mansion after dinner, say about 6:30 if that suits you, or I can make it nine if you would rather, and I will be expecting to come back on the element that night.

Whatever to do with the Oneida County situation. I am not going to ask any impossibilities. One of the main things that I want to talk over is certain elements of danger in the situation that do not seem to be appreciated. I think you will appreciate them.

Further, notwithstanding protestations, I have positive and direct information as late as today that the State Chairman does not appreciate the need of doing semetthings that in our judgment as experts on this question must be done if all reasonable precautions is to be taken, and whether he admits it or not he is sitting down in the breeching and to a certain extent guesting our game. I think probably you would better not quote me to him. If you discuss it with him at all let it be simply in the way of emphasis upon the importance of our doing the kind of work that only the Anti-Salcon League can do. There has been about as much said direct to him from us or by snybody coming from us as van be said without danger of stirring up some bad feeling, but my information is absolutely direct and reliable and comes from a quarter very much interested in your success.

Frankly I am disturbed ever some phases of the situation. I don't believe that the State Chairman or the Republican politicians generally have the remotest comprehension of the amount of money that the wets are going to spend or the amount of work.

that they are going to do and of the defections there will be from the Republican ranks among those who are either wet in sympathyor are frankly mercenary. If I know anything at all politically there is going to be enough of that to everture the normal Republican majority even on the showing made by the women's enrollment unless it is made up from other quarters.

talking about the election. All our past experience tells us that right now is not too soon to figure on the election campaign. I think the primary is all right and yet there is danger even in that. The sets have thrown up their smoke-screen and there is a silence that to us is very suspicious which looks like it is based upon what these fellows believe to be some substantial assurances somewhere along the line. I to not mean that I believe it possible that these fellows can take the nomination away from you even by purchase but it is possible if they put enough into it at the last simute quietly to make a showing that would indicate that there is a substantial dividien in the Republican Party and while that would not be fatal it would be disconcerting and might become very serious.

I am writing this so that you can have the situation in mini yourself and give me the benefit of your own thought and the information which you are able to gather at the same time that I give you the benefit of our judgment on the highly important if not disquieting features of the situation thus far.

I find from actual field reports that while there is no trouble about getting the people to take your end of it when they comprehend the difference between a state amendment which has to go to the people and a federal amendment which has to go to the people, yet the general public gets it slowly and the task shead of us is terrific and the regular Republican organization now can't help us very much because a lot of the organization fellows could not talk our lings if they wanted to and a lot of them would not do it even if they could. I am satisfied that this election is going to be founded that it can be won, and finally just as thoroughly convinced that it is only going to be won by hard work and that there isn't any room for the state chairman or any other official to be trying to minimize the importance of this assument what can be done. I understand perfectly the absolute importance of the regular party organization. I am receip to admit that if it was nothing but a wot and dry fight we could not win it in this state against the money the other fellows would put up. I recognize clearly that the work that is to be done by the state chairman and the organization work that is to be done by the state chairman and the organization work that is to the done by the state chairman and the organization and clear down to the election district is indispensable. I can't for the life of me understand why in San Hill

Covernor Whitman-3-

they can't recognize that some other things are equally indispensable. It makes me tired to have a follow decry something that he doesn't understand, and there is no use of denial in a certain quarter because we've get the good on it and we think you cught to know it. But as I said before, it won't help any to have you quote me in this matter, at least until after I have had a chance to talk with you for we must work this thing in such manner as to have the greatest possible degree of harmony. I don't intend to interfere with the prerogatives, the operations, the field or the resources of the state chairman. On the other hand, I want him to shinny on his own side.

Yours very cordically,

State Sugerintendent.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES

COUNTER No.

TELEGRAM

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

CHECK

The Postal Telegraph-Cable Company (Incorporated) transmits and delivers this message subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this blank.

SEND the following Telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

[DESIGN PATENT Na. 40529]

2-718

August 5, 1918.

Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

Leaving for Albany at four-fifty this afternoon. Will phone Mansion immediately on arrival.

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON.

Charge Anti-Saloon League

POSTAL TELEGRAPH-COMMERCIAL CABLES ENGLAND NEWFOUNDI AND VANCOUVER PACIFIC OCEAN JAPAN SAN FRANCISCO YOKOHAMA MIDWAY ATLANTIC OCEAN HONOLULU ST. VINCEN MANII A GUAM PANAMA SOUTH AMERICA EXTENDS OVER TWO-THIRDS OF THE WAY AROUND THE EARTH. THE GREATEST TELEGRAPH AND CABLE SYSTEM IN THE WORLD.

OPERATOR'S NOTATIONS, TIME SENT. ETC.

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CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

CHARLES C. ADAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT. EDWARD REYNOLDS, VICE-PREST, AND GENERAL MANAGER

CHARLES P. BRUCH,

THE FASTEST TELEGRAPH SERVICE IN THE WORLD

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, Executive Chambers, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Hon. S. E. Nicholson of Indians, author of the Nicholson law passed when he was a member of the Indiana Legislature, who is also a Quaker preacher and is the Secretary of the National Anti-Saloon League, has been spending quite a bit of time in New York State on the Ratification matter.

He has a letter to Mr. George Aldrich of Rochester from Mr. Hays, but has thus far been unable to catch up with Mr. Aldrich at Rochester. A suggestion has been made that possibly a word from you to Mr. Aldrich would pre-dispose him to hear what Mr. Micholson has to suggest, which is a very sensible, practical proposition, Mr. Micholson himself having had long experience. He wants to meet Mr. Aldrich the latter part of next week, any time after Wednesday, August lith, and would come from Vermont at any time Mr. Aldrich suggested after that date for the purpose of such a metting. If you are willing, I wish you would ask Mr. Aldrich to see Mr. Micholson, who is a Republican, Superintendent of the Anti-Salcon League in Pennsylvania for many years after having been one of my predecessors in Maryland. Then will you kindly let me know if you get any word at all to the effect that Mr. Aldrich is willing.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I enclose copy of statement which I am giving out to-day about Mr. Lawis and Senator Hinman. You will see how I have called the turn on the Hearst advocacy of prohibition and his denunciation of Lewis on prohibition grounds, in such manner as to let you out from any unpleasant consequences. I think I have the right hypothesis, and this is something that can be put over with intelligent people generally. I think it will be well to have your manager press this phase of it.

Yoursvery cordially,

WHA/ W-Enc.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I am herewith enclosing you in confidence a copy of the personal letter written Mr. Glynn. I think you had better not tell him I sent you this letter. I am not expecting you to do anything about it at all except that I think it may be well for you on your own responsibility and not as though the suggestion came from me, to take up with your friends as a matter of precaution, the question as to whether this particular candidate for the senate really has given sufficient assurance, or whether as suggested, he has merely committed himself in favor of a referendum which, of course, is nothing at all.

We are not disposed to ask you to get into this, nor are we disposed to ask Mr. Glynn to change his plans, provided we are assured that in any event, there will be a vote for Ratification, no matter who is nominated, and this is as important to Mr. Glynn for his own protection as it is for us.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/N-Enc.

August 13, 1918.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y. PERSONAL

My dear Governor Whitman:

Is it advisable in your opinion for us to send a letter to the enrolled party prohibitionists, urging them to write your name in and nominate you instead of Mr. Bishop, assuming always that we can get the funds to do it?

Frankly, there is possibility, if the Anti-Saloon League should do this, that they might resent it on the ground that we are trying to swallew up the Prohibition Party and might kick back. In some respects, it is a different proposition from writing them before the election urging them to vote for you on the ground that either you or the Tammany men will be nominated.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/N

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Chamber, Albany, N.Y. PERSONAL

Dear Governor Whitman:

Mr. J. H. Agate of Salisbury & Agate, who is interested in some Excise cases, has appealed to you for an extraordinary session of the Appellate Division of the Fourth Department. There was irregularity in a number of elections - 50 or more towns are likely to be involved. There is still a chance to ours things if they bring on new elections. Some of them do not want to do it unless it is necessary.

I do not know anything about the rules governing your action on such applications, but the matter seems to me to be very important, and to that extent I heartily back up the request of Mr. Agate. I do not pretend to understand the merits of the particular case myself, but do believe the situation is critical and would like to have you go as far as you feel you properly can. Would also be glad to know just what, if anything, you think you can do in the premises.

Yours very cordially,

M/AHM

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

PERSONAL.

Dear Governor Whitman:

I have just read the report to our organization department of our special representative in Oneida County. The man is expert, intelligent and absolutely trustworthy. He is under the most explicit instructions to work in your interest, and is personally very glad to do it. He reports that the apparent understanding between Mr. Glynn and the Wicks forces is reacting in many places against you. This has been the general tenor of his report for some little time, but it is more definite and more explicit. I do not know what, if anything, can be done under the circumstances. I have no suggestion to make. I am just passing it on as a piece of information for your consideration for what it is worth.

It looks very much as though the primary business has completely flattened out. It does not seem to us that it is necessary to do anything more than the general line of things that we do in the ordinary course of business for the primary. I wish, though, that some folks understood the absolutely vital need of starting our election campaign in advance of the primary, that is not openly, but doing as much of the preparation as possible. I feel that it has reached the place that even a day that is lost now, in the sense of waiting until after the primary for preparation that could be made in advance of the primary, may be a hazard.

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that there will be a very considerable Republican defection represented by the old guard bunch and the irreconcilable wets.

The only thing that we have put out recently about Lewis was to embrace the opportunity of showing his own inconsistency within six weeks on the referendum question. I enclose copy.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Enc.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman, Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

Dear Governor Whitman:

Mr. Nicholson, our National secretary, who has been doing some very excellent work in New York, being a man of wide political experience, and who I understand had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Aldrich, though I have not seen him or had any direct report, writes me as follows about the Oneida County situation:

"I am inclined to believe that the Davenport people are fastening the collar of the liquor men on Wicks to such an extent that it may be impossible for him to get away from it, if elected to the Senate. I saw Mr. McNamara a few minutes last Friday evening, and of course said nothing to him about your statement. In telling me, however, what they were doing, he showed me the documentary evidence to prove that the man who is handling the publicity and advertising end of Wicks' campaign is the same man who handles advertising for the liquor people. I simply pass this on to you for whatever it may be worth."

This simply intensifies the point made in my letter to Mr. Glynn of which I sent you a copy, namely the absolutely vital importance of making certain that Wicks will positively stand for ratification if elected. Of course I know that it is entirely possible for a man to be fought by the prohibition forces or part of them on the ground that he is a wet, and still make good. It happens comparatively frequently, and yet a good deal depends on the kind of a man involved, and Mr. Wicks is not particularly that sort.

Yours very cordially,

August 21,1918.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

Dear Governor Whitman:

I enclose copy of letter to Mr. Glynn which explains itself. He may not have information on this but you will know or can have the information gotten for me as to whether it is possible to get these names.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M-Eno.

August 23, 1918.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, Executive Maneion, Albany, N.Y.

Dear Governor Whitman:

The women feel that they really need some kind of a statement from you to lighten their labors in your behalf. This does not come from women who are easily stampeded, but such women as Miss Hay and Mrs. Whitney tell us that they are meeting it on every hand, and they say that a large number of the staunchest Republican women have heard so constantly these stories that are going around with a sneering reference to the fact that you are saying nothing, that they are becoming almost discouraged, and some of them who are not thoroughly seasoned are in danger of being stampeded.

Miss Hay's idea is not for you to answer Lewis, but simply to make a constructive statement. They feel that this is necessary even before the primaries and that the sooner the better, because they feel that it really ought to have been done before this.

I must say that while you do not need to do anything on our account I am rather impressed with what the women report on this matter, and I believe that unless you have some absolutely conclusive reason for not doing so, it would be wise to get out such a statement. I fear she other side is causing a little reaction to set in.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor, Whitman:

Mr. Nicholson as secretary of the National Anti-Saloon League had a very satisfactory talk with Mr. Aldrich. He was in the office and told me about thin detail yesterday.

He said one thing to Mr. Aldrich which seemed to make some impression, namely, that if Mr. Aldrich is with you he ought to be with you clear through and that the members of the Legislature from Rochester ought to be right on Ratification. I fancy that the credentials which Mr. Nicholson carried from Mr. Will H. Hays and the Governor and two U.S. Senators from Indiana made some impression on Mr. Aldrich. I read between the lines from Mr. Nicholson's report of what was said on both sides that Mr. Aldrich was favorably impressed with Mr. Nicholson.

Mr. Aldrich was interested in the question of the amendment itself and quite interested in finding out recently that it does not prohibit the use of wine for any sacramental purpose, but that the federal amendment prohibits the use of alcoholic liquor solely for beverage purposes.

Mr. Nicholson suggested frankly to Mr. Aldrich that with you out for Ratification and Mr. Aldrich supporting
you but standing for the referendum, and the members from Monroe
County standing for the referendum, the impression might get out
that some kind of a double cross was being perpetrated up in Monroe
County and it might lose you some votes from people who did not know
all the facts and wouldn't take the trouble to find out, assuming
that they could. Mr. Aldrich admitted that some folks might look
at it that way and I judge was somewhat impressed.

It occurs to me that it would be a fine thing and help clear the situation if Mr. Aldrich, now that some of his misapprehensions about Ratification have apparently been removed, would advise the Monroe County Republican candidates of the Legislature to come out openly and declare for Ratification. I do not know that this is necessary before the primaries at all, although the sooner the better. My judgment is that it would help your own vote to have it done. I think also that such action would commend itself to the moral element

around Rochester and strengthen Mr. Aldrich in any efforts which he makes for decent party government.

I pass this on for what it is worth. You may have a chance to talk with him. I feel very clear that for him to do this cannot possibly hurt anything and that it will help in many ways.

Mr. Nicholson suggested that the substantial business interests are in large degree the backbone of the Republican Party, and asked Mr. Aldrich what the effect might be on business in the future if a more or less drastic precedent should be established by the Legislature in submitting a troublesome question which the Legislature ought to handle to the people for a vote. If the Legislature shirks its square responsibility it would be a comparatively short step to dodging responsibility on other things, including business questions that cannot be threshed out in any other way than by a deliberative body through committees, etc., Mr. Aldrich seemed to be strongly impressed. He seemed also to recognize the validity of the fact that if there was to be a referendum it should be in the entire unit effective, that is, if there should be a referendum on National prohibition, it ought to be a national referendum which, of course, is impossible and absurd under the Constitution.

Incidentally, I would not wonder but what a good many business men who at first blush think the referendum is fair, would be impressed with the idea of the danger of breaking down representative government.

This has nothing to do with the initiative and referendum proper cases. I have always myself stood for the largest possible extension of direct popular government, but this is peculiarly pertinent where the Legislature violates the spirit of the Constitution and shirks a plain duty and attempts to commit a fraud in its proposal to weaken representative government.

Our reports are that Pitcher is going to win out up in the Brown district, and that Emerson will be defeated. If this Monroe County situation can be brought into line, particularly if it can be fone by the negislative candidates pledging themselves well inadvance of the election, I think we will have the matter pretty well sewed up.

I am leaving late this afternoon for Ocean Grove, until Monday evening. I just overworked a little bit and nearly got laid up again the first part of the week and had to have a little rest. Certain delays that you know about are adding to my worries and making undur drains on my vitality.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M

August 23, 1918.

His Excellency.
Governor Charles S. Whitman,
Executive Mansion,
Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Mr. Wicks' statement published in the Utica Herald Despatch of yesterday is a straight-out liquor declaration, taking the liquor position in every respect and admitting frankly that he is for a referendum which, of course, is a straight liquor and Tammany program. It looks to me as though the situation will be very dangerous if he gets in.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y. PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Governor Whitman:

I wish to take up with you in absolute frankness a certain matter, not as Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon
League or on a political basis, but as your earnest, sincere, personal friend.

This proposal of certain Republican women that you sign the pledge has crystallized a situation that I have felt for months to be approaching the point where it would be crystallized at sometime.

I, of course, am not proposing that you sign their pledge or that you say anything before the primary. I think that it is too late to help; I think the matter has done some damage, but I do not believe it has been serious, because of the number of different kinds of a fool Mr. Lewis has made of himself.

with Mrs. Whitman proved to me that she is very keenly alert to political situations and has a discriminating sense of political values, so that you will understand what I mean when I say that my wife has a pretty good comprehension of these things. She seems to have inherited an aptitude for politics and I have for nearly 30 years kept her close-ty in touch with my work, which has been more or less political. She reacts I think as the normal intelligent woman is likely to react on these questions. She has been, of course, very much interested in your campaign from the beginning. She is strongly for you. She is working in her quiet way among her associates in her church and other circles.

The very minute that she read this proposition, which I think she recognized as both clever in its way and very unfair, she said "Why not?" She didn't mean necessarily signing the pledge, but she said "Why not make some statement? Why not settle this talk that is going the rounds?" She has heard it - she has brought to me a good many things that she has encountered. Things for example that have come to her from women who were interested

in your re-nomination and re-election, who meet these stories that have been put out by the opposition as a sort of poison gas attack.

I have checked up with our men and with the leaders of the women and I find the feeling is general so far as I am able to test it and estimate it.

My judgment is that you can turn this thing back on your opponents and use it to your advantage and I believe it will be a good thing and that you are entitled to any incidental political advantage that comes from it.

I have not had a chance to mature thoroughly in my own thought any sort of proposed statement but I do believe you ought to make a statement immediately after the primaries.

Let me make clear first that the question of our support of you does not in any degree depend upon your making any kind of statement. Your record is ample to justify anything that we can do. The question of whether you personally take a drink has nothing to do with the issue of public policy involved. We have been through that fight two years ago - we are perfectly clear on it and what I say does not indicate any weakening of any sort. I want you to consider this letter upon its acrits with the assurance from me that your action upon it does not in the slightest degree involve the question of our backing of you.

On the other hand, I would not be honest with you if I did not say that I believe this question does bear materially on the question of our ability to "deliver" for you. You ought to know that practically everywhere I am met with the question "What about these stories respecting the Governor's drinking?" My reply is "The Governor has never pretended to be a total abstainer - anyhow that isn't the issue. But these stories are unquestionally grossly exaggerated. The Governor has stood as no man has stood for prohibition." The general reply is - "Yes, that is true, but I wish it was not necessary to explain." This is said by men who wouldn't say it outside of the circle - men who are fighting for you today, but they feel that it would be better for you if this thing could definitely be put at rest.

Further, I would not be frank with you if I did not speak of 1920. You are young - you have made a wonderful record. I think you are going to be elected this year after the kind of a fight that it will be necessary to make. I think you will be elected whether you say anything or not, although I believe if you do not say anything it will cost you thousands of votes. But New York is not the end and I have felt a very strong conviction that it would be a decided handicap to you in the future if it could not be truthfully said in your behalf that you are a total abstainer.

A year ago, one of the leading editors of Maine, who conducts probably the leading paper in the state, when something was said about you and 1920, replied immediately, as he is on intimate terms with some of our stafful heard too much about Whitman at Chicago. No man who drinks is ever going to be elected President of the United States in the future.

The action such as these women took gives the newspapers a peg upon which to, hang a discussion of this matter. This little thing will spread over the country. The pattern having been set we can depend upon the Democrats working up something of the same sort still masquerading as coming from Republican quarters, or some Democrats may put out a proposal that they will vote for you if you will sign the pledge and if there is very much of that sort of thing, it will sweep over the country. Unfortunately, human nature is prone to exaggerate these matters. There are a host of good people who are more or less narrow and they will say - "Why does he persist - why doesn't he give it up if it is a minor matter, and if it is a serious proposition we don't want him?"

While there is no inconsistency in a man who is not a total abstainer advocating prohibition, it does give a handle to the loud-mouthed, go out and create prejudice among the gaping and unthinking, and many of them will jump to the conclusion that it is inconsistent.

I doubt very seriously whether it is possible for you to be nominated for President even though ther things shape up right, if the impression gets abroad over the country that you are a drinking man, and things have gotten to the place where I do not see how that impression can be avoided in the absence of some statement from you, and the longer the thing goes without a statement, the more the statement will be discounted when it is made and the less chance it will have to overtake the falsehoods that have been put into circulation.

It is no nervoushess or a case of being stampeded on my part. I went through a good deal two years ago - much more than you ever realized. Churches were closed to us because I took the bull by the horns and stood for you. We would have been on the defensive all during the campaign two years ago with what Miller did among the preachers, if I had not just refused to take the defensive. It was months before we got back into the confidence and good graces of scores of our supporters, because we stood for you so squarely.

Of course, you have had an opportunity since then to perform service that is known of all men. On the other hand, the opposition is ten-fold more bitter than it was then and more than ten-fold more unscrupulous. Further, the stuff that was circulated then remains as a kind of background, intensifying the effect of what is done now.

My chief concern in New York State is the women. Of course, political wisdom will not die with the members of the Woman Suffrage Party, but take them as a whole they are level-headed, canny, intelligent women with a lot of political sense, and they are meeting it everywhere among the women. It is the kind of thing that can be set going and will then work automatically. It is the most effective thing that the opposition has turned loose.

As I said before I do not think it can beat you for Governor, but my deliberate judgment is that it will make enough difference to turn the scale, provided the election should be really close on other issues.

I am interested in seeing you do two things. First, give the cause and country the full moral benefit of your heroic stand. Second, get for yourself for the enhancement of your influence and future possibilities of usefulness, the full benefit of your courage and moral discernment. I would like to have you do a big thing. I would like to have you absolutely stop the mouths of your enemies. I would like to have you say something that would appeal to the imagination of the decent public that would win the respect of the men in the street and would challenge the thoughtful consideration of the prominent, influential drinker who is in no danger of becoming a drunkard:

I am satisfied that it must be done quickly, that is, immediately after the primary. Towhat you have said to me involves no real sacrifice on your part. It is not necessary for you to give any date, you can announce it as a completed transaction. The probable passage of war prohibition gives a good springboard from which to make the announcement as soon as the primary is over. Incidentally, it gives you a chance to drive in something about the delay in war prohibition without seeming to make any attack on the President.

As I said before, I have no time to work out carefully any suggested statement, but just batting the thing out as it comes to me I feel that something of the general tenor of the following would meet the purpose:

"I am unalterably in favor of complete and permanent prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes and believe that New York State should ratify the proposed National Prohibition Amendment. I have never made any pretense of being a total abstainer, though reports respecting my use of alcoholic liquor have been magnified out of all resemblance to the truth, as such reports about men in public lafe usually are. I have been tolerant of the opinions of others in our cosmopolitan population who differed from me on this question, but I have stood with thousands of others who, making no pretense of any particular personal sanctity on this question, are against the liquor traffic as an institution, opposing it in every practicable way and ready, when it is prohibited to stand on the same basis as the public. While I do not believe there is any immorality in the individual citizen indulging in an occasional drink of alcoholic liquor, I do believe that the liquor traffic is an immoral thing for the nation, and particularly indefensible in time of war. I regret exceedingly that war prohibition has been postponed until so late that we hope that victory will have been won by our armies before it becomes effective. I believe that the nation as a whole should long ago have gone upon the basis required of the army and navy as respects the beverage use of alcoholic liquor.

I was not willing to enter into the discussion of this question in a primary campaign based upon personalities. Now that the primary is over and there is a prospect of a campaign upon the merits of the real issues involved, I am glad to meet every aspect of the liquor question squarely and frankly. It is not necessary for me to sign a pledge. I have not waited for war prohibition to go into effect or the supply to be out off. In the

face of the iniquities of the liquor traffic as a corrupter of politics, as an intolerable moral evil, as an insufferable economic burden upon the poor, as an indefensible clog upon national efficiency, I have been glad to waive, for the sake of the common good, any academic ideas of personal liberty which I may have cherished, and I am already on a total abstinence basis. However, this means so little of deprivation or sacrifice on my part as to be unworthy of mention, if it had not been injected into the campaign in exaggerated form by those who seem to believe that the people are unable to distinguish between personalities and issues of public policy.

Without casting any reflection upon those who in the past have held liberal views with respect to the use of alcoholic liquor, I call upon them to join with all other patriots in helping cast off every weight that interfers with the speediest winning of the war and to make whatever sacrifice of pride of opinion may be involved in adopting a course so transparent that it cannot be distorted to confuse the issue or obstruct the vitally important business of getting rid of the liquor traffic at the earliest possible moment to promote fuel production, food con-

servation and the best use of our man-power."

The above is not proposed as your statement. I have no desire to put any words into your mouth. You are abundantly able, as you have proved, to speak for yourself. I venture to suggest this not for you but merely to put into concrete form what I myself have in mind, so that you will see just what I am driving at.

You can, of course, reply directly to the women, in which case this proposition above will need to be recast somewhat, but I do not recommend this. Your own judgment and political instinct will be a sufficiently safe guide. Personally, I think that if you make a general comprehensive statement, not limiting yourself to any issue defined by the women or anybody else, and then show the women due courtesy by simply furnishing them a copy of what you said, it will answer every purpose.

You are a Christian man. You have, in what I consider as a very frank manner - utterly free from cant - acknowledged your faith and your reliance upon prayer. There have been so many things about this prohibition situation in New York, and so many things have happened that seemed impossible, as to make clear to me that the hand of Providence has unquestionably been in it. I have felt that Woman Suffrage in the winning of which you had a large part, came to New York in the Providence of God to make it possible to get the necessary votes in Congress before the women's attitude could be discounted, and I have been wondering more and more whether you yourself are not "come to the Kingdom for such a time as this." Every man, however, faces certain crises in his life. As I look back over my early call into this work, I can see a score of places where just doing the other thing would have meant the side-track and the de-rail. You faced such a crisis with respect to this referendum proposition last winter. I sympathised with you but I dared not do anything else than hold up for what I

believed was necessary to save, not only the prohibition situation but to save you in connection with it. You came through it magnificently. While it has hurt in some places, it has not hurt one-tenth as much as anything else would have hurt.

I have not heretofore felt that the time was opportune to press this matter on you, but I was away down at Ocean Grove getting a little weekend rest and I saw this thing in the papers, and there was borne in upon me the conviction that in this proposition you faced another crisis, and that as a matter of personal loyalty which friendship has a right to expect, it was up to me to write you frankly and tell you my matured conviction, although I have delayed in order to have ample time to feel sure about it.

I believe that some such statement as suggested will be received and heralded everywhere as a manly act. It will just kick the bottom out of the sort of stuff that has been goign around. It will silence the clackers. It will make any efforts to sneer at it recoil upon the head of the one who tries it.

I am no wiser than anybody else on a great many things, but I have never been wrong in political matters where I followed a "hunch", which is just a convenient name for something that Christian men understand as the promptings that come to those who are trying to do right. I have the satisfaction of knowing that no man in public life who has ever acted upon advice based upon one of these "hunches" has ever gone wrong or made a mistake or suffered as a result of it.

I am going to ask this in view of what you have said about your own reliance upon prayer, namely, that before you turn this proposition down and disregard it, and before you decide not to make such a statement, or before you decide to put it off until it is too late, for in my judgment every day is fairly electristed with dangerous possibilities, as a Christian man I earnestly ask that you as a Christian man get on your knees and thresh this question out in fear and love of Him whose guidance of your life you have so manfully acknowledged. I believe, in view of the extent to which God-fearing, praying men and women must make the fight for you this Fall, that it is fair to ask that you do this to the end that among other things your attitude may not embarrass them in their effort to uphold you as the exponent of the cause of right-eousness.

Trusting that you will pardon me if I have been presumptuous and that you will believe that in addition to respect and esteem my feeling for you is one of warmest regard and most earnest solicitude, not only for your success in political matters, but for your well-being as a man, I am

Yours very truly.

WHA/M

P.S. I am very anxious for this to reach you as soon as possible, but I have been so detained there was not time for it to be run off before I had to rush for my train for Washington, where I must attend a highly

important national executive committee meeting tomorrow, leaving Washington on the midnight train tomorrow, but because I wanted you to have this as soon as possible, I am running the risk of sending it out without having a chance to look it over and smooth it up. If there is any roughness in the diction or any slip anywhere along the line you will understand why.

I would like to know that you have received this and would be awfully glad to know just what you are thinking about it. If you are down here at the end of the week or over Sunday, I will make it a point to see you if you like.

W.H.A.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

It is entirely possible that these things which I have indicated in the accompanying letter and my first one have not come to you from anybody else, but that would make no difference in my opinion. There are three reasons that would keep you from getting this from others. (1) Lack of nerve to tell you frankly just what they do find - (2) unwillingness for any one of various reasons to admit that the liquor question will be so decisive a factor, and (3) lack of acquaintance with or understanding of what the moral element is thinking and saying, and particularly the women.

We have unquestionably the best facilities in the state for knowing the sentiment of the moral element and probably very much the best for knowing the sentiment of the women - certainly the women who are in favor of prohibition.

The Woman Suffrage Party made a very grave blunder the first time they tried to get the Suffrage amendment adopted. They did not win until Mrs. Whitehouse took charge and was wise enough to entirely change their attitude respecting the moral element. We have in charge of our organization today to young woman whose special field was dealing with the church people on the suffrage question. The suffragists the first time attempted to put, the soft pedal on the prohibition question and they alienated the moral element. The second time they came at it the other way and they made enough gains to enable them to win with the war considerations and other matters that specially helped them.

Yours very cordially,

His Excellency, Covernor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, H.Y.

My dear Covernor:-

I have just come back from Washington, attending our Matienal Committee meeting and seeing the "War Prohibition" victory in the Senate. You will be interested to know that Dr. Baker again referred to you. He reports a very widespread, suppressed feeling that the Democratic Party is not safe to be trusted with the reconstruction work. He has been spending a good deal of time in the South and reports that the feeling is strong even there. He said he believed the Republican nomination was between you and T.R.

I did not discuss with him any of the matters that were brought up in my recent letter to you or any of the sort of fight that is being made on you because I did not want to suggestianything specially that is to be cured shortly. I am sorry that I had to send my letter out without a chance to read it over because the stenographer who had to take it is not as accurate as my own personal assistant. Anyhow, it conveyed the idea.

I am more than ever confirmed in the opinion that letter expressed and more than ever persuaded that there are things affect that are packed with possibilities of harm.

I find by reports that come in to us from the women, and you know we have unusual facilities for finding out what the women are thinking and finding out particularly the obstacles that women workers are meeting, that following the stores about personal drinking the thing has grown and there are vague reports being circulated, not in any form that can be gotten hold of and choked off, that in addition to this you are personally immoral.

How of course none of our folks believe that and I donet believe any intelligent, honest person

believes it. You don't have to give me any assurance on that point. In fact I should almost feel offended if you tried to do so because it would look like you thought my intelligence was wavering and my own loyalty weakening. I am merely reporting what we find. There has been a great deal of this in Brocklyn. I find that the same cort of thing is evidently affect in Yonkers, presembly through Westchester County.

The only thing in it is where the first proposition about the use of liquor is not fully disposed of it gives an opportunity for the thing to grow in this other way, like a snowball grows. I knew these things when I wrote the other letter but I had not had sufficient confirmation of the fact that it really is being apparently generally and seriously floated to justify speaking of it until I checked up on it some more. A statement by you such as I indicated will cut the ground cut from under all these other things as well as the personal use proposition. It will silence all the clatter about since the personal use proposition. It will silence all the clatter about since the personal use proposition in the personal use proposition of the clatter about since the personal use proposition in the clatter about since the minded and reasonably intelligent people.

The action of the Senate and the practical certainty that under the gentlemen's agreement the war prohibition bill will go through very greatly helps.

I was interested and pleased at the way the responsibility for delay was laid upon the President on the Senate floor by friends of prohibition. I believe that if there is a coal shortage this winter it will supply the Republicans with unanswerable campaign material in the light of the established facts.

prohibition we can cut a lot of ground out from under the Democrats here and while I think the delay is abonimable, nevertheless the measure as agreed on by the Senate providing for prohibition during demobilization which will probably carry us clear up until the constitutional amendment is effective, is a great deal better than immediate war prohibition without the demobilizations proposition.

Since ratificationnif effectuated next year would not make prohibition effective until 1930 and this measure goes into effect July 1, 1919, it is going to be pretty hard for the Democrats to hold up the liquor interests very much for campaign funds against ratification since they will be sut of business anyhow no matter what happens for a period of years and probably forever. That intensifies the importance of satisfying everything that is reasonable in the noral element by a statement which would appeal to the imagination of the entire country.

To be perfectly frank with you, I think this proposition is your opportunity to get the inside track over the Colonel so far as national attention on this question is concerned. You know from information prior to the Saratoga convention that he is thinking very seriously about it. I consider it highly important that something be said not only to satisfy the situation here but to make it clear to the country when you win that you have won in New York on the prohibition issue. Fully half the possible advantages of the situation would be lost if that isn't clear.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

With the war prohibition action and the primary a statement by you immediately after the primary will look like it is entirely voluntary. Later it will look like you felt that you were on the run and had to do it and the value of it will be problematical. I want a situation in New York here that will have thousands of the moral leaders working for you enthusiastically instead of saying "I am for him because of his record and in spite of what they say about his habits", and I believe you vannot overestimate the importance of this.

His Excellency, Governor Charles S. Whitman, The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Whitman:

Will you kindly have a telegram or a phone message sent to me on Tuesday, indicating where Mr. Phillips can see you on Wednesday?

Yours very cordially,

WHA/N