

LEGISLATION-- CREATING AN ISSUE

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The most effective weapon against the cohesive power of public plunder is the unifying force of a vital moral issue. The best way to break up apathy is to start a fight. The way to keep a fight from fizzling out is to start one worth while. The people will then not only not tire of watching it, but they will get into it themselves. The Anti-Saloon League is the fighting arm of a fighting organization. We need to impress upon pastors and membership that the Church was organized to fight; that it must oppose organized iniquity and help its membership resist personal temptation; and that the measure of the success of a church is found in the intelligence and aggressiveness of its fight against sin.

It was my privilege to attend as a delegate the great Men's National Missionary Congress in Chicago last May, the crowning meeting of the Laymen's Missionary Movement which has so stirred the men of the church in these last years, and there came a deepening conviction that

the Church will never evangelize the world in this or any other generation until she gets entirely right on the liquor question at home. In other words, the church cannot, any more than any other army, hope to win new battles while leaving an unconquered enemy in the rear.

The Anti-Saloon League is the agency through which the Church exercises its fundamental right of self-defense. The church which protects only itself as an organization is in danger of becoming formal and useless. The church which best exemplifies the spirit of the Master is the one which protects its members and fights the things that would injure them. The church must lead its membership to realize in practice the ideals which its teachings have inspired in their hearts or be repudiated by sensible men as a delusion and a fraud.

I was originally asked to discuss the subject "Fundamental Principles of the Anti-Saloon League". It seems that my letter was understood to be a refusal to discuss that subject instead of an expression of doubt about being here at the time it was down on the program, so I learned on receipt of the printed program that I had been changed to this subject. I am embarrassed by the fact that this is identically the same subject which I discussed at Chicago last winter. My paper was handed over to the General Manager of the Printing Plant and Editor in Chief of League publications with the distinct understanding that only a few points in abbreviated form were to be published. Somebody or something slipped a governor belt, however, for it was all printed and all that I know upon this subject has been already held up to the merciless gaze of a cruel and cold world. I presume if the truth were known not five per cent of you have read either it or the other addresses in the pamphlet, but somebody may have been restless at night and done so. Besides, I find it hard work to get up steam on anything that has been reduced to print or to enjoy making the same

speech to the same crowd. But I didn't know what else to write. If it took all I have learned in ten years to make last fall's paper, it is self-evident that I haven't learned enough in one year to make another one. The only way that I saw out of it was to take up some phases of the question not touched before, especially with reference to general principles and generally "slosh around" anywhere over that part of the field which has been covered up to date.

It will not be out of place to consider "general principles" a little, because in the creation of an issue we have to get down to general principles, and if we don't we will wish we had. I really was entirely willing to discuss that subject in view of the fact that the long promised new edition of the "Blue Book" is just coming off the press. Since the "Blue Book" has been turned over to the printing plant I can boast its distribution without any undue immodesty. I wrote it originally for use in my own state work and pressed its circulation because nobody else was prepared or willing to undertake it. I have stipulated that it should be sold at a price not greater than heretofore and by handling it in large quantities the plant will be able to sell in larger quantities at a lower price.

I was severely criticized last fall by a brother superintendent for some reference to the "Blue Book" in my paper upon this subject. He said: "We all know that the Blue Book is a 'compendium of wisdom', but we don't like to have you say it". The truth is that the idea of throwing bouquets at the "Blue Book" was the farthest thing from my mind. But what was intended as a subtle or sly allusion to something entirely different seems to have missed fire. I told the brother that I would throw up my hands and throw myself on the mercy of the court, for any man who talks over the head of his audience ought not to complain at receiving the full punishment for the smaller offense.

I am impressed, in scanning the election returns, with the thought that the Lord has been good to us. He has allowed us to win enough to keep heart in us and has permitted us to be defeated enough to keep us humble and enable us to see that there is going to be worse trouble, heaps of it, if we are not careful.

There are two kinds of pioneering through the wilderness. An individual scout can follow a mere trail or make his way without a trail and get back safely, but a man who undertakes to lead an army through the wilderness needs to build a road on which to bring up supplies and by which to retreat in good order if necessary. The recent Russo-Japanese war and the practical breakdown of the Russian railway is a case in point.

After building the road it must be guarded by detachments from the army or care be taken to insure that the natives are friendly and will hold it open. To force a temperance issue without grounding our constituency in the fundamental principles so that they can stand the shock of contest and the test of seeming defeat is to court disaster. Our paper organization will crush like a cardboard column. Nothing is more mournfully pathetic than a handsome projectile without power with which, or a gun in which to shoot it. An issue repudiated or unowned by its natural friends is as dangerous as a traction engine loose on the deck of a vessel pitching in a storm. Any demagogue who comes along can appropriate it and use it to beat out the brains of its real supporters.

It is self-evident that in defining an issue to be fought out by the united churches, the beginnings of organization, both to create an issue and to win on it, must be with the church,- and that the pastors hold the key to the situation. If the pastors of a state are grounded in the principles of the League and comprehend that they and the people are the League, that its success is their success, that it is

a mere agency through which they can do business, the liquor interests will be utterly powerless to shake the organization. But if all that the pastors know is that Brother X--, the Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, is a good fellow who makes a good speech and "we suppose he is all right", Brother X-- is in for a swampy time when the liquor interests begin to openly attack his character and their political allies try to undermine him on the score of his methods. This is, of course, assuming that a man who plows no deeper than that will ever get dangerous enough for the liquor interests to think it worth while to attack him.

I am perfectly willing to run the risk of being criticized for seeming to press the "Blue Book" if I can make my point. If anybody will produce something better than the "Blue Book" he can have the field. Or if he can figure out any better way to indoctrinate the pastors than by circulating the "Blue Book" he will confer just as much of a favor on me as anybody else, for if I knew of a better one I would adopt it myself.

During the circulation of the "Blue Book" beginning with its first appearance four years ago I have been very much interested in watching the work in some states where it has been widely used and in other states where it has not. I trust nobody will be so foolish or unjust as to assume that I mean that the "Blue Book" itself is responsible when I say that I have observed some states stand still and go back and other states come steadily forward. It was not the "Blue Book" that made the difference, but the treatment of it was an illuminating index to the general attitude of the management. It has been said to me by at least one superintendent:- "Our work is so well organized that we don't need anything of that kind in our state. Our preachers would feel that we were reflecting upon their intelligence

if we sent them out anything of the sort". That sounds good and theoretically ought to be true after so many years. But it isn't, as I have found when confronted with the necessity of "fixing up" preachers who came from that state directly into mine.

It has been complained that some of the pastors will not read the books, but I submit that if ten per cent of them are kept and mastered it is a most profitable investment. Some pastors who threw it away some years ago would read it now. Some pastors who read it hastily and in a perfunctory manner years ago would read it carefully now. The issuance of a new edition affords an excellent excuse for making the complete rounds of the pastors again. And the new edition is absolutely new. There are not more than two or three pages unchanged. Much matter has been cut out and much new matter has been added, though the book is no longer than before. Most of the rest of it has been completely re-written. The book has been brought strictly down to date to meet next year's problems, and the delay in getting it out has been due to the fact that I was not content to make a slipshod revision.

One or two superintendents have always objected that it was too long. It was never intended to be handed out as a tract at the close of meetings. In my opinion, which seems to have been supported by the majority of the superintendents, there was wanted a complete statement of League principles and methods, so that the man who reads it and masters it, (and there are things tucked away in it that nobody will fully appreciate until he has been in League work awhile) knows what the League is and is prepared to defend it. It is long as compared with a six-page leaflet, but it contains the common law of the League. I never made any claim to originality save in phraseology and arrangement, and have drawn freely upon every source and have

received and utilized suggestions from nearly every prominent worker in the League. The size and shape were carefully worked out so that the book would go in an ordinary envelope. Its weight was studiously calculated with a view to postage economy, and its typographical style designed to break up monotony and make reading easy.

I am contemplating the preparation of an authorized abridgment under the title of "The Principles of the Anti-Saloon League", which will go on a six-page leaflet or folder of the size to slip into an envelope, and which can be gotten out at such a reasonable price on respectable blue paper that it can be scattered broadcast.

The book is now so cheap (only 2 cents in 5000 quantities, and postage only one cent) that there is no obstacle to the widest use of it. I am seriously contemplating sending it in the blue parchment covers to every person in Maryland who subscribes to the League and pays his subscription. If 25%, or even 5% of them are read it is a good investment. I am also figuring on having it bound in attractive blue limp cloth which can be done and the books furnished in thousand lots at somewhere near 10 cents, and use that with the preachers, or as a premium offer, to insure preservation and more respectful treatment.

I am myself persuaded that with the increasing bitterness of the attacks upon the League, by the liquor interests and the politicians, including those of the Fourth Party, it is elementary strategy to spare neither pains nor expense to so emphasize our fundamental principles that it will be seen that our issue is a part of the progress of the race. There are states in this country where usefulness has been impaired and there are other states that by not protecting themselves while there is time, are inviting defeat so disastrous, if not actually disgraceful in their evidence of unpreparedness, as to reflect upon the entire work.

There will be constantly recurring attacks upon the League, some of them diabolical in their desperation and ingenuity, until it becomes so well organized and gets such a hold upon the public confidence that even the liquor crowd will see that such methods are making progress like a Maryland crab,-- backwards. Gentlemen like Messrs. Mabee and Robinson will get scant attention from pastors and constituency who comprehend, not simply in the abstract, but as a working principle, that the Christian temperance people are the League, and that an attack upon the League is an attack upon THEM. And there may be other Robinsons. But you say: "Why I have said all that, and even put it in our paper". Of course you did, and after you have said it fifty times some folks will wake up and hail it as something new. The science of advertising is built upon this psychological fact, and the creation of an issue is purely a question of advertising. And right here is another interesting psychological fact. The average man will believe one who tenders him the proof without examining it. The furnishing of a complete statement, giving a concise summary in calling attention to it, will make upon the mind of the average man the impression that he has passed upon the statement and that it is all right. Send the "Blue Book", for example, with a short note saying in substance:

"The Anti-Saloon League management wants its supporters to know how it is run and what it stands for, and decide for themselves whether it is worthy of their continued support. Therefore we send you a copy of the League "Blue Book", which is the official statement of principles and methods. You will see by examining it that the statements made by those who have good reason to fear the League cannot possibly be true".

And the recipient, even if he does not read the book, will have a presumption in favor of the League raised in his mind by the mere fact that there is such a book and that we are willing to send it. This is worth more than the book costs whether he ever reads the book or not.

I am assuming that in determining the issue in the first place the choice will be made with reference to the permanence and future stability of the work. No man worthy of the name of leader would consider anything else. If one has a choice between selecting something which can be won quickly and something which must be fought for the wise man will take the latter. In the first place a fight is necessary. Easy things are worth about what they cost. There was a time about ten years ago when there were a lot of small odds and ends lying around that an agreeable fellow might have handed to him by the legislature for the mere asking, especially if he was careful not to insist too strongly for something really important. But the legislation which can be secured today without a hard fight will on examination prove not to be worth much.

Dependent of course entirely upon local conditions, the wise man who blocks out a fight in his own state will drive his stakes in a manner that will require anywhere from five to ten years of fighting. Anything that is worth while now-a-days will take that long to get. This period of preparation is indispensable. Without it no dependable organization can be built. When the Lord undertook to make a nation out of that mob of ex-slaves, the children of Jacob, He had to take them back into the wilderness until every last one of the old kickers had died off, and I have never heard of any improvement on this general plan. A movement like ours is in greatest danger when it is winning. Anti-Saloon League constituencies and even League workers too frequently are not able to stand prosperity.

There are three well defined stages of progress. (1) To secure the right to vote. (2) To vote the saloons out of the various local units. (3) To clean up the whole state. Each of these involves a distinct issue and is good for a separate fight. The greatest

possibilities of organization are embraced in the first. We can line up some men and start them our way on the question of getting the right to vote on the saloon question who will not start with us at the jump-off against the saloon. Many a man is led to decide to fight the liquor traffic simply by finding that it is against him on other questions of good citizenship.

If these issues are developed in their logical order each prepares the way for the other. The fight for each advance can be made to build the organization to utilize it. When we get ready for the state wide proposition I am inclined to believe that if we profit by experience we will make our first fight for a constitutional amendment. If it is hard to get and takes longer that is insurance against permanence. It is far better for the cause to wait and fight ten years for a constitutional amendment than to get statutory prohibition in three years, lose it two years later and in five more, or ten in all, get the amendment. It is the same length of time on the road but in the latter case we have been slipping back part of the time, not only losing distance but straining our machinery. As shown by Alabama, if we get statutory prohibition first and then try for the amendment we are likely to be whipped by our own people on the ground that we already have prohibition. If we get prohibition too soon we must at once assume the defensive which gives the other side the advantage of position. It is much easier to organize people to get something they want than to hold something they have.

No man of adult intelligence, wide awake and in the possession of his faculties, believes that it is possible to win by going up and saying: "Please Mr. Liquor Traffic won't you go off and die?". First or last there must be a fight. It is inevitable. If we do not fight to destroy the liquor traffic we will eventually have to fight to keep

it from kicking us off the earth. It will take less time to have it first. Without it the people even become disqualified for sustained effort. In the State of Maryland the people for more than thirty years begged the legislature to pass a local option bill but never got down and really fought. The result was that when the reorganization started and the fight began it was more difficult to convince the people of the necessity of continuous and aggressive work than to actually whip the enemy. The process of creating an issue gives the time and supplies the means to train raw militia into regulars who will stand fire. In fact the creation of an issue in a wise and proper manner occupies the same relation to an Anti-Saloon League that a foundation does to a house. Where things were not started right it will be harder to get on the proper basis, but it can be done, just as a railroad can rebuild a bridge without stopping traffic.

It is necessary of course to have clearly in mind the difference between an issue and an ideal. An ideal is an inspiration. It prevents a contracting spirituality and an in-growing mentality. An issue is, or ought to be, a tool,- something to be worked with as well as at. It has been truly said, "A vision without a task makes a visionary,- a task without a vision makes a drudge".

Creating an issue means to so impress the importance and desirability of the chosen proposition upon the public mind and preempt the field so that no outside movement can come in and muss up the situation, no unwise friend force us to shift our ground, or no tricky politician capture our ammunition.

Here comes in the question as to how far it is wise for a superintendent to project his personality into a fight. It is vastly easier to rally people around a personality than around a cold principle. Our Republican friend, Col. Roosevelt, and our Democratic

friend, Col. Bryan, are equally shining examples of the truth of this statement. And if one man is able to and will lend his personality to the building up of a League instead of a personal organization and willingly sacrifices himself and his popularity, the inspiration involved in the idea of a man making a fight for the common good will add followers and strength to the cause. There are worse things than having our enemies advertise the cause just to get a chance to cuss the superintendent. And the friends made in this manner are worth while and will stay put. It should also be borne in mind that where the superintendent has used himself as the business end of the battering-ram and has worked out the particular policy to which he has set himself, or wishes to go to a larger or more inviting field, he can step out and take away with him, to be lost where it does him no harm, all the bitterness and hatred stirred up in the fight and leave the work established in the good graces even of those who had to be mauled into recognizing the validity of its claims.

One or two of my friends among the superintendents have said: "Anderson, the trouble with you is that you carry on your fights in such a way that the opposition hate you and fight back at you". Far be it from me to question the judgment of any criticism intended for my soul's good. But conceding all the ground there may be for criticism, possibly this may be due in part to my success in making the issue so clear that the League's proposition is absolutely unanswerable and its position unassailable, in which case the only possible come-back is against an individual who makes no claims to perfection. The folks who are so afraid of being a little rough in dealing with an enemy we are under obligations to kill remind me of the mechanic who called to his helper: "Johnny, hurry up there. Have you got those tools sharpened yet?" "Yes, sir, except I haven't got all the notches filed out of the saw yet". I would rather have the reputation of even stepping on a few

of our own friends because of too much zeal than of sponging on all of them because of not enough.

I find, however, that there isn't much difference after all and that when any superintendent anywhere who is doing business gets down to the inevitable fighting stage he gets exactly the same sort of abuse. I have never yet been abused by any of the really big politicians as strenuously as our worthy General Superintendent was handled by the Ex-Fire Alarm Senator of the "Buckeye State". A policy of studiously "beating up" the little rascals will tend to make the big ones respectful and save the necessity of tackling too big a job at once. It is necessary everywhere to put the fear of the Lord into the hearts of the liquor politicians and convince them that the movement is serious and must be so regarded and that the people are not fooled by attempts to discredit the management. After this stage is passed there is not likely to be much trouble. But the bird who fouls his own nest is a gentleman compared with the League worker who will encourage or lend a sympathetic ear to the detractors of a brother worker who is being assailed for what he does for the cause. So long as a man represents the organization of the federated churches, even though he makes mistakes, he is entitled to the support of every individual who stands for the cause; and the worker who is not willing to follow with such loyalty is not fitted to lead in a great reform movement.

In picking an issue it is always wise to take advantage of political movements which are going our way. As boys we found it lots easier to hitch on to a grocer's wagon than to haul our own sled up the hill, and wherever it is possible to go along with any general reform or progressive movement in politics, like the Keystone movement in Pennsylvania, and get the benefit of the sentiment which it stirs up without becoming tied to it in such manner as to go down with it when it disintegrates, as most

of them do, much time can be saved.

"Creating an issue" means to make good. In a state where the average citizen of intelligence does not know what the Anti-Saloon League stands for there is no issue. I doubt very seriously whether any League is ready to win or is fit to be trusted with a victory until it has forced its issue upon the attention of the people to such extent that when a stranger comes into town and says "Anti-Saloon League" the native instantly answers "local option". To illustrate: Last winter while the local option fight was on a big entertainment was given by the "Journalists Club". In an amateur minstrel skit the interlocutor said: "Mr. Johnson, why is Anderson like a woodpecker hammering on a piece of armor plate?". The answer was "Because he can't get his bill through". The point is that the local option issue (in this case made possible by the splendid natural temperance sentiment of the state) had been so pounded day after day into the minds of the public that it had become a part of their thought. That is, the issue had become an institution, at least in the minds of the people, which is just the step before ratification by the law of the state. In a state where the temperance sentiment is not naturally so good it will take more time to do this, but it can be done, and if there is to be hope of permanence, must be done everywhere.

After all it is largely a question of advertising and advertising instinct as manifested in the creation of public sentiment is simply a modern phase of what was called strategy and military genius in the warfare of early days. I cannot attempt to go into the advertising question for what is worthy of a paper by itself, but will simply suggest that we must either have news or else go out and make some, if we expect the papers to give us consideration. I have found that the papers are not likely to print much from large sheets or press bulletin stuff, but if we will take the trouble to write a short article which is timely to do it in such style as not to commit the paper to anything controversial,

but simply give a recital of the facts we can get it into most of the country press of the state. Large meetings, the concerted discussion, and all these things are simply advertising schemes. The plan of having some celebrated speaker to draw the crowd, some of whom can't be reached at church, and then explain the local situation and pass the cards before he speaks is an unqualified success.

Opportunities for publicity, which is the gilt edge word for advertising, are arising constantly. While some men instinctively grasp the possibilities in a situation anyone can cultivate it to a marked degree. The most insignificant things can often be used to get big results. For example: The newspapers of Baltimore commenced to urge the need of really big men for the Legislature. Dr. Howard A. Kelly, the leading surgeon in his special line in the United States, a man whose name can be conjured with in Baltimore, announced his willingness to make the sacrifice necessary to go to the legislature. The Doctor doesn't know any more politics than a rabbit, but he is a good man, a temperance Episcopalian. The League proposed a scheme by which he could slug the "bosses", help the temperance cause and stay out of the Legislature all at the same time. At the proper time he put out a statement to the effect that he was willing to take the time from his profession as a contribution to good citizenship but that naturally he could not be expected to scramble for the office and that furthermore, in order to avoid the possibility of a misunderstanding, he wanted it known that he was in favor of the local option bill and would not accept the nomination at the hands of the Democratic organization if their support was conditioned upon opposition to this bill. The newspapers all featured it. It was the story of the day. But the noise made by the Democratic "bosses" in rushing to embrace the Doctor sounded like midnight at the North Pole. In due time the Doctor wanted to take his summer vacation and we decided it would not do to have a good man like him put up and beaten at the "gang" primaries, so he shot the second

barrel. recounting the fact that he had offered himself but had not received any assurance of support and that if the organization was only bluffing when it said it wanted representative men why that was an interesting fact which ought to be known and he would withdraw his name. This was good for more space and showed up the organization some more, and it is a peculiar coincidence that the man whom the "bosses" finally put up in the Doctor's ward was the man who was cut enough to enable us to elect our lone candidate in Baltimore City.

In view of mankind's instinctive love of a controversy the best advertising can frequently be obtained by getting into a scrap with a representative of the opposition. Many things which may seem excessive pugnacity are really cold blooded press agent schemes. It has been said of Col. Roosevelt that he has been extremely fortunate in picking his enemies, and there is a great deal in that. The signs of the times around Baltimore indicated that the political boss of the dominant party was a good man to jump on at that particular time and we went after him at a Lyric meeting in a manner that was calculated to make his hair stand up. It made us friends and helped the movement that is forcing his ultimate complete retirement.

The leader of the liquor forces in our last legislature, whom we had been unable to defeat although we cut 1833 off of his majority, went out of his way to deliberately falsify about the League, stating that we had supported a Republican ex-saloonkeeper in his county in the last election. It was not only not true, but we had the documents to prove it was false. He made his vicious assault from the floor of the House where we couldn't answer it just a few days before our second great mass meeting, and we went after him in a manner that under ordinary circumstances would have been considered little short of scandalous, but he had just been leading the fight to prevent the repeal of a gas

monopoly in Baltimore and had besides gratuitously insulted the women of the state in turning down the Woman's Suffrage proposition, and the people were down on him and it helped nail him for the future and strengthened our stock at the same time.

Many situations arise that must be handled both quickly and firmly. They are like the proverbial nettle which, if touched gingerly, stings, but if grasped firmly does not hurt. Opportunities will arise to save a year's time in a few weeks. In Maryland last time we did our most effective fighting and made our greatest gains in defining the issue after our state-wide bill was defeated. Its opponents claimed to be opposed to applying the bill to Baltimore City. Local legislation being possible in Maryland we at once introduced in the other house a bill for the state outside of Baltimore City. The word was passed out that no Senator should introduce the bill under penalty of having his local bills killed. We went straight to the organization of the Senate and laid it on their doorstep and announced that we would ask every single senator to introduce it and then publish that the Democratic organization had terrorized the members of the Senate so that it was impossible to get this substitute bill introduced, and they weakened and found a man to introduce it for us. Then a friend of the League upon his own responsibility, but upon whose initiative the deponeth sayeth not, introduced still another bill leaving out not only the city but the seven counties whose delegates had been opposed to the state-wide bill and applying only to the sixteen counties where the delegates, or a majority, had voted right. And the liquor organization also killed that. We then had a demonstration beyond all possibility of question that it was not a matter of objection to our particular bill, but that the Democratic machine was opposed to ANY bill. The main argument against the state-wide bill was that the county members ought not to force it on the city. We have destroyed the force of that forever by

trapping the city fellows into refusing relief to the counties by a measure that applied only to the counties that wanted it, and we have unquestionably saved two years by pressing this advantage in the last three or four weeks of the session..

If pressure is put on hard enough something has to give way. The Baltimore Conference in session during the last days of the legislature, with judicious prompting telegraphed the Governor asking him to send a special message to the legislature advocating the passage of the local option bill and "cooperate with the Anti-Saloon League in its efforts to keep the local option question out of politics and save the Christian people from making this the dominant political issue for the next two years". It brought from the Governor, who was having his own troubles with the legislature, a public statement to the effect that, in his judgment, it was a mistake not to have passed the bill, and this statement is likely to prove the wedge that will split the dominant liquor political combination in Maryland.

This thing of creating an issue is really lots of fun. One can steer by the stars and be free to "mix" in anything that comes our way. When everything is fastened down against us the only thing to do is to break them loose, and the more we can break loose and break up in the process the more room we will have in which to work. It is foolish to give the advantage to a known enemy by waiting for him to prove hostility in a particular case.

A man who is penniless is likely to be a radical politically. A fellow who has a check book, a savings bank book, some bonds and some real estate is a conservative, if not a stand-patter. When we are defining the issue and fighting for the right to exist we have nothing to lose. When we get our issue defined and a chance to win we must be more conservative, but most victories are not lost by aggressiveness, but are

thrown away when we come within reach of success by abandoning the tactics which made success possible.

One advantage about a strenuous policy is that it is pretty nearly certain to prod the opposition to doing something foolish. For example, the League scared up the members of the Legislature so thoroughly last year that there was introduced in both houses of the legislature and passed a bill naming it a penitentiary offense to ask any candidate for the legislature where he stood on the local option question or any other question not in his party platform. We refused to get alarmed over it for, of course, we would have taken it to the Court of Appeals, but the Governor, to save the credit of the state, vetoed it. A lady one day said to her little girl: "Mary, you have been very naughty. It was Satan who put it into your heart to pull your little sister's hair and slap her face". Mary said: "That may be, but kicking her shins was my own notion". We have used this ridiculous attempt to destroy representative government with great success as a legislative testimonial to the effectiveness of the League.

We are in danger of making two errors with our own constituency. One is we take too much for granted as to the extent of their knowledge of the fundamental principles and elementary technique of the League, and the degree to which they have grasped the points that we have made. The other is that we under-estimate their loyalty and devotion to the cause. It is said frequently by a superintendent or worker: "Our folks won't stand for that". The truth generally is simply that the worker himself is not ready to go out and put himself behind that before the people. The people will do whatever is proper and necessary if we as their leaders have sufficiently guarded their confidence in the past. It is always safe to do what ought to be done.

If the people are not ready to follow leadership they must be reconstructed. The deeper one gets into the enemy's country with an

army that will not fight, the worse he will fare when the crisis comes, and the only way to train people to fight is by putting them where they must fight their way out. They must be pushed into it and permitted to be whipped until they feel like the proverbial three plugged dimes, Mexican currency. This is ticklish business and it is highly important always to be able to prove if anything goes wrong that somebody else is to blame for it. There is nothing personal in this,- it is purely a question of tactics. I can illustrate it concretely. In the Second District of Maryland this fall the Democratic candidate with a normal majority of 2500 was the most vicious liquor "boss" in the state outside of Baltimore City. His influence killed the local option bill. The Republican candidate introduced our bill two years ago and has a consistent temperance record for thirty years. That district is composed of two small counties and one large one (Baltimore) and two out of the twenty-four wards of Baltimore City. In the two little counties we not only overcame the Democratic landslide but turned the Democratic majority of 810 last congressional election into a defeat by 645, cutting over 1400 off of that 2500 majority. But the local Republican leaders would not accept any help and refused to allow us to send letters into parts of Baltimore County, the Congressman's home county and there the landslide, with nothing to offset it, gave him an increased majority of over 1000. If we had insisted upon sending those letters these leaders would have been able to blame us for their own stupidity or treachery. We made them take the responsibility and their candidate, the temperance man, in the special territory where they kept us out was defeated by 864 although we carried through a local option candidate for the legislature last fall in identically the same territory by a majority of 635. We now have the proof of our strength. It is better every time to adopt a policy which means certain defeat if thereby we preserve the League's influence intact than to do what we know ought to be done, and take chances on a defeat

under circumstances which would discredit us.

We flatter ourselves that because we have spoken in a church its members from henceforth know all about the general principles and it is good for us once in a while to get deflated by having some person, possibly even a member of our own Headquarters Committee, ask some question which shows that our work is not yet done. We are under no obligations to shine as pulpit orators. We are responsible for building an organization. It is not necessary that we be popular. It is imperative that the cause go forward.

While we must not allow our own issue to be side-tracked, it is worth while to side-track the opposition. In Baltimore the main argument, even though that is not immediately involved (the liquor men actually believe Baltimore will go dry if there is a chance to vote) is revenue, under the new high license bill which was passed solely to head us off. That is the reason for the offer of \$1000 in prizes, - \$500 first prize, for the best essay on:

"What it costs the people of Baltimore (1) morally, (2) physically, (3) mentally, (4) financially, and (5) industrially to secure the million dollars a year which the city now receives from the liquor traffic under the High License Law".

Open to world except employees of Maryland League. Like to have you compete and keep the money in the family.

There is another point in which we cheapen our work and throw away possible advantage by loose thinking and inaccurate speaking. We frequently hear workers say to the people: "If you do not help us we cannot do anything for you", or "If you help us we will accomplish thus and so". In the first place that sounds like an appeal for charity. In the second place it is assuming unnecessary responsibility. I have found it necessary, and am now making the rounds in Maryland with this kind of a talk to the people:

"The Anti-Saloon League is not something outside, but the people in this community, united without reference to party or denomination to fight the saloon, are the League, - or else there is none. It is a name for the church united to do business against the liquor traffic. It is a basis of union. It is a means through which you and others focus your sentiment against the traffic. It is criticized of course but the wonder is not that there is so much, but that there is so little criticism. You cannot pick ten men out of this congregation and get them to agree on any ten questions that you may submit to them. The League represents tens of thousands of Christian people and scores of questions came up in a year. The very existence of a movement like the League speaks well for the charity, singleness of purpose and openness of mind of the Christian people who are willing to sink their differences of opinion upon questions of detail that the cause itself may go forward. If the local option bill is defeated in Maryland it is not the superintendent who is defeated, but it is you folks who have been turned down by your own officials. The abuse heaped upon the representatives of the League was really intended for you. The liquor interests would not care what WE did if YOU were not back of us. It is you who are crowding the liquor traffic through the League as a medium and the League workers as agents for securing results. When the Anti-Saloon League is defeated it is not something that came in by freight from somewhere else that is beaten, but it is the Christian people who have been beaten by their own votes."

And I have been amazed to see how new it sounded to most of them and to what extent even prejudice yielded to it. When that sort of an idea becomes general the movement will be beyond the possibility of injury by the fortunes of an ordinary campaign. If we can so project our issue that the people comprehend that THEY are the League, and that THEY are the ones aggrieved by failure, everything else will take care of itself.

There are a few things of a purely general character that bear upon our efficiency that I feel prompted to speak of. Some men claim that a League worker is entitled to a day or two days off each week. Well I will not quarrel with that, but it impresses me as similar to a case where a parent or a trained nurse would quit looking after a child that was ill because he had already worked one eight hour shift. By this I do not mean that a man should be reckless. I believe that the average man can do more work in eleven months than he can in twelve. I believe that the man who takes an hour for physical exercise or walking in the fresh air will do more work in the remaining time, day in and day out,

than by abusing his body. That is not what I am getting at. This is emergency work. The Lord gave us strength to use in emergencies and if we cannot work overtime if need be in periods of crisis then in the name of common sense what is our strength for? I cannot comprehend the frame of mind which can plan to take it easy and actually do so when no issue is established and the movement, having no firm hold upon the attention of the people, is in danger every minute. The change of occupation involved in League work will do away with a good deal of the necessity for resting up. I believe that the man in good health with no organic weakness, who will take some physical exercise (and it is sheer laziness that keeps most of us from it and not pressure of work), not only with arms and legs, but with his body and abdominal muscles enough to massage his liver into a good humor, will be careful about his diet and when under heavy strain eat cereals and drink milk instead of loading up on meat and coffee, and otherwise treat his stomach like it belonged to a Christian gentleman, when buoyed up by the inspiration which comes from watching a vital issue take hold and grow, can stand a degree of physical exertion without permanent injury that will surprise him.

I have no patience with the thought that League men are unusually hard worked. We undoubtedly do work harder than a good many men, but we do not work a bit harder than lawyers, doctors, educators, ministers or business men generally who occupy a position of equal prominence and responsibility. So far as the temperance work is concerned we are leaders of our communities and states, and leadership imposes penalties and responsibilities. It is true that the same amount of work and the same degree of success in a profession or in business would mean much more money but that is beside the question. We settled that, or ought to have settled it, when we went into the League work. I do not subscribe to the idea that League men are martyrs. I like my job. I would rather help quicken the conscience of a state, encourage the

people to work out their own salvation, and assist in building a movement against which the petty forces of evil will dash themselves in pieces than do anything else or hold any other position that I know of. I know of no greater honor than to be one of the leaders in helping the states of God's chosen nation overthrow organized iniquity's last stand.

There is another point on which I feel moved to speak. I believe the most of our Leagues so far as office equipment and methods are concerned are hopelessly antiquated and pitiably ineffective. There is undoubtedly a great improvement, and a gratifying interest in improved methods, but there is a woeful lack of system. A factory that does not look into the question of "costs", and figure out how the "overhead" charges are eating the life out of the plant is likely to go to the wall. More than 90 per cent of the men who embark in mercantile ventures make failure of it by lack of system or any comprehension of business principles. Personally I find time to read one of the best business magazines. I get some points that help in League work, but its main value is in keeping me from getting so narrow I can't run on a standard guage track. I believe most of our office and clerical organizations could be vastly more effective at less net cost, and that some thought and some additional expenditure would turn many an office from an expense into an asset. The man who puts up with an incompetent and inefficient stenographer deserves not sympathy, but censure. If he can't do it in any other way he ought to get a good one and get out and raise the money to pay the difference. A good stenographer will double the efficiency of any man who is fit to do League work. By follow-up systems, looking after renewals and things of that kind additional clerical help can be employed to not only pay for itself but pay part of the expenses of the other absolutely necessary help. I am proving this

to my own satisfaction in my own work. The League Superintendent who says he can't find time or money to do the things that would give more time and money, is worse than the fellow that had two wind-mills and took one down because there wasn't wind enough for both.

Too many of us sit around our offices too much or do things that are not worth while. A man holding an executive position who wears out good woollen cloth on a clerk's stool instead of wearing out the gray cells under the wool on his own head ought to change his work or reduce his salary. I believe that State Superintendents as a rule are not open to the charge of loafing on the job but I think there are some district superintendents and auxiliary workers whose percentage of efficiency would not hold them a job in a mercantile concern a whole week. Frequently it is simply from lack of initiative and understanding what to do, but in time it will become chronic and laziness pure and simple. But more frequently the State Superintendent is to blame for not developing their latent powers and giving them freedom to work. The State Superintendent who wears himself out while the assistants and district workers are taking life easy is not geared on to his job in the right place. The poor people who make sacrifices to carry on the work pay the Superintendent for the use of his head. Messenger boys can be procured to wear out shoe leather more cheaply. And the worst of it is that the executive who doesn't know better than to persist in trying to do the work of a clerk usually knows just too much to be even a first class clerk. Of course emergencies are exceptions but many a so-called emergency could be obviated by some planning in advance. The man who spends 60 cents telephone toll on a matter which could have been just as well taken up in a letter the day before is not meeting an emergency. He is making the temperance people pay for his lack of fore-sight.

I believe we have not commenced to comprehend the possibilities in the development of our work, and we are no exception to the general rule that we must move forward or drop back. States that are still swinging around the same old circle are going to find themselves split wide-open. I believe that there is or can be found a place for every man who is in dead earnest and wants to work, but the man who persists in working where ^{he} cannot must, for the good of the cause, be dealt with kindly but firmly. The man who volunteers in a reform movement and out of the contributions of wash-women and day laborers accepts a salary for full time and then simply speaks on Sunday and potters around the rest of the time is a grafter pure and simple. The man who holds an executive position in a movement like the League and draws a salary for his full time but uses his position as a stepping stone to something else has not dealt honestly with himself or the cause. The man who cannot give an undivided heart and an undivided mind to the Anti-Saloon League has no business in any position where there rests upon him the responsibility of creating and developing an issue or outlining a policy. If he must do these other things and yet wants to do temperance work, let him fall back into the ranks and work where he can help without hindering.

This thing of creating an issue is serious business. Upon the question of whether we do it wisely lies the hope of states as big as nations and principalities. Upon the question of whether we do it honestly to the utmost of our strength and the ability that God has given us depends the issue of whether tens and hundreds of thousands of little children are to have childhood's rights, or because of our blunders or shortcomings must wait for their chance until it is too late and they have gone, unequipped, to meet the world. There is ground for serio serious reflection in the thought that in America free government is making its last stand. It has circled the globe. There is no further

West to go for the founding of a new nation. Self-government is on trial. The people of this country in a few years will prove that they can govern themselves and can destroy an enemy within, or else will follow the other nations of the earth into subjection. We have high hopes. It is our faith in the outcome and our vision of a redeemed land that brought us into the work. Upon the field of battle which we select and mark out, upon the issues as defined by us armies of purity and righteousness will strive for the mastery against the combined forces of sin and destruction. How great then is the responsibility that rests upon us.