Sept. 7,1918.

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

My dear Governor Whitman:

I enclose copy of letter to Mr. Glynn. What we did aside from the Governorship in the recent primary makes one of the biggest successes ever put over by the League in any state in the country. There never were more shining marks picked off than we gathered in in this recent campaign. Brown-Emerson-Wicks and Murphy are a most fragrant bouquet.

I have asked Mr. Phillips to see you on Monday for me. I hope you will see him without fail.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/M-Enc.

State Superintendent

September 3, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

I notice that O. R. Miller comes out for you but advises the people to be sure and make a cross opposite your name on the Prohibition primary ballot, which, according to our reading of the law and the instructions of the Election Board to us, would invalidate it. I do not know whether this is an attempt to act like he is for you and then give directions that destroy all possible benefit of it, or whether he did not know.

I think the action of the Prohibition Party candidates for Governor, both present and past, advising that you be nominated, is highly creditable.

If you have not already done so will you please wire when Mr. Phillips can see you. He will come up to Albany and see you tomorrow or Thursday evening if you can see him.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

POSTAL TELEGRAPH – COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT

RECEIVED AT
944 BROADWAY
NEW YORK
TEL. GRAMERCY 2891 2892

TELEGRAM

DELIVERY NO.

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

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190 NYLE 12 515P 2EX

ALBANY NY SEPT 4

906

WM H ANDERSON 905 BWAY NY
16 FL NY

GOVERNOR WHITMAN WILL BE AT THE EXECUTIVE CHAMBER MONDAY THESDAY AND WEDNESDAY SEPT NINETH TENTH AND ELEVENTH

MAJOR F L V HOPPIN

MILITARY SECY

OPERATOR'S NOTATIONS
TIME SENT, ETC.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH-COMMERCIAL CABLES

THE GREATEST TELEGRAPH AND CABLE SYSTEM IN THE WORLD. EXTENDS OVER TWO-THIRDS OF THE WAY AROUND THE EARTH.

THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED)

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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 fifty times the REPEATED telegram rate, at which amount this telegram, if sent as a REPEATED 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. Messages will be delivered free within the established free delivery limits of the terminal office. For delivery at a greater distance a special charge will be made to cover the cost of such delivery.

5. No responsibility regarding messages attaches to this Company until the same are presented and accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if any message is sent to such office by one of this Company's messengers, he acts as the agent of the sender for the purpose of delivering the message and any notice or instructions regarding it to the Company's agent in its said office.

6. The Company shall 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. The above terms and conditions shall be binding upon the receiver as well as the sender of this telegram.

8. NO EMPLOYEE OF THIS COMPANY IS AUTHORIZED TO VARY THE FOREGOING.

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

CHARLES C. ADAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

EDWARD REYNOLDS, VICE-PREST. AND GENERAL MANAGER.

CHARLES P. BRUCH, VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE FASTEST TELEGRAPH SERVICE IN THE WORLD

Form 260

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

INCORPORATED

25,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA. CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD

ROBERT C. CLOWRY, PRESIDENT — BELVIDERE BROOKS, GENERAL MANAGER

RECEIVER'S No.	TIME FILED	CHECK

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

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

Sep. 4, 1918

Hearty congratulations upon decisive victory won upon clean, self respecting basis.

William H. Anderson.

(Charge to Anti-Saloon League)

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS WHICH ARE HEREBY AGREED TO

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

2. In any event the Company shall not be liable for damages for any mistakes or delay in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery of this message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of FIFTY DOLLARS, at which amount this message is hereby valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing hereon at the time the message 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 message over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

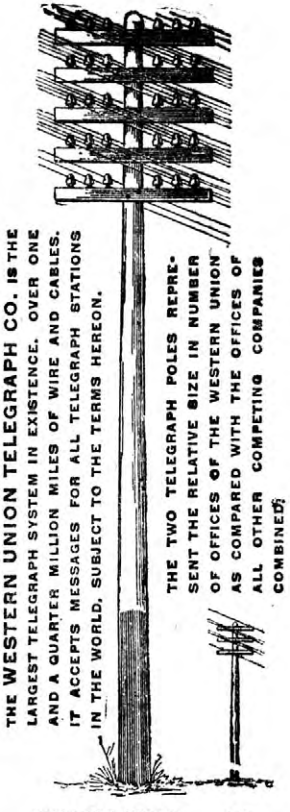
4. Messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the Company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the Company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, 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 messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message 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 message is filed with the Company for transmission.

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

ROBERT C. CLOWRY, PRESIDENT BELVIDERE BROOKS, GENERAL MANAGER



MONEY TRANSFERRED BY TELEGRAPH AND CABLE TO ALL THE WORLD

September 5, 1918

Mr. William A. Orr,
Secretary to Governor Whitman,
The Executive Chamber,
Albany, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Orr:—

I tried to get in touch with the Governor today and got this telegram from Major Hoppin:

"Governor Whitman will be at the Executive Chamber Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, September Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh".

I have to leave the city tomorrow afternoon late and will not get back until Tuesday morning. I am anxious for Mr. Phillips, my confidential assistant, to see the Governor for me on some practical political matters on next Monday. If there is any change please wire the office, either to Mr. C. B. Phillips or to Miss Odell, my assistant, and it will have attention. It is of the highest importance that Mr. Phillips see the Governor. It will be thoroughly satisfactory to see him Monday evening at the Mansion if that is the Governor's preference as there will be some other things that Mr. Phillips will have to do for me up around Albany.

I hope to see the Governor very soon myself.

It was a fine victory. By the way, have you noticed how the League put it to some of the Senators and Assemblymen who were wrong.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-C

September 13th, 1918.

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

My dear Governor Whitman:

I thought you might be interested in this editorial from the Springfield Republican. It indicates what the interested outsiders think about the difficulties, and is directly in line with our own feeling that it is of the utmost importance to leave nothing undone.

Very cordially yours,

State Superintendent,
Anti-Saloon League of New York.

WHA/D

Sep. 14, 1918

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

My dear Governor Whitman:--

I called the Mansion this morning. You were not there but I talked with Mrs. Whitman. I am coming up to Albany this evening to speak near there tomorrow and wanted to have a little chat with you if you were going to be there. Mrs. Whitman told me that you would be in New York on Monday and I will try to see you during the day as I have an engagement in the evening.

Nothing definite has come across, but the information from certain quarters is highly encouraging since the date of Mr. Phillips' talk with you.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-O

September 18th, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:-

Enclosed find copy of statement given to the newspapers today and copy of letter to Mr. Glynn.

Mr. Phillips told me of his talk with you about the sort of statement that you might make. The suggestion which he made is entirely satisfactory,- that is basing it largely on the war. I feel very sure in the light of the effort by Mr. Hearst and of the New York Times, in particular, to give the idea that Prohibition has been abandoned, it is very important that you make whatever statement you are going to make at the very earliest moment. I wish you would put it in writing and send it to us so that we can print it in our paper just as soon as you have released it in some speech.

This is one thing I wanted to talk about the other day when I saw you.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

WHA/D
Encls.

September 24th, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

The New York Evening Post is now running a voters' column conducted by Alice Rigge Hunt for The Woman Suffrage Party. This question has come in to them and has been referred to us:

> "When and in what words did Charles S. Whitman commit himself to the principles of national or state Prohibition or both?"

In order to bring the matter down to date will you please give us a recent statement that we can use in response to this request. Please make it as short as possible, not to exceed fifty words.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

WHA/D

September 24th, 1918.

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

PERSONAL

Dear Governor Whitman:

Please let me know when you will be down here; I am very anxious to see you and finish up some matters which we did not complete the other day.

The polls printed in the New York Herald both yesterday and today bear out my contention there is a reaction on as a result of the Washington activity, and that strong work is necessary. The way both of these first polls show you are running behind Mr. Smith as contrasted with your close run in the same places two years ago and a decided drift away from you to Mr. Smtih, shows a situation which if widespread is very alarming and will need everything that can be possibly done among the women to offset it.

I have come into possession of information to the effect that there is in some quarter, or at least in a certain quarter respecting which you know we had some doubts, a disposition to take the position that your securing the Prohibition party nomination eliminates the Anti-Saloon League as a necessary factor.

I enclose a rather comprehensive analysis of that and the Washington situation. I think I shall not put a copy of this into the hands of the particular doubter indicated above, for I do not know just what he would do with it. I thought it ought to go to you however, and so am sending it to the Mansion.

You will be interested to learn that we came into possession of information last week that the New York Herald poll expert, whom I know personally, said that prior to the action at Washington it was all Smith as they found it and nothing to it down here so far as you were concerned, but that with the Washington action the situation had switched around and that a lot of folks were saying what is the use of putting Tammany in if we are going to have Prohibition through a Democratic administration anyhow. But this Herald man says there is very likely to be a reaction against Ratification because of the Washington action.

These first two polls indicate that the tide has not swung away from Smith as much as he first thought, or else that the reaction has come sooner and stronger than he anticipated. It happens that we had already suggested the reaction proposition before the Herald suggested it, in the office of our mutual friend.

I think things can be put through all right, but I am very clear that the situation is full of danger and you will be slaughtered in the house of your friends provided this fool notion about the Prohibition party nomination settling all questions of that sort and doing away with the necessity for all work on that score, is allowed to prevail.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/D
Encl.

State Superintendent.

September 30, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

Enclosed find copy of letter, and of my reply. This is a sample of the kind of thing that is coming to us. I think it would be advisable for you to make a statement such as you have indicated you intend to make, at the earliest possible date, and let us have it.

I am concerned over the shifts as shown by the Herald poll. Of course New York is Democratic anyhow. The figures mean nothing, except the shifts. For the first week only 73 or 76 men who voted for Peabury indicated an intention to vote for you, while 568 who voted for you indicated an intention to vote for Smith. It certainly emphasizes the importance of the women as the determining factor.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Enc.
A-H

September 30, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

As we notice the Oswego Palladium suggests publicly that an article in the American Issue about Speaker Sweet possibly foreshadows a drive against him for Speaker, I am sending you a copy of the paper containing the article in question marked. You observe there is nothing in it whatever that touches the Speakership question. The article is expressly worded to refer to the possibility of a fight in Oswego County.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Enc.
A-H

Dear Mr. —

Gov. Lr. asked me to hold his matter in my for a little while. He would like to hear what you talk with him about it.

P. S.

Think situation over

Good Generally.

O. P.

"THE CHURCH IN ACTION AGAINST THE SALOON"

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, State Superintendent

16th Floor, 906 Broadway, at 20th Street

NEW YORK CITY

429

October 7, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

I have a letter from the Assistant General Superintendent of the National Anti-Saloon League, who has charge of the program of the coming conference on world-wide prohibition. They are very anxious to have you, and they will, of course, pay all expenses.

You know that I spoke to you about that some time ago, and you said that you thought possibly you might do it. The meeting begins on Tuesday night, November 19th, and closes Friday noon, the 22nd, although there may be an afternoon session. Either Wednesday or Thursday would be good days. The meeting will be held at Columbus, Ohio, and you need be gone only one day if that is all the time you can spare, for you can take a sleeper at Albany which will get you into Columbus the next morning, and then leave Columbus in the late afternoon and be back in Albany early the following morning. Or if you are on the program at night you can leave at 9:55 on the New York Central and be back in Albany at 2:30 the next afternoon.

I am very anxious to have you made this trip. If you think that it will be more prudent not to have any advance announcement of this prior to the election, I think I can arrange it with the National folks to withhold all public announcement of your coming until the week of the election, and that would give notice nearly two weeks in advance of the conference.

This is not to be a convention, but a conference. It will be a body of hand-picked men, the leaders of this movement throughout the whole Nation, and official representatives from temperance organizations of all of the Allied countries and most of the neutral nations of Europe, and some in Asia are expected. Some of them are actually on their way now. It will be the greatest thing of the sort ever held in the world, as it will be the formal launching of the Anti-Saloon League's international movement, and of course will have great National possibilities.

I would not urge you to go if it necessarily involved any unpleasant publicity here during the campaign, but I think that can all be avoided. In that event it is none too soon for you to embrace the opportunity to make the formal acquaintance of our leaders throughout the Nation. If you win out, as we are hoping after what you have done and stood for on ratification in a state like this, you will be the outstanding figure of the gathering, and there may not be another gathering of equally significant and representative character before 1920.

Please let me know at the earliest possible moment, because they are asking for reply by wire, whether you can do it, and which day you prefer and whether you can stay long enough to be on the program at night in case it makes up that way.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

October 7, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

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Please let me know at the earliest possible moment, because they are asking for reply by wire, whether you can do it, and which day you prefer and whether you can stay long enough to be on the program at night in case it makes up that way.

Yours very cordially,

A H

State Superintendent.

October 8, 1918.

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

Personal.

Dear Governor Whitman:

Enclosed find copy of letter to Mr. Glynn that explains itself. We are going to specialize on this Richmond-Rockland District enough so that we will know that the guilt lies on the local Republican organization if Mrs. Brewer is defeated, and you realize what it means to you, both in the matter of loss of support in the Senate and for the future, if the women get the impression that the Republican Party under your leadership betrays a woman candidate for the Senate.

I understand, of course, that you are not only absolutely guiltless yourself, but that you do not even know the facts, because there is no reason why you should know them unless somebody brings them to your attention. It is a situation, however, that is freighted with serious danger to you as well as the party, and I am pointing it out in time for it to be remedied. I wish you would go the limit in giving Mrs. Brewer recognition in her own county.

I can say to you confidentially that Mrs. Brewer's relations with the Anti-Saloon League movement are such that we can assure you that the organization which she will build with our help will be loyal to you in backing up every moral issue, and in taking the stand, which the Republican Party must take if it is to have an even break with the Democratic Party in view of the National administration's big start on the prohibition question.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Enc.
A-H

October 17, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

I tried all day yesterday to get in touch with you, and have been trying all day today. Am writing this note in case Mr. Phillips fails to see you. I have some information that I consider of the very greatest importance to you. My phone is Yonkers 2597. I can be reached there this evening, and ordinarily leave about seven-forty for down town. This matter ought to get to you before the middle of the morning. I will gladly come to see you on my way down town, reaching the hotel about nine o'clock, and wait until you are ready tomorrow, Saturday morning.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

October 23, 1918.

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

Dear Governor Whitman:

After our experience with Mr. James and my talk with you I sent him the enclosed letter marked number one and dated October 21st, and then later today sent the enclosed letter marked number two and dated October 23rd. The two letters speak for themselves.

We are still informed by Mr. James' secretary that he will do on this just exactly what you want.

This is no request on our part to you to raise any money for us. You have been brought into this matter, and we are reporting to you the facts as we find them for such action if any as you may see fit to take.

Yours very truly,

State Superintendent.

Enc.
A-H

October 24, 1918.

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

My dear Governor Whitman:

I have had confirmed direct from the U.S. Railroad Administration, the New York Central Branch, that you can leave Albany at 7:49 in the evening on a through sleeping car to Columbus (the car goes on to Cincinnati) arriving at Columbus at 7:40 the next morning. You can return leaving Columbus at 3:03 in the afternoon, reaching Albany at 7:57 the next morning, or you can leave at 9:55 at night, which will give you ample time, arriving at Albany on one of the through fast trains with a through sleeper from Columbus at 2:30 the next afternoon.

That is if you are pressed so that you have to take the chance of being late in the morning and pulling out in the afternoon you would only have to be away one day. The other way you will be away one day and a half, but if you can get back to Albany about 2:30 it really counts for that day, so that you have really only lost one entire day after all.

Have you any choice as to whether you would rather be there Wednesday, November 20th or Thursday, November 21st?

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

October 28th, 1918.

His Excellency, Gov. Charles S. Whitman,
In duplicate -
Executive Mansion, Albany, N. Y.
Hotel St. Regis, New York City.

Dear Governor Whitman:

I am writing in duplicate for I am not sure just where to reach you. Our National folks think they want you on Thursday, although I am expecting a telegram to confirm this as soon as Mr. Cherrington gets back.

The idea of Dr. Moore, Assistant General Superintendent, who is Chairman of the Program Committee, is to have you at night.

This would make it possible for you to be in the meeting during the day as much as you like, to rest a little before the evening and to have a chance at the big crowd and still not be hurried for your train.

They will probably have one other speaker that evening.

If this goes through you will not need to be away more than a day and a half, that is you can leave just before 8 o'clock on Wednesday evening on a through sleeper from Boston by way of Albany to Cincinnati, arriving in Columbus 7:40 the next morning and leaving Columbus 9:05 at night, arriving in Albany 2:30 the next afternoon, likewise on a through sleeper.

I reported to them that I am confidently expecting your election, but they replied they want you in any event.

I am more than ever convinced that it is a highly strategic movement for you to make. It is the most representative gathering, not merely national but world-wide, in its scope ever held, and there may not be another one so representative for a couple of years. It will be a big thing and the publicity possibilities are tremendous.

I would just like to have a word definitely confirming this, but I am counting on it and so are they, in the light of what you said and in the light of my discovery that you will not have to be a number of days away from Albany.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/D

State Superintendent.

(PERSONAL) October 28, 1918

His Excellency,
Governor Charles S. Whitman,
The Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.
The St. Regis, New York City.

My dear Governor Whitman:--

I have a telegram from our National folks to the effect that they want you for one of the evening addresses on Thursday, November 21st, and that there will probably be only two speeches at that session, so you will have a chance to swing loose.

I will advise them to have you put on the program first so you will have ample time to get your train comfortably and will not be in any danger of being crowded out.

Right after election if you wish it I will outline for you in writing just what this conference is and the scope and sweep of the world movement that is being contemplated, so you will have definitely in mind just what you are to fit into. It will be a bully chance to make clear some things about the situation in New York and the fact that the people have had two genuine referendums, one by districts and the other state-wide.

If American people, and particularly the citizens of New York, react like I believe they will, the President's utterances ought to be worth 100,000 votes to you at least.

Incidentally, in the light of the opportunity that this has given Col. Roosevelt, I think it is peculiarly important that you embrace the opportunity to go to Columbus, because with the Republicans using the patriotic issue in the future the Democrats may fall back on the prohibition question on which they have the advantage in the nation as a whole, and the Republican Party needs to embrace every possible chance to get in right on that point. The Colonel is outside the breastworks on that question and it is your chance to make hay. Please let me know definitely that you have this in mind and will be there. My previous letters have made clear that you need be away from Albany only the day Thursday and up till 3:30 on Friday.

Yours very cordially,

A-O State Superintendent.

Form 1206

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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 TELEGRAM

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

November 9th, 1918.

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

National League authorities urge your coming regardless of election results. I strongly advise it. Please wire me. Will write fully on return to New York first of week.

WILLIAM. H. ANDERSON.

Chge.
Anti-Saloon League of New York.

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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.*

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 enumerated 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.

November 11, 1918

His Excellency,
Governor Charles S. Whitman,
Albany, N.Y, and The St. Regis, New York City.

Dear Governor Whitman:—

I have received word from our National folks urging that at all events you attend the meeting at Columbus and I wish you would let me know definitely your purpose with respect to it. I advised you to the effect that you can leave at 7:57 Wednesday night on a through sleeper from Albany to Columbus, arriving there at 7:40. You are on the program for Thursday night, the 21st,- that is, next week. The meeting will begin at 7:30. Bishop McConnell of the Methodist Church is the first speaker but they will run things so that you will have ample time to catch a through sleeper at 9:55, which will put you in Albany at 8:30 on Friday. Or if you were coming to New York you would leave about the same time, as I remember it, and reach New York City by way of the Pennsylvania about two o'clock. If you start from New York City instead of Albany you can leave on the Pennsylvania about six o'clock and reach Columbus early the next morning.

I wish to take up with you some matters growing out of the apparent unfortunate outcome of the election but I am writing this letter about the Columbus meeting without waiting for that.

Even if the result of the official count is adverse, I think for your own sake and the future, for you are young, you cannot afford to go out in any other way than with the flag flying on this question. You were not defeated because of your advocacy of prohibition, but because your managers did not put on a campaign that backed it up. The gains in the country at large and the overwhelming ratification majority in a Republican caucus in both houses in New York are indications that prohibition is coming soon. Ratification now seems assured without New York but the question is likely to be in politics for six years at least and maybe longer.

The main damage that was done you among the moral forces was the claim that you were not sincere and they pointed to the fact that you did not push the prohibition issue

in your campaign speeches. There can be no better way to make clear your sincerity than by engaging in such a conference as this and giving a ringing message after on the face of the returns you have been defeated. Will you not please let me hear from you immediately respecting this Columbus meeting which you said you expected to attend so that I can give them the official confirmation which they want.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-O

November 13, 1918.

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

My dear Governor:

I have been so utterly tied up that I could not get a chance to give the subject justice and will not be able to mail the outline to which I referred before Friday and possibly not before Saturday. Please have me called or else a note dropped to me so that I will know whether to send it to the St. Regis or to the Mansion at Albany.

Yours very truly,

State Superintendent.

P.S. - I have been notified that I am to preside that night, and I will see that you get the right kind of a send-off.

W.H.A.

A-H

November 13, 1918.

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

My dear Governor:

As to the question of trains, there is a train leaving Albany at 11:50 at night which is scheduled to reach Columbus at 2:25 in the afternoon.

If you go from New York City instead of Albany this train would leave at eight o'clock; or you can leave on the Pennsylvania at 8:30, due at Columbus at 1:20, which saves an hour and a half of running time. There is a slow train on the Pennsylvania leaving at 9:05, only thirty-five minutes later, which is not due in Columbus until 6:05 in the evening, but that is pretty late.

If you come back to New York City you can make better time on the Pennsylvania, for the train leaves Columbus at 10:35 at night, giving a little more leeway, and reaches New York at 2:52 the next afternoon, whereas the 9:55 train at night on the New York Central lines from Columbus does not reach New York City until 6:15 in the evening. Of course if you are going to Albany that is the better train because it reaches Albany at 2:30.

I take it for granted that you will have your secretary make all reservations for you. You would better have him telegraph Columbus making the reservations back. I think I told you that the National League expects to pay expenses.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

Nov. 15, 1918

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

My dear Governor:—

I just have a telegram from Senator Thompson to the effect that he has had to change the date of the release of his statement from Saturday till Monday, because of delay in mailing, and he asks us not to give it out for publication before Monday.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-O

November 16, 1918.

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

My dear Governor Whitman:

Enclosed find two copies of draft which I have prepared for your use. I thought you would like to have a carbon.

I of course do not want to presume upon your statement that you would say anything that I would prepare, and want you to feel perfectly free to make changes in it.

I have, however, endeavored to get this thing up in such shape that it would reflect your views as I have gathered them from conversation with you, and fit into the character of the meeting you are addressing, and be in keeping with the dignity of the Governor of a great state.

The second proposition, for example, exclusive of the first sentence, while it may not be in the exact words, is absolutely the proposition that you gave to me one day that you had put over to a certain prominent friend of yours.

I fitted in the law enforcement proposition because of your world-side reputation as an enforcement official. You will undoubtedly be able if you have the time to put some things over that will be an improvement on that.

There are two things that I am not absolutely certain about. My information is that never before did a party get the Governor and lose both branches of the Legislature, but I cannot be positive. The other is I am not absolutely certain as to the number of men from New York abroad, but I think the "about a quarter of a million" will cover it.

In every other respect I am absolutely sure of my facts. These things about the brewers and the German-American Alliance are matters of record, and have been widely published. The other things that bear on that general subject I have purposely made as suggestions or queries rather than positive statements.

Your speach will undoubtedly be published, and while it is not nearly so good as you could have done yourself, and probably not so good as I might have done if I had had more time, I believe it will read well and not reflect any discredit on you. I think it will be decidedly to your advantage to have this sort of utterance on record.

I have very carefully tried to avoid taking any advantage of you at all, but I think you ought to say what I have indicated about the Republican Party, and I also think it would be a good thing for you to say that thing which some folks at least will sort out and apply to a certain distinguished pussy-footer.

If you feel warranted in going further and stronger than this why of course it would be a fine thing to have you do it.

While of course you will probably, like every speaker, go over it on the train on Thursday on your way out and make some further changes, still it would be an advantage if we can have it as nearly as possible in the form in which you give it, for release in advance, to insure the best possible publicity, so if possible I wish you would go through it and make what changes occur to you, and have it copied and send me to the Hotel Deshler, Columbus, Ohio, several copies, so I can turn them over to the Publicity Committee and have them properly planted. This will not interfere with your making such favorable changes as you like.

Itwill be a help to me too, to know just about what you are going to say, because I am to preside and introduce you, and you will not lose anything at my hands. I intend to make that bunch understand that in the matter of getting necessary Congressional votes from New York to submit at all, and in killing the referendum last winter until the rest of the country had a chance to get its breath and its bearings you performed a National service that cannot be over-estimated.

The Deshler Hotel will be the Convention headquarters. I will take up with the National folks the matter of having accomodations reserved for you. Please let me know whether you will go alone or whether you will have a secretary or somebody else with you. I take it for granted that you will have your secretary look after your accomodations on the way back. You can have him either write or wire Columbus reserving accomodations for that 9:55 train Thursday night, which will get you back at Albany about 2:30 Friday afternoon, and then if you want to shift and leave at 10:35 by the Pennsylvania for New York it can probably be ajusted out there.

The meeting is to begin at 7:30. The speaker who preceeds you is Bishop McConnell of the Methodist Church, an unusually clear-cut, virile man. They purposely put you on second because they said the crowd would wait for you when it might not wait just for a Bishop. We will have arrangements made for a taxi to take you direct to the train, and will protect you on the question of time so you will not be hurried. Beginning early you really have the better end of it, because folks will continue to come in until after eight o'clock.

I do not know just exactly your rate of articulation. This material that I have will run approximately 3500 to 4000 words, which I figure would probably take you somewhere near half an hour at a moderate rate.

I trust I have not put it too strong about the League in this State, but I believe that is your real opinion. Anything you can say on this point of course will not do the New York League any harm with the general bunch from the country.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

A-H

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN AND COMRADES IN THE BATTLE AGAINST THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC: I come before you with my political head somewhat "bloody but unbowed." I would rather be defeated standing for a righteous cause, in case that is shown by the final returns, than to win as the price of consenting to the continuance of the unholy liquor traffic in America, and I consider myself fortunate in having a political life which can be given for the benefit of my fellow men. And entirely apart from the moral considerations involved, ordinary political selfishness, if intelligent, ought nowadays to prevent a man from committing himself to an institution which is not only unclean, but which is fast losing its power to punish its enemies and reward its friends. If I were expecting to stay in politics I would rather have the two hundred fifty thousand prohibition plurality outside of New York City than the two hundred sixty thousand plurality which the liquor traffic rolled up in that city. It is not only cleaner but will last longer. It will operate after the saloon has gone to its appointed place.

The State I represent is at once the liquor stronghold and the birth-place of the first temperance society in America. While I grew up in New York City, which holds very liberal views on this question, while I have been disposed to allow the largest liberty of personal action and thought to others and have never held that it was of itself inherently wrong for a man to drink a glass of wine, yet I do believe

that it is wrong for the American Nation longer to tolerate a traffic whose fruits are wholly foul and never good.

Therefore you will understand that I am here because I am in sympathy with what you stand for and because I am in sympathy with the effort of the churches which are awake to their responsibility upon this question to destroy the liquor traffic through the medium of such an agency as the Anti-Saloon League.

If it had been possible for your League to begin a few years earlier the kind of aggressive work that has been done in New York during the past few years there might have been a different story to tell at the recent election, but I can understand how it was necessary for you to work in the easy places first and wait until the lapse of time had brought New York more into touch and sympathy with what is going on in the Nation at large on this question, before beginning your intensive work in the Empire State. But I can assure you that the Anti-Saloon League is not unknown in New York. It is probably the most cordially hated institution in that State today, that hate being tempered with wholesome respect. And I wish to testify that the management of your New York department has rendered invaluable assistance to those public officials who were trying to discharge their duty in a conscientious way and to resist the intolerable tyranny of the liquor traffic, and is a terror to the enemies of righteousness and the common good.

The objections urged against the operation of your League are ridiculous. The liquor traffic has been in politics for years, brutally assassinating politically men who have dared to act according to the dictates of their consciences. Now that the moral forces have learned the same lesson of union for practical purposes and are making the liquor traffic sick of its job everywhere in the country, the cowardly saloon is complaining about despotism, fanaticism, intolerance, etc.

I lay no claim to special place in your ranks. I have merely faced the prohibition issue as it has come to me in public life, - faced it in the only way it seems to me a man who wishes to be the keeper of his own soul and who loves his fellow men can possibly face it and live on peaceable terms with his own conscience in the future. And whatever the political consequences may have been or are yet to be I could not and will not do otherwise. I shall fight the liquor traffic as long as it and I are both alive, but I expect to be a cheerful mourner at its funeral long before I have finished my work.

I am here in part to testify to the cleansing and up-lifting power of your political activities as I have watched the workings of them in my State, and I am pleased to report to you that, notwithstanding the fact that the returns may show that the liquor traffic has succeeded in defeating a Governor of New York who declared for prohibition,

it has not been able to elect a pledged anti-ratification Legislature. The next New York Legislature has been saved from Tammany, and is safely within the control of the Republican Party, and most of those Republicans are committed to ratification. This is the first time that it has ever happened in the history of New York State. Never before when Tammany has got the Governorship, it failed to get the Legislature. In my judgment the salvage is due to the activity of the good people of New York State united without reference to party or denomination. The defeat of a Governor, who cannot ratify the Prohibition Amendment, is an empty victory for a traffic which failed to capture the Legislature that decides the issue. And if the majority party members of the coming legislature do their duty the Tammany recruiting stations in New York will soon be closed forever. The activity of your organization during the recent primaries resulted in the defeat of the wet leadership of the Senate of New York, and in destroying that wet leadership the prohibition forces crushed the leadership of everything else that has been antagonistic to good government and the rights of the people.

Those of you who have kept some track of events in New York realize that I have had my political troubles during the last four years, and the most of these troubles have always seemed somehow to originate with or proceed from that element in public life which has been continuously trying to

do the will of the organized liquor traffic.

It was not until I undertook, because I believed it was morally right, and Democratic, Republican and American in principle, to pass a simple measure allowing the people of the cities of the State of New York the same opportunity to determine whether the liquor traffic shall continue to exist in their midst that is now possessed by the rural towns, that I had forced upon me a realization of the fact that the political forces which fetter and clog and block every effort at humanizing progress in general, are the very forces which, year in and year out, block by every means within their power, the efforts of the people to destroy the beverage liquor traffic. Nothing has pleased me more than to see how your movement, centering in a moral issue, based upon the rallying of sound public sentiment, has constantly operated to eliminate from public life men who are the foes of all genuine progress and whose pro-liquor attitude politically was merely one indication of their general unfitness to serve their fellow men and the present day.

The past four years have seen much of this kind of political change in New York, and I realize, on looking at the prohibition map of the country, that it has been going on throughout the Nation for the past twenty-five years. No one can measure what this has meant in the purification of the Nation's thought and action.

Who knows what bearing the operations of your League may have had on the happy outcome of the War, and especially upon America's getting into the War before it was too late to prevent possible irremediable disaster on the other side?

The very elements which for years sought places of political power that they might subtly use them for the benefit of German propagandism were wedded to the liquor traffic seemingly as a part of what is known Deutschtum. The evidence unearthed by the investigation conducted by a committee of the United States Senate shows conclusively the relation between the official organization of the brewers in this country and the German-American Alliance, which up till the time of the official entry of this country into the War, was the most active agency of Hun propaganda in America. The published testimony shows the contribution of large sums of money by the brewers for the carrying on of this work. It also shows that the purpose of this German-American Alliance was to spread German Kultur, which included the promulgation of insiduous German propaganda through the schools and in other ways. Representatives of this unclean influence in our American life, which sought to undermine the morale of this Nation as it succeeded in doing in Russia, endeavored to be elected to the Legislatures of various states for the purpose of carrying out their vicious ends, but they found in practically every state the Anti-Saloon League on guard opposing

them and in most cases defeating them, not because they were Germans, for not even your shrewd, far-sighted organization realized what was being attempted by the Hun in America; but driving them back and keeping them out of public life solely because they were associated with the brewers who were endeavoring to defeat the local option legislation so completely in harmony with our American system of government.

As we look back upon the uncertain days of 1916, when whatever of political potency there was in these elements was menacing the life of the Nation and the liberties of the world, it is easy to believe that when the final record of these days is made up it will be found that the activities of this agency of the moral forces, in a manner which it did not itself fully understand and to a degree which at present may not be generally admitted, saved the situation and prevented the deception of the intelligence, the stifling of the conscience and the fettering of the hands of this Nation until it was too late to save Democracy abroad.

Even with the ratification of the Federal Prohibition Amendment in this country, which now seems assured without New York, you will still have many problems to solve and many things to do. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to discuss such questions as whether this great organization shall undertake to deal with other reforms, but there is one suggestion which, as a lawyer and former District Attorney, I can make and

be in harmony with your principles as I understand them. And that suggestion is that you need to prepare NOW to enforce National prohibition after it becomes effective. Anything else will lead to confusion and nullification. Any flagrant disregard of the liquor law, entirely apart from the effect of the liquor itself in inflaming the passions and deadening the intelligence of the populace, will create a fertile soil for the development of disorder and anarchy. A policy of reasonable but rigid and faithful enforcement of the liquor laws will be one of the greatest safeguards against the efforts that will be made by some of the human firebrands of Europe to start a conflagration that will destroy organized society in this country. Most of the crime and disorder with which I had to deal as District Attorney in the greatest city of this country was due directly to or had its root in the saloon. As a measure of public safety it is imperative not merely to forbid the liquor traffic, but actually to STOP it.

With the Federal Courts congested it will be necessary that you utilize the machinery of your great organization and secure the enactment at every state capital of legislation under the concurrent jurisdiction clause of the Federal Amendment, so that the state authorities will not be powerless in the face of inevitable delay in the Federal courts and by Federal prosecuting attorneys.

If I understand the situation correctly, one of the difficulties that you have had in spreading prohibition during

these latter years was the unfortunate example of lack of enforcement afforded by the State of Maine during the period when the absence of some such measure as the Webb-Kenyon Law made it impossible for the law-abiding people of that State to protect themselves from the raids made by the liquor mercenaries of Boston.

Enforcement of the law means to nominate and elect officials for that purpose who are honest, conscientious and fearless, and to stand by them in their efforts to discharge their duty. This will be necessary in order to prevent the liquor traffic from coming back, for so long as the taste for alcoholic liquor remains and it is possible to convince the unthinking that license is better than prohibition, there will be men who, for the sake of the immense profits involved, will try to bring back the liquor traffic on some modified basis.

I am glad that you are considering this question in its world aspects, and it may be proper for me, by way of emphasis upon the question of enforcement, to call your attention to the fact that your world-wide efforts will be discounted and fall short of their greatest possibilities of usefulness unless you enforce prohibition in America. On the other hand, the obligation to protect the welfare of other nations will afford a rallying point for your enforcement work at home, and serve as a stimulus to flagging public interest which may tire of mere police activity.

If it is your purpose to consider here how you can help the forces arrayed against alcohol in other lands to appreciate and adopt your wholesome non-partisan, non-sectarian methods, you are about a mission well worthy of the attention of the Christian church. Christian missions have been the forerunner of civilization. You have taught the people of America some potent things in the way of self-government. You have shown how the forces of righteousness can be practical enough to overcome those whose ways are evil, and you perform an invaluable service to Democracy the world over by teaching self-government as applied to this question. I believe that your movement has been in no small degree responsible for the growing political independence in America, and as you teach the people of foreign lands how to get rid of this evil, you will strengthen them to meet their other problems.

The life of any democracy is the continuous manifestation of sound moral interest in public affairs. Such interest to become effective has to be organized. It is group impulses, group interests and group purposes that move the world.

A moral issue offers the highest and most unselfish exercise of such interest, and the forces which perpetually create and press moral issues in any nation are the preservers of that nation's life, the very salt that saves it from decay. I do not know everything about the Anti-Saloon League, but I do know that it understands the technique of the sane perception and development of a moral issue in politics. The prin-

ciples you have followed must undoubtedly be applicable to any nation with free institutions and a teachable people, and are surely competent to serve any land with respect to this problem, or any other moral political problem calling for the organization, education and mobilization of the people. And what problem that deeply concerns the present happiness and the future welfare of a nation is not in some respect a moral problem?

I am glad that the alcohol question has become a recognized issue throughout the world. If I am correctly informed, most of the activity, at least of an international character, heretofore has dealt with alcohol in its relation to the individual. The time seems ripe at the conclusion of this great war to consider not simply the individual, but to deal with the liquor traffic, which is simply the application of callous selfishness to the passion, prejudice and weakness of the world for the purpose of pecuniary gain.

We have learned in bitterness and blood that no nation lives to itself. We have found out that just as truly as it is of vital concern to "A" what the theories of "B" with respect to "A's" possessions are, so is it of vital concern to the whole world what any nation's political philosophy and moral attitude toward its neighbors are. How can we expect alcoholized nations to live together in peace when alcoholized men cannot do it? How can we expect an alcoholized nation to respect the sobriety and rights of a prohibition nation when we know that alcoholized men cannot be persuaded to respect the

sobriety and convictions of non-drinking individuals? We know something here in America about the trouble that has come from a wet state bordering a dry state. The liquor traffic is no respector of law anywhere, and just as the only way to get the benefit of local option was to enact state prohibition, and the only way to secure the full benefit of state prohibition is to adopt a national amendment, so the only way we can enjoy the fruits of national prohibition is to help the world to become sober.

The tasks of reconstruction cannot be fitly accomplished on alcohol. World-wide prohibition would in a few years save enough money to pay the entire money cost of the War. We were told before German propagandism disintegrated Russia that that nation was saving under prohibition more adult life than it was losing in the war. Whether that be true or not, in view of the known mortality caused by alcohol it is self-evident that world prohibition will in a few years save more lives than the War's toll.

The only way to insure world prohibition is to achieve American prohibition in fact as distinguished from mere enactment. If America actually dries up, the balance of the world will have to come to it or fall out of the industrial and commercial race. The beneficial effects will convince the world, just as a dry regime in a county or a state produces such beneficial results as to lead the neighboring political division to do likewise.

While your organization is not partisan, it is no stranger to politics, and so I make a political suggestion. There is an element in the Republican Party which thinks the best thing for the Party is to keep silent and enter the political campaign in 1930 free from any supposed handicap incident to taking the moral side of this issue. As I see it, the Republican Party will have to stir itself at best to be on an equal footing on this moral issue with the Democratic Party, which was in control of Congress at the time the Amendment was submitted, and which has so far supplied most of the States that have ratified. The Republican Party was born of conditions that required courageous facing of a great moral issue. Its first business was to represent the Nation in a struggle against an entrenched and legalized iniquity. At this time when the heart of America has been touched as never before, when men have been brought to look the stern realities squarely in the face, when evil stands out more clearly in its naked sordidness, when the people are ready to respond as with the rush of mighty waters to any challenge to their better nature, I cannot believe that it is good party policy to keep silent upon this greatest moral and economic issue. I do not believe that the Nation's heart will go out to any man who has gumshoed his way deftly through the years of this growing reform without having left one firm and effective foot-print anywhere in the struggle. This is no time for silence or avoiding the

issue. The future is with the forces you represent, and the the political party which does not realize this is short-sighted.

I cannot close without making a strong appeal for the immediate passage of the measure once called a "war prohibition" bill, which has been shamefully delayed until the war was over, but whose demobilization features should be speedily enacted. Now that the election is over and the party in power does not seem to have profited largely by delaying the enactment of this emergency proposition until after November 5th, I hope that the limitation providing that it shall not go into effect before July 1st may be abandoned and that it may be put into effect at once, or not later than the first of January to protect our fighting men on their arrival home.

Even though conditions were not ideal on the other side, our American boys constitute the cleanest army the world has ever seen. About a quarter of a million of them were from the Empire State. While it has not been possible to safeguard them entirely when they were on leave, they have been largely protected and as rigid restrictions as possible were thrown around them. The Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces has in nothing shown his greatness more clearly than in the efforts which he has made to keep the American Army clean and send it home undefiled.

The women of our country, who with dry eyes but aching hearts have smiled bravely as they sent their sons, brothers and young husbands to the front, have a right to ask

of the American Government in recognition of their sacrifice and their contribution to the war activities of the Nation, that these boys when they come home shall not be exposed to temptations from which they were shielded abroad. These women, and not the women only, but the clean living, steadfast men of this country, fathers of these boys, who have kept things going that the army might be supplied and protected abroad, all have a right to insist that the men who have defied death and conquered an unscrupulous enemy abroad shall not be left to the tender mercies of a more cruel enemy at home. It would be unspeakable disgrace upon the American Nation if these boys, during the period when they are adjusting themselves back into the duties and responsibilities of civil life, should be exposed to exploitation for the sake of a few bloody dollars paid back to the Nation as a partner in the crime, thus nullifying the protective measures taken abroad.

We repudiate the slanderous claim of the brewers that our American soldiers will come home confirmed drinkers and we insist upon the destruction of the traffic that would seduce these high-spirited young men and bring them down from the high level of patriotism to which their service for humanity has lifted them, and cause them to finish their days in sorrow and degradation.

Let us have immediate prohibition now to cover the demobilization period until ratification is consummated and the Amendment goes into effect, and then let us enforce and hold what we have won.

November 26th, 1918.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman,
Executive Mansion, Albany, N. Y.
St. Regis Hotel, New York City.

Dear Governor Whitman:

I am not sure when you expect to be back in Albany. Please have a line dropped to me if this catches you at Albany, or have me called if you are at the St. Regis letting me know where I can reach you any particular day by letter the rest of this week.

I want to write you the minute I can get time about the reaction of our fellows to your speech at Columbus and a lot of things that were said and send you a copy of the Ohio State Journal report giving you the first column of the front page, and also to take up several other matters of interest.

You made a tremendous impression at Columbus and have more friends among our fellows generally by far and apparently stronger friends than you had before you were beaten.

Yours very cordially,

WHA/D

State Superintendent.

"THE CHURCH IN ACTION AGAINST THE SALOON"

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, State Superintendent

16th Floor, 906 Broadway, at 20th Street

NEW YORK CITY

November 27, 1918.

429

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

Personal and confidential.

My dear Governor Whitman:

I enclose a couple of front pages of the Ohio State Journal, the one morning paper of Columbus. You will see that they treated you very nicely. I think this is splendid publicity. I enclose a duplicate because I thought Mrs. Whitman would be glad to have one.

You made a tremendous impression at Columbus. While the audience was not nearly so large as many that you have addressed, you never before addressed at one time the working representatives of so many of the militant moral element.

After the meeting was over I stayed until they put the lights out, and got a pretty fair reaction in that way, and then after going to the hotel I absented myself from a National Executive committee meeting for a full hour to mill around in the lobby, and came in touch with practically all of the state leaders present.

There was just one single exception which I shall refer to later, to the universal commendation. They said, "He is a bigger man even than we thought he was." They said, "That kind of a man cannot be extinguished by a mere defeat." Also, "He is a game loser and we think more of him than if he had been elected, for it shows the kind of stuff he is." There was quite a little talk of "Whitman and Willis for 1920".

There was the heartiest commendation of your speech. They felt that you were dignified and reserved, but clear-cut. They appreciated all the more your coming and putting yourself on record after you had been defeated, because it was then self-evident that there could not be any selfish motive in it. Governor Willis had made a fine impression in a brief speech in the afternoon taking about the same attitude, and that had helped create an atmosphere.

Of course I did my best to get the essential facts and create a favorable situation, but that would have gone for naught if you had not made good, and what you said for yourself simply clinched what I said about you, and even a man who had a little grievance on one point was enthusiastic about you and your speech as a whole.

Nearly all of the superintendents of important states made it a point to come to me and say nice things about you and your speech and congratulate New York on the fact that we had such a Governor and that you had come. I think it was the general impression that your presence and your speech constituted the event of the Conference, although we had some very fine things, devoted more particularly

to the world-wide movement. The California fellows were particularly interested, and were raising the question whether it would not be possible some of these days for arrangements to be made to have you make a swing around and speak in a number of the leading states throughout the west. It probably would not be possible to make this a very paying adventure, but it could be easily handled to take care of all expenses. By the way, how would that strike you if it could be brought about?

We are printing your speech in full with whatever interpolations our editor could recall in this week's New York paper, and I think it will be quite generally carried in the League papers throughout the country, or at least the salient points of it. I am having the State Journal story photographed and a cut made and sent to all newspapers of the State, just to give them an idea of how you were treated.

Now with reference to the recent campaign there are some things that I feel I must say in justice both to you and to ourselves, even though they may not be particularly pleasing.

You have had abundant opportunity to see how I have stood up during all the years as you have progressively pushed prohibition interests as far as it was safe for you to go, and you have had abundant opportunity to see from my attitude respecting the Columbus meeting and my attitude there that we are not in the ranks of those who are disposed to drop a friend merely because he has suffered defeat.

The main difference between us and a lot of the fellows that have surrounded you is that we have got the nerve to tell the truth and are infinitely better friends of yours while doing it than some fellows who fawn and flatter and then knock when things seem to go wrong.

The statement informally given the press by some of the Republican leaders blaming prohibition made me thoroughly sore in view of what I knew about the situation, and so I gave a rather emphatic statement to the newspapers, and in last week's American Issue have just simply raised particular hades and have in great detail expressed our opinion with brutal candor, and have not spared the Republican organization.

There are numerous reasons for this. One is that we owe it to our constituency to tell them the truth. Another is that we owe it to ourselves to embrace the opportunity to make clear that we are not tied up to the Republican organization, that we would just as soon "soak" a Republican State Chairman or politician who needed it as a Democrat, that we are not protecting anybody, and while this frankness will make some of the politicians sore it will tremendously increase our popularity with the folks back home, and we do not care three whoops in a whirlwind so long as the "folks" are with us. The third reason is that we will be far more effective and valuable in backing up anything that you may undertake to do for the cause in the future if we have made clear our absolute independence of the Republican organization and have not hesitated to criticize frankly, even though some of it seemed to include the question of our opinion that your own error of judgment contributed to the result.

We know positively as a result of twenty years' experience that it was a mistake to have the soft-pedal put on the prohibition issue in

your campaign. You could not suppress it. Your record brought you out into the open. There has never been a case in this country of a man who has so aggressive a record on this question as yourself winning out in a close fight by keeping silent on this question, and there are plenty of cases where men have won out in forlorn hopes by pulling the throttle wide open. The first notable case of this was in Ohio in 1905 when John M. Pattison, a Democrat, was elected by 43,000 over Myron T. Herrick who had been elected the first time by 117,000, the biggest vote a Governor ever got in that state, and had gone wrong on the prohibition issue. Pattison went to it out in the open and forced the machine Democrats into line until old fellows with a breath that you could have lighted with a match, who had not gone to bed sober since the war, were out talking prohibition. That was the first great victory won by the Anti-Saloon League of a state-wide character, overturning the political balance. All the other Republicans, including the Lieutenant Governor, were elected so as to make the lesson clear.

I do not know whether Mr. Glynn advised you intentionally or whether he was advised himself. We knew all of the time that there was no chance the way the campaign was going for a big majority. We argued and pled with him. He simply said, "We are doing things that you do not know anything about." He told me that the liquor interests were not putting up any money, and all the rest of the things that showed an utter lack of comprehension.

We were very greatly handicapped in the whole matter. There was a limit beyond which we could not go with you without arousing the suspicion that we were simply out for money. You were so sanguine that it was hopeless. I told you at the St. Regis the night I went to see you some two weeks before election that the thing did not look comfortable. The women were not satisfied. I said I could hardly believe that the state would elect a Tammany Governor, and of course if it had not been for the wreck and the influenza it would not, but I knew perfectly at that time that all hope of a great big majority had gone unless the campaign was revolutionized, but you did not give me the chance to put it over to you. You precluded my doing it by ignoring the long, frank letter that I wrote you just about the time of the primary, but respecting which you talked with Mr. Phillips. Further, although you said last winter and spring that you expected to make this a burning issue, it had become apparent as things developed that you had changed your mind. I went as far as I could in urging that point, but the last time I mentioned it you were silent.

Now this does not mean of course that I ever have had or that I now have the slightest suspicion of your sincerity on the prohibition question or the slightest doubt of your intention to go the limit if you had been elected. But the point is that it will be impossible for you to work for the best advantage in the future unless you fully understand the situation, and it is my duty to go the limit in trying to get it to you, even though it is distasteful. After I have once done it why then of course you can accept it in whole or in part, according to your own judgment.

However, I talked the matter over with our National men, taking

pains to protect the question of your sincerity, and they were absolutely unanimous that it was an unfortunate error of judgment and that you could not possibly have been hurt and that you must certainly have been helped if you had made the welkin ring on the prohibition question.

I understand the embarrassment under which you labored and that you were in the hands of a lot of men that were not too loyal. Any man who has held office as long as you have has necessarily made enemies, and in most cases it is to his credit, but all of these things put together would have been swept into the background if you had furnished the means to put them into the background.

I hope that you can agree with me now on this point because I believe that recognition of the facts, which we were so sure of that I made a record in writing before election, is essential to the wisest action on your part in the future.

My opinion in advance was not guesswork, although our experience would have warranted the formation of a judgment, but was based upon facts. We had reports. We knew. I told you very frankly in my letter the first of September what the women were saying and doing, and suggested what it was advisable to do to meet that situation. I put it as delicately as possible, but it was no new proposition, because I had been through the thing two years before.

Later along we knew directly through our organization department, in charge of one of the organization experts of the Suffrage Party, just what the women were saying, thinking and doing and how they were going to act. The Republican Women's Organization did not know anything about it as contrasted with the Suffrage organization.

I know that you doubtless felt that you ought to take the advice of some of these political leaders that were backing you up, but you did not take their advice on the referendum business and came out of it all right. Some of them may have been honest in advising you not to push this question in your own speeches, but some of them undoubtedly were not honest.

The Governor of California was re-elected by over 100,000, running openly in favor of ratification. Prohibition was beaten in the state. A few radicals got it on the platform. Not even the intelligent Party Prohibitionists wanted it. The Anti-Saloon League referred to it in southern California because it helped elect ratification members of the Legislature, but in northern California the League absolutely ignored it, and did not make a speech for it or anything else, because it would have hindered the election of ratification members. The result is there is a strong, pledged ratification majority in both houses in California. The Governor's political advisors urged him not to mention ratification in San Francisco. He asked the League's advice and the League told him by all means to press it. Superintendent Gandier said, "You have lost all the wets anyhow, but there is another element from whom you can gain something if you make this a true moral issue," and he lost San Francisco by only 20,000 in a vote of about 100,000, although they beat prohibition in San Francisco by a 60,000 majority, or approximately four to one, and it has been nearly upon two to one previously. That is the prohibition candidate for Governor on the

Republican ticket got about two-fifths of the vote and the wet candidate three-fifths. If you had broken on this basis in New York City Mr. Smith would only have beaten you a little over 150,000 in the city, and my judgment is that he would not have beaten you any more than that if you had made the situation white-hot on this question as a moral issue. I do not believe that all hell could have beaten you by more than 40,000 in Brooklyn, wreck or no wreck, if you had pushed prohibition. Davenport won out in Oneida, notwithstanding the fact that they had evidently tampered with the voting machines and lost him all the Prohibition Party votes, by making an open fight, although Mr. Glynn had writen Mr. Scothon, the County Chairman, advising soft-pedaling. Senator Thompson, with Lockport and North Tonawanda, which voted wet, and Niagara Falls, which was so wet that it did not even vote, made an open fight when the wets went after him, and won out by a smashing majority. New York City is no worse than Utica, and Brooklyn is far better.

The difficulty is that the soft-pedal and gun-shoe game gives the initiative to the other side and allows them to sow their poison when and how they will, whereas if we push the fight we get them out of the dark cellars and into the open.

The same thing that is true with reference to New York applies to other cities. You lost the pronounced wets anyhow, but you did not get as many dry Democrats and decent Independents as you might have gotten. The course followed by your managers simply allowed you to fall between the bumpers.

Doubtless you have analyzed the registration and the vote. There was 35% of the registration in New York City and 65% up-State approximately. New York City cast over 82% of the vote. Up-State less than 60% was cast. There were more than three quarters of a million registered voters up-State who did not get to the polls.

Now you know that the wet vote got to the polls. It was the potential dry vote that failed to get out up-State, and we are not guessing at the reason. We know exactly. We had reports that indicated the situation before election. We have reports that have told us exactly the situation since the election. For example, our attorney has just reported to me this morning an interview with a Senator up-State, who undoubtedly worked hard for you, but he said folks would not come out, and they said, "Let us alone. If we go we will vote for Smith, and we do not want to vote for a Democrat."

There are two factors in the reason for this apathy, and allowing for those who will not come out anyhow, and those who were kept away by the influenza, there were at the least calculation a quarter of a million people who might have gotten to the polls, and a very large percentage of them were women.

We had reports from your meetings where the people, particularly the women, felt outraged. They said, "Why doesn't he say something about prohibition?" and that created a fertile field for the slanders put out by the Democrats that you were not sincere, but were using prohibition as a mere stepping-stone to the gratification of your ambition.

The second point and the one that wrought the greatest havoc was the matter of your personal habits. We got reports from women literally by the thousand, who said "We cannot vote for a drunkard".

Of course that was absurd, but they did not know it was absurd because they did not know you or know the facts. Just as I wrote you the first of September would be the case, your ignoring of the request of some women in New York City that you sign the pledge or do something of that sort was used as a basis for magnifying the stories about you, and we have reports from liberally scores of people who said that you were drunk when you spoke in their respective places, that they saw it themselves. Now of course they were mistaken, but nevertheless they did not know it, and the people to whom they talked did not know it, and while the women were outraged by the general Republican management of the campaign, the damaging thing was this statement about you. Elon Brown's statement that "More rum has been consumed in the Executive Mansion in the past four years than in twenty years before" was used by the Democrats with absolutely deadly effect.

It might have been possible to overcome it with the men because they are used to campaign slanders, but with the women it was utterly impossible to overcome it.

Two years ago we got away with the proposition by pointing out the fact that that was not the main issue and by showing up the falsehood and unfairness in the San Francisco charges, raising the impression that the other thing was also untrue, but then you had not gotten so far into the prohibition game and it sufficed for us to speak for you. But this year a situation existed where the only man who could speak for you was yourself. We did not dare run the risk of incurring blame by making any statement which would cause a lot of ribald comment, and a lot of queries as to "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?", for we were under the necessity of protecting the League, and when your managers proved bone-headed, and when you were unable to agree we simply had to do the best we could and protect the general legislative situation and discharge our obligation to you to the limit of our power, regretting that you and your managers would not let us go farther.

If you had made this a burning issue, had denounced the liquor traffic, and all those things, it would have compelled some folks to come across with money for the right sort of a campaign. If you had done that we could have gone out and said, "All this general talk about the man is camouflage and bunk. It is because of the liquor question that he is being abused". And we would have gotten the 300,000 plurality that you wanted, or within 50,000 of it, without any question if you had made that kind of a campaign, because folks would have come out to the polls as a moral duty.

The preachers feel sore. They feel that you did not rely on them enough. They feel that you did not give them the means of answering the slanders put out by the opposition, which were thrown into their teeth by their own members. If we could have had the New York Times and the New York World gnashing their teeth at you because of prohibition it would have driven people into your camp by thousands in New York City.

The ideal thing, of course, would have been for you to make a statement respecting your own use of alcoholic liquor, getting clear out

on the water wagon at the time I indicated, when the War Prohibition proposition was favored by Congress. But even if you had not felt it prodent to make an announcement, you could have practically shoved that thing into the background by saying in substance:

> "I am not going to sign any pledge under circumstances that look like I am doing it to get votes. The charges that are made against me are made by liquor interests and have fooled some good people, but they are ridiculous on the face of it. Anyhow, the question is not what I as an individual intend to do. The question is what I would do as a public servant, and as such I am opposed to the liquor traffic and will help the people get rid of it. Whatever any man thinks personally about this question, the day has come for all patriotic citizens to accept the situation and join in to clean up for the War, and I am with the country on that, and without making any pretense of virtue, consider that the time has come for everybody to go on the same basis that the Army and Navy have been compelled to go upon."

If you had done that while things were still crystalizing, before the Liberty Loan campaign came on, you could have nullified that Democratic scheme to blanket the issue. Another hot blast exposing the referendum would have started things that would have worked for you all during the Liberty Loan.

You had one of the greatest opportunities in this respect that has ever been afforded in the country, and it was a matter of the most poignant grief to me that with the splendid services you have rendered and the unquestioned sincerity of the things you have done for the cause you should be sacrificed in this way.

There is a whole mass of things that I might say on this point, but suffice it to saw that whether the men surrounding you told you the truth or not, it is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the decent citizenship of this state that you were defeated first because you did not make prohibition a paramount issue in your campaign and second because of your failure either to get on the water wagon or else make a statement and push the other issue in such a way as to answer the slanders that were put out and show the people that it was a public and not a personal issue involved.

Now I think I have made clear by what I said at Columbus and by the fact that I am willing to risk incurring your displeasure by telling you the truth which you cannot get from the politicians, because those who have intelligence enough to see it lack the nerve to come across with it, that our appreciation of the remarkable services that you have rendered the cause is not abated in the slightest degree by what we believe to be a mistake of judgment in the conduct of the recent campaign. One of the Anti-Saloon League maxims is "Every man is entitled to some mistakes as a working margin," and we make mistakes and admit it and make amends by trying to avoid making the same mistake a second time. So the proposition before us is what to do for the future.

I share your feeling that this may be the best thing. I think we can put ratification over with your help, and if it goes over with you

aggressively helping nothing on earth can rob you of the credit for having done it. There is no use of crying over spilled milk and the opportunities of the last campaign, but when something that ought to have been done is not done the shortest way and in fact the only way is just to start over and do that thing, and I am satisfied that it is highly important for you to go the limit openly now for ratification.

My judgment is that you ought to do two things in a statement which should be gotten out at the earliest possible moment, embracing any kind of an opportunity or pretext for putting it out. These things are, first, dispose of the question of the personal use of liquor. My judgment is, assuming in the light of what you have told me about the actual facts for a long time, that it will be no hardship for you to cut it out entirely, that you should make an announcement to that effect, something like this:

> "I have never pretended to be a total abstainer, and have always been ready to adjust myself to prohibition when it came. For a considerable time I have been practically on a total abstinence basis, feeling that the rest of the country could not well afford to do less than we are asking of the soldiers and sailors. I was not willing to sign the pledge or make any announcement while I was a candidate for office, which would indicate that I was doing this solely for the purpose of securing votes. I have long believed that the traffic in alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes is wrong for the Nation, and I am pleased to say that I am on the water wagon. Entirely apart from the moral and other considerations involved, I want the satisfaction of knowing that I stopped of my own volition, for no man who continues to use alcoholic liquor, no matter how moderately, up to the time that the supply is cut off can ever be certain that he was not saved from an unfortunate end by the timely interference of the authority of the State."

Of course this is rough and is not thrown out either for form or contents as my matured thought on the matter. It is just my off-hand suggestion as a basis of departure from which you can work out your own statement.

Now you told Mr. Phillips that you were afraid that it would seem silly for you to make a statement before the election. I think you were mistaken. If the right kind of a statement had been made I am sure it would have rallied the people to you and would have compelled grudging respect even from your enemies. Of course this would have involved making good on it, but there would have been no trouble about that if you had decided to make the statement, and it would not have been any hardship anyhow.

But the election is now over, and whatever possible sneers there might have been before, most if not all of which would have recoiled upon the heads of those who uttered them, there is now no one who can get away, before the public, with the proposition that such an utterance by you now is anything else than sincere.

The second thing that I think your statement ought to cover is a ringing declaration upon the necessity for the Republican Party getting out into the clear on the ratification issue this time. It might be a kind of approved composite of what you said about the Party situation at Columbus with local matters. I have not any matured suggestion, although I would be willing to work out something if you wanted it, just as an expression of my own thought with reference to it.

This could very easily be called out from you by a letter from me. For example, you can consider, if you give this matter serious consideration at all, that you have received from me a letter substantially as follows:

"My dear Governor:

"I find in the election post-mortem that you have been the victim of circumstances and the most outrageous misrepresentation, and that your refusal to dignify the slanderous personal charges made about your alleged drinking habits, and calculated to arouse question as to your sincerity on the prohibition issue, has been used against you and successfully utilized to deceive tens of thousands of women who are not accustomed to the dirty side of politics.

"In four years' association I have never had occasion to even suspect the most moderate use of alcoholic liquor on your part, aside from your frank statement that you did not claim to be a total abstainer. I have never detected the slightest indication that you used it to any degree, and I find this to be the testimony of a large number of people who have had opportunity to observe you in public. As a matter of justice to yourself, I wish that you would state for the benefit of our constituency the actual facts respecting your attitude toward the use of alcoholic liquor.

"I wish also at some time you would supplement your utterance at Columbus, Ohio, to the effect that the Republican Party Nationally should get behind ratification, by stating your views upon the proposal made in New York to make ratification a Republican Party measure at the coming session, thereby insuring the passage of the ratification resolution, in view of Tammany's failure to carry the legislature on making a Party issue against it."

I am willing, of course, to change the form of this if you have any suggestion to make, but this would afford justification, and we would give it out to the press in this State, and if you made it sufficiently ringing it would attract attention outside of the State in the secular press generally, and we would get it put over in some half million circulation of our own League publications, and send it to all the religious papers of the country.

I do not mean to say that this should be done next week or even the week after, but simply that it shall be done at the best time to accomplish the purpose sought. It might be better to wait a little while and see how things are going in the way of legislative developments and

let your statement come as a clincher at the proper time. But sometime before you go out I think there ought to be a ringing blast from you.

I know that some of the papers will try to poke fun at anything that you put out bearing on the personal question, but that will not get them anywhere, and when the dust settles the advantage will be with you, and everywhere there will be a feeling that your effort to put the thing through, even after you had been defeated, is conclusive proof of your sincerity, and a lot of the folks will feel foolish and ashamed and you will have something coming.

Of course if you are not willing to make some statement on the personal matter, I still think that you ought to embrace the opportunity to go down the line on the question of making it a Party matter, etc., and be prepared even after your term is closed and the matter is still pending in the Legislature to make statements, at least if they are asked of you, that will force the hand of Speaker Sweet, for example. If you could in a crisis make some statement which of course is strictly inside the libel lines, but calculated to rip things open so far as his attitude is concerned, it would smoke him out.

Of course it is not going to make any difference in my personal feeling toward you even if you turn down this matter about the personal question. But I am anxious to see you get the benefit of everything that you are entitled to, and I have suggested what I am certain, both from my own observation and experience and consultation with League men both in the State and Nation, and from our reports from our constituency, is the best course for you. It will enable you to make back with the prohibition constituency everything that was lost in the failure to push that issue during the campaign. It will give you the benefit of putting ratification through, which would have been the big thing of your administration if you had been elected, and we will see to it that credit is properly apportioned, and you will be free from some of the embarrassments that might have come with the official position if you had been holding it. Besides everything else, it will operate like a blast of ozone in clearing out miasma in dissipating forever the feeling which is more wide-spread than you evidently have any idea, that you are not sincere and cannot be depended upon. If I have met that once I have met it a thousand times in the past two years. My invariable reply was, "He has stood up squarely to everything he has ever agreed to do, and our own actual experience is the best basis for judging him, and that is what it is," but your enemies have lied about you to a degree that you have not fully appreciated, and they have put it over with a whole lot of people. I want you to explode it.

Very cordially your friend,

A-H

State Superintendent.

P.S. - On account of the disorganization due to the peculiar campaign conditions forced upon us, and my absence at Columbus, and the work for the next session, I have not had time to have this letter written and then go

November 27, 1918.

His Excellency Gov. Charles S. Whitman,
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There was just one single exception which I shall refer to later, to the universal commendation. They said, "He is a bigger man even than we thought he was." They said, "That kind of a man cannot be extinguished by a mere defeat." Also, "He is a game loser and we think more of him than if he had been elected, for it shows the kind of stuff he is." There was quite a little talk of "Whitman and Willis for 1920".

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Nearly all of the superintendents of important states made it a point to come to me and say nice things about you and your speech and congratulate New York on the fact that we had such a Governor and that you had come. I think it was the general impression that your presence and your speech constituted the event of the Conference, although we had some very fine things, devoted more particularly

to the world-wide movement. The California fellows were particularly interested, and were raising the question whether it would not be possible some of these days for arrangements to be made to have you make a swing around and speak in a number of the leading states throughout the west. It probably would not be possible to make this a very paying adventure, but it could be easily handled to take care of all expenses. By the way, how would that strike you if it could be brought about?

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There are numerous reasons for this. One is that we owe it to our constituency to tell them the truth. Another is that we owe it to ourselves to embrace the opportunity to make clear that we are not tied up to the Republican organization, that we would just as soon "soak" a Republican State Chairman or politician who needed it as a Democrat, that we are not protecting anybody, and while this frankness will make some of the politicians sore it will tremendously increase our popularity with the folks back home, and we do not care three whoops in a whirlwind so long as the "folks" are with us. The third reason is that we will be far more effective and valuable in backing up anything that you may undertake to do for the cause in the future if we have made clear our absolute independence of the Republican organization and have not hesitated to criticize frankly, even though some of it seemed to include the question of our opinion that your own error of judgment contributed to the result.

We know positively as a result of twenty years' experience that it was a mistake to have the soft-pedal put on the prohibition issue in

your campaign. You could not suppress it. Your record brought you out into the open. There has never been a case in this country of a man who has so aggressive a record on this question as yourself winning out in a close fight by keeping silent on this question, and there are plenty of cases where men have won out in forlorn hopes by pulling the throttle wide open. The first notable case of this was in Ohio in 1905 when John M. Pattison, a Democrat, was elected by 43,000 over Myron T. Herrick who had been elected the first time by 117,000, the biggest vote a Governor ever got in that state, and had gone wrong on the prohibition issue. Pattison went to it out in the open and forced the machine Democrats into line until old fellows with a breath that you could have lighted with a match, who had not gone to bed sober since the war, were out talking prohibition. That was the first great victory won by the Anti-Saloon League of a state-wide character, overturning the political balance. All the other Republicans, including the Lieutenant Governor, were elected so as to make the lesson clear.

I do not know whether Mr. Glynn advised you intentionally or whether he was advised himself. We knew all of the time that there was no chance the way the campaign was going for a big majority. We argued and pled with him. He simply said, "We are doing things that you do not know anything about." He told me that the liquor interests were not putting up any money, and all the rest of the things that showed an utter lack of comprehension.

We were very greatly handicapped in the whole matter. There was a limit beyond which we could not go with you without arousing the suspicion that we were simply out for money. You were so sanguine that it was hopeless. I told you at the St. Regis the night I went to see you some two weeks before election that the thing did not look comfortable. The women were not satisfied. I said I could hardly believe that the state would elect a Tammany Governor, and of course if it had not been for the wreck and the influenza it would not, but I knew perfectly at that time that all hope of a great big majority had gone unless the campaign was revolutionized, but you did not give me the chance to put it over to you. You precluded my doing it by ignoring the long, frank letter that I wrote you just about the time of the primary, but respecting which you talked with Mr. Phillips. Further, although you said last winter and spring that you expected to make this a burning issue, it had become apparent as things developed that you had changed your mind. I went as far as I could in urging that point, but the last time I mentioned it you were silent.

Now this does not mean of course that I ever have had or that I now have the slightest suspicion of your sincerity on the prohibition question or the slightest doubt of your intention to go the limit if you had been elected. But the point is that it will be impossible for you to work for the best advantage in the future unless you fully understand the situation, and it is my duty to go the limit in trying to get it to you, even though it is distasteful. After I have once done it why then of course you can accept it in whole or in part, according to your own judgment.

However, I talked the matter over with our National men, taking

pains to protect the question of your sincerity, and they were absolutely unanimous that it was an unfortunate error of judgment and that you could not possibly have been hurt and that you must certainly have been helped if you had made the welkin ring on the prohibition question.

I understand the embarrassment under which you labored and that you were in the hands of a lot of men that were not too loyal. Any man who has held office as long as you have has necessarily made enemies, and in most cases it is to his credit, but all of these things put together would have been swept into the background if you had furnished the means to put them into the background.

I hope that you can agree with me now on this point because I believe that recognition of the facts, which we were so sure of that I made a record in writing before election, is essential to the wisest action on your part in the future.

My opinion in advance was not guesswork, although our experience would have warranted the formation of a judgment, but was based upon facts. We had reports. We knew. I told you very frankly in my letter the first of September what the women were saying and doing, and suggested what it was advisable to do to meet that situation. I put it as delicately as possible, but it was no new proposition, because I had been through the thing two years before.

Later along we knew directly through our organization department, in charge of one of the organization experts of the Suffrage Party, just what the women were saying, thinking and doing and how they were going to act. The Republican Women's Organization did not know anything about it as contrasted with the Suffrage organization.

I know that you doubtless felt that you ought to take the advice of some of these political leaders that were backing you up, but you did not take their advice on the referendum business and came out of it all right. Some of them may have been honest in advising you not to push this question in your own speeches, but some of them undoubtedly were not honest.

The Governor of California was re-elected by over 100,000, running openly in favor of ratification. Prohibition was beaten in the state. A few radicals got it on the platform. Not even the intelligent Party Prohibitionists wanted it. The Anti-Saloon League referred to it in southern California because it helped elect ratification members of the Legislature, but in northern California the League absolutely ignored it, and did not make a speech for it or anything else, because it would have hindered the election of ratification members. The result is there is a strong, pledged ratification majority in both houses in California. The Governor's political advisors urged him not to mention ratification in San Francisco. He asked the League's advice and the League told him by all means to press it. Superintendent Gandier said, "You have lost all the wets anyhow, but there is another element from whom you can gain something if you make this a true moral issue," and he lost San Francisco by only 20,000 in a vote of about 100,000, although they beat prohibition in San Francisco by a 60,000 majority, or approximately four to one, and it has been nearly upon two to one previously. That is the prohibition candidate for Governor on the

Republican ticket got about two-fifths of the vote and the wet candidate three-fifths. If you had broken on this basis in New York City Mr. Smith would only have beaten you a little over 150,000 in the city, and my judgment is that he would not have beaten you any more than that if you had made the situation white-hot on this question as a moral issue. I do not believe that all hell could have beaten you by more than 40,000 in Brooklyn, wreck or no wreck, if you had pushed prohibition. Davenport won out in Oneida, notwithstanding the fact that they had evidently tampered with the voting machines and lost him all the Prohibition Party votes, by making an open fight, although Mr. Glynn had writen Mr. Scothon, the County Chairman, advising soft-pedaling. Senator Thompson, with Lockport and North Tonawanda, which voted wet, and Niagara Falls, which was so wet that it did not even vote, made an open fight when the wets went after him, and won out by a smashing majority. New York City is no worse than Utica, and Brooklyn is far better.

The difficulty is that the soft-pedal and gum-shoe game gives the initiative to the other side and allows them to sow their poison when and how they will, whereas if we push the fight we get them out of the dark cellars and into the open.

The same thing that is true with reference to New York applies to other cities. You lost the pronounced wets anyhow, but you did not get as many dry Democrats and decent Independents as you might have gotten. The course followed by your managers simply allowed you to fall between the bumpers.

Doubtless you have analyzed the registration and the vote. There was 35% of the registration in New York City and 65% up-State approximately. New York City cast over 82% of the vote. Up-State less than 60% was cast. There were more than three quarters of a million registered voters up-State who did not get to the polls.

Now you know that the wet vote got to the polls. It was the potential dry vote that failed to get out up-State, and we are not guessing at the reason. We know exactly. We had reports that indicated the situation before election. We have reports that have told us exactly the situation since the election. For example, our attorney has just reported to me this morning an interview with a Senator up-State, who undoubtedly worked hard for you, but he said folks would not come out, and they said, "Let us alone. If we go we will vote for Smith, and we do not want to vote for a Democrat."

There are two factors in the reason for this apathy, and allowing for those who will not come out anyhow, and those who were kept away by the influenza, there were at the least calculation a quarter of a million people who might have gotten to the polls, and a very large percentage of them were women.

We had reports from your meetings where the people, particularly the women, felt outraged. They said, "Why doesn't he say something about prohibition?" and that created a fertile field for the slanders put out by the Democrats that you were not sincere, but were using prohibition as a mere stepping-stone to the gratification of your ambition.

The second point and the one that wrought the greatest havoc was the matter of your personal habits. We got reports from women literally by the thousand, who said "We cannot vote for a drunkard".

Of course that was absurd, but they did not know it was absurd because they did not know you or know the facts. Just as I wrote you the first of September would be the case, your ignoring of the request of some women in New York City that you sign the pledge or do something of that sort was used as a basis for magnifying the stories about you, and we have reports from liberally scores of people who said that you were drunk when you spoke in their respective places, that they saw it themselves. Now of course they were mistaken, but nevertheless they did not know it, and the people to whom they talked did not know it, and while the women were outraged by the general Republican management of the campaign, the damaging thing was this statement about you. Elon Brown's statement that "More rum has been consumed in the Executive Mansion in the past four years than in twenty years before" was used by the Democrats with absolutely deadly effect.

It might have been possible to overcome it with the men because they are used to campaign slanders, but with the women it was utterly impossible to overcome it.

Two years ago we got away with the proposition by pointing out the fact that that was not the main issue and by showing up the falsehood and unfairness in the San Francisco charges, raising the impression that the other thing was also untrue, but then you had not gotten so far into the prohibition game and it sufficed for us to speak for you. But this year a situation existed where the only man who could speak for you was yourself. We did not dare run the risk of incurring blame by making any statement which would cause a lot of ribald comment, and a lot of queries as to "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?", for we were under the necessity of protecting the League, and when your managers proved bone-headed, and when you were unable to agree we simply had to do the best we could and protect the general legislative situation and discharge our obligation to you to the limit of our power, regretting that you and your managers would not let us go farther.

If you had made this a burning issue, had denounced the liquor traffic, and all those things, it would have compelled some folks to come across with money for the right sort of a campaign. If you had done that we could have gone out and said, "All this general talk about the man is camouflage and bunk. It is because of the liquor question that he is being abused". And you would have gotten the 300,000 plurality that you wanted, or within 50,000 of it, without any question if you had made that kind of a campaign, because folks would have come out to the polls as a moral duty.

The preachers feel sore. They feel that you did not rely on them enough. They feel that you did not give them the means of answering the slanders put out by the opposition, which were thrown into their teeth by their own members. If we could have had the New York Times and the New York World gnashing their teeth at you because of prohibition it would have driven people into your camp by thousands in New York City.

The ideal thing, of course, would have been for you to make a statement respecting your own use of alcoholic liquor, getting clear out

on the water wagon at the time I indicated, when the War Prohibition proposition was favored by Congress. But even if you had not felt it prodent to make an announcement, you could have practically shoved that thing into the background by saying in substance:

> "I am not going to sign any pledge under circumstances that look like I am doing it to get votes. The charges that are made against me are made by liquor interests and have fooled some good people, but they are ridiculous on the face of it. Anyhow, the question is not what I as an individual intend to do. The question is what I would do as a public servant, and as such I am opposed to the liquor traffic and will help the people get rid of it. Whatever any man thinks personally about this question, the day has come for all patriotic citizens to accept the situation and join in to clean up for the War, and I am with the country on that, and without making any pretense of virtue, consider that the time has come for everybody to go on the same basis that the Army and Navy have been compelled to go upon."

If you had done that while things were still crystalizing, before the Liberty Loan campaign came on, you could have nullified that Democratic scheme to blanket the issue. Another hot blast exposing the referendum would have started things that would have worked for you all during the Liberty Loan.

You had one of the greatest opportunities in this respect that has ever been afforded in the country, and it was a matter of the most poignant grief to me that with the splendid services you have rendered and the unquestioned sincerity of the things you have done for the cause you should be sacrificed in this way.

There is a whole mass of things that I might say on this point, but suffice it to saw that whether the men surrounding you told you the truth or not, it is the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the decent citizenship of this state that you were defeated first because you did not make prohibition a paramount issue in your campaign and second because of your failure either to get on the water wagon or else make a statement and push the other issue in such a way as to answer the slanders that were put out and show the people that it was a public and not a personal issue involved.

Now I think I have made clear by what I said at Columbus and by the fact that I am willing to risk incurring your displeasure by telling you the truth which you cannot get from the politicians, because those who have intelligence enough to see it lack the nerve to come across with it, that our appreciation of the remarkable services that you have rendered the cause is not abated in the slightest degree by what we believe to be a mistake of judgment in the conduct of the recent campaign. One of the Anti-Saloon League maxims is "Every man is entitled to some mistakes as a working margin," and we make mistakes and admit it and make amends by trying to avoid making the same mistake a second time. So the proposition before us is what to do for the future.

I share your feeling that this may be the best thing. I think we can put ratification over with your help, and if it goes over with you

aggressively helping nothing on earth can rob you of the credit for having done it. There is no use of crying over spilled milk and the opportunities of the last campaign, but when something that ought to have been done is not done the shortest way and in fact the only way is just to start over and do that thing, and I am satisfied that it is highly important for you to go the limit openly now for ratification.

My judgment is that you ought to do two things in a statement which should be gotten out at the earliest possible moment, embracing any kind of an opportunity or pretext for putting it out. These things are, first, dispose of the question of the personal use of liquor. My judgment is, assuming in the light of what you have told me about the actual facts for a long time that it will be no hardship for you to cut it out entirely, that you should make an announcement to that effect, something like this:

> "I have never pretended to be a total abstainer, and have always been ready to adjust myself to prohibition when it came. For a considerable time I have been practically on a total abstinence basis, feeling that the rest of the country could not well afford to do less than we are asking of the soldiers and sailors. I was not willing to sign the pledge or make any announcement while I was a candidate for office, which would indicate that I was doing this solely for the purpose of securing votes. I have long believed that the traffic in alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes is wrong for the Nation, and I am pleased to say that I am on the water wagon. Entirely apart from the moral and other considerations involved, I want the satisfaction of knowing that I stopped of my own volition, for no man who continues to use alcoholic liquor, no matter how moderately, up to the time that the supply is cut off can ever be certain that he was not saved from an unfortunate end by the timely interference of the authority of the State."

Of course this is rough and is not thrown out either for form or contents as my matured thought on the matter. It is just my off-hand suggestion as a basis of departure from which you can work out your own statement.

Now you told Mr. Phillips that you were afraid that it would seem silly for you to make a statement before the election. I think you were mistaken. If the right kind of a statement had been made I am sure it would have rallied the people to you and would have compelled grudging respect even from your enemies. Of course this would have involved making good on it, but there would have been no trouble about that if you had decided to make the statement, and it would not have been any hardship anyhow.

But the election is now over, and whatever possible sneers there might have been before, most if not all of which would have recoiled upon the heads of those who uttered them, there is now no one who can get away, before the public, with the proposition that such an utterance by you now is anything else than sincere.

The second thing that I think your statement ought to cover is a ringing declaration upon the necessity for the Republican Party getting out into the clear on the ratification issue this time. It might be a kind of approved composite of what you said about the Party situation at Columbus with local matters. I have not any matured suggestion, although I would be willing to work out something if you wanted it, just as an expression of my own thought with reference to it.

This could very easily be called out from you by a letter from me. For example, you can consider, if you give this matter serious consideration at all, that you have received from me a letter substantially as follows:

"My dear Governor:

"I find in the election post-mortem that you have been the victim of circumstances and the most outrageous misrepresentation, and that your refusal to dignify the slanderous personal charges made about your alleged drinking habits, and calculated to arouse question as to your sincerity on the prohibition issue, has been used against you and successfully utilized to deceive tens of thousands of women who are not accustomed to the dirty side of politics.

"In four years' association I have never had occasion to even suspect the most moderate use of alcoholic liquor on your part, aside from your frank statement that you did not claim to be a total abstainer. I have never detected the slightest indication that you used it to any degree, and I find this to be the testimony of a large number of people who have had opportunity to observe you in public. As a matter of justice to yourself, I wish that you would state for the benefit of our constituency the actual facts respecting your attitude toward the use of alcoholic liquor.

"I wish also at some time you would supplement your utterance at Columbus, Ohio, to the effect that the Republican Party nationally should get behind ratification, by stating your views upon the proposal made in New York to make ratification a Republican Party measure at the coming session, thereby insuring the passage of the ratification resolution, in view of Tammany's failure to carry the legislature on making a Party issue against it."

I am willing, of course, to change the form of this if you have any suggestion to make, but this would afford justification, and we would give it out to the press in this State, and if you made it sufficiently ringing it would attract attention outside of the State in the secular press generally, and we would get it put over in some half million circulation of our own League publications, and send it to all the religious papers of the country.

I do not mean to say that this should be done next week or even the week after, but simply that it shall be done at the best time to accomplish the purpose sought. It might be better to wait a little while and see how things are going in the way of legislative developments and

let your statement come as a clincher at the proper time. But sometime before you go out I think there ought to be a ringing blast from you.

I know that some of the papers will try to poke fun at anything that you put out bearing on the personal question, but that will not get them anywhere, and when the dust settles the advantage will be with you, and everywhere there will be a feeling that your effort to put the thing through, even after you had been defeated, is conclusive proof of your sincerity, and a lot of the folks will feel foolish and ashamed and you will have something coming.

Of course if you are not willing to make some statement on the personal matter, I still think that you ought to embrace the opportunity to go down the line on the question of making it a Party matter, etc., and be prepared even after your term is closed and the matter is still pending in the Legislature to make statements, at least if they are asked of you, that will force the hand of Speaker Sweet, for example. If you could in a crisis make some statement which of course is strictly inside the libel lines, but calculated to rip things open so far as his attitude is concerned, it would smoke him out.

Of course it is not going to make any difference in my personal feeling toward you even if you turn down this matter about the personal question. But I am anxious to see you get the benefit of everything that you are entitled to, and I have suggested what I am certain, both from my own observation and experience and consultation with League men both in the State and Nation, and from our reports from our constituency, is the best course for you. It will enable you to make back with the prohibition constituency everything that was lost in the failure to push that issue during the campaign. It will give you the benefit of putting ratification through, which would have been the big thing of your administration if you had been elected, and we will see to it that credit is properly apportioned, and you will be free from some of the embarrassments that might have come with the official position if you had been holding it. Besides everything else, it will operate like a blast of ozone in clearing out miasma in dissipating forever the feeling which is more wide-spread than you evidently have any idea, that you are not sincere and cannot be depended upon. If I have met that once I have met it a thousand times in the past two years. My invariable reply was, "He has stood up squarely to everything he has ever agreed to do, and our own actual experience is the best basis for judging him, and that is what it is," but your enemies have lied about you to a degree that you have not fully appreciated, and they have put it over with a whole lot of people. I want you to explode it.

Very cordially your friend,

A-H

State Superintendent.

P.S. - On account of the disorganization due to the peculiar campaign conditions forced upon us, and my absence at Columbus, and the work for the next session, I have not had time to have this letter written and then go

over it. I have simply had to bat it out in the midst of constant interruptions, some of them long enough to lose the train of thought. It is a job I would very much rather have left undone, but I felt I owed it to all parties concerned.

There is just one other thing that I ought to mention. I felt hurt when I called you up after we had made the trip to Mr. James by your saying that we did not need $25,000. We of course had never had any reason to doubt your being absolutely square with us, but Mr. McGrath stated repeatedly in the early stages that his chief would do exactly what you said you wanted done, but that you must definitely suggest an amount, and even after it was apparent that nothing was coming through Mr. McGrath said that his chief was contributing to something that you considered more important, and Mr. James' secretary told us repeatedly that Mr. James would do anything that you suggested, but that it must be an explicit suggestion of a definite amount. I pass that on merely for what it is worth, but you did say direct to me that we did not need as much as $25,000 for that record. I felt hurt because that looked like you thought we were trying to hold somebody up and get more money under cover of a specific proposition than we needed. You were very sadly mistaken. We knew exactly what we needed. We had gathered an absolutely new list of men and women voters from the churches, expecting this to have its initial use for your benefit as the exponent of the prohibition cause. We expected to have half a million. If we had had the money we expected to use in completing the lists we would have had more than half a million, simply in these new lists, but as it was we actually had in the office, notwithstanding the way our campaign was caved in, between 375,000 and 400,000 names on such lists, or of actual contributors. There is no other such list of supporters of a moral agency in existence. Figure it out for yourself. At that late hour, with the labor congestion, nothing less than three cent postage would be adequate. Postage alone on 400,000 would be $12,000. The envelope and letterhead for the accompanying letter, the production of the letter, the addressing of the envelope by hand, the printing of the Smith record, the folding of both, the inserting, sealing, stamping and mailing, much of it on over-time rates, would run at present inflated prices, not less than about two cents a piece, or $8,000 more, that is five cents per communication, or $20,000 for that alone. The other money would not have fully covered sending out to the preachers without waiting for them to ask for it, and to Bible Class teachers, to Civic and religious organizations, packages for distribution.

As a matter of fact $25,000 was under the amount and a very conservative figure. This list, however, reached direct from the office with the accompanying letter, was the cream of the whole thing. Most of the League victories in this country have been won by reaching such a list. Of course if we had known we were to be thrown down we would have made plans early in the game, and would have dug up some money somewhere and would have started things in time to use one cent postage and avoid the excessive over-time charges.

The result was that instead of reaching over 375,000 people direct from this office by individual communications, we reached only 75,000. Instead of sending out these leaflets in quantities to every preacher, allowing for over-lapping and waste, we held them back and sent only the preachers who asked for them.

We find that through the astounding failure of the Republican organization to use this moral issue stuff itself or else enable us to use it, the great bulk of the people did not fully understand about Al Smith's record, because the newspapers did not print it, there being evidently a concerted movement akin to Mr. Glynn's communication to come county chairmen to soft-pedal to prevent pushing the moral aspects of this case.

You can readily appreciate now that even without any change in the open conduct of the campaign, if we had been able to reach that other 3000 the result would have been different.

The jealousy of Mr. Glynn and others in trying to side-track the Anti-Saloon League was enough to make more than the difference. He secured the Prohibition Party nomination thinking that would put us on the siding, and then failed to play up to it. Under the circumstances it was a liability instead of an asset to you. In short Mr. Glynn and some of the others were so anxious to win it on their own basis that they let you fall between the bumpers.

I find there is one thing I mentioned in the letter as something to be referred to later that I have failed to refer to. Mr. Wheeler, our National counsel, said to me the next day at Columbus that he thought there was just a little slump when at the beginning you said that you did not consider it wrong for an individual to take a drink of liquor. I explained to him that you were giving a springboard for your other proposition. He was pleased with your speech, but felt that that was an element of weakness, and that you would be a great deal stronger if you could take an unequivocal, clear-cut total abstinence pasition as well. I think he was right to a certain extent at least. There was a feeling almost of apprehension when you started in on that. Of course I knew how it was coming out, and the crowd got it generally on the basis of what I think is a reasonable interpretation, that is that notwithstanding this liberal personal view you have been forced to the conclusion that the traffic is wrong and must be destroyed. Nevertheless the view that Mr. Wheeler has is the view entertained by a very large number of the kind of people that you want to be associated with. Last year one of our staff men was in conference with the editor of the leading paper in the state of Maine, a Republican. Your name was mentioned in connection with the Presidency. He said, "Nothing doing. I heard too much about his drinking in Chicago at the National Convention. No man can be President now-adays since this question has come to the front who is not a total abstainer."

And I am firmly convinced that even if other things work out right and you should still have an opportunity to make the Republican nomination for President, which is within the range of possibility notwithstanding your defeat, still it might defeat you if this proposition should be raked up again, and you were not in a position to say that you were a total abstainer, and "just as sure as God made little apples," as the rural phrase has it, it will be raked up unless it has been laid at rest forever. If you wait until 1920, or even well along in 1919, the sincerity of your motives will again be assailed. You can put it over now and get away with it. Further the more the papers attempt to howl about it and make fun of it, the more firmly they will fasten the fact in the mind of the people.

There is going to be a tremendous revulsion of feeling in your favor, if you get in the clear on that personal question and if you show that you are just as much interested in ratification even though defeated as when you were a candidate, when coupled with the growing feeling that you have been robbed, as indicated by the evident unwillingness of the Democrats to come through.

I am leaving next Friday morning for Illinois for a week's rest. I shall not publish my absence and will leave a few bombs with time fuses to go off while I am gone. I will not be back here before Wednesday morning, December 18th, and possibly not before Thursday morning the 19th, as I have to stop at Washington to attend a meeting of the National Temperance Council of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

W.H.A.

November 30, 1918.

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

My dear Governor:

After writing you in a general way and sending out my long letter yesterday I had an interview with Senator Thompson. I picked up some very interesting things. I had already sent out a letter to Speaker Sweet, copy enclosed, and a somewhat similar letter to Walters. The Sweet letter I gave out to the press, and some of the papers this morning carried it.

The Walters letter I have not yet given out, but am withholding it for a statement in the nature of a blast.

Walters had a long talk with Thompson and indicates that he considers the thing all set up, and offered Thompson everything in the world. Thompson told him he did not want anything except ratification put through the first week and the rules fixed up in such shape that any man who had twenty-six votes could get out a bill and pass it with the aforesaid twenty-six.

Walters with respect to ratification said, "You know the situation in Syracuse. It voted wet by 17,000, and I was elected by 13,000, and the people are sore at the President for signing the prohibition act, and we can get them if we do the right thing by them, but if we go along the same way they will probably vote the Socialist ticket," or words to that effect. From this interview it became plain to Senator Thompson that there is a deal on, if not already actually framed up, to let the Republican office holders stay and fill out their terms with the understanding that when their terms expire Smith's appointees will be confirmed without trouble except that the plan is to knock out everyone of your appointees and also to get rid of Mr. Duffy, the highway commissioner, who is, of course, your special man.

Senator Thompson says that he replied that he was opposed to Duffy being dropped. He was asked why and whether Duffy had done anything for him, and he said no, but he had built good roads. Thompson is connected up with Duffy and Duffy says he will stick, so the prospect looks beautiful for the right kind of a stir up there.

Senator Thompson is very clear and so am I that they have the skids all greased to compel, as they believe, your complete political undoing, and he is very clear that there is only one possible hope for you, and that is to just simply drag this combination wide open by going the limit. He would like to see you do it, but his attitude seemed to be that it was your funeral and he was not going to urge particularly.

Now for us, we are going to raise hell. You will pardon the word, but nothing else expresses it, and we are going to raise

just as much of that commodity as these other fellows compel us to dig up.

My own judgment is that your only hope in the world to continue to be a political factor in New York State is to do the same thing.

The first of next week we shall send out to every Republican in both Houses except the known wets, the darndest, frankest, baldest letter about the situation you can imagine, telling them just exactly the deal that is on to thimble-rig the whole thing with a favorable vote in the Assembly and holding it up in the Senate, and asking them point blank among other things whether they will sign and call for a joint caucus of the republicans of both Houses to head this thing off, and also asking such other questions as seem pertinent.

I am discounting in advance all the ordinary stuff about coercion and interference, and ripping it aside and am telling them frankly that in one week we will give to the press of the State and report back into the districts the men who have replied and those who have not, etc.

We will probably follow this up with another communication later. I am telling them frankly in the letter that there is not anything in the world that the Legislature can do to us that can hurt us, because nothing that is constitutional that they can pass will put us out of business, and the harder we are fought by the friends of the liquor traffic the more the people will believe in our honesty, sincerity and efficiency, and that we fight knowing that the traffic is going to be cleaned out whether New York ratifies or not, and that we are going to be on the job for twenty-five years yet looking after enforcement and the world movement.

I have discovered that about four times as much can be done with the members before they get down to Albany as after they have voted and things start, and we are doing this in order to rip the situation wide open as a basis for getting the people after them while they are still at home, and the chances are we can get some almost sinful letters written to them.

I think we can put this thing over ourselves. I think we can raise so much disturbance that these fellows will weaken. I have told Thompson we are ready to go into the ditch with him, and he is ready to fight to the limit. Always heretofore in the Legislature we have lacked a man who could think on his feet and fight with the best of them, and who had the nerve to do it. Even if we should fail to get the thing fixed up in advance, we can still pound the thing through, and even though we should fail to get in as one of the thirty-six we can yet keep it going and will have discredited the organization for future use in such event. In other words, we stand to win everywhere, and we have more than one line of trenches. I can visualize, although some of these mutts and bone-heads that are doing the liquor chores cannot, just how the pressure is going to focus on them when the states begin to ratify after the first of January.

With your help I do not think there is a shadow of a doubt about it, and you will get the credit. Of course we will get our share of the credit, but you will get the outside credit, which is the outstanding thing that gets the public gaze. My judgment is that you ought to crack loose at once, because the sooner we get it done the sooner we get the folks to bring the pressure to bear on them and the more securely they have it nailed down.

I omitted to say that in about a week I am going to give out a red hot blast which will come before the publication of the names of the men who have signed up, telling just what Walters says and the whole scheme that Sweet is in on, and also reporting what I forgot a moment ago to state, that Walters says that nothing can beat the Republican Party two years hence anyhow, and that the Assembly will be allowed to get a good record this time, and the Senate stand in the breach, and then the Senate be permitted to get a good record before they go home. In short, I am going to put out about the most poisonous statement you can imagine.

Now if you want to see what I have in mind for that purpose, and also see the letter that we are sending to the Legislature, I shall be very glad to let you have them.

I am leaving, as I said, next Friday morning early, but will leave several bombs with time fuses of varying lengths. It may be that it would be best for you to wait until I have borne the brunt of it and opened the thing up, and if you like I can send you a copy of what I am going to give out about Walters and ask you whether, to the best of your information, it is not true that this stuff is being done, and ask you for a statement that will help put the people on their guard. Then you can reply to that and we can give it out or it can be handled as a statement from up there, just as you prefer. I think it would be better if you did it yourself without any apparent prompting from us. That is I think it would be better for you.

I think further that there is not any use of your making a statement unless it is one that absolutely rings. No tempered, judicial statement will get over now. In order to get over with the people it wants to be a statement that is red hot with righteous indignation. It would be a bully chance to float such a general statement as suggested in my letter of yesterday. If you want me to do it I will frame up as carefully as possible my idea of the kind of statement that I would make if I were in your place, and let you have it for consideration.

You can put this whole infernal pack on the offensive if you will do it. I know you have the nerve, because you have beenaa fighter all your life. I only hope that your own judgment will approve. I feel pretty sure that your statement and mine together will compel enough fellows to sign up to insure a joint caucus before the Legislature meets because we are purposely working this thing in such a manner as not to make them go back on their promises.

You have a chance to not only perform a tremendous service to the cause, but to get the very human satisfaction of destroying these fellows in the hour of their supposed triumph.

There might temporarily be a split in the Republican Party in New York, but if there is that is infinitely to your advantage, and it is a good deal better for the Party to have it now and get it over with and be healed up by 1920 than to have it come at that time.

Take it from me, these fellows are framing up the situation so that you cannot even go as a delegate to the next national convention. But if you will be the means of wresting a ratification victory out of the jaws of seeming defeat, demonstrating your interest in the cause even though you have yourself been made a sacrifice, I do not think they will dare do it.

You need to have the right kind of momentum, or at least to use a political storage battery sufficiently charged to do something that will appeal to the management of the prohibition forces throughout the whole country, and your best chance to do it is while you are still Governor. If you had made an open fight for prohibition in your campaign and had been defeated this would not have been so necessary, but it is now. You perhaps noticed the sneer at you in this morning's Sun editorial. You have noticed the Sun's attitude. You owe it to yourself to embrace the opportunity to silence these sneers, and at the same time perform a service to the cause of decency and morality, and I am anxious for you to do it.

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Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Enc.
A-H

"THE CHURCH IN ACTION AGAINST THE SALOON"

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, State Superintendent

16th Floor, 906 Broadway, at 20th Street

NEW YORK CITY

429 November 30, 1918.

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

My dear Governor:

After writing you in a general way and sending out my long letter yesterday I had an interview with Senator Thompson. I picked up some very interesting things. I had already sent out a letter to Speaker Sweet, copy enclosed, and a somewhat similar letter to Walters. The Sweet letter I gave out to the press, and some of the papers this morning carried it.

The Walters letter I have not yet given out, but am withholding it for a statement in the nature of a blast.

Walters had a long talk with Thompson and indicates that he considers the thing all set up, and offered Thompson everything in the world. Thompson told him he did not want anything except ratification put through the first week and the rules fixed up in such shape that any man who had twenty-six votes could get out a bill and pass it with the aforesaid twenty-six.

Walters with respect to ratification said, "You know the situation in Syracuse. It voted wet by 17,000, and I was elected by 13,000, and the people are sore at the President for signing the prohibition act, and we can get them if we do the right thing by them, but if we go along the same way they will probably vote the Socialist ticket," or words to that effect. From this interview it became plain to Senator Thompson that there is a deal on, if not already actually framed up, to let the Republican office holders stay and fill out their terms with the understanding that when their terms expire Smith's appointees will be confirmed without trouble except that the plan is to knock out everyone of your appointees and also to get rid of Mr. Duffy, the highway commissioner, who is, of course, your special man.

Senator Thompson says that he replied that he was opposed to Duffy being dropped. He was asked why and whether Duffy had done anything for him, and he said no, but he had built good roads. Thompson is connected up with Duffy and Duffy says he will stick, so the prospect looks beautiful for the right kind of a stir up there.

Senator Thompson is very clear and so am I that they have the skids all greased to compel, as they believe, your complete political undoing, and he is very clear that there is only one possible hope for you, and that is to just simply drag this combination wide open by going the limit. He would like to see you do it, but his attitude seemed to be that it was your funeral and he was not going to urge particularly.

Now for us, we are going to raise hell. You will pardon the word, but nothing else expresses it, and we are going to raise

just as much of that commodity as these other fellows compel us to dig up.

My own judgment is that your only hope in the world to continue to be a political factor in New York State is to do the same thing.

The first of next week we shall send out to every Republican in both Houses except the known wets, the darndest. frankest, baldest letter about the situation you can imagine, telling them just exactly the deal that is on to thimble-rig the whole thing with a favorable vote in the Assembly and holding it up in the Senate, and asking them point blank among other things whether they will sign and call for a joint caucus of the Republicans of both Houses to head this thing off, and also asking such other questions as seem pertinent.

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Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

Enc.
A-H

December 5, 1918.

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

My dear Governor Whitman:

To save time, for I am desperately pressed, I am enclosing copy of letter I am writing Senator Whitney, who came to me today as your friend.

I asked Mr. Wood, our Assistant State Superintendent, to check up and he reports that we have seventeen Senators who made definite pledges this campaign, and of course there are others who are committed by the sentiment of their districts, etc. That is they must be for ratification.

The stuff we sent out today will very effectively negative the idea put out by some of the papers that we have broken with you.

The stuff that we put out the first of the week about Senator Walters, etc., will help loosen things up for any fight that you want to make.

My letter to Senator Whitney is along the lines we discussed today in the light of new facts that have come to me. I got some information that came in a very interesting way. The bungling of Mr. Walters and his friends seems to have offered plenty of handles.

Yours very cordially,

State Superintendent.

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