The President of the Board of Directors Resigns

Rev. David James Burrell, D.D., one of the seven original incorporators of the Anti-Saloon League of New York on January 4, 1905 and for the past ten years its president, has resigned on account of his inability to attend meetings of the Board. For more than a year Dr. Burrell's physical disability has made it impossible for him to be active in League affairs.

During almost twenty years he has been a strong force in the New York League in its fight for prohibition. Until physical incapacity made it longer impossible he devoted time and strength unselfishly to furthering the cause. He is a veteran in a warfare that has brought victory; and, while much fighting still must be done to mop up the battlefield, Dr. Burrell has a right to ask that younger men complete the victory and conserve the immense gains made during the days of his active service.

In his letter Dr. Burrell says, "Once I was able to fight for a good cause or a faithful friend. Not now. I shall be eighty years old on August 1. But the Lord reigns and He can manage without me. With a thousand good wishes and no end of confidence, I am, etc."

Dr. Burrell's many companions on a hard-won battlefield hail him as a strong soul whose prayers are as mighty as ever and whose heart is as young and valiant as in the days of his physical vigor. The Lord reigns and Dr. Burrell is still his faithful servant.

Resignation of Rev. H. H. Barstow, D.D., From Board of Directors

A painful and serious accident to Rev. H. H. Barstow, D.D., pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church, Auburn, has made it necessary for him to resign his membership in the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of New York. While exercising in a gymnasium March 28 he had a severe fall by which he broke his right leg near the hip. As the accident will so incapacitate him for active service as to make it impossible for him to attend meetings of the Directors which may be held previous to the annual meeting of the Trustees in May he felt that he should resign at once.

His associates on the Board and in the organization deeply regret both the accident to Dr. Barstow and his consequent resignation. For years he has been a faithful, devoted friend of the League. Under Dr. Howard H. Russell, the first Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New York, Dr. Barstow served as the editor of the New York edition of the American Issue. Later under Superintendent James Alfred Patterson he was Acting Treasurer of the League. Since his election to the Board of Directors at the annual meeting of the Trustees May 8, 1923, he has been a highly valued member of that Board and his resignation is a severe loss.

In his letter of resignation in which he quotes his physician as saying that he can not expect to walk again under two months, Dr. Barstow writes, "It is a real grief to me to write this letter. I wish I could see my way to stand by. I do not in any way want my resignation to affect the work of the Board unfavorably by giving opportunity to anyone to draw false inferences. My reasons are the ones that I have given and absolutely nothing else, but they are conclusive to me and are final.

"Believe me, Mr. Davis, absolutely loyal to you, the work, and to the men on the Board. You have had my prayers and will continue to have them."

Every friend of Dr. Barstow's will earnestly hope for his complete recovery to active service as speedily as possible.

Dr. Bartholow Resigns From Directorate of The League

In a letter to Superintendent Davis, Rev. Otto F. Bartholow, D.D., pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., submits his resignation as a Director of the Anti-Saloon League of New York as follows:

"To the Board of Directors:

"Because of inability to attend the meetings of the Board and because of a conviction that a strong business man in my place would be of much more value to your body—I herewith tender you my resignation.

"If it should be necessary for the Trustees to act upon the resignation as well as yourselves, will you please present the matter to them and oblige?

"Very sincerely yours,

\(\text{Signed}\) "O. F. Bartholow."

In his letter accompanying the resignation Dr. Bartholow states that his "heavy responsibilities as pastor of a very large church and more especially the development of duties in connection with the great Bible Class movement" have made it impossible for him to attend one-half of the meetings of the Board during the term of his membership on it. Dr. Bartholow was elected to the Board of Directors in May, 1920, and his presence has been an inspiration to the Directorate. Last year he wished to resign for the same causes given above and he now feels them to be imperative.

In closing the letter he writes: "I shall continue to do all I can to serve the League. The church here is loyal to the last degree and will remain so. If there is any way, Mr. Davis, in which I may at any time serve you personally, please command me. I am sure great and victorious days are ahead of you and the League in New York."

Dr. Bartholow became a member of the Board of Trustees as early as 1908. His friendship for the League and loyal support of the work have meant much for its success in the past and will continue to strengthen it in the future.

Sir Charles Higham says, "in the main prohibition is a great success." But on the main—well, wait until the new treaty is in force and the new coast patrol is in full action.
The Anniston, Alabama, Star in a recent editorial said: "The Anti-Saloon League has been a potent factor in awakening our social consciousness to the menace of the legalized liquor traffic, and it is still needed to sound the tocsin of war against the outlaws who would perpetuate this blight to civilized society. It will be needed as long as the wildcat bestirs himself in his clandestine lair; it will be needed as long as his agents peddle his concentrated poison among our people, as long as anti-American venders invade our borders with their noxious contraband, as long as it is possible to take the lives of good citizens by poor precepting to our boys and girls that makes easy the primrose path to hell. We need such an organization to preach unremittingly the inescapable truth that the patron of the bootlegger is a party to his crime, that to connive at his crime is to sanction the undermining of the health and the morals of our people, to breed disrespect for constituted authority and contempt for the organic law of our land as embodied in the federal Constitution.

Until the press and the pulpit, the bench and the bar, the legislative and the executive branches of our government shall have been awakened to the fact that the liquor traffic in this country is not dead, but militantly active still—until that happy day arrives there will be need for watchmen on the towers crying aloud against the dangers that beset us; and there is no other organization just now that can take the place of the Anti-Saloon League in the performance of these useful purposes, no other organization that has for its sole aim the safeguarding of prohibition, the greatest American social experiment, our greatest moral contribution to the governments of the world.

Binghamton Soft Drink Law in Effect Only Two Weeks, Closes Many Barroom Doors

Fifty or More "Speak-Easies" Abandon Illicit Trade Due to Enforcement of Measure; Gives Police Effective Weapon Against Vice

(Headlines and article in the Utica Observer, March 17, 1924)

Cafes Deserted

Cafes of the so-called better class, which cater to the trade of business men, are doing but little business, and the proprietors admit that they are contemplating closing their bars entirely because they cannot sell beer with a kick safely. Other establishments of rather doubtful character, whose proprietors have been issued licenses because there were no legal grounds to refuse them licenses, are not doing enough business to pay expenses, and "for rent" signs are displayed in numerous places about the city. Dives and resorts of the worst order are virtually cleaned out.

A large business establishment dealing in bars and cafe fixtures, which has been doing a thriving business for more than a year because of the "mushroom" drinking places which appeared all over the city after the repeal of the Mulligan-Gage law, will be closed by its managers within a short time, one of the managers said. The business will be removed to a nearby city where there is no soft drink ordinance. Several carloads of bars recently distributed to small drinking places, but not fully paid for, have been returned to the fixture concern.

To understand why the beverage ordinance has been so effective in Binghamton necessitates a knowledge of the character and personality of the persons engaged in enforcing it.

Commissioner of Public Safety Charles W. Yeomans, the author of the new ordinance, was appointed by Mayor John A. Codics as the head of the public safety bureau because Mayor Giles wanted a man who would take the job of enforcing the law, especially the liquor law, seriously.

Commissioner Yeomans did his work but has always taken an active interest in military affairs and is a typical military man. He was commissioned a major at the outbreak of the World War and for two years solicited and contracted for war materials at the Port of New York. He supervised the buying of an average of $500,000 worth of merchandise a day. He proved his integrity in this position.

Tell's Why Ordinance Works

He is conducting the police department in military fashion insofar as discipline is concerned. Unlike Brassard General Smedley D. (Gimlet Eye) Butler, of Philadelphia, Pa., he is conforming to legal processes and dislikes to be spectacular. He has picked plain-clothes officers to investigate under the new beverage ordinance for the integrity in the performance of their duties as officers in the past. That is why the new ordinance has been successful here.

Commissioner Yeomans was asked by the writer for an exclusive interview for The Utica Observer-Dispatch pertaining to the new ordinance and its effects. No one is better qualified than the author of the ordinance to explain what it has accomplished. He gives approximated statistics which are the best evidence that the ordinance has so far been effective here.

This is what he says:

"The so-called 'soft drink ordinance' became by its terms effective in this city March 1. Due to necessary delay in obtaining blanks required by the ordinance and investigating statements made by each applicant for a license, we were not able to begin enforcement of the ordinance until one week later.

"In all, about 350 applications for licenses have been re-
cewed and about 300 licenses have been granted. Those whose applications were refused, by reason of the reputation or record of the place or applicant, were notified at once to discontinue business. Practically all of these have obeyed literally. Their bars are deserted. Their doors are closed and the city is rid of 50 or 60 undesirable places.

"Police have visited and will continue to visit all licensed places and have already made many arrests for violations of the ordinance, most of the arrests resulting also in the prisoners being held by the United States Commissioner for violations of the Volstead law. This prompt and vigorous action by police appears to have convinced all concerned that violations will not be winked at or permitted and there has been a remarkable improvement in the general situation throughout the city.

The police are not so credulous as to believe that no illegal sales are being made, that the bootlegger has ceased from troubling or that the criminal has finally and forever withdrawn from business. But at least open and flagrant disregard for law is being suppressed.

"Light Enters Dark Corners"

"All places licensed to sell 'sloppy drinks' have removed screens and other window obstructions, light has entered the dark corners where vice and crime and disease were breeding and those who oppose all law enforcement are, like Fritzie boy of the army song, keeping their heads down for fear of being hit. Police are going to keep after them in Binghamton, law is going to be enforced to the limit without fear or favor, without regard to 'big' or 'little.' Here, at least, the traveler from other cities will not say the 'soft drink ordinance' is regarded as a joke or a graft.

"The effectiveness of the ordinance depends largely upon the manner in which it is enforced. It can be made an extremely effective weapon in the war on vice and crime and general lawlessness. It has 'teeth.' The sanitary requirements vigorously enforced are 'teeth'; the provisions regarding window obstructions are 'teeth'; the provisions permitting police and health officers to have free access at all hours are 'teeth'; the provisions forbidding the sale or possession upon the premises of any forbidden beverage, the barring of intoxicated persons, the power of the mayor to revoke licenses—all these are real 'teeth.' But 'teeth' to be effective must be controlled and directed by a brain that desires 'teeth' to perform the function of biting and masticating. Here in Binghamton the bureau of police and the bureau of health have health, action, and under the direction of the chief executive, Mayor John A. Giles, they are going to bite and masticate in a normal and efficient manner."

An American adaptation of the lines in the Ancient Mariner "a painted ship upon a painted ocean," would be a putting boat on a prohibition sea.

SENTENCES AT SYRACUSE

If some signs do not fail there is a growing impatience on the part of some of our federal judges with persons who are convicted of violating the Volstead law. For example in the United States District Court at Syracuse which closed its term in March, Judge Frank Cooper imposed fines totalling $204,264.50 which were assessed against three hundred ninety-three defendants.

At the opening of the spring term of his court, April 2, the day was devoted chiefly to violations of the Volstead act. On that day fines amounting to $5,602 were imposed upon ten offenders, making an individual average of $560. This is commendable. But the law enforcement problem will never be solved until fines are supplemented by jail sentences. A bootlegger can readily make back his fine however large. A fine alone will not destroy him, but it will do him much harm. A light fine is better than no fine. A heavy fine will not stop him, but it will drive him to greater efforts in the bootlegging business, but he will quit selling rather than go to jail.

In the new prohibition treaty between Great Britain and the United States the Union Jack has given the British rum runners a most terrific "hijack."

FINES NOT FATAL

Police Inspector Thomas J. Kelly, commander of the Twelfth Inspection District, Queens, and on trial for alleged laxity in prohibition enforcement testified that he approved of the Volstead law, but thought the law would not be effective without prison sentences for violators. "Fines do not amount to anything" he added.

Placing Penalties

A bill before the House of Representatives provides for increased penalties for violation of the prohibition law. It was introduced by Gale H. Stulker of Elmira, New York, representative from the Thirty-seventh District. In the hearing on the bill it was pointed out that the penalties provided by the existing law are inadequate to deal effectively with present violations. It was also pointed out that the Internal Revenue laws for the collection of taxes due the government fixed a minimum penalty which must be imposed and make the imposition of a prison sentence mandatory. Under the national prohibition act in the case of a first offense there is no minimum penalty, neither is a jail sentence made mandatory. The proposed law aims to overcome this weakness in the enforcement code.

Smuggling Ships

In the case of the steamship Orunda for violation of the prohibition and narcotic laws is the most drastic step yet taken by federal officials to enforce the prohibition and narcotic laws on foreign steamers. The steamship officials may escape on the ground that only members of the crew were trafficking in contraband goods. It is bad enough if officials have been winking at such violations or have been lax in supervision of the crews. The possibility of the confiscation of a great ocean liner will doubtless convince the steamship companies that there must be more vigilant oversight of the conduct of the crews. Twenty other liners are involved Mr. Hayward says. If these do not take warning, the foreign steamship business is liable to serious interruption with a loss of both patrons and profits.

Commissioneer Enright has promised several times to dry up New York. We would like to suggest HE'D better "dry up."

FEDERAL RUM RECORD

That prohibition is making progress is evidenced by total arrests and convictions in the Federal courts for the past year. Over 40,000 cases were tried and eighty per cent of convictions were gained. The fines totaled $6,000,000. The prison sentences comprise an extended period of over 2,200 years.

Palmer Canfield, Federal Prohibition Director of New York State, says: "Any law is weak if not enforced. All laws are strong if enforced."

BROADWAY'S PROHIBITION PROGRESS

In a Metropolitan news item prohibition is assigned as the reason for the closing of the well known Liggett drug store in the Times Building. This was an all night store which widely advertised "meet me at the fountain." An official of the Liggett company said that "prohibition has made the all night drug store business unnecessary." They don't come here to get fixed up before going home."

This would seem to indicate that drunkennes was not so prevalent as formerly in the Times Square district.

"SPRING CLEANING" FOR "SPEAKEASIES"

One of the outstanding events in Metropolitan law enforcement activities during the past was the sixth raid and seizure on the well-known Guffanti's restaurant on Seventh Avenue. R. Q. Merrick, Divisional Prohibition Chief, announced the raid as the beginning of a rigorous "spring cleaning to remove alcohol stains immediately." He says steps will be taken at once to put down the popular wetting place.

We trust the Summer and Fall will not come Before this housecleaning is thoroughly done.
THE AMERICAN ISSUE

AN ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK

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We wonder if the woman who paid one hundred dollars for "Ban-Bug" does not think she ought to have her money back.

Concerning the Coast Guard

A bill is now before the United States Senate authorizing the transfer to the coast guard the surplus naval vessels adapted to patrol work. This bill passed the House by a vote of three hundred five to fifty. This together with an authorized appropriation of $13,000,000 to increase the coast guard will make run rumming a dangerous and doubtful venture.

Captain William E. Jacobs, Commander of the New York Division of the Coast Guard, predicts the abolition of the run running traffic within six months. His forecast is based on an appropriation of $13,000,000 from Congress and the increase of the dry fleet to sixty-five armed vessels.

The five navy vessels lying idle at Philadelphia may have a chance for real war work if the plans carry to convert them for the Coast Guard service in combating the run runners.

The dry navy has recently been increased by the addition of six swift motor boats which will be used on the coast adjacent to New York. Hitherto the coast guard has been handicapped because it had no craft swift enough to compete with the run runners’ speed boats. This indicates progress and a determination on the part of the government to reduce run running to a minimum.

A Word About the Board

A great deal of adverse criticism has been heaped upon the Anti-Saloon League Board. Not a few have insisted that the whole Board resign. The unreasonable-ness of this is patent. The present Board alone is familiar with the present situation. It would be hazardous to bring in an entire set of new officials to work out a problem with which none had first hand information. Moreover, it is doubtful if many could be found who would be willing to shoulder the grave responsibility of the League’s present difficulties and reorganization.

The Board, conscious of its grave responsibility for the present situation, has felt obligated to stand by and see the thing through. The Board of Directors which consists of twelve members is elected by the Board of Trustees. The Board of Trustees consists of thirty-six members and is elected by various church bodies at their annual meetings. The next annual election of the Board of Directors will be held in May. If there is dissatisfaction with either Board on the part of any of our constituents the occasion of the annual elections is the time to bring about the desired changes.

A Priest’s Opinion of Governor Smith

Father George Zurcher, pastor of St. Vincent’s Ro- man Catholic Church, North Evans, New York, in a letter to the Brooklyn Standard-Union characterizes Governor Smith as “the one malignant sore spot in the Catholic body” and declares that Anna Maria Kane as saying “Al Smith’s wet record, not his religion, will defeat him.”

He also takes a fling at Tammany Hall saying that “the Celtic whiskite in Tammany Hall tried to pose as the exclusive exponent of Catholic orthodoxy on the liquor question” and ends with the startling climax “Tammany needs a Hebrew boss!”

Catholic Cardinals Support Prohibition

A dispatch from Rome to the New York World says that the two new United States Cardinals—Hayes and Mundelein—decided to omit the wine and serve only soft drinks at the reception following the bestowal of the red hat. This is certainly commendable and ought to make a profound impression on the Catholic Church in America, the leaders of which have not generally been favorable to prohibition.

A Great Leader

Only brief obituary notices of the death of Dr. Purley A. Baker were given in the metropolitan papers. In a long editorial the Herald-Tribune calls attention to this and contrasts it with the work of Dr. Baker as president of the Anti-Saloon League of America. It designates him as “one of the three men directly responsible for the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and as the one man whose leadership has been responsible for making the League a real national power,” and adds, “his contribution to our history must remain as a curious and illuminating comment upon the social, ethical and political characteristics of the period.”

A Booze Battling Bulletin

The first copy of the Citizens League Bulletin published at Orient, Long Island, has come to our desk. It is one of the most unique and enterprising sheets we have seen in many days. We predict it is the beginning of a law enforcement movement which will be felt all over that end of the Island. We want to commend this sheet and trust it will find its way into numerous localities throughout the state which are grappling with a puzzling law enforcement problem. We hope the bulletin will come regularly to us.
Prohibition's Effect on Social Hygiene Conditions in New York

The Danger of a Return to Bad Conditions Under the Handicap of no State Enforcement Code

By Rose Weston Bull, Superintendent Publicity Department

New York City, according to the Committee of Fourteen, is the cleanest big city in the world from the moral viewpoint. Its annual report, just published, shows that commercialized vice has declined enormously since 1918. It cites figures from the Woman's Court to show that from 3,500 arraignments on vice charges in 1918 the number dropped to less than 1,500 in 1920. This was the first year of national prohibition. It also shows, however, and this is replete with significance for prohibitionists, that in 1922-23 the number increased to approximately 1,900. It was at this time that the wets began their drive for repeal of the Mullan-Gage law and that an open condition of lawlessness began to appear in New York State.

The Women's Court

"The decrease in 1919 and 1920," says the report, "may be attributed to the greater effectiveness of the work of the Women's Court due to the change in the hours of its sessions from night to day and to the enlarged force of probation officers assigned to the court. No special reason can be given for the increase in the last two years. The court and its procedure have continued unchanged. There has been no change in police policy, Commissioner Enright having continued in charge of the police. Moreover, during these years the police have been handicapped by an increased cost of securing evidence, without a corresponding increase of the appropriation for this purpose."

Liquor and Vice

Every student of social conditions in New York recognizes fully the effective work done by Judge Jean Norris of the Women's Court and too much credit cannot be given her for handling of these cases. Judge Norris herself, however, has repeatedly stressed the importance of the liquor traffic in connection with the vice situation and in 1920 was quoted as saying: "Prohibition has decreased the work of the Woman's Court of New York by 30 per cent.

The early vice commission reports and studies made of the social evil linked the liquor traffic with the traffic in women. The report of the Chicago Vice Commission published about fourteen years ago set forth the close association between the two traffics and one of its conclusions was that the closing of the saloons and the dance halls where liquor was served would instantly ameliorate evil conditions.

Effect of Prohibition

The advent of prohibition brought about the expected improvement. With the closing of the saloons the back rooms used as meeting places and hang-outs were abandoned. The liquor lure was gone and a tremendous decrease in open vice conditions was noticed.

In New York City before the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law, this change was responsible for a complete abandonment of certain lines of rescue work which had been one of the main features of organizations like the Salvation Army. While the Committee of Fourteen complains of 'secret' vice—it admits the disappearance of the flagrant, open liquor allied resorts of the past.

Experience of Salvation Army

Adjudant A. Jansen, Superintendent of one of the "Rescue" homes of the Salvation Army, declared after the advent of prohibition that street walkers had almost disappeared from New York City streets and that at the Rescue Home she is in charge of on East 16th St., New York City, not one case of a girl owing her downfall to liquor being cared for. "I know the 'red light' district of this country from the Pacific to the Atlantic Coast," the adjudant said. "I know that drink and immorality are inseparable and I also know that since we have closed the saloons and made drink hard to get, the houses of prostitution are closing and red-light districts, as we formerly knew them, are becoming things of the past and our girls are safer than they ever were. I have spent twenty-five years fighting this evil and I suddenly find my work in this line finished. Now I can turn my attention to others who need me,—to mothers and babies, to the poor." "Drink Got Them First"

"I spent fifteen years going night after night the round of the saloons on Third Avenue from Second Avenue from 14th Street to 23rd Street. Anyone who knows this district knows that there was a saloon on almost every corner. They all had 'sitting rooms' and into these 'sitting rooms' I went in search of my charges, the poor foolish, unhappy girls and women, many of them from good homes and good families who were losing all sense of womanhood and decency in a life of infamy. It was always the same story. Drink got them first, they didn't intend to go any further, they didn't mean to, their wills were weakened and they went down and down and down. There they were scores of them congregated in the saloons, walking the streets from one saloon to another, living over the saloons, plying their pitiful trade because of liquor, kept in their condition by liquor. Any social worker who forgets these old conditions must have a short memory. No Salvation Army worker can forget them."

Effect of Repeal of Mullan-Gage Law

There is no doubt in the minds of those who have studied the problem of the social evil, as it is influenced by the liquor evil, that the increase in woman cases for 1922-23 noted by the Committee of Fourteen in its Annual Report is at least in some measure due to the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law. Though the law was not actually repealed until after this change was noted the campaign for its repeal extended over many months and the let-down in prohibition enforcement in the State came almost immediately after the
election of Governor Smith whose wet tendencies and whose advocacy of modification of the dry law were openly vaunted in his election campaign.

At the recent "dry" hearing at Albany, called by the Governor, it was admitted by Police Commissioner Enright that the saloons are coming back, that the police without a State Law cannot cope with the liquor situation. The Commissioner had previously stated that under the Mullan-Gage law was on the statute books the police had been able to close 100 saloons a month and that 10,000 had been closed in that time.

**Shall the "Good (?) Old Days" Return?**

During the trials held in New York recently charging the police with laxity in enforcement of the dry law, it was brought out repeatedly that old saloons are coming back and new ones are opening. With such a return to the "good old days" of the open saloon, a return to the "good old days" of open vice are inevitable. The back parlor will come back; all the old infamous saloon hangers-on will take their old places and find their old banquets and commercialized vice will again be rampant.

In a recent number of the American Issue was printed a condensed statement of an article entitled "New York's Bad Spots Gone Good" published in the New York Times of March 10. These bad spots were centered about saloons. Bring the saloons back and the heart-breaking wickedness of the old bad spots and of new bad spots will flourish with old-time vigor. Liquor and social vice are united in unbroken bonds. Banish liquor and social vice immediately decreases. Give the police a state prohibition enforcement law with teeth in it and New York City can maintain its place as the cleanest big city in the world.

**Not Rosy**

The election of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., as a delegate to the Republican National Convention over strong opposition has prompted the declaration by his friends that he would now be in the race for governor at the convention in September.

Contrasted with this is the statement made by Senator Clarence G. Dill of the state of Washington "if Theodore Roosevelt were alive and president today, he would fire his own son out of office in the interests of public policy.

Roosevelt, wielder of the big stick, would have cleaned house at once at the slightest hint of corruption, and he would have gone through with it, regardless of who was swept into the dirt."

The prospect of Theodore Jr.'s candidacy for the governorship does not look very "rosy" for the Republican party in this state.

**To Test a New Treaty**

The new treaty with Great Britain officially known as the "Treaty for the prevention of smuggling of Intoxicating Liquors" was ratified in the Senate by a vote of sixty-one to seven. Both New York Senators voted for ratification. One provision in the treaty permits the British vessels to bring liquor into the United States territorial waters under seal.

In the debate the constitutionality of the treaty was attacked on the ground of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the ship liquor cases. This was offset by the view that the Supreme Court decision applied to beverage liquor and that the liquor admitted to the territorial waters under the new treaty is not liquor for beverage purposes inasmuch as it must be kept under seal.

Opinions of the British press on the treaty are of interest to American readers:

The Nottingham Evening News declares:

"It is a hard-driven bargain in which the British govern-

ment secures drinking facilities on British ships in return for permission to course which may make it harder for Americans to get any." The Manchester Guardian comments:

"No doubt the arrangements necessary for transferring cargoes of whisky a few miles further out to sea will put the smugglers to some inconvenience. A more contemptible offense than whisky running has seldom disgraced ships flying the British flag."

The Yorkshire Post says:

"While Great Britain has not been enamored of prohibition, nevertheless the American law stands. There can be no sympathy with flagrant attempts on the part of British Nationals to infringe that law for personal profit."

The Yorkshire Observer remarks:

"The text of the treaty represents probably the best solution that could be devised of a difficulty which at one time threatened to be a fruitful source of ill will between the two countries."

The London Daily Herald observes:

"Whatever views we may each hold about prohibition, no person of good will can regard with anything but alarm and disgust the illegal introduction into the United States of vast quantities of liquor shipped from this country. It is time some pressure should be applied here to discourage these reprehensible run-smuggling enterprises. A baronet shot himself the other day because he had no money to lose, the rest of those engaged in the same squalid business would do the same, but who is too well disposed to hope, their days should be more carefully looked into."

Secretary Hughes has begun negotiations with seven other nations for treaties similar to that made with Great Britain extending the three-mile limit to twelve miles. These nations are Japan, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Holland. It is predicted that no serious diplomatic difficulties will be encountered inasmuch as the concession of admitting liquor under seal is more advantageous to these nations than the retention of the three-mile limit.

**"Why We Prohibit"**

An article by Mabel Potter Daggett, a well-known magazine writer, will appear in the May number of "Good Housekeeping" which will be on the news-stands on April 18th.

Mrs. Daggett has grouped together a series of heart-interest stories from human lives showing the reason why we needed prohibition and what prohibition has done; its effect on the home, the family and the individual. This is the first time a woman writer has travelled throughout the country seeking heart-to-heart talks with women on the subject of prohibition and their daily lives. Mrs. Daggett has talked to mothers in tenements as well as in drawing rooms and the stories she has listened to are set forth dramatically and effectively.

**CONSERVING THE CONSTITUTION**

The Webb-Moor bill with Governor Smith's signature has become a law. It requires all the public schools of the state to provide definite courses of instruction in the Constitution of the United States. The National Security League is promoting this legislation throughout the nation and aims to secure a law compelling such instruction in every state of the Union.

It is estimated that over 100,000 teachers are now legally committed to the task of giving this instruction to about 3,000,000 pupils.

Since the Eighteenth Amendment was passed a new interest in the Constitution has arisen. Efforts to nullify this amendment have aroused a great body of citizens to dangers which threaten this charter of American freedom. Such instruction in the public schools will guarantee a deep reverence for this document on the part of the coming generation and do much to offset the present ridicule of the Eighteenth Amendment in the public schools. Scientific temperance instruction made a substantial contribution to prohibition and a corresponding instruction on the Constitution will help to keep the Eighteenth Amendment where it rightfully belongs.
AN APPEAL TO DECENT DRINKERS

By Gifford Pinchot

Condensed from the article in the April 12, 1924, number of "Hearst's International"

WITH SOME MAN'S PERJURY, SOME MAN'S BRIEFLY OR, PERHAPS WITH ALL OF THESE CRIMES? Do they never realize that they pay him for committing these crimes when they pay an exorbitant price for liquor or wine? How can the law make them any better? Men who want to respect themselves must soon choose between their appetites and their desire to do right. This is not that there is much difference of opinion about prohibition. It is a question of whether a minority in America will or will not voluntarily obey the law.

It is nonsense to say that this government cannot enforce the Volstead Act if it wants to do so. Nothing within reason is beyond the power of this government. It is within reason to say that the government, backed as it is by the great bulk of the American people, can compel a few hundred thousands of violators to obey the law.

The government is not using its power. It is permitting the abuse of permits. This conclusion cannot be escaped. Illegal beer could not exist if breweries were not violating their federal permits.

Shut off the domestic supply of illegal alcoholic beverages. That is the first thing to do. The Federal Government has never done it yet, but it can do so without any trouble. I should do it now. The same constitution that contains the Volstead Act also requires that the President shall "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." The Volstead Act is a law. The constitution requires that the President enforce it.

No law is likely to be well enforced if subordinate are appointed who do not believe in the mission of the prohibition movement. Men who are appointed to enforce the law must be officers of the law and not countenanced by that organization as thrusting an industry as bootlegging if counterfeiters were appointed to the secret service to stop counterfeiting. Enforcement officers should therefore always be men who believe in enforcement. There are enough of such men in the country. It is a scandal and an outrage that so many of the other kind have crept into the service. Politics is to blame for that.

For years the liquor power and the Republican party were side partners in Pennsylvania. For years the liquor power and the Democratic party were side partners in New York. For years the law has paid the bills of the dominant party in state after state throughout the country. Liquor never pays anything without expecting to get something.

When the 18th Amendment was adopted, the subject that it embraced was merely prohibition. It has long since become much larger than that. We are on trial before the world to determine whether we are a law-abiding people. Our very capacity for self-government is involved. No people are worthy of respect who have so little veneration for law and so little self-restraint that they will obey only such laws as they happen to approve.

Men and women who really cherish the good reputation of their country will cease violating the law. It is time to put a stop to this scandal. And it is time that the national government used its full powers to enforce the law and vindicate the constitution.

How Prohibition Impressed a Foreign Visitor

W. A. Tate of New Zealand writes in a recent issue of the Patriot an account of a nation-wide survey he made of prohibition in the United States. He says:

During the whole period I saw two drunken men, one at Chicago Railway Station, and one in Market Street, San Francisco.

I discussed prohibition with all classes of men and women and only met three—two women and one young man—who were against it. Employers of labour, doctors, bank presidents, business men and working men were in favor of it, giving as their reasons that the money that was formerly wasted by those least able to afford it was now spent in channels of legitimate trade.

In San Francisco alone 2,127 saloons were closed; and, as Dr. Gordon said in a sermon I heard in First Congregational Church, San Francisco, "The2127 saloons were closed because one act was worth all the work to attain the final success of prohibition."

AN ANCHOR ON THE AUTHORITY

The Citizens League Bulletin issued at Orient, Long Island, suggests how good citizens may get the law enforced. It advises when a citizen has reasonable suspicion of a boat about to be landed, to telephone the sheriff and say: "Go along with him and see what is done." Otherwise your effort may be in vain."
CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION

The Wadsworth-Garrett resolution pending in the United States Senate proposes to change Article V, on how the Constitution is to be amended, as follows:

Provided: That the members of at least one House in each of the Legislatures which may ratify shall be elected after such amendments have been proposed; that any State may require that ratification by its Legislature be subject to confirmation by popular vote and that until three-fourths of the states have ratified or more than one-fourth of the states have rejected or defeated a proposed amendment any state may change its vote.

The New York World of March 27, commenting on this, says:

"Had these proposed provisions been in effect five years ago, it is safe to say that the prohibition amendment would never have been ratified by three-fourths of the states. The people of the United States could never have been rushed off their feet as their legislatures were by a richly financed and fanatical body bent upon legislating proper habits into individual conduct."

But the fact is that this "richly financed fanatical body" had only thousands to spend for promoting prohibition while the liquor interests put up millions to prevent it. The marvel is that in the face of the financial strength of its foes the amendment received the largest vote ever given in Congress to submission of an amendment and was ratified by the largest number of states ratifying an amendment. The prohibitionists are in favor of the Wadsworth-Garrett resolution. They would have favored it before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed. They do not fear the people. Before the Eighteenth Amendment, prohibition was practically achieved by the people through local option referendum in nearly every state in the Union. Out of 3,542 counties in the United States only 305 were wet when the Eighteenth Amendment became a law. This dry majority was achieved by the votes of the people.

Alcohol's New Use

Alcohol may yet prove one of the greatest helpers of the race. Hitherto it has chiefly been an agent of degradation. It has been misused. Its office is not that of a beverage. Its true function is not to spoil the workers, but to speed the work of the world. The potential use of alcohol is only being discovered. It will shortly be a great driving power. Its presence is making more and more industrial employment of it. It is already largely replacing gasoline as a fuel for internal-combustion engines. "Industrial alcohol" is a welcome term in the language of commerce. One of our contemporaries, the Scientific American, says: "The most important use for industrial alcohol is that of a solvent. Indeed, chemists say that the only solvent of equal importance is water. Alcohol as a solvent for dyes and confectioners' colors is of great importance. In the development of gelatine food products considerable alcohol has been used as a solvent for the coloring matter. If it were not for the solvent properties of alcohol we would not have such commodities as perfumes, liquid soaps, toilet waters, linaments, flavoring extracts, etc." It adds, in the course of a long informative article, the statement that "a British government report reveals the use of alcohol in the making of many other articles, as electric lamp filaments, linoleum, felt, fire-works, matches, steel pens, artificial silk, rubber, printing, dyeing and cleaning operations in laundries, etc." And so what has been one of our worst enemies may turn out to be one of our best friends. Indeed one of the new problems of industry is the cheap production of alcohol. The demand for it in industrial application is swiftly growing. All the elements in God's great world are to be our servants, if we only have the knowledge and the wisdom to see them aright.—Sydney, Australia, Grit, February 28, 1924.

PROHIBITION PADLOCKS

The padlock movement which is being inaugurated by federal officials in great civic centers throughout the nation is getting in full swing in the Metropolitan district. Recently on a single day Judge Campbell of the Federal Court ordered padlocked fifteen places in Brooklyn whose proprietors had been convicted of violating the Volstead law. Actions had been instituted against these places at some time since, answers had been filed by the defendants, the owners and occupants of the premises, and the cases were on the equity calendar to be marked for trial. In these fifteen cases the defendants failed to appear and the injunctions were granted at once.

PROHIBITION AND PROSPERITY

The current number of Business Progress Bulletin issued by the Alexander Hamilton Institute of New York City, in an article dealing with the increase in saving accounts prints the following:

"In some of the cities, especially in New York, many of the new savings banks and branches of older institutions now occupy corners that once supported saloons. The pay envelope seems to be better off in a savings bank than it was in a saloon. For most workers the road to prosperity is best traveled dry."

"THE THREE WORST MEn A COMMUNITY"

"The three worst men a community can have living in it right now are the maker and seller of intoxicating liquor, the man who buys this liquor illegally and the responsible officer of the law who takes no special interest in prosecuting such men."—Citizens League Bulletin, Orient, L. I.

TINKHAM THE TINKER

Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts thinks the church should not participate in politics. He is especially grieved that the Methodists have erected on Capitol Hill a building dedicated to Temperance and Public Morals. We want to warn Mr. Tinkham that it is dangerous to tinker with a piece of machinery like the Methodist Board of Temperance.

It is not without significance that a wet center was chosen to give Governor Smith a showing in the presidential primary. What state could have served his purposes better than Wisconsin which contains the city of Milwaukee made famous by its out-of-the-beer. The Brooklyn Eagle of April 3 commenting on the result of this primary says:

"Governor Smith knows mass psychology, and understands perfectly that despair of carrying a state makes a minority ready to take risks that would not be taken if chances were even. He knows likewise that Wisconsin, without much regard to party lines, is 'wet through and through.'"

Theodore Roosevelt said: "If the world is to be a good place for any of us it has got to be a pretty good place for all of us."

Exactly so! Prohibition is making it a better place. The proof is in the pudding.

"Bung-Bug" would be a proper parasite for the new species "Ban-Bug."
Anderson Offers to Submit to the Attorney General or Any Proper Person Appointed by Governor Smith Testimony Which Will Conclusively Satisfy the Public That District Attorney Joab H. Banton of New York County Agreed Before Hearing the Defense to Go Through With the Prosecution of Him and Said, "If I Put Anderson Out of Business It Will Make Me Governor"

(1) Mr. Banton, is it not true that Phillips' present wife who, like Potter's present wife, was once in the employ of the League, is a member of a family with which she has long been friendly, a member of the same church as yourself and a member of the Sunday school class you taught before you became district attorney?

(2) Is it not true, Mr. Banton, that Phillips sent his wife to your office a year or so ago, to get you to use your official power to make him pay money falsely claimed by him to be due from me, and that she came and gave you her story?

(3) Is it not true, Mr. Banton, that in material substance you said, "These are amazing facts. Come over by the window. When I sit in that chair (indicating your desk chair) I am district attorney, but over here I am not, and we can talk more freely"?

(4) Did you not, Mr. Banton, also say to Mrs. Phillips in material substance, "Tell Bertall I will go to bat for him," and then, after a little reflection, presumably looking over the roof of the city prison, further say: "If I put Anderson out of business I would give him a job for life"?

(5) Is it not true, Mr. Banton, that you, in the location which you said divested you of your district attorneyship, as an eager candidate, in substance, promised without hearing my side of the case that you, after you got back into your chair and became district attorney again, would railroad this proposition?

If you deny these things I am prepared by competent testimony to show: (a) That this young woman, family and church friend, whom you so ingeniously offered the destruction of my character and my very life itself on an indictment platter, told what you said—and (b) That Phillips himself, for whom you were to do the dirty work, double-crossed you by blaming it to advance his supposed personal interests.

Further, Mr. Banton, I am prepared, to show that you are in no position to complain about the indiscretion of your star witness because I can show that you yourself in an unguarded moment, when at another time you apparently were divested of your district attorneyship, personally babbled something so wisely but too well about the relation between my indictment and your governorship.

Damningly conclusive as are the statements of the Phillips, I am not confused to their statements for direct testimony respecting the connection between these two things in not only your thought but your utterance.

(6) Is it not true, Mr. Banton, that after Phillips had in writing released the League "and any person employed by it" from all claims whatsoever including these claims which are the backbone of your divorce charges, thus establishing Phillips' own admission that there was no merit in these claims, you still insisted that he go through with it?

If you deny this, Mr. Banton, I am prepared to show the statement of your own star witness whom you have certified to the grand jury as sufficiently credible and reputable to be used against me.

(7) Mr. Banton, Mr. Pecora, your chief assistant, said explicitly that he had wanted to quit, but that you persuaded him to stay. Was the inducement a promise to appoint him district attorney after you became governor, provided he put this job across for you?

If you deny this, I am prepared to show the statement on this point of your own star witness, throwing light on why you are protecting him from punishment for an offense of which you have absolute proof.

In addition, there is a point that wants to be put in a position to show respecting Mr. Banton himself, as set out in the above questions and offers addressed to him through the medium of this pub-
lic statement, I shall in a later statement connect Raymond F. Bosdick. Rockefeller representative, with this matter.

I am not asking you to remove Mr. Banton from office. That will take care of itself. If he does not relieve you of embarrassment by resigning and you still want him after he has been exposed, as long as Tammany can.

I am suggesting, however, that you delegate, to the state, a man you arc sure of, who is as competent and worthy of confidence, with instructions to him to arrange with my counsel to hold in New York City a proper hearing at which some of the facts which may be brought out that the credibility of the witnesses used against me or the animus of those behind the proceeding.

I shall resist to the utmost of my ability any attempt to get me into any kind of a closed or star chamber proceeding. Banton has nearly six months, has been trying to force me into that trap.

I understand perfectly that such a hearing will be informal and that the matter of summary action by you or grand jury action is something to be determined by you later upon the basis of the results of this preliminary hearing and I am perfectly content to leave the matter in your hands.

I understand that it might be held that it is not possible for any representative of yours to compel the attendance of witnesses. If I ask you to present and testify, subject to cross-examination, any person who may throw light upon these matters, including in case we so desire, not only Phillips, Bosdick, the Rockefeller representatives, Mr. Henry L. Stoddard of the Evening Mail, and the little cigarette friend representing the Mail who attempted to manufacture testimony by attempted intimidation of women.

If these parties are not willing to accept such an invitation I am satisfied to let the public draw its own conclusions from their silence in the face of what we will have shown will act until there is action by some body or tribunal with power to compel their attendance. They have tried to use against me my refusal to walk further into a frame-up after I found it to be such. If they refuse to come in where they are sure of a square deal and more than a square deal in the very nature of the case, because they appreciate the advisability of summarily removing Mr. Banton and any and all of his staff from further charge of this particular proceeding.

I am pointing out to the governor that thus far I hereby now publicly, freely and cheerfully absolve him from the slightest complicity in the grudging of this particular personal ax of Mr. Banton's, or of any responsibility for this despicable plot, but that after my offer to prove these things he can not allow this matter to go further against me without sharing the responsibility.

My proposal to the governor respecting the ultimate handling of the proceedings against me, however, is different from what those behind this latest drive against me will probably assume.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. ANDERSON.

FULL TEXT OF LETTER TO GOVERNOR SMITH ABOUT DISTRICT ATTORNEY BANTON

July 16, 1923.

I am prepared to lay before the attorney general of the state the facts here presented. Before any other than the only accredited representative of the state so selected as to give public confidence in the fairness of the hearing, some astounding testimony showing that Jacob H. Banton, district attorney of New York county, is guilty of an outrageous offense against justice which may constitute malfeasance in office as duly defined and call for summary action on your part.

You are a wet. You play the political game as Tammany plays it. But I do not believe you have ever done for your own office or any other what should be a low, disgraceful, vicious thing under the pious pretense of serving a moral end.

I do not believe you want your future political career messed up by the notoriety for automatic who is capable of doing such a thing, and then gets caught in the bargain.

I believe that as a matter of sheer politics you do not want the political organization you are connected with to be made responsible for attempted, unwarranted persecution of a representative of thousands of churches of the state when such church is possessed of wealth on the level and is certain to react upon those who are responsible.

I am not in any sense appealing to you as a dry. I assume Mr. Banton will not take the position that he is capable for anything that will react upon the wet cause.

I enclose a statement issued today respecting Mr. Banton which will make a part of this communication. To the two other questions indicate the details I am ready to show to your representative if Mr. Banton denies.

Obviously neither you nor the public will expect me to lay these things before Mr. Banton with his roller bearing compartment conscience and his convenient automatic dual personality.

I am not asking you to remove Mr. Banton from office.

That will take care of itself. If he does not relieve you of embarrassment by resigning and you still want him after the unreasoned, unproved charges against him, after he has been exposed, as long as Tammany can.

I am suggesting, however, that you delegate, to the state, a man you are sure of, who is as competent and worthy of confidence, with instructions to him to arrange with my counsel to hold in New York City a proper hearing at which those behind the proceeding may be brought out that the credibility of the witnesses used against me or the animus of those behind the proceeding.

I shall resist to the utmost of my ability any attempt to get me into any kind of a closed or star chamber proceeding. Banton has nearly six months, has been trying to force me into that trap.

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I understand that it might be held that it is not possible for any representative of yours to compel the attendance of witnesses. If I ask you to present and testify, subject to cross-examination, any person who may throw light upon these matters, including in case we so desire, not only Phillips, Bosdick, the Rockefeller representatives, Mr. Henry L. Stoddard of the Evening Mail, and the little cigarette friend representing the Mail who attempted to manufacture testimony by attempted intimidation of women.

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My proposal to the governor respecting the ultimate handling of the proceedings against me, however, is different from what those behind this latest drive against me will probably assume.
fere. I can endure this damnable outrage longer than those immediately or ultimately responsible for it can afford to have it go on.

REPLY TO THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S DENIAL

I have got District Attorney Banton now about where I want him.

He admits that the young woman came to his office, showing other pressure upon him than the merits of the case. He admits having the governorship in mind all the time, and the threat in his indictment and speaking of it to her. This is gratifying progress in the way of foundation for the testimony I am ready to offer.

Mr. Banton admits urging Mr. Pecora to stay. This opens the way to show the consideration.

If Mr. Pecora denies flatly that he refused to prosecute the head of a wet organization in the face of direct evidence of crime. This is indeed richness. If the pius district attorney had only known what we know he would at least have had his head stuck in his jersey instead of sticking his head squarely into the moose.

This case is almost perfectly adapted to show the unconscionable hypocrisy or worse behind the effort to indict me.

I expected the district attorney to deny the fact. I caught him last week in a falsehood told for the sole purpose of discrediting me. A man who will do it once will do it again.

Mr. Banton says I must prove it. It is too laughable.

Could I be any more explicit or emphatic in my demand for a chance?

But I notice he did not immediately join in the request to the governor that he be given a chance. Neither had he the decency to move instantly to remove the taint of suspicion from the present discredited jury procedure.

Mr. Banton says that in Texas one or the other of us would have to get out of town. That is just what he has been trying to do—not, however, in the usual Texas style, but by stealth through perversion of official power.

Mr. Banton says that he will give out some correspondence. Fine! Everything supposed to be damaging to me has already been published and there are things in that correspondence I have tried in vain for months to get published. Mr. Banton says that in his correspondence last fall I approved his pretended refusal to take any action before election. Sure I did. That was before I had the information now in my possession. My belief he is a Christian gentleman and on the level.

I shall show that Tammany is a piker compared with Mr. Banton's scheme managing the Anti-Saloon League but to grab it to make him Governor. And I suspect Tammany will find evidence of an intended double-cross in the plan of Mr. Banton and Raymond B. Foerdick to work both sides of the road—that is both wets and drys.

Mr. Banton says one very true thing when he says that it is not in the book of fate that he will ever sit in the Governor's chair.

Signed WILLIAM H. ANDERSON.

Complete Texts of Answers to Propaganda Put Out by New York District Attorney's Office in Connection With New Effort to Indict Superintendent of Anti-Saloon League

Biased New York City Newspapers Printing Emanations from District Attorney but Garbling and Largely Suppressing Replies from Mr. Anderson

Promptly with the beginning of the new presentation of matters respecting Superintendent Anderson to the New York County grand jury, the district attorney's office renewed the tactics of last winter and began to use the proceedings before the grand jury as a basis for flooding the newspapers with propaganda, meant to convict the League Superintendent in the public mind by ex parte statements, regardless of the outcome of the grand jury sitting and any possible court proceedings that may issue from that.

There is no way of meeting that kind of extra-legal activity on the part of public prosecutors save by sending to the public prints answers to what the district attorney promulgates. Even then the battle can not be fought upon a parity unless the newspapers are willing to print answers as fully as they print charges, and that New York City newspapers have been even less willing to do in the present instance than they were last winter. Much of the most pointed matter in some of the replies issued from the League office has been completely suppressed by the newspapers of New York City. This makes it all the more essential that the constituency of the League have here in consecutive form the full texts of all the answers issued by Mr. Anderson up to and including Monday, July 16. The first of these documents was printed in the American Issue of last week but is here reprinted in order that the collection may be complete in this issue to the date stated.

STATEMENT PREPARED AT HOME OF HIS PARENTS IN CARLINVILLE, ILLINOIS, AND ISSUED IN NEW YORK, JULY 5

"I refused all last winter to make any comment on the actions of the district attorney. I see no reason to change that policy in the light of the far more favorable strategic conditions that have developed. I hung around New York for months. It was the charge of the grand jury that was held for about three months for the announced purpose of indicting me and which had my case before it for practically two months. Now I do not intend to allow this case which was not remanded until it was published in New York that I was seriously ill and suffering from a complete nervous breakdown, to interfere with or curtail the period of the trial to which I have been appointed and to meet any situation that may arise.

"The statement that new evidence has been discovered cannot be true unless it has been manufactured by the corrupt political and financial interests responsible for the inception of this whole matter. Our books have been in the possession of the district attorney's office since the first of February, and the discharged bookkeeper who was a material witness was in and near New York for approximately a month before the former grand jury was discharged on April 23 and available to any service that could be hired to dig out of the books anything that could conceivably be regarded as damaging.

"All I need say at this time in further defiance to the interests that are apparently forcing the district attorney's hand is that this threat, no matter how far it may be carried, will not muzzle or silence me respecting wet political conspiracies and anything more than previous efforts in this direction have done: and the further it is carried the stronger will be the reaction in our favor. I think it is to be hoped that the wets will yet put New York in the front rank of dry states."


July 5, 1923.

As he left Carlinville, Illinois, on July 9 on his return trip to New York, Mr. Anderson drafted the following statement and directed that it be issued from the League office in New York:

A REPLY TO THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S PROPAGANDA

In reply to the propaganda announcement of the district attorney of New York county respecting new evidence and new witnesses against me, the public is entitled to a statement of the real line-up.

No person connected with the management of the Anti-Saloon League has made any complaint whatsoever. On the contrary, the Board of Directors, with full legal power, has officially certified to the public that I have received no money from the League that I was not entitled to and that had not been legally voted to me, and have not been a single contributor to the League has come into the open and made any complaint that can be gotten at.

On the other hand, aside from corrupt political influences within both parties and financial interests that make a business of politics, those actually responsible for this new drive against me are five in number.

First, is O. B. Phillips, a discharged former employee, who the district attorney knows has publicly admitted facts which (Continued on Next Page)
It is not necessary for me to charge that there is politics behind this new proceeding because the district attorney's office has itself placed an indebtedpolitical stamp upon the proceedings. And before we get through with that part of the public which does not already understand will have a pretty decisive idea of the character of the individuals that are thus utilizing a desire for revenge on the part of discharged former employees of the League.

(Signed) William H. Anderson,
State Superintendent,
Anti-Saloon League of New York.

ISSUED AT THE LEAGUE OFFICE, JULY 13
I am here and not somewhere else. I am not sailing to Europe tomorrow or any other time or two. I never had any intention of so doing. I am back at the time I left. I am not ill and have not been ill. I had a bully rest, and the press band sent from the district attorney's office did not interfere with it. I took it as a precaution so I would be ready for the next move, and am ready. I have nothing more to say until late this afternoon when I shall answer the district attorney's latest attempt to confuse the issue and create an erroneous impression.

(Signed) William H.Anderson,
State Superintendent,
Anti-Saloon League of New York.

OPEN LETTER TO DISTRICT ATTORNEY BANTON
(Delivered to Mr. Banton's office by messenger before being given to the press.)
July 13, 1923.

Hon. Joab H. Banton,
District Attorney New York County,
New York City.

Sir:
I arrived in the city this morning to find from the morning papers that the district attorney is attacking me personally and suggesting charges which have no foundation in fact, and in addition to prejudicial propaganda put out by you, you also on yesterday directly attacked my personal good faith and accused me of falling to keep a promise.

This is not the only instance in which you yourself have shown the same sort of timidity and genuineness of fiction, the same lack of regard for them, which has characterized the attitude of your office respecting the alleged case against me for nearly six months. The following are other instances.

You know perfectly that the only thing respecting which I offered to testify and waive immunity was the grotesque ex-potion charged against me by Phillips that I conspired in counterfeiting, and you know perfectly well that the record of your office proves that I appeared voluntarily and answered every question that was asked me on that point. You know further that it is of record that my counsel refused to permit me to waive immunity in order to prevent further attempts on the part of your office to compel me to violate confidence which was no concern of the public and has no valid relation even to any of these last charges.

The conclusive proof that the $24,700 fund was not in contemplation when I wrote you the letter that you refer to in your inaccurate statement of yesterday is found in the fact that the conspiracy was actually framed to procure that the District Attorney, R. Fosdick from exposure of his betrayal of confidence as Rockefeller representative, was for the district attorney's office to correct the suggestion on the Phillips charge and then, purely by "accident" to "discover" this other matter and then, in the event of my probably expected refusal to violate confidence, to try to leave me without a chance of continuing my work.

It was the over-eagerness of the newspaper that was in on this conspiracy that let the cat out of the bag. I do not now charge that the district attorney's office was a party to the conspiracy. But Mr. Pecora, your chief assistant, admitted in touch with Mr. Fosdick, and knowing what this paper intended to publish, admitted last winter for publication, and it was published as direct quotation from him, that he objected to its advance publication (which included this matter, thus uncovering Mr. Fosdick) because, he said, as published, that it might embarrass and hamper him in his investigation. And he realized it too, because in an effort to correct the wrong, but not till after he had seen it in the possession of the conspirator paper which was apparently offering to suppress the matter if I would quit and run.

You say that Mr. Phillips waived immunity. What does this amount to in the face of the justifiable if not the inevitable inference from the action of your office in the light of the established facts fully known to your office, some of which I shall be glad to prove in court?

Have you been frank and fair enough to this grand jury to have it advised that the records of your own office show that at one point in the Phillips affidavit you yourself, whom you yourself later served as chief assistant, that he had already testified falsely under oath in a judicial proceeding and that this was a submission to your own affidavit that was used at the time in a number of the leading newspapers of New York City? And have you told them what he was trying to protect by some confused false averment?

I did not start this publicity. You started it on this.
FROM THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT TO THE PASTORS OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE CONSTITUENCY

It is not necessary to say much more at this particular time. Most of it is being said in the articles and statements contained in this paper. There is no conflict between the statements. There are conflicting interests among our enemies and various of them are trying to grind special axles and have mixed motives in their partnership in this enterprise. There is no question about the wets being back of it, no question about a certain breed of Republican politicians being in on it, no possible doubt about the wets being back of Mr. Banton's. The special interest is something entirely apart, whereas Mr. Fordie, in with Mr. Banton, undoubtedly has other motives than simple vote-getting.

It has been evident on the face of it that there was something more than a mere desire to do justice behind the effort to indict me. I think the statement in the first-page article will pretty thoroughly satisfy the League constituency as to what that motive is. Mr. Banton persists in using accredited, discharged employees and protecting at least one of them in an admitted offense for which he should unquestionably be indicted.

In spite of the published falsehoods about my conditions and the machinery of "justice," I think that it is the best answer to my offer. In the light of perhaps added unfriendliness on the part of the New York City papers it will be more necessary than before for the leaders of the League constituency to make a special effort to keep supporters of the League from being deceived.

Of course the motives of the District Attorney were more or less concealed from me, but I was not made guilty of a crime. But I am advised by as high legal authority in this field as America can produce, that even if the facts which have been so assiduously spread through the newspapers as laid before the Grand Jury are all proved to be true, which of course is preposterous, still there was no crime committed.

The "falsification of the books," for example, amounts to nothing more than the same kind of an adjustment that the auditors requested make in the League books, but the District Attorney has prevented this fact from getting before the Grand Jury. He has deliberately and willfully withheld the truth. Mr. Banton's testimony is already in his possession which witnesses were prepared to give if he had given them a chance. Nothing more clearly shows the desperation of the District Attorney's office. Under circumstances of this sort, the motives of the District Attorney as well as his procedure are competent and material in enabling the public to form a just estimate.

I can point to a record of nearly 24 years of never having had to take anything back and of never failing to produce anything I promised to produce. While of course it is possible that we may be surprised, frankly I am not expecting the Governor to give any opportunity to bring out this testimony respecting Mr. Banton. If Mr. Banton were not afraid he would have joined in the request instantly. He may conceivably be forced into it in the hope that the thing can be muzzled up.

The following from the wet, Democratic Brooklyn Eagle, anything but the world except a very small part of it friendly, and in fact friendly to Mr. Banton, indicates the feeling of fair-minded, intelligent people who have no special animus or real interest in wet business, and that the thing is carried too far of reaction which will help the League and the dry cause.

"The Rev. Dr. David J. Burrell may be too enthusiastic in his defense of William H. Anderson. We rather think he is. But District Attorney Banton may nevertheless wisely decline to prosecute Dr. Burrell or make it easy enough to make a martyr of. The public has no reason to believe that 'misuse of funds' is charged by anybody whose words were allegedly misused. The time of grand juries is too valuable to be wasted."

(Signed) WILLIAM H. ANDERSON
State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York.

second round by a statement a whole week in advance, evidently studied and designed to prejudice and influence the public and the newspapers, when you thought you could not hit back. However, I shall not abandon the course that you yourself drove me into, merely because you now find that you are in a stronger position, nor into an unthinking or impulsive statement made by you or any representative of your office outside of the exact line of the strict discharge of your official duties.

You deny that there is any politics in this matter. Before I am through with it I shall convince the fair-minded public that it reeks of politics of the worst sort, and that Tammany has determined to use every means within its control to try to silence me in order to lessen the damage from what it now discovers to have been its mistake in repealing the state dry enforcement law.

Further, some Republicans are in on it. I have known for weeks that a prominent Republican, active in politics, but in a position where he is compelled to obey more powerful Republicans in the sort that play Tammany's game, or use Tammany as the case may be, in the course of an effort to find some way to force you to open the alleged case against me, flasty charged that you had dropped it because you were afraid that to carry it further would, to such extent as to blast your well-understood ambition to be the Tammany nominee for governor, antagonize the church forces up-state to whom you hoped to appeal on the quiet because of your professions of personal advocacy of prohibition.

Yours truly,

(Signed) William H. Anderson,
State Superintendent,
Anti-Saloon League of New York.

P. S.—For your record, pursuant to the line of some of the questioning before the grand jury—"Yes, this particular letter was not written by the Board of Directors."

ANSWERING PROPAGANDA FROM MR. PECORA

I note that Mr. Banton took to the woods after I cornered him on his immunity facts and touched up the political pressure relating to his gubernatorial aspirations and left Mr. Pecora on the job to do the talking.

If appearance before the grand jury is a "privilege" as Mr. Pecora says, why in the name of common sense is he sweating so hard this hot weather to compel me to accept it at his hands?

Fortunately Mr. Pecora himself has furnished the answer. In an uncared for moment, after his office got the complete publication and it was published that he had decided to present his charges to the grand jury because I refused to give him certain names. Mr. Banton's self-evident concern that I want him now is to carry through the conspiracy to destroy my usefulness by proving that I can be intimidated into violating confidence, which demonstration would cut off many of the League's most valuable sources of information.

In his talk about my being convicted, Mr. Pecora is either bluffing or he is a super-optimist as the record proves him to have been in other cases out of which he expected to extract much glory.

The one-way character of the district attorney's propaganda mill is shown by the fact that when hostile witnesses testified before the grand jury the papers got the complete substance of their testimony but when, yesterday and the day before, favorable witnesses testified it was not furnished to the press by the usual anonymous but effective methods.

If the district attorney's office wants to be fair to me as claimed in one of its gestures for buncombe, why did Mr. Pecora yesterday cut Miss Odell off from telling the real truth on two points that are vital to his new effort.

In the desperate effort to secure an indictment this time, Mr. Pecora, doubtless under orders, took the extort and forgery charges off the waste basket. Mr. Pecora had personal knowledge of facts calculated utterly to explode these charges concerning which it was freely published that the hostile witness was tested.

On at least one of these matters Mr. Pecora had previously interrogated Miss Odell and had her testimony in his possession and knew that it would be prejudicial if not fatal to an effort to jam through an indictment regardless of what may come of it. Yet he failed utterly to bring up these two points as a d to give him the opportunity to use them to an effect that was to his advantage.
Letter From Dr. David James Burrell to District Attorney Banton

July 11, 1923.

Dear Sir:

I have your courteous letter of the 5th inst. asking if my health is such that I can come to New York and appear before the grand jury in the matter of the charges against William H. Anderson. I am compelled to answer that it is not. I wish that it were.

**WHY FOLLOW HIM?**

If it were, after first seeking an interview with you and your chief, I would try to find out, definitely and clearly, why you deem it your duty again to proceed against Mr. Anderson.

Why, one grand jury to which you presented the evidence having failed to indict, you seek to secure an indictment from another;

Why, when every director of the League which you claim has been defrauded, protests and protests again that there has been no defrauding, no larceny, no forgery or anything in the way of crime or looking toward crime, and to a man stands by Anderson and everything he has done, you still think crime has been committed;

Why this man, William H. Anderson, recognized as having done more than any other to get the lawless saloonists and all its unspeakable influences should apparently be singled out for prosecution by officers of the law;

Why this man, backed as he is not only by the unanimous and unreserved approval of his official board, but by the corral, unwavering and constantly increasing support of the churches as well as by the law-abiding people generally, should now be persecuted and harassed and prosecuted again and again at the instigation of some accredited ex-employes;

Why this man should be so persistently pursued, in a case that meets with no visible approval save that of the wits and their lawless careers—pursued through the district attorney’s office at a time when its docket is notoriously overburdened with other matters of supreme importance—used not only in the face of moral sentiment but of overwhelming evidence in favor of the accused;

Why this grim factor should be continued, at the public expense, beyond my comprehension, and believe me, my dear Mr. Pecora, there are good many other people who feel the same way.

**PRESUMES HE’S CHRISTIAN**

From all I have learned, I had reason to believe your chief to be a Christian gentleman, yourself also of Christian affiliations and beliefs. I credit you both with good intentions.

In doing so he has necessarily aroused to yourself and his cause powerful influences, political, social and financial. Undoubtedly he has many adversaries who would greatly love to see him pilloried or hung, but I can not believe that the district attorney’s office of New York county is conscientiously yielding to such influences.

I am willing to concede for a moment that officers of the law can be co-partners of the lawless. The mere suggestion is so abhorrent a reflection on public morality that I abso-

**NOT JUSTIFIED**

It can not be. Mr. Pecora, that you are seeking to punish the superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, because he declined to answer certain privileged questions. You may construe his failure to so answer as a suspicious circumstance, but I do not so interpret it. He very properly exercised a fundamental right wherein it is hard to believe that you yourself do not really uphold him. But whether you are right or wrong in this instance, you are surely not justified in seeking to introduce such a matter.

There is just one cause of offense on the part of Mr. Anderson, and only one so far as I can see, namely, that he was instrumental in putting the Empire State saloons to the front in the matter where others had failed. This is the head and front of his offending. For this the wets naturally hate him, and are moving the earth hereabouts and the regions under the earth to get rid of him.

But these unjustified efforts to prove their undoing, “Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.” There never was a more united front of the prohibition forces than right now. For every weak-kneed deserter there are two new recruits.

**TO CONVICT—TO CROWN**

Suppose the pursuit of Mr. Anderson goes on; suppose a grand jury should ultimately be found willing to indict him; suppose he should finally be convicted of forgery, grand larceny and every other crime under the sun, including the murder of John D. Rockerby or, what the same, the trial for perjury, what the same.

Put him in Sing Sing and his commanding voice would rally the law-abiding people to the support of a righteous cause as never before. Not only would he himself be canonicalized, but the influence of the Anti-Saloon League would be multiplied ten-fold—an old song would be revived with a new ring to it:

“And shall Trelawny die?  
And shall Trelawny die?  
Then twenty thousand Cornishmen  
Will know the reason why!”

As I have already intimated to your office, my testimony as president of the Anti-Saloon League is at your command. I am ready by my physician to be prevented from going before the grand jury or leaving my home for any protracted inquisition, but I stand ready to answer under oath any and all questions it may be your pleasure to place before me.

With great respect,

I am your obedient servant,

DAVID JAS. BURRELL

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE YEAR BOOK ISSUED

Contains Prohibition Facts—Social, Scientific and Political

The 1922 Year Book of the Anti-Saloon League of America has been issued at the National League printing plant, Westerville, Ohio. The book which is a compendium of dry facts contains statistical data on prohibition gathered from all parts of the country. It stresses the fundamental scientific facts about alcoholism and its effect on the human system, which are the underlying reasons for prohibition and which are in danger of being lost sight of because opposition to enforcement has made prohibition a political rather than an educa-

Cora Frances Stoddard, B.A., secretary of the Scientific Temperance Federation of Boston, contributes an article on “Alcohol a Cell Poison” and one on “Effects of Liquors of Low Alcohol Percentage,” in which it is proven by scientific research and experiment that the absorption of alcohol into the blood is the chains intoxication, and that the amount the blood acquires and the rate of its accumulation influence the degree of intoxication. The beer and wine advocates’ pet theory that the beverage and wine do not intoxicate is disproven in these experiments. Life insurance statistics are cited proving the injurious effect of small quantities of alcohol.

Under the heading, “Why Beer Didn’t Fail But Must Continue Prohibition,” there is a chapter devoted to a sum-

The Year Book tells how prohibition came about, gives a history of the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment and its ratification by all except two states of the Union. It contains valuable information about the progress of the movement in each state of the Union. It also contains a roster of temperance and prohibition organizations and internal revenue statistical court decisions and other important information.

Lady Astor’s Dry Bill Passed by Commons

By Vote of 257 to 10 House Approves Her Measure Forbiding Sale of Rum to Boys, Girls Under 18; Turns Tables on Baronet; Rout Member Who Out-talked Her Before by Rustling of Papers

(Headlines and article from the N. Y. Tribune, July 14)

Special Cable to The Tribune.

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London, July 13.—Lady Astor scored a great triumph in the House of Commons today when her bill forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor to the prohibited class of persons under eighteen years of age was passed by a vote of 257 to 10. After this triumph animated discussions preceded the vote. A renewal of the
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war-like gestures between Lady Astor and Sir Frederick Banbury caused roars of laughter.

The next phase of the third reading of the bill came up. Sir Frederick succeeded in out-talking it. Lady Astor thereupon nudged him in the ribs as she left the house. When Sir Frederick arose today to move for the rejection of the bill Lady Astor appeared on the rostrum and rustled papers on her desk until the baronet indignantly complained to the Speaker.

Labor Member Intervens

David Kirkwood, a Labor member, intervened in behalf of this member, demanding to know whether it was in order for "one member to point deliberately at another member." The Speaker's reply was inaudible, but Mr. Hotley to Sir Frederick: "Oh! Sir Frederick must only an old fool?" could be heard throughout the chamber. Later, advising Sir Frederick to "get on with his bladder," Kirkwood left the house.

Coombs M. Archer-Shee, seconding Sir Frederick Banbury, said if Parliament passed laws of this description it would bring about a state of affairs similar to that in the United States, where many laws have "become dead letters."

Other members sought to get Lady Astor to promise she would not introduce other temperance measures. Lord Scrayne, the only prohibition member of Parliament, further denounced her bill as a "paltry, puny, ridiculous humbug," and declared it was so mild that it was treachery to the great cause of prohibition. Lady Astor "passed over" the speech of Spenlow and continued:

Knows Women's Wishes

Lady Astor, replying to all her critics, said she would not attempt to answer Sir Frederick Banbury since "he had arrived at the time of life when the only chance possible was to be born again."

"It almost turns my head," she continued, "to hear how easily I can force an unwonted sentiment into the House of Commons and the people of this country. I have been described as an alien trying to impose my wishes on a free people, but I am not an alien to the needs and wishes of the women of this country."

Loud cheering greeted the announcement of the bill's passage when a voice was taken after her speech. During the debate and the vote Lord Astor occupied a seat in the peers' gallery.

From Mr. Anderson's Address at Huntington, Long Island, Union Service at the Methodist Church Sunday, June, 15

I had supposed that the effort to secure a political indictment against me for transactions unanimously, officially, and legally approved by the House of Commons and Tanglewood was dropped after the failure to get an indictment from one Grand Jury selected for the purpose and held for nearly three months in an effort that directed itself to the State En force ment. It is not necessary for me to deny those false charges. They have been officially denied by interested parties with full knowledge of the facts by the officers of the Anti-Saloon League. The former Governor and Governor Smith have been shocked and disappointed to find that the Governor's approval of the new enforcement bill has not disturbed and demoralized the State constituency of the Anti-Saloon League. They are very much afraid that their poison gas bombarding has not only not killed my influence but has not even crippled either my writing arm or my talking jaw.

Of course, the notorious three dischargers former em ployees of the League are still out for revenge. And Henry L. Stoddard of the Evening Mail and Raymond B. Findley, Rockefeller representative, have been trying to force a re-opening of the case to ease their way into the press which they were precipitated by their failure last winter to furnish enough evidence to indict, though the Mail tried desperately by attempted intimidation to make a new failure.

But the real reason for the new attempt is that the wets and their political allies, with their luck to the wall are now absolutely desperate and have determined to silence me by the use of the power. They now control the Legislature and it is humanly possible to force an indictment in the hope that an actual indictment will discredit me where a mere investigation would have failed.

I had a representative last winter, unknown to the wets, who circulated among the Tammany politicians who knew all the inside dope. They all admitted that they had nothing, some of them admitting it with curses and lamentations and the expression of desire that I be "railroaded" in any event. They said frankly that there was no expectation of conviction of me, but that, after all, an indictment was to be used, if one could be secured, to destroy my influence, to demoralize the Anti-Saloon League, to get me out of the State Enforcement Code and out of the way of Governor Smith's chances in 1924.

This effort fizzled out although it was dragged along, apparently to help the repeal campaign, until even wet leaders protested that the reaction was hurting the wet cause. It was then definitely dropped. I know this to have been charged by some of those most vigorously behind it.

The late effort of the effort against me was held over for practically two months. I was in effect given two months probation to demonstrate whether I had learned my lesson and would keep it clean without the wet enforcement, with the threat of conviction and the wet endorsement in a new effort to betray President Harding next year.

When the League definitely served notice through action in the Legislature that it would not only not be coerced into silence on this point, and when it became apparent that Tammany needed to do something to break the force of the law and order resistance against enforcement which the League had stirred up and was augmenting, then it was definitely assured that another effort would be made to get an indictment as a heavier club to hold over my head.

Those wets who later want to make me their "goat." It makes little difference what they do to me as long as I retain complete custody of that mythical mascot quadrupled.

It is the District Attorney's business if he believes that a crime has been committed to present the evidence to the Grand Jury; to procure a valid indictment if possible; to bring the case to trial upon that indictment, and to present his evidence or cause it to be presented by others; thereby put the responsibility up to a judge and jury. More than this is not required by law of the District Attorney. In this he is entitled to protection from criticism or any attempt to influence his action.

However, when the District Attorney departs from the exact line of his office and attempts to present the prosecution to an individual in the public mind by parlor statements for its subconscious effect upon the jury that is ultimately to try the case and he is acting in his own behalf and to present his evidence or cause it to be presented by others, thereby put the responsibility up to his judgment, even more than this is not required by law of the District Attorney. In this he is entitled to protection from criticism or any attempt to influence his action.

I even leaned over backwards all last winter in my care to avoid saying anything that could be construed or distorted into criticism of proper activity of the District Attorney's office, or attempted interference with the discharge of his duty. I assumed it was possible that the District Attorney had been deceived and was acting in good faith.

I should not have said anything this time until after indictment or refusal to indict by the Grand Jury if the District Attorney had come to himself from his mistaken idea of the discharge of his official duty, instead of starting the propaganda mill to grinding.

But Mr. Banton in a specific effort to discredit me not only has not confined himself to his duty, but he has not confined himself to the truth. For example, he opened up his propaganda to prepare the public and the Grand Jury in advance when, because of the publication of the absurd and false statement that I was seriously ill and a complete nervous wreck, he supposed I was helpless. Then and not until then I issued a statement telling some pertinent if unpalatable facts about his witnesses.

In further effort to discredit me he said for publication, and it was published this week, that Potter, the discharged bookkeeper, was an unwilling witness against me. Potter promptly proved the utter falsity of this propaganda statement by deposing for prosecution that he was willing and saying that he had sold out his business and come voluntarily.

And this is not all. I know from the statements of Raymond H. Findley, corroborated by the statements of Mr. Banton himself, that Mr. Banton knew perfectly well nearly a year ago that Potter was willingly bringing Phillips in the latter's effort to use both his Rockefeller offices and the District Attorney's office as a collection agency for attempted blackmail.

This is just a sample of what I have been up against and a sample of the real thing, with the ace in the hat on the second syllable, of the District Attorney's office propaganda.

Mr. Banton is a church member from the South, personally in favor of prohibition, in favor of prohibition, which was accompanied by Tammany Boss Murphy as a bid to the church, prohibition and law and order element at a time when Mr. Murphy did not know that Tammany boss Murphy in the last election. Mr. Banton, the District Attorney, according to the testimony of close friends before this matter assumed its present phases, is an earnest aspirant for the Tammany nomination for Governor. Whether Tammany is just "kidding" him to get him
go along or really intends to give him the nomination, I have
not the least idea that these facts are true. Having
in mind the motives, he played Tammany's game for repeal last winter and is playing its political game now.

The anti-Saloon League is showing the astounding contrast between his efforts to disrupt the Anti-Saloon League and his efforts in the direction of honest, really effective breaking up of the illegal liquor traffic carried on by the brewers, distillers, and bottlers, which have become most profitable to Tammany, and shall interpret for the public the facts in so far as that may be necessary.

The Attorney General yesterday failed to bring before the Grand Jury testimony in his possession which he knew a witness favorable to the bootleggers would give on personal knowledge and which was calculated to knock his case into the proverbial cocked hat.

I have proved to the satisfaction of every fair-minded person that the bootleggers did not rely off Tammany and certain Republican leaders to betray law enforcement Republicans and elect Tammany's nominee. This effort was made to betray Governor Miller, which failed the first time and succeeded the second time. The next deal slated to be pulled off is one in which the beneficiaries are to be Gov-

or Smith and young Theodore Roosevelt, a boot millifica-

tion Democrat and the other a boot millification Republican.

And I want to serve notice now that even in the seemingly im-
possible event that I should be convicted on perjured testimony, a miscarriage of justice which seems inconceivable even in New York, they could not rob me of my political rights and put me into prison in time to prevent my exposing this deal, with its betrayal of President Harding and the national Republican party.

I believe that there is but one honest way that they can silence me and if they try that they will find that I am still capable of doing them more damage than they ever imagined they will part.

I defy this corrupt political outfit to do its worst, and as long as I breathe the breath of life I shall continue to "cry aloud in order to be heard through the council of which has trusted me and stood by me and which is standing by today more strongly than ever.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. ANDERSON,
State Superintendent,
Anti-Saloon League of New York.

The Fight On the Anti-Saloon League

(Headline and editorial) in the Christian Science Monitor, July 10, 1923.

There is an evident purpose manifested by the enemies of prohibition to concentrate their attack upon the Anti-Saloon League which is obvious to itself, if not invulnerable, at least presents such economic and social defenses against attack as to make successful assault upon it difficult; but the organization which has served to crystallize and to direct the prohibition sentiment of the land is, of course, under human control, is not immune from error and can readily furnish bases for both of these criticisms. In view of the fact that we find the very efficient, if somewhat militant, Superintendent Anderson under fire in the state attorney's office upon allegation of various offenses. To prejudice case of this kind may be heard that many of the newspapers interested in the restoration of the liquor traffic. They have in headlines and by innuendo been virtually asserting his guilt for the purpose of having him removed by means of some grand jury which failed to carry out the promise.

It is, however, fair to say that the work performed by Anderson has been of a nature which would necessarily breed for him a large crop of particularly malignant enemies. Moreover, he stands in the state which leads in violation of the prohibi-
tion law, as the foremost exponent of the public sentiment which led to the enactment of that law. Attacks upon his rectitude were to be expected, and it is only the part of ordi-
nary decency for the public to withhold the aid of right of judgment. In the event that the courts shall have given opportunity for both the prosecution and the defense to be heard.

As the head center of liquor lawlessness, New York nat-
urally offers the most spectacular illustrations of the at-
tacks upon the Anti-Saloon League. Its mayor, who as the actual commanding officer of the police, is the first to regard himself as the duty of enforcing the law, writes a letter in his characteristic literary style to the general coun-
el of the Anti-Saloon League, denouncing that organization for its support of low enforcement law, but referring to its efforts upon the politics of the situation. The mayor of New York has at his command a police force of 12,000 men. The Anti-
Saloon League is only for the purpose of legislative and legislative sentiment in behalf of prohibition. It has no executive authority under the law, nor any body of officers charged with practical enforcement. When Mayor Hylan states that "I have given and will continue to give every cooperation to the federal enforcement officials," he states what every observer knows he untrue. The accusation of his ambition to "put my foot on the brass rail and blow off the froth," has given the police of New York state an

excuse for withdrawal from any activity for the enforcement of the prohibition law, and of the expense which they generally take advantage. No well-informed person will doubt that if the police force were ordered to enforce the law, most of the boot-
leggers would be driven from the towns. The only way the tre-
diment, discreditable and intolerable situation can be corrected is through political agitation which will result in the enactment of a new enforcement law to take the place of the one which Smith slaughtered. To accomplish this, the Anti-Saloon League must participate actively in politics, and it is because of apprehension as to this participation that the prohibition results that the mayor of New York attacks such actions.

In Michigan, Senator Couzens, who, greatly to the regret of many friends of law and order in that state, had left the League with out reservation into opposition to the prohibition law, has turned from advocating the legalization of beer with alco-
hol content of as much as 5 per cent. of proof to attacks on the Anti-Saloon League. He asserts that "it raises hundreds of mill-
of dollars to bulldoze representatives and senators into carrying out its will." Of course, the senator is in a position to know that with the ballot box in his hand, the results of any election will be determined in his favor by the constituents whom he represents.

And the League, as the senator is quoted as saying, seeks "to regulate what the citizens of Michigan should eat, drink, and wear." The function of the League is to aid in giving effect to the decision of the majority of the citizens of Michigan. Nobody knows how many times ratified at the polls by the citizens of Michigan. That there should not be manufactured or offered for sale in that state is simply a matter of opinion. At the last elec-
tion, when this issue was presented, something more than 260,000 majority was cast against the legalizaticn of the beer to which the senator refers. The governor now desires the legislature to grant the Anti-Saloon League the state is on the side of this majority. It seems fatuous for an individual to denounce it as an arrogant and ruinous project. The new law merely reflects the last recorded sentiment of the electorate.

At times and in places there may have been methods adopted by agents of the Anti-Saloon League of coercion and intimidation, but those instances are isolated and rare. The liquor politicians are being harnessed upon them are conveniently blind to the strong-arm political methods adopted by the saloonists and their associates. The Governor, now making this nation-wide contest for a return to power. As they dare not defend the methods of those whom they are now serving, they think to advance their cause by wholesale attack on the one agency which most efficiently gives material effect in the law to the overwhelming prohibition sentiment of the American people. The intelligent common sense of the people of the United States will permit attention to be diverted from the real issue of the return to liberty and the participation of the American League that saves the cause of the representation of the organization engaged in the defense of the law.

Congratulates Harding

President Felicitated by Japanese Prohibitionist on Dry Ship Rule

(Headlines and article in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, June 27, 1923)

Tokio, June 27.—While the largest ships of the Japanese lines are steaming toward the United States with full stocks of liquor aboard, Snes, the most famous prohibitionist in the Diet, today called President Harding: "Heartily con-
gratulations on enforcement of the dry law on foreign ships, which is equally as praiseworthy as Tor the reduction of armament by the Washington Conference."

He also said he considers American statesmen who are leading the world to prohibition among the most saintly figures in history.

Wet Days Over, Main Tells Scouts

Fathers and Sons Hear Assertion That Prohibition Will Spread Over Earth

(Headlines and article in the Troy Record, February 14, 1923)

"Prohibition is here to stay regardless of whatever views there may be to the contrary," Rev. Dr. William H. Main, of Philadelphia, Pa., told an influential group of the Young Men's Christian Association. He was addressing the assembly at the annual Father and Son banquet of the Boy Scout troop of the First Baptist Church last night. Dr. Main went on to say that the prohibition of the liquor trade will come when prohibition will spread to other civilized countries of the world. He agreed with Thomas A. Edison, who said that the prohibition would be "the last word of the trouble will end, because the younger generation won't have the damned habit."
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GENERAL

The next number of The American Issue will contain the primary election bulletin setting out what the Anti-Saloon League has been able to learn from candidates for the Assembly respecting their attitude on the issues connected with the enforcement of prohibition. The immediate legislative program is the pressing of the enabling tripods for passage by the legislature this winter. In order, however, that there may be some general view of the enforcement for prohibition, it is obvious that the voters interested supremely in prohibition and its enforcement as a moral issue and as an issue involving respect for law, there are some things in the way of general discussion which need to be said.

The state leaders of the Republican party—the ruling majority of them—are giving the party a bad name, and they will deserve it plentifully. They have betrayed the overwhelming prohibition majority of the membership of the party completely and with malicious purpose. More than a year ago these leaders began shaping the party policy so as to remove that policy from the control of the party’s majority. Their purpose was to keep that majority of the party from effectively raising the enforcement issue, to keep the state platform silent on the issue and so enable the Speaker of the Assembly last winter to dodge the responsibility of calling a caucus on the question of the repeal of the enforcement law, and to make it impossible for any Republican candidate who so wished to be as wet as he pleased and to be as open about his wetness as he pleased. It was a conspiracy upon the part of leaders, made into a de facto ally of the Democratic party useless and impossible as a vehicle for expressing dry sentiment.

That aim has, for the present, been completely accomplished. The Republican party has been in opposition to the majority sentiment of the party members, made into a de facto ally of the Democratic party in the crippling of enforcement and in the furtherance of the campaign to repeal the Volstead law and destroy prohibition.

No Possible Hope of Dry Help From Republican Assembly Victory in General

There can be no possible hope of any aid to enforcement or prohibition by a mere Republican Assembly victory in general this fall. Anyone who argues that it will be better for the cause to have a Republican majority in the Assembly by the election of some wet Republicans as against some wet Democrats is trifling with intellectual integrity. The election of a wet Republican Assemblyman this year in a district that ought to nominate and elect a dry Republican will only make it the harder to nominate a dry Republican next year. And, if the present state leadership of the Republican party can scuttle moral sentiment, pitch the convictions of the most of the members of the party to the liquor sharks and then make a safe voyage politically they will believe themselves to be possessed of a political mandate to continue their treacherous enforcement policy. Wherever, therefore, urges the reelection of a wet Republican merely because he is a Republican will be making it harder to bring New York back into the Union, to oust misrepresentative leadership from the Republican party, and to make the moral element in the party as dominant in the party councils as it is in the party membership.

Further, we can see nothing but added damage to the dry cause from the election of any individual Republican Assembly candidate who voted for the repeal of enforcement, or any new or old Republican candidate who is for beer and wines or who would be obedient to leaders hostile to the enforcement of a dry enforcement law in harmony with federal law. There are some Republican Assembleymen, even, who voted against the repeal of the state enforcement code who cannot be counted upon to stand for a new code in harmony with federal law when the opportunity to press for such a law comes in this state. The natural tendency is for an Assemblyman in office to enlarge his political grip and increase his chances of continuing. The election of an Assemblyman, therefore, subservient to the kind of state leadership upon this issue which at present dominates the Republican party can be no service to the enforcement cause.

Wet Republican state leaders have definitely thrown down the gauntlet to the moral element in the party. In both words and actions they say, “Wet Republicans are wet before they are Republicans, but we are convinced that dry Republicans are more interested in Republicanism than they are in the success of prohibition, and we are shaping our political policy in that faith.” If, when so challenged, the overwhelming dry membership of the party quietly accepts the situation and puts its partisanship above its moral principles it will have done the greatest dis-service possible to the Republican party nationally as well as have insured the continuance of ruinous leadership and repeated party disasters in the state.

When the vermin begin to dictate terms to the family it is time to clean house.

GOV. WHITMAN’S BRIEF FILED IN CONNECTION WITH REQUEST FOR INSPECTION OF MINUTES OF THE GRAND JURY WHICH INDICTED THE N. Y. STATE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE SUPERINTENDENT

By the State Superintendent

We have printed a brief running report of Governor Whitman’s argument in the request for inspection of the Grand Jury minutes as basis for a motion to dismiss the indictments on the ground there was not sufficient evidence to justify an indictment.

In a number of cases minutes were granted along about the same time, by the same judge. According to our best information at this time, the request in behalf of the Superintendent of the agency of the majority of the churches of the state whose representatives on the county board of the saloon league as a perversion of justice was the only one denied. Obviously it would be improper to comment on this.
fact, but the constituency of the League and the general public have a right to form and hold, and within the limits of discretion to express by a vote, its judgment as to what facts about applications granted when given to the press generally.

In the meantime we reprint the entire text of Governor Whipple's 'brief or memorandum' for the information of the League constituency which gets only a very small part of the facts from the newspapers.

Any of the information made up-State on newspapers that are far in spirit of the hostility of the New York papers is given by the editor as well as printed in the daily which is not a friend of the Anti-Saloon League, and particularly not a friend of its Superintend.

COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS OF THE PEACE IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK VS. 

AGAINST

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON,

Defendant

MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF THE DEFENDANT'S MOTION TO INSPECT THE MINUTES OF THE GRAND JURY

Five indictments have been returned against the defendant, William H. Anderson, by the Grand Jury empanelled in the County of New York on August 11, 1923, to sit on the 5th day of August, 1923, for the July, 1923, term. In two of the said indictments the defendant is charged with the crime of grand larceny in the first degree. In one of the said indictments the defendant is charged with the crime of forgery in the third degree. In the other two indictments the defendant is charged with the crime of extortion.

THE GRAND LARCENY INDICTMENTS

The two grand larceny indictments are based upon a similar series of alleged facts except that one of the indictments is based upon the payment of interest to the defendant in the sum of $1,750, while in the other grand larceny indictment it is based upon the two payments of $200 and $250 respectively. In the former indictment it is alleged that the defendant had no connection whatever with the Anti-Saloon League. In the latter indictment it is alleged that the defendant had a connection with the Anti-Saloon League, but that the same was not a source of income for the defendant.

In the grand larceny indictment in which the defendant is charged with the crime of grand larceny in the first degree, it is alleged that on the 3rd of February, 1921, the defendant in an attempt to defraud the Anti-Saloon League was charged with stealing $250 from the said corporation. In the other indictment it is alleged that on the 2nd day of March, 1921, the defendant obtained the sum of $2,750 from the Anti-Saloon League on similar false representations.

Each of the grand larceny indictments contain three counts. The first count is based upon Section 1290, Subdivision 1 of the Penal Law. The second count is for common law larceny "with force and arms." The third count is based upon Section 1290, Subdivision 2 of the Penal Law. The affidavit of the defendant, verified July 30, 1923, submitting his motion to inspect the minutes of the Grand Jury, shows conclusively that two of the indictments are based upon the charge of grand larceny, and in each of these indictments the defendant is charged with the crime of grand larceny in the first degree. It is further alleged in the affidavit that the evidence actually presented to the Grand Jury and considered by it showed conclusively that the defendant was not guilty of the crime charged.

It is elementary, of course, that the indictments are founded upon insufficient evidence, unless the District Attorney made a mistake in the following respects:

First: That the defendant made representations to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League;

Second: That the representations were false;

Third: That the Board of Directors believed the representations to be true;

Fourth: That they relied upon the representations and paid money to the defendant on the faith thereof.

An inspection of the minutes of the Grand Jury upon which these two larceny indictments were based, will show conclusively, we believe, that the testimony which was submitted to the Grand Jury was totally lacking in two of the necessary elements of guilt mentioned. There was no proof that the representations made by the defendant to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League were false, and there was no proof that had been made by the defendant to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League relied upon those representations in the payment of either interest or principal to the defendant. On the other hand, there was no proof before the Grand Jury that the Board of Directors did not rely upon the defendant's representations in the payment of the money in question to the defendant.

The witnesses before the Grand Jury were:


No witnesses other than those mentioned appeared before the Grand Jury. The evidence before the defendant that neither Phillips nor Potter were in the employ of the Anti-Saloon League during the period of the time in which the alleged expenses were made by the League shows that they had no connection whatever with the League during that time. They were not in a position to have any personal knowledge of the matters referred to in the two grand larceny indictments, and could not have given any legal testimony as a basis for those indictments.

Miss Marie O'Donnell and Miss Eleanor Fitch are stenographers employed in the office of the District Attorney of the County of New York. The only alleged testimony which they might have been able to give before the Grand Jury would have been possible reducing a statement which had been given to the District Attorney by the defendant. Those statements were unqualified to the effect that the representations made to the defendant had made to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League were in all respects true. Miss Hill informed the defendant that she gave no testimony on this subject to the district attorney, and Miss O'Dell informed the defendant that she testified that as far as she knew the defendant's representations were true.

The affidavit of the defendant submitted upon this action shows that the Rev. George Caleb Moor, the Rev. James Chalmers, and the Rev. C. Arthur Lincoln testified before the Grand Jury that at the time the payments referred to in the indictments were made to the defendant, the Anti-Saloon League was justly indebted to the defendant in excess of the amounts paid. It is further alleged in the affidavit that when the employment corporation the defendant was understood that the defendant should make advances on the basis of the company's ability to pay such advances. This account for the testimony of the evidence which appeared before the Grand Jury, legally qualified to give any evidence upon the question of the defendant's representations to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League. There was, therefore, no evidence whatever before the Grand Jury in support of the allegations of the affidavit that the representations made to the defendant were made by the defendant to the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League were false. An examination of the minutes of the Grand Jury will show that there was before the Grand Jury no evidence whatever in support of those allegations contained in the indictment.

An inspection of the Grand Jury minutes would likewise show, we believe, that the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League did not rely upon the defendant's representations but relied upon its own judgment and the judgment of a Special Committee of that Board in authorizing such payments to be made both as to principal and as to interest.

In paragraph 11 of the affidavit submitted upon its motion, it is stated that some months ago the defendant turned over to the District Attorney of New York the books containing the books containing the minutes of the Board of Directors of the said corporation. Those books and minutes were in the possession of the District Attorney at the time the investigation out of which these indictments arose, and the defendant has been informed that the said books, records and minutes were presented to the Grand Jury, which returned those indictments.

The minutes of the Board of Directors show that on the 26th of March, 1928, the Board of Directors of the corporation appointed a special committee, consisting of three members of the said Board, to investigate and report to the Board as to whether the Anti-Saloon League was indebted to the defendant on account of moneys which he had advanced on behalf of the League.

The minutes of the said Board of Directors, as of April
September 8, 1923

THE AMERICAN ISSUE

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THE FORGERY INDICTMENT

In the indictment in which the defendant is charged with the crime of forgery in the third degree, it is alleged in substance that the defendant on the 9th of March, 1921, with an intent to defraud, constructed and issued a book of account called "journal," by which entry the sum of $4,400 was transferred from the "salary account" of one O. B. Phillips to the "expense account" of the same.

In the affidavit of the defendant, submitted upon its action, it appears that the defendant was informed that Phillips testified before the grand jury that he had made a payment of $4,400 to the defendant, which payment was in the nature of a salary, whereas his actual taxable income was $4,000 less than that sum because he had paid to the defendant $4,400 of the $18,800 he had made of the entry, thereby reducing Phillips' taxable income for the year in question and opening the item itself was properly chargeable against his "expense account."

The essential allegation in the forgery indictment is the allegation that the said entry was false and feloniously made with the intent to defraud. The defendant was charged with making a false entry of $4,400 to cover a prior or subsequent fraud upon the Anti-Saloon League. There was no such evidence of fraud presented to the grand jury.

The persons affected by the entry were Phillips, the defendant, and the corporation. Phillips testified that he requested the entry to be made so that the books of the corporation would accurately reflect its taxable income. Mr. Anderson, the defendant, received neither benefit nor injury by reason of the entry. The corporation was benefited through the transaction out of which the entry arose, because the money transferred from Phillips' "salary account" to his "expense account" was applied by the defendant toward the payment of the obligation due from the latter to the defendant, thus reducing the said obligation. The question of whether or not the Anti-Saloon League was defrauded is not the reason for the defendant's conviction, however, is immaterial as a matter of law. It is sufficient to show that there was no proof that the Anti-Saloon League was defrauded. It is calculated to prevent fraud on the public. The book of account which were before the grand jury and the indictment itself show that under the contract between Phillips and the defendant, whereby Phillips paid $4,400 to the defendant, was made under full authority of the Board of Directors of the corporation. The defendant was knowingly and willfully caused the said book entry, the forgery indictment was illegally found against him without sufficient evidence to support the same. The following are conclusive upon this point:

In the case of People v. Brown, 140 A. D. 591, the court said in part:

The defendants have been indicted and convicted, not for obtaining money, goods or credit upon false pretenses, but for an offense committed in the course of the business of a bank, in procuring a person to create a thing of value, evidence of degree, or contract for delivery of the wrongdoer. In my judgment, that should be within the statute, but I do not so read it.
Statement on Denial of Inspection of Grand Jury Minutes

State Superintendent Anderson released for publication on Friday, August 31, in the morning papers, a list of other applications made before Judge McIntyre for the inspection of minutes, the crimes with which those charged were on whose behalf the requests were made and the names of the attorneys in the cases. The only morning newspaper in New York city which printed anything of the statement about the granting of the inspection of the minutes to six other indicted individuals was the New York Times, and that paper did not print the crimes with which those six individuals were charged nor the names of their attorneys. The following is the statement as it was sent to the newspapers:

SIX OTHERS RECENTLY GRANTED, ANDERSON'S THE ONLY APPLICATION FOR INSPECTION OF GRAND JURY MINUTES DENIED, BY AVAILABLE RECORDS

By the State Superintendent

As a lawyer admitted to practice in New York as well as several other states it would be obviously improper for me to comment upon any of the applications made before Judge McIntyre, in his discretion, to grant my request for inspection of the minutes of the grand jury which returned a number of indictments against me.

However, the public has a right to know, and I have a right to give out the facts that will enable it to know, that so far as the records available disclose, the executive officer of the state, the attorney general, and the attorneys in New York state was the only person so denied by Judge McIntyre, who filed no comment or memorandum explaining his denial, although according to the information in my possession, the records show at least six recent cases in which he gave the requested inspection.

It is further proper to suggest that whereas it is apparently not disputed in the other cases that SOMEBODY committed a crime, it is an uncontroverted fact that neither the Board of Directors, the only body officially authorized to speak for the Anti-Saloon League, denies that it was robbed, and the district attorney insists, as he did in one case, whether or not any crime against the League was committed by anybody.

The following seven cases, apparently the only cases of the sort within the time, are all cases where parties named, indicted by the grand jury of New York county, within a few weeks of each other made application for inspection of the grand jury minutes through their attorneys as mentioned. The application was granted in six of them by Judge McIntyre according to the information in my possession taken from the records, and denied in one.

THE FOLLOWING SIX APPLICATIONS WERE GRANTED

1. LOUIS AMBERG, arrested May 23, 1923, indicted for the killing by a revolver shot for an attorney of one Jacob Shobin on April 23, 1923. Application for grand jury minutes by his attorney, LEONARD A. SNITKIN, July term. Granted by Judge McIntyre.

2. WILLIAM H. LACEY, indicted for murder. Application for grand jury minutes by attorney, HARRY SCHULMAN, July term. Granted by Judge McIntyre.

3. PHILASCO BOYLE, indicted for assault. Application for grand jury minutes by attorney, HARRY SNITKIN, April term. Granted by Judge McIntyre.


5. GEORGE MAXWELL, indicted for writing and mail-
A SERMON FROM A LIQUOR JOURNAL

Mida's Criticism, published in Chicago, "A monthly journal devoted to the whisky and wine trade," price $5.00 a year, in discussing the liquor men who will not support the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of America, says, "A membership fee SAVED may be a cause lost."

In an editorial signed by Lee W. Mida, in the number of November 1, 1916, this liquor journal says: "Takers Who Refuse to Give."

The non-member realizes that he reaps certain benefits through the good work of the National Association. He knows that some men are public spirited. But he purposes to save his own dollars by letting the other fellow do it.

"His position to New York City must be exactly the same as the member's position. If prohibition wins, the non-member suffers as much as the member. Yet—rather than risk a few dollars for the common cause and the common good, this non-member holds out. He wishes to enjoy the fruits of the garden, but he refuses to help cultivate the garden.

"The man who betrays a cause is justly styled a traitor to the cause of the man who refuses to help a cause that is helping him any less a traitor? The mildest term that can be used is to call him an ingrate. He worse, but he does not give. He cheats, but he never supports."

If the liquor forces and their allies succeed in their conspiracy to destroy national prohibition, using the State of New York as the chief battering-ram to that end, it will be disastrous. A conspiracy against the liquor men is a conspiracy against the liquor men of the world, for there is no liquor man in the world who does not in decency fight prohibition, are again given over to the uses of liquor publicity. Spurred by these things and by the repeal of the New York State law, the liquor men are boastful. Their campaign reeks with the expenditure of money seemingly limitless and gathered not only from here but from everywhere in the world that the organized liquor traffic exists.

He who does not give and do to the limit now against this monstrous attempt to drown the soul of the nation in beer and wine cannot be other than a slacker. Who he slacks in so crucial an hour is multiplied a slacker.

Have you smothered your conscience and saved something at the expense of the cause? If you have, help save the nation, but with it today and send along any additional contribution your conscience suggests from current funds.

APPARENTLY THE ONLY APPLICATION TURNED DOWN

WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New York, indicted for grand larceny, forgery in the third degree and extortion. Application for grand jury minutes July 27, 1923, by his attorney, FREDERICK SULLIVAN. Granted by JUDGE McINTYRE on August 1, 1923.

LETTER TO CERTAIN LEGISLATORS GIVES REASONS WHY ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE WILL WELCOME LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATION: WILL RESPECT POWER OF THE STATE BUT DEFY ANARCHISTIC OFFICIALS OPERATING OUTSIDE PROPER EXERCISE OF THEIR OFFICIAL POWER

The Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League served notice that the recognition of its political power by the Legislature would be regarded as an attack upon the dry enforcement churches which it represents. This was widely exploited as evidence that the Legislature had an investigation to make. It must be self-evident from the following letter to the legislators that the Anti-Saloon League not only has no fear of an investigation but will be at the same time receiving more of its rights fitly to characterize and properly to deal with the motives and individuals responsible therefor.

TO THE TAMMANY SECESSIONISTS AND BEER NULLIFICATIONISTS, AND THEIR REPUBLICAN ASSISTANTS, IN THE PRESENT NEW YORK LEGISLATURE:

A Tammany grand jury of New York county, finding five political indictments against me on the testimony of a discharged attempted blackmailer and confessed perjurer, has asked you, in the majority of the legislature, "immediately" thus hinting at a special session, to "investigate" the Anti-Saloon League's activities for the last ten years.

I am convinced that this grand jury action was a mere threat designed to silence me after I had turned the light on the district attorney and surprised him into such damaging admissions that Tammany muted him, or whether it is a serious effort to secure an "investigation" to bolster up indictments which it is recognized can not justify or support a conviction and to hold Tammany's governor and the Republican Assembly Speaker and those who follow their bidding from the necessity of openly admitting their culpability for it.

I not only have not the slightest fear as to the ultimate outcome of the indictments, but shall welcome such an "investigation."

I shall, of course, capitalize to the utmost for the dry cause the crookedness of the motives behind such a move if made, and the fact that it is an attack, by sinister forces which fancy they are keeping hidden, through corrupt political or-
Governor Smith Gets Unquestioned Evidence That the Anti-Saloon League is Not Afraid of Investigation

By the State Superintendent

Every hostile paper rushed out to denounce the action of the Board telling the League constituency that the purpose of the behind the legislative investigation recounts that the Tammany grand jury was political and dishonest in motive. Even the Outlook fell for this.

After the facts have been gotten out to the people who will read the facts and overlook the froth and fluid it was then considered desirable to make clear that the League is not afraid of investigation no matter how much it intends to put the stamp of dishonesty on it, or how thoroughly it intends to capitalize it.

I have just sent to Governor Smith challenging him to his special session and include an investigation of the Anti-Saloon League in the call. The New York City morning papers this morning and afternoon papers first one. Only the Times mentioned the second one, at least in the editions examined, or anyhow extensively enough to be found.

THE FIRST LETTER

August 20, 1923.

The editorial in Mr. Henry Ford's national weekly "The Dearborn Independent," shows how the whole country is on the way to comprehension of the fact that you and your Tammany associates and a few wet Republican "leaders" recently compiled a pitiable weak, ambitious district attorney who already had enough, to go through with the conspiracy to indict me for wet political purposes.

By the way, the word in question is a mere pretext, so understood by you and Mayor Hylan who, I am advised, also insisted that I be indicted regardless, for carrying a speakeasy is no more the purpose of which will be to "investigate" the Anti-Saloon League. Those persons believe that the political purpose by the grand jury asking for such an indictment but shall volunteer some schedule to authorize such action at the special session and yet appear not to be responsible.

The calling of a special session that undertakes such an action is all that the general public and the church constituency throughout the nation need to convince them that you are using religious and religious prejudice of New York City, alien in spirit if not under alien control, through the most corrupt political organization in the world to destroy the civic inhumanism of Protestantism of some 5,000 Protestant churches in the United States.

Believing, first, that the result of such an "investigation" will help to the Anti-Saloon League and the cause it represents; and, believing, second, that nothing is better calculated to eliminate the menace of your candidacy for president of the United States as the leading wet nullificationist of America, I hereby challenge you to go through with the whole inferno as it stood when the district attorney, supposing I could not be put in jail, and not by wrong hand announcement of his second attempt, by calling a special session and including the Anti-Saloon League "investigation" in the call.

Such action in the face of your refusal to heed the charges against the district attorney who for the last few months has been but the plant tool of the Tammany organization of which you are the leading spirit, and your refusal to follow your own precedent in the direction of assuring a fair trial will satisfy the public that if you cannot make your case as is believed in many quarters, you at least approve malfeasance on the part of the district attorney and denial of justice if it helps the wet and personal politicking of the Tammany bi-partisan combination. You and your legislature will have your hands full if you start an "investigation." A political organization can secure indictments. In some cases it takes some action to secure a conviction and make it stick. The Tammany indictments against me betray you but they cannot intimidate me. You could start this but it will be finished by the forces of morality and law and order which I represent; because the real influence among you do not dare ever to come wholly into the open, while the representatives of the American conscience and genuine American patriotism are strongest in the open.

I shall treat the legislature with respect so long as it confines itself within its legitimate powers and shall even help to find things it isn't looking for. But if it invades my constitutional rights I shall defy it from the jump-off. I can think of nothing I shall consider more injurious in a direct effect in stimulating the activity of the advocates of dry enforcement throughout the nation, than to be put in jail by the moral secession of making up your mind that this line that controls the present legislature for alleged contempt of them in their effort to put a Tammany beer nullificationist into the White House.

If you have not sufficient comprehension of the moral character of this issue to understand what I am talking about, I sincerely hope you will wait until it is said out.

THE SECOND LETTER

August 22, 1923.

Receiving no reply, although there has been time, to my letter urging you to call a special session of the legislature including an "investigation" of the Anti-Saloon League, I make another suggestion pending your expected reply.

I happen to know that the O. U. A. I. and the cause it represents; and, believing, second, that nothing is better calculated to eliminate the menace of your candidacy for president of the United States as the leading wet nullificationist of America, I hereby challenge you to go through with the whole inferno as it stood when the district attorney, supposing I could not be put in jail, and not by wrong hand announcement of his second attempt, by calling a special session and including the Anti-Saloon League "investigation" in the call.

Such action in the face of your refusal to heed the charges against the district attorney who for the last few months has been but the plant tool of the Tammany organization of which you are the leading spirit, and your refusal to follow your own precedent in the direction of assuring a fair trial will satisfy the public that if you cannot make your case as is believed in many quarters, you at least approve malfeasance on the part of the district attorney and denial of justice if it helps the wet and personal politicking of the Tammany bi-partisan combination. You and your legislature will have your hands full if you start an "investigation." A political organization can secure indictments. In some cases it takes some action to secure a conviction and make it stick. The Tammany indictments against me betray you but they cannot intimidate me. You could start this but it will be finished by the forces of morality and law and order which I represent; because the real influence among you do not dare ever to come wholly into the open, while the representatives of the American conscience and genuine American patriotism are strongest in the open.

I shall treat the legislature with respect so long as it confines itself within its legitimate powers and shall even help to find things it isn't looking for. But if it invades my constitutional rights I shall defy it from the jump-off. I can think of nothing I shall consider more injurious in a direct effect in stimulating the activity of the advocates of dry enforcement throughout the nation, than to be put in jail by the moral secession of making up your mind that this line that controls the present legislature for alleged contempt of them in their effort to put a Tammany beer nullificationist into the White House.

If you have not sufficient comprehension of the moral character of this issue to understand what I am talking about, I sincerely hope you will wait until it is said out.
Some Facts Necessary to Full Understanding of the Unfriendly and Misleading Editorial Utterances of Mr. Nolan R. Best, Editor of "The Continent" (Presbyterian)

By the State Superintendent

It is a cause for the deepest personal regret that it has seemed to become necessary to say some very frank things about the editorial utterances of Mr. Nolan R. Best, editor of the "The Continent." The occasion for the remonstrance is twofold: first, Mr. Best has been my warm personal friend for more than 20 years. Second, he and the Continent have been outstanding opponents of the Anti-Saloon League. However, if Mr. Best does not allow either his personal friendship or his advocacy of the League to prevent him from saying unkind things about me and my co-religionists, I say with entire freedom and without restraint that his friend then I cannot allow these things to stand in the way of telling the truth even though it may hurt Mr. Best who is personally my friend.

It should be said that this is not the first time that Mr. Best, who has his own troubles within the Presbyterian church, has gone wrong respecting the Anti-Saloon League. He was for a short time a member of the National Executive Committee of the League and the most disturbing and discordant force ever on that body. Men who are not surpised in America in any field in ability to harmonize different opinions expressed by strong personalities found him impossible both in the matter of harmony of spirit and in the making of his stand. He has been consistent for years since that the Anti-Saloon League finally came to his viewpoint. Yes, it probably did on some matters when it could get there without wrecking everything in between, but Mr. Best was as unreasonable and impatient then as he has been in dealing with the New York State Superintend. I shall quote from Mr. Best's own utterances and point out specifically their unfairness and untruthfulness by every standard of reasonable interpretation and on such matters I am prepared if any proper Presbyterian Committee wants the facts, although I shall myself go no farther than a statement of them.

ONLY EDITOR OF RELIGIOUS PAPER WHO JOINED WET PRESS

Mr. Best is the only editor of a leading religious paper in America so far as I have been able to find out (and a hostile press would gladly have helped me to find this) who has joined Tammany, the political interests, a new York City press, some discharged, discredited League employees and Raymond B. Fosdick, Rockefeller representative, in demanding that the Anti-Saloon League Superintendent of New York be eliminated.

This does not mean that Mr. Best has turned wet or consciously gone wrong. I shall, however, show up the rottenness of his judgment on certain points and certain connections that explain why he in fact turned against his own cause and his own leader, the Anti-Saloon League.

Further, solely because Mr. Best by initiating it himself has compelled me to do so, I shall go beyond the published record and let the light through. I refer to the fact that Mr. Best when criticized by Presbyterians over the country for his original hostile editorial utterance, wrote letters, some of which were sent to me, which could escape the charge of downright falsehood only on the basis of petit- fogging technically far more gross than what he accepted to come from me, and which are false by every possible reasonable necessary implication. That is to say, Mr. Best told of an interview with me and stated that I had said things that justified his misleading not to correct false statements in his original editorial. Since he has opened up that contention I must also meet him on the issue which he has himself opened wide to me, and which I have not acknowledged to receive of the letters they sent in, and their comments thereon.

INTERVIEW APPARENTLY NOT AIMED TO GET FACTS

As to this interview it was apparent, as later proved by his editorial which I suspect had been written in advance, that Mr. Best was definitely not interested in learning what I would say, regardless of whatever facts might adduce. It was further apparent that he had been fully coached by the opposition as to who was cocksure and ready to every word. He said which fact fortunately Mr. Best established for me in writing in a moment of exasperation.

JOINED EFFORT TO DISCREDIT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCHES

At this interview Mr. Best borrowed the District-Attorney-discharged-employee-Raymond B. Fosdick attacks upon the State Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of New York in attacking Dr. Burrell, the State President, one of the outstanding pastors of America, who for twenty years has given of his time and interest to make the prohibition cause amount to something in New York.

He has dismissed as utterly unworthy of consideration in such relation and entirely lacking in representation value and character on such a Board, the Rev. William C. Spicer, for about 20 years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Covonia, New York, an influential member of the President of Albany, whom I found on the League Board when I came to the State. Mr. Best seemed to think I was lacking in intelligence and discrimination because I had not gotten rid of this man who has been faithful year in and year out, and who is in fact representative of the conscience, character and ability of the Presbyterian Church in the whole country; that through some technicality of Presbyterian law, is prevented from being selected through its Synod official representatives on the Anti-Saloon League Board, the only denomination so hampered.

Mr. Best was gracious enough to admit that Rev. H. H. Barlow, who taught and was pastor for 20 years of a leading Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York, and one of the strong pastors of Auburn, is a representative Presbyterian minister.

Either in blissful ignorance or else cavalierly overlooking the fact the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League of New York including the Presbyterians on it, is elected annually by the Board of Trustees in which the officially chosen representatives of the denominational bodies are in the overwhelming majority and have and exercise complete control, Mr. Best at this interview expressed his utter contempt for the League Board of Directors as "a bunch of small-bore men of absolutely no standing or influence in the State", or words of exactly that meaning.

This is rather a large order for this laiyman Presbyterian editor to put across respecting men officially elected at the State meeting of Baptist ministers and by various Methodist Conferences, both denominations that outnumber the Presbyterian Church which, we are glad to say, is strongly for prohibition and whose churches outside of a handful of wealthy ones in the larger cities are almost all co-operating with the Anti-Saloon League in this State.

BITTER DISLIKE OF AND TOTAL LACK OF RESPECT FOR DR. BURRELL

I have been asked by Presbyterians why Mr. Best so totally disregarded the statements of Dr. David James Burrell, a thirty year pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church from the pastorate of one of the greatest Presbyterian churches of the central west. The friends of the cause are entitled to know that Mr. Best has apparently the most
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Gross and Apparently Wilful Unfairness on the Part of the Outlook

By the State Superintendent

In this number we are cleaning up on the only two outstanding publications, religious or of any tendency, which have apparently with animus, and certainly with gross unfairness, joined Tammany and the wets in an effort to discredit the Anti-Saloon League. Not only the Superintendent, but the Board of Directors, officially representing a large majority of the churches of the state, received a letter signed "The Outlook" with a request that it be published. After two weeks we receive an acknowledgment and a statement that it would be printed if correcting, which it was shorter than the untrue and misleading statements.

The apparently deliberate suppression of material facts, the unseemly haste to criticize, indicates some kind of influence and a reason why other church people have been deceived to the point where it commits unfairness and feels righteous about it. Its feelings, however, do not obscure the facts.

The Outlook, as is well known, for long years after the churches were committed to prohibition, opposed it. Then it opposed it in many practical, local, reasonable forms. Then it did accept it and did declare for prohibition. The Outlook never did but one really constructive, helpful thing in the securing of prohibition, so far as we remember the record. Then it did declare for local option and did back up the New York Anti-Saloon League program on that point, for which full and grateful acknowledgement was made at the time and since.

We haven't the space to print The Outlook's unfair statement and libel, but they are covered and answered by the subjoined letter.

In place of promptly printing this letter, which The Outlook prides itself on in its daily form will not make any amendments for its unfairness, it did print in an issue late enough to have contained the subjoined letter, a dirty little letter by a retired Presbyterian preacher who makes the false statement that the churches do not elect directors of the League or look over its accounts or in any way control its actions. We could not let this pass. The preacher it is enough to say that he worked hand in glove with and protected as dirty, crooked a bunch of wealthy wets as ever operated in any city in New York state, or ever retarded the growth of the church, and he has been guilty of repeated falsehoods as gross as this one that The Outlook prints.

We shall make no further effort to secure any kind of correction of falsehood in The Outlook until it prints the letter. But, if the Outlook continues this attitude we shall have some comments to make on its fall from beloved grace on this occasion. We do not intend to permit any highbrow publication, under the guise of judicial poise to put over any wet-propaganda and get away unpunished.

The following is the letter sent the Outlook:

August 30, 1923.

To the Editor of The Outlook:

Believing that The Outlook intends to be fair, I have been very much surprised at statements made in three different issues prejudicial to the management of a moral movement that is at least entitled to the benefit of the doubt, that are not in accordance with the facts.

Months ago, at the time of the previous unsuccessful effort by a Tammany District Attorney to indict me for alleged offenses never committed, the Outlook said by unavoidable inference that the ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE does not make any public report of its receipts and expenditures.

The truth is every year its books are audited by certified public accountants and the report showing the total amount of monies received and how it is spent is sent to every newspaper in the state.

Only One New York City (Brooklyn) Paper Demands Fair Trial For Anti-Saloon League Superintendent

The Brooklyn Standard-Union, the leading paper of the most populous borough of New York City, with a circulation largely Republican, recently opened both to the Anti-Saloon League and its Superintendent, the first, and so far the only New York City paper to do so. Believing that the Outlook is a fair trier for the Anti-Saloon League Superintendent. It is the first one to rise enough above its hostility to recognize that even the enemies of the Superintendent can not, without a fair trial, condemn him. This matter squarely up to the governor on Mr. Banton's admission and the governor's own record.

In its edition of August 16, the Standard-Union reconvened how Governor Smith readily granted the plea of the Almirall Grand Jury of New York City when it asked for a special amendment to the new anti-unfairness law. The League should have, the Rockefellers' representative, with the repeated efforts to indict the League, the Standard-Union then argued that in the face of the refusal to permit the inspection of the Grand Jury's
minutes "the least the Governor can do is to comply with the request made by Anderson some time ago to remove the case from the further consideration of the District Attorney's office.

Concluding the editorial the Standard-Union said: "Viewed even from the lowest standpoint of political expediency, the Governor's move is of much more advantage to Gov- enor Smith and his wise friends if Anderson were tried and convicted by an unbiased prosecuting officer than if he were permitted to be tried by a biased district attorney who, according to his own statement, has declared his nomination to the governorship of this State in con- nection with the finding of the indictments against the head of the Anti-Saloon League.

Governor Smith should act promptly in this matter." SECOND AND STRONGER E D I T I O N A U G U S T 23

On August 23 the Brooklyn Standard-Union returned to Second and Stronger Editorial on August 23 the discussion of the indictment against Anderson and the black-face type and caps were not in the editorial as published but are so printed here in order that the more significant parts of the editorial may be more clearly understood.

Note the reprint for emphasis.

A BRUTAL TAMMANY ASSAULT ON PUBLIC DECENCY

A great many Republicans—no Republicans, too—disagreed with our late-lamented president when he intimated the repeal of the Mullan-Gage enforcement law was in effect a violation of the Constitution of the United States. They stood on the right of each State to supplement or not to supplement the sufficient national enforcement law, known as the Eighteenth Amendment to its own best judgment. It was not to the repeal of the Mullan-Gage enforcement law they objected so much as to the manner of the repeal. It was a snap judgment taken without consulting the people.

There was no warrant for such action in the attitude as- sumed by this State toward the Eighteenth Amendment from the beginning. It is true a Republican Legislature refused to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment when the vote of New York was necessary to its adoption, but the refusal was made on the distinct ground that a referendum should precede the vote on ratification in order to ascertain the real sentiment of the people.

There has been no essential change in that attitude. The extraordinary ratification of the Eighteenth Amend- ment by the Legislature when the vote of this State was no longer necessary to secure its enactment into law was a mere play of politics.

But a color of credibility is lent to the late president's intimation that the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law was an assault on the Constitution of the United States, at least as far as the Tammany forces in the State are concerned, by the methods employed at Albany, and here, to get rid of State enforcement laws were also readied. They were to be referendum and willing to abide by the result; but the Tam- many Governor and the Tammany Boss of this city preferred to force the issue of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment without first appealing to the voters them- selves.

It amounts to a brutal Tammany assault on public decency.

Governor Smith moved at Albany when he deftly en- gigered the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law by one majority in an Assembly with just twelve more Republicans than Democrats. The Governor's power of veto or approval over members' bills made it comparatively easy to secure that one majority.

TAMMANY CONDUCTED THE OTHER END OF THE FIGHT IN THIS CITY

William H. Anderson, State Superintendent of the Anti- Saloon League, got into a controversy with some discharged employees of the staff of the League, the chief one of whom was A CONFESSED PERJURER. If it was not a desire for revenge because they were discharged that caused these former employees to make the charges against Anderson, it certainly will not be readily believed their purpose was to serve the public interest.

THE OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES STOOD SOLIDLY BEHIND ANDERSON.

As it was the League's funds he was accused of mis- handling, there was little desire on his part to get at no attention would be paid to the quarrel by Tammany. But it had been in Tammany's contemplation for some time to repeal the Mullan-Gage enforcement law, and the provocation strik- e between the League and some of its former employees gave the Democratic bosses the chance to get in their time work.

The League was the main support of the Mullan-Gage law and William H. Anderson, its head, was rightly credited with the major part of the work done in putting over State enforcement.

Tammany set out to get "get" Anderson, as it set out to get ex-Governor Sulzer. It got Sulzer and deposed him for doing the things it has always been doing and is doing yet. His crime was rebellion against the Boss, and Anderson, in the eyes of Tammany, is that he made plain the purpose of Governor Smith in seeking to repeal the Mullan-Gage enforcement law without going so.

IN ITS FIGHT ON ANDERSON TAMMANY HAS UNEXPECTED BACKING.

John D. Rockefeller, financial agent quarreled with An- derson, and Rockefeller, the largest subscriber to the Anti-Saloon League, backed up his agent when the latter withdrew the Rockefeller financial support of the League. Anderson claimed the trouble arose from an attempt on the part of Posdick, the Rockefeller financial agent, to control the League in the interest of some very wealthy manufacturers and corporations who did not approve of the Anderson methods.

Be that as it may, Tammany welcomed the support. THE TAMMANY DISTRICT ATTORNEY WHO UNDERTOOK TO "GET" ANDERSON, WAS IN COM- MUNICATION WITH THE ROCKEFELLER AGENT AND with the discharged employees of the League who brought the charges against Anderson. Money was found to bring witnesses from the West to testify against Anderson and possi- bly for other purposes.

The first attempt to indict Anderson failed. At least one, Grand Jury, which it was hinted by the Tammany District Attorney would find indictments against Anderson, the head of the Anti-Saloon League, adjourned without doing so.

The effort to "get" Anderson, however, was not given up. The District Attorney arrived with new evidence, and a new Grand Jury not only found indictments, but recommended that the Anti-Saloon League be investigated by the Legislature. Though without a trial, a New York City Grand Jury could have to do with legitimately recom- mending such an investigation it is difficult to see.

The District Attorney, it is conceded, controls most grand juries.

That recommendation looks as if it were just a part of the plan to bludgeon the Anti-Saloon League while Tammany is engaged in an attempt to put its head in State prison.

IT IS COMMON TALK ANDERSON IS TO BE CON- VICTED.

"RAILROADED" is the term used. It does not follow conviction would entail imprisonment, because, of course, there would be an appeal; but the conviction might be "a good enough Morgan until after election."

THERE IS MATTER HERE FOR A PUBLIC PRO- TEST.

The indictments have been found in legal form at least, and, of course, they should be tried unless dismissed by the courts; but in view of Tammany's action and relation to the matter, fair play actually requires the prosecution be taken out of the hands of District Attorney Banton and his assist- ants. Banton has having nothing to do with the indictments against Anderson on the District Attorney's ambiti- ons in the direction of the Governorship. But that phase of the subject, that the knowledge of Tammany's control of the District Attorney's office in political matters should secure the removal of the Anderson case to the hands of any jurists from the State of New York who are fair play, to which every accused person is entitled, can be secured.

Tammany's control of the District Attorney's office is notorious.

Take the case of the indicted ballot box stuffers in the Seventeenth Assembly District of Manhattan.

More than a year has passed since the indictments against the Tammanyites accused of stealing the election have been found out. It is apparently unassailable evidence, yet Banton has not brought them to trial.

It would not be out of place, considering all the facts, for the Republican county committee of Kings and, for that matter, of every county committee in the State to demand that Tammany should not be permitted to make the Anderson trial a part of the coming campaign.

There are wets in the Kings Republican county commit- tee.

How many is not known, but every lover of fair play should be ready to protest officially against the attempt of Tammany to railroad the head of the Anti-Saloon League for political purposes.

Thousands of Republicans will not submit tamely to such procedure.

It is not that they are admirers of Anderson or his methods, because they are not, though other thousands of Republicans may be: BUT THE OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO RAILROAD A MAN FOR AN UNPROVEN POLITICAL ANALYSIS ARE HIS POLITICAL OPINIONS SHOULD ROUSE TO INDIGNANT PROTEST THE HONEST MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL PARTS."

Governor Smith should not befoul his own record.

In the case of the Alenirll Grand Jury, he appointed a
special Attorney General to take the place of the Tammany District Attorney when prejudice, tending to defeat the ends of justice, was charged against the latter.

BUT CASE DEMANDS SIMILAR ACTION BY THE GOVERNOR.

SOME ADDITIONAL COMMENT

The management of the Anti-Saloon League has insisted from the beginning that the entire animus arises from the movement to indict the Superintendent and the League as a corporation and that he had no use for him whatever. It was evident the disagreement was over theological questions. I probably would not have been the first to tell Dr. Burrell that his attitude respecting Dr. Burrell at this interview, and in fact had not practically refused even to talk with Dr. Burrell at the time, yet they were first molded together when it was supposed that Dr. Burrell might be available for a conference.

I am perfectly willing to leave to the Presbyterian ministers and laymen the fairness, the capacity for impartial judgment and the soundness of his conclusion upon this particular question of a man who will feel and say things about a man like David James Burrell, and swallow whole the falsehoods of a number of discredited, discharged, employees of the Anti-Saloon League, one of whom is a Presbyterian preacher whom Mr. Best knows was exposed in falsehood and another one of whom Mr. Best knows is a self-confessed perjurer.

At this interview concerning which Mr. Best has written such misleading statements and following which he published an editorial false in its necessary implication in a vital particular, Mr. Best dismissed, as he with such coarseness dismissed other things in this case, as "preposterous" the idea that I might be indicted. The five Tammany political indictments secured with the help of the men Mr. Best was helping indicate the "soundness" of his judgment on this point.

MR. BEST’S SOLICITUDE OVER ETHICAL STANDARDS

Mr. Best had much to say about ethics and he fairly bore the pathos and pathos to tatters over the fearful "sacrifice" to which even in my statement that honest men are not unwisely a certain perfectly honest transaction may have been, there was nothing even unethical about it. Now let us set the facts, that can go on record, as told truthfully about the transactions which have been the basis for this framework, these indictments and the wet press propaganda which Mr. Best has helped along is that in the press of work, in an effort to advance the interests of the Anti-Saloon League and to save it money, in perfectly honest transactions which did both advance the cause and save the League money, I failed to protect myself sufficiently against the possibility of falsehood on the part of an employee whom I trusted and befriended but who has proved to be one of the most unconscionable and unscrupulous individuals that ever worked his way into or was planted by the enemy in the ranks of a moral movement.

It was the cause and the League which got the benefit of my mistake in judgment such as it was, and I personally am bearing practically all of the consequences of that mistake and of my refusal to submit myself or allow the League to submit to blackmail because of it. Because, after the incidential damage is over, the League in New York State and throughout the entire country will still now profiting because of the exposure of the wets’ plan to discredit League leadership everywhere, and because of the charges that the New York State Anti-Saloon League and the League constitute Church subscriptions in New York to the League since this attack have been greater than ever before.

Mr. Best’s declaration of judgment has resulted in false witness against a representative of his own cause who by his own statement has performed services that are to the discredit of the anti-saloon cause and to the discredit of the League.

And Mr. Best’s mistake was calculated, if he had had a larger personal following and if the churches of New York State had not in effect repudiated his recommendation, to destroy to a large degree the usefulness in New York State of the one man in New York to be least afraid of and which he himself testifies is most effective.

On the question of ethics as displayed by the actions of Mr. Best and the transactions which he would had to judge both by my Maker and my fellow men, and feel disposed to give thanks to Him Whom I serve that I have been able to lay the groundwork for yet another time when my enemies as well as his were trying to frame him.

WHAT KIND OF A BOARD DID MR. BEST PROPOSE FOR THE LEAGUE?

Mr. Best presumably would have had the Anti-Saloon League of New York refuse to accept the official representative of denominational bodies elected on the State Board and apparently would have us go by Presbyterians who are loyal and open churches, and left out his special friend Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the preacher in the First Presbyterian Church in New York City as has been said, according to the statement of his brother Raymond, that he would under no circumstances advise the Anti-Saloon League to his pulpit, which by the way has never been open to the Anti-Saloon League.

BEST CLOSE TO FOSDICK

The Presbyterian friends of the cause, and that means most Presbyterians, have a right to know that in addition to being a staunch supporter of Raymond Fosdick’s brother, which ought not to make any difference in this question, Mr. Best is a personal friend of Raymond B. Fosdick himself, living in the same community.

Good friends of the cause have a right to know also that Mr. Best according to his own statement has been in touch some six months or more before these charges were "broken", with Robert G. Davey and that Davey poured into the ears of Mr. Best that which later in spirit appeared in Mr. Best’s editorial utterances.

BEST’S CONNECTION WITH ROBERT G. DAVEY

Now for a few words about Davey. He is a Presbyterian preacher and at the last time I had information, was a member in good standing of the New York Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, notwithstanding the fact that when he was with the League and shortly afterwards he bitterly resented the use of the title "Reverend" on his name, because, he said, it "hurt business".

Davey was requested to resign from the staff of the League. The kind of "business" the title Reverend hurt has been shown and the League shall not muss up the columns of the American Issue by relating one very unsavory incident in which he ran the risk of involving the League but will confine myself to facts that had to do directly with the League work.

We have reproduced in facsimile in the American Issue the "take-off" contract in Davey’s own handwriting, made, unknown to the League and in violation of its rules and instructions, while he was engaged with the League and not discovered until Davey attempted, after being forced out, to break up the League work and opened the League program approved by the churches of the State.

We have published also the substitute contract which Davey wrote and asked the directors to accept as the supposedly original contract. We also published facsimiles of checks made to Davey and endorsed by him under the take-off contract. The point was that Mr. Davey was supposedly "d’interestedly" advising communities to hire detectives and then compelling the detective to pay him a certain amount of
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longer silence would not be a service to the cause or to the League constituted within the Presbyterian Church and the Continent's sphere of influence.

We reprint here in small type for those who desire to follow the case closely, a number of utterances as a basis for the reader's own judgment.

Wherein the Continent Joined the Wet Press in an Effort to Eliminate the New Anti-Saloon League Superintendents

The following is the heading and editorial from the Continent of February 22, 1923. It should be read in connection with the present document of the Anti-Saloon League Board reprinted further down.

NO ONE ELSE COULD INJURE HIM

IN UPHOLDING THE LEAGUE'S cause, Mrs. A. C. AMBER, a member of the Anti-Saloon League, has been an occasion to reflect upon the high degree of courage and intrepidity to which the state of New York was accomplished almost solely by virtue of his determined opposition to the practice and defense of the same may be said of the latest state government laws which put the police power of the state of New York behind the Anti-Saloon League's action.

Of course, the emissaries of the liquor traffic have sought continually to destroy so dangerous an enemy as Mrs. Amber, not by force of argument. Of the last to occur, we are grieved beyond measure to say, has now occurred in Mr. Amber's case. It concerns the actual indictment of the President of the League he has been "splitting commissions," with an agent whom he has charged to raise funds for the organization. The indictment is a percentage commission on subscriptions secured for League purposes, and proposes an arrangement whereby he himself would receive his income half and half with Mr. Amber. Mr. Amber admits the transaction, but says that the money he has collected for a debt which the League owed him for funds spent on League work out of his private purse.

The mistake of one such incident might not be ruinous to a brave champion it was consumed as a request by the enemies of the repeal against the rejection of such oblique finance. But instead of that, Mr. Amber has said that he is not willing to accept any compensation.

This is a strange thing for a moral leader to say. What would one call it if he had accepted it? It is impossible for the manager to employ a man at a stated salary, and then, unknown to the owner of the business, take from him a set percentage of what he put into his own pocket? Even though Mr. Amber's board of directors has acknowledged the job to be a sinecure, Mr. Amber can't very well have a right to reimburse himself by means outside their knowledge. If the employment was such a sinecure, Mr. Amber should have been told so by the treasurer of the organization.

In an agency that depends for sustenance on the support of Christian churches, it is unthinkiable that benevolent money should be used or disposed of in any fashion not wholly above-board. The surreptitious passing of money back and forth under arrangements unknown even to the society's directors could do no good; it is one of the reasons why the League, not "benevolent money" but belonged to Phillips. And he had a perfect right to pay out part of it for services that enabled him to earn it, and the League Superintend-ent had a right to earn money in any honest way and turn it over to the League. In fact he had a legal right to keep it and the facts when it was discovered that he had wronged the League were of advantage to the League.

The statement from this editorial "take a portion of the salary money and put it into his own pocket" is unqualifiedly false and more cruelly true at the hands of patient Amber, who was false unless he deliberately disbelieved the man to whom he gave such a certificate in the first part of the editorial and accepted instead of it an arrangement that was a sinecure and not a sinecure. Mr. Amber's good record and valiant conduct in the past will not be forgotten; it will be remembered with gratitude; but it would be more fitting if the wounds on the battlefield record of his prior gallantry do not post- pone the call for a smile where it was expected to be the only.

Contrast with great religious jour- nal published across the street

The following editorial is from the Christian Advocate, the leading organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is no less conscientious on the questions of ethics than the Continent in the Presbyterian Church. The Christian Advocate quite as able and conscientious as Mr. Best, and better balanced, did not seem to feel any obligation to join the wet propaganda to get away from the fact that the League's position (which was the underlying purpose back of the whole thing) before the facts were all in. This raises the question as to why Mr. Best was in such a hurry.

THINGS TO KEEP IN MIND

(Editorial from the Christian Advocate, March 1, 1923)

That the state government of New York are now directed by declared enemies of prohibition.

That a determined attempt is being made by the wet elements of both...
Mr. Best's "AMENDS" FOR HIS FALSE STATEMENT

No special request was made of Mr. Best to make amendments because it was useless in view of what he wrote after he had the facts. This attitude on his part is shown by what he did when he refused to look at the book in which the facts were stated. If he had done this, he would have found the charges against him are brought about by a discharged employee of the Board who, therefore, cannot escape the conclusion that the pressure exerted at Albany and in New York city is traceable to the same group which shrieks at outside which will stop or delay the onward march of prohibition enforcement.

Mr. William H. Anderson, we love you for the enemies you have made. We expect you to go through hard experiences, but we believe the courts will hold you guiltless and that you will continue to be the terror of the evil-doing legislature. But we do not expect to live to see the time when you will be a politician or of law-breakers of any stripe, whether in Sing Sing or out.

THE CONTRAST WITH THE FAIRNESS OF THE PUBLICATION OF STILL ANOTHER IMPORTANT DENOMINATION

It is not necessary to reprint the exact statement of the Board's statement, because it has been printed twice in the American Issue as well as sent to the religious papers in the country. It is sufficiently reproduced in the following quotations from the paper, with an editorial change in the half column on April 19th. This paper is not located in New York. It had printed some gratuitous, misleading and unfair observations by the present Board through the medium of a man who had no connection with the Superintendence of the Board, which was not the case in the case of the American Issue. The Board at the first meeting after the employment of said employee was terminated and the action was for the best determined.

But not an editorial word!
Some Light On Some Former Employees of the Anti-Saloon League and Motives for Their Effort to Disrupt the League and Destroy the Superintendent

By the State Superintendent

By way of preliminary, the parties mentioned or a hostile editor or other criminal yesterday the 120 dismissed employees who left the Leagues were "condemned" and "abused" because they left, a very significant fact should be given.

As against these five who have adopted the attitude of "outlaw" horses driven from a herd, out of a League staff which was considerably larger for years and until the Fosdick reduction of the Rockefeller contribution compelled replenishment. This was able to count up in town more than times five, or at least twenty-six, former members of the staff who not only have not joined this conspiracy, but who have written letters, sent messages, called at the office or made public statements expressing their confidence and their assurance that they that nothing but good to say of the League and its administration.

Most of them have offered to help. One of them who had prospered offered to help financially to the extent of a personal loan of some hundreds, a number of them advised us of being approached either by one of these discharged employees or by Mr. Fosdick's representa- tives.

With this statement, in order to impregnate the premise with the ozen of wholesome human attitude, we proceed to the necessary information. The League's financial and personnel constituency a little further information that it is entitled to.

O. B. Phillips has been pretty fairly characterized in The American Issue for an irresponsibility in his political career. He is an admitted attempted blackmailer, having given to the press correspondence which was pub-
Potter's animus lies in the brutally frank things that I said to Miss Potter. He knows her too well, and has no need
of me to tell him her weaknesses. I myself can imagine
how long his wife has felt it necessary to guard her
friendship with Miss Potter. It is a friendship that is
based on mutual distrust. Potter is a man who has been
in many respects a failure. He is a man who has been
forced to compromise with his conscience. He is a man
who has been forced to make decisions that are not
always in the best interests of his family. He is a man
who has been forced to make decisions that are not
always in the best interests of himself. He is a man
who has been forced to make decisions that are not
always in the best interests of his community.

But the greatest of all of Potter's failures is his
failure to appreciate the value of education. He is a
man who has been forced to compromise with his
conscience. He is a man who has been forced to make
decisions that are not always in the best interests of his
family. He is a man who has been forced to make
decisions that are not always in the best interests of
himself. He is a man who has been forced to make
decisions that are not always in the best interests of his
community.
That, he told Phillips, was a winner. Money could be gotten for that, he said, and "plenty of money," he emphasized according to his good friend, Eggart.

A little further light is thrown by the fact that temporarily while Miss Potter was absent on leave, her sister was temporarily made Miss Potter. This was impossible unless one of the circumstances including bitter family feeling because I had refused to discharge the very valuable member of the staff. Miss Potter's support of Mrs. Potter's impending marriage to W. M. Potter. Strange as it may seem, he was the very man whom Potter had tried to have discharged through Miss Potter the very preceding fall.

When the other Miss Potter left she made some recommendations, and the venereal and malicious with which she recommended that the Anti-Saloon League go off and die, and the field be left free to the "ALLIED CITIZENS" was interesting and illuminating if not exactly edifying.

Mayor Davey had been in Texas, according to Potter himself and so far as we know have nothing else planned. Davey was crowded out of his new job by the censure of his other employees, fourteen in all, coming from queries we get every once in a while respecting Phillips, he has not been able to "land" satisfactorily, and was desperately up against it from May 1 to the end of last year. The people were supposed by some to be subsidizing him but will not continue indefinitely to meet his inordinate demands. We do not know how long "Dr. Wood" will hold his office, but we know he does not think anything like as much of it as he did his job with the Anti-Saloon League.

I withheld the facts as well as the frank statement about Mr. Best and the statements respecting the District Attorney's part in the conspiracy last winter, confining myself to Mr. Fosdick who if anything is more of a character for inquiring into the dominating influence in last winter's abortive attempt until the carrying of this thing through to the point of securing indictments that the charges that the churches and their leaders in the churches and shake their loyalties, it makes necessary for me to give this installment of facts.

**District Attorney Banton's Pastor Makes Some Inconclusive Remarks But Does Not Follow Them Up**

The following was carried in several of the New York papers as a Staff feature, Rev. Dr. H. H. Heflin, pastor, Central Church of Christ (Disciples), New York City, and the pastor of District Attorney Banton.

I have followed the recent statements of Mr. Anderson concerning Mr. Banton with interest and amusement. After intimate associations as his pastor for many years his criticism is not recognizable. To those of us who have had occasion to know him best he is the reverse of almost everything that Mr. Anderson attributes to him above.

He is the last man to practice duplicity or to hide like a coward from an unpleasant job. An open and unmitigated man of truth.

If all reporters were as free from political ambition and love of public attention as he we should be free from the trickery that so often camouflages the public machinery to identify him with bad politics and selfish motives.

I see that since Tammany muzzled District Attorney Banton, his pastor is a civil court and is the admiral character of Mr. Banton's admissions before Tammany shut him up.

I am not surprised that the Reverend Dr. Heflin finds it hard to believe these things about Mr. Banton. I refused to believe them at first myself although the evidence seemed clear. I carefully avoided making any charge last winter or spring that Mr. Banton was a party of this conspiracy while piling up the facts to prove it. However, when the proof against Mr. Banton became overwhelming, I refused longer to be a silent victim of his casting hypocracy.

Mr. Banton has not only criticized the city this conspiracy against me was being hatched, although I was ignorant of it at that time, that he was disregard of my personal character and that he overlooked crime because of the church connection of accused criminels.

Obviously only the prevention of base and dishonorable dealings with him in writing saved me from being charged with that, too.

Notwithstanding Mr. Banton's admissions that he allowed church influence and acquainted him to lead him in procuring on perjured testimony the indictment of an innocent man, it might at least have been reasonable to expect that one who made such pious professions as Mr. Banton made to me, would have refrained from the outrageous attacks upon the accredited representatives of the church. The recent church indictment against the Anti-Saloon League Board of Directors. Mr. Banton's pastorate will do well to make a stand up for his responsibility and the susceptibility of the churches the churches are still free to defend a good cause without having to defend unfortunate leadership.

The Christian Register of last week made the following reply which received very scant attention from New York City newspapers:  

I see that since Tammany muzzled District Attorney Banton, his pastor is the admiral character of Mr. Banton's admissions before Tammany shut him up.

A pastor of the Central Avenue Methodist church, Dr. Samuel J. Clarkson, spoke on "The Church and William H. Anderson" last Sunday. He is a member of the general committee of the Anti-Saloon League.

After relating how Mr. Anderson raised the state League from a practically nothing organization, he made clear his most powerful enemies in the church world. Mr. Clarkson went on to say that the courts will decide as to the legal guilt or innocence of the state leader, predicted that he would be acquitted, and said that this would make the wrongs done to the churches and church people. He then defined what the attitude of the churches and church people ought to be: "in the face of such attacks by the underworld, I mean that we must be determined to do our best."  

"Don't let anybody be fooled into thinking that this fight is against Mr. Anderson. It is not. This cry raised by the office of the District Attorney will not cause many of the leaders of Anderson of grand larceny and several other crimes, is only a smoke screen to blind the eyes of the multitude against the real issue. This fight is the fight of the 'hquire' crowd against the church. Do you suppose that the district attorney of New York is so patriotic that he asked the grand jury to indict Mr. Anderson solely because he loved the League so much that the district attorney was actuated only by pure motives and high ideals when he asked a second grand jury to indict Mr. Anderson within three months after the first one had refused to indict him? McAllister was a bad choice, and so devoted to the interests of the public that it considers that a man who won't tell where he got some of the money ought to be in jail? Who ever heard the government spend so much money for righteousness that he raised heaven and earth to indict a man for defrauding a concern which publicly, again and again, expresses its confidence in the accused, and makes no complaint against him?

"The directors and the trustees of the Anti-Saloon League say that they have been under attack by the district attorney. Anderson against Mr. Anderson. Why this unusual activity on the part of the district attorney? This is the answer: The liquor crowd is face to face with a powerful organization that Mr. Banton is a part of the..."
chinery of justice and thus join Tammany in voting for such an investigation without being so exposed in its working partnership.

It is not the first time in nearly twenty-four years that the wet politicians have prepared for my burlar. But every time the "corpse" has upset the funeral baked meats and tur thumbs the fragments of the coffin after the rapidly retiring "mourners." I shall keep on doing business for the benefit of the public against the illegal liquor traffic long after the conspirators against me have ceased to be even a political stench.

There is nothing that the traitorous Republican bunch of assistants to Tammany can do which will please me more, will more thoroughly arouse the friends of law, or will accomplish more for the public cause of dry enforcement than to stage a political investigation of the Anti-Saloon League of the dry churches.

The reason why we shall welcome the worst that can be done by the wet Republicans and their Tammany lieutenants in control of the legislature will be stated in detail in a separate communication direct to the moral asceticism at present in the New York General Assembly.

The grand jury of New York county, with the broadest inquisitorial power of any equivalent body in the world, sworn to the truth to the death, is to be set up by a district attorney before whom Tammany dangled the governorship and a willing assistant who hopes to win promotion to succeed the present chief.

They found, covering ten years of activity, just one transaction which, with the perjured testimony of a disenchanted, at- tempted blackmail, to be thrown out of court, had been the result of the action of public opinion as a basis for the propaganda mud batteries to open up. If this is the utmost they could do under such circumstances, how much more could a large committee and bunch of wet political bosses do aside from opening the grand jury minutes I tried to get, which latey have been freely given in other cases and denied only in mine.

Yours truly.


A Leading Texas Daily Pays Its Respects to New York City Newspapers

The Dallas Morning News of Dallas, Texas, on Tuesday, August 7, 1923, printed the following editorial, which indicates the national character which the effort to railroad the Anti-Saloon League superintendent of New York is assuming, and the extent to which the attitude of the New York press is helping along this

GIVE ANDERSON A CHANCE

"The newspapers of New York have devoted columns upon columns to trying the case of H. Anderson, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of the state. They have brought in a pretty unanimous verdict of guilty and have condemned him to death. In this they doubtless suppose that they have injured him in the eyes of the country. With a certain element of the population they have injured him, though not greatly, seeing that Superintendent Anderson never had very high standing with that element in the first place. But the largest injury which the New York papers have done has been to themselves. Anderson may be as guilty of theft and forgery as any of the allegates of the grand jury and of the district attorney's office indicate, but of one item of guilt there can be no manner of doubt, and that is the gull of New York newspapers of gross unfairness in their news accounts of incidents connected with the case. Even those newspapers whose articles are strictly within reach of the fact of the days management in headlines to convey the impression that the publisher is confident of the criminality of Anderson. Even as a criminal, Anderson would be deserving of impartiality in the news columns.

"Anderson himself is quite vituperative in some of his deliverances against his foes. From the standpoint of a provincial reader it would seem that he hurts rather than helps his case by wide and scathing assertions touching the motives of his accusers. A careful reading of the New York journals would lead one to believe that addresses cast in that mold are the only ones likely to catch the New York ear. Men like Clark and Hearst get positively sulphurous in discussing minor civic affairs, and no meeting of city officials seems to be complete from the reporter's angle if profanity and the hurling of furniture is omitted. But however violent Superintendent Anderson may be in his denunciation, he is not to be allowed to make it without the patent garbling of edited headlines, assuming that it may properly be printed at all."
John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Asked to Explain Why His Agent Helped an Indicted Confessed Criminal, Prominent in Organized Liquor Activity, to Escape Punishment, but Persistently Aided Tammany Liquor Effort to "Frame" and "Railroad" the Leader of the Prohibition Enforcement Agency of Five Thousand Dry Protestant Churches

Also, If the Name and Power of the Greatest Financial Combination in the World Were to Be Used to Crush an Individual, Why His Agent Operated by Stealth Through Unsavory Assistants, One of Them an Admitted Criminal, and in Connection With A Corrupt Political Organization, Instead of Working Openly and Fairly That Redress Could Be Easily Secured for Any Possible Injustice? Further, Why so Concerned in the "Board of Directors" Respecting Affairs of the Anti-Saloon League He Will Ask the Governor to Grant a Hearing of the Charges Against the District Attorney and Will Produce His Own Agent, Raymond B. Fosdick, for Examination Under Oath

New York, October 25, 1923.

An Open Letter to
MR. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., New York City.

Dear Sirs:—

Your agent or agents who by withholding the facts from you have driven me to the employment of the "open letter" in last resort must bear the responsibility for any annoyance caused by it.

Some of the essential facts showing the reason and basis for the questions herein asked you are set out following the questions themselves. In this connection you will observe that I make positive statements for which I can be held responsible, in glaring contrast with the skulking, cowardly tactics of your representative.

In view of the vitally interested almost unanimous majority of the supporting church constituency of the Anti-Saloon League which has refused to be deceived by the vicious yet propaganda promoted by your agent in conjunction with Tammany and various anti-Protestant elements, I respectfully request you to answer the following questions.

MERCY FOR A CRIMINAL WET—PERSECUTION FOR AN INNOCENT DRY

1. How do you reconcile the approval by your agent of the release without any punishment whatsoever of a man prominent in the organized activity of the liquor interests who had formally pleaded guilty to an indictment for grand larceny in the first degree, with the relentless malice with which your agent has aided the conspiracy to "frame" and "railroad" under false allegations of crime the executive officer of the enforcement agency of the Dry Protestant Churches?

I refer in the first instance to the case of Jerome A. Myers, active head of the so-called "Constitutional League," who stole $5,000 of your money, and who was exposed by me.

2. When the books of the Anti-Saloon League show that it received every cent of all your contributions for its dry federated church work, so that none of your money was involved, just what valid interests had and has Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick as your agent in the Tammany liquor effort to brand as criminals in the first degree persons, by which the Board of Directors, holders of the legal title to it and legally responsible for it, unanimitously say they openly, regularly and officially voted to me as shown by undeclared record in re-payment of money they know to have been advanced by me and for which they know the League to have received value from you.

Granting that restitution was actually made as well as promised by the influential liquor, political and financial friends who so strangely swarmed to the help of Myers, this wet thief unmasked by the Anti-Saloon League, how does that justify the unended and unrepudiated hostile activity of your agent in a case where the only persons authorized to speak say that nothing was taken?

ASSAULT ALSO ON DIRECT CHURCH REPRESENTATIVE

3. Why did your agent, Raymond B. Fosdick, join with, and give secret help to, the most corrupt political organization in the world, the anti-Protestant, alien-spirited Tammany, which is both exploiter and tool of racial and so-called "religious" prejudice, in trying to discredit the Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League who were officially chosen by the direct representatives of approximately five thousand dry Protestant churches of New York state, and whose action has been approved by those churches?

WHY THE SECRECY AND LACK OF SPORTSMANSHIP?

4. (a) If your agent had proof that I was guilty of wrongdoing, why was he not frank enough to make a statement to that effect to the Anti-Saloon League Board?

(b) Then, in the improbable event the Board had refused to listen to or consider such proof or to discharge exposed grafters and also a confessed perjurer and admitted attempted blackmailer, why was your agent not courageous enough to make a formal complaint and public statement so I could have held him or you responsible and in the event of injustice, have forced, if necessary, a retraction or other amendment?

(c) If I had been guilty how could he or you or the supposed case against me be hurt by such openness?

(d) If he did not have facts and proof to such extent as to make him and you safe, what possible justification can there be for his action in accepting the word of and joining with enemies of the dry cause in utter disregard of the statements of the accredited dry representatives of the organized dry churches?

(e) And if the greatest financial influence in the world was to be used to crush an individual, did not elementary fair-dealing and sportsmanship require that its representatives operate in the open instead of by palpable lies through unscrupulous agents in connection with a corrupt wet political organization?

AND WHEN THESE QUESTIONS ARE ANSWERED, THERE ARE YET OTHERS.

5. Finally, since your name as used by this agent of yours is apparently so potent with the nullification Tammany Governor to whom he is evidently close, and since it is inconceivable that a man of your sincerity would recommend publicity for the other fellow only, as you did eight months ago for the Anti-Saloon League, and not for your own representatives, will you not publicly approve my request to the Governor that he appoint some duly accredited representative to hear, render on, and in the open, the testimony I have offered to submit indicating malfeasance on the part of the District Attorney?
And will you not agree that the District Attorney's association shall give testimony under the pains and penalties of perjury, in order that we may show that your agent has also been associated with the self-same firm that was formerly paid by the money of liquor interests close to the Tammany administration with which your agent has been working in this affair?

As ground for the above questions I submit the following facts which can be largely supplemented if necessary or desirable:

EIGHT MONTHS AND NO DENIAL OF FALSEHOOD

Although it is eight months since you publicly declared for prohibition for the League purposes, yet neither you nor anyone for you has denied the untrue statements about the amount of your contributions to the Anti-Saloon League. This, the real reason for cutting it off, although these falsehoods were obviously put out to injure the League and were spread throughout the world by the enemies of dry enforcement.

If your employee, Raymond B. Fosdick, had merely recommended the cutting off of your contribution, whatever the alleged reason, without any attempt to injure the League before the public in connection therewith, no public comment or statement from me would have been proper, desirable or possible. When, however, he, by dishonest silence, assumed responsibility for, if he did not give out these malicious falsehoods, and when he gave further aid to Tammany, his apparent enemies, by means of church property, the Board of Directors elected as direct representatives of the Anti-Saloon League, did you not have to take the responsibility for what I was forced to say in defense of the cause, the League and myself, lay entirely with your representative agent.

This responsibility is fixed by his failure for some six months, long past the time for convincing denial, to deny the exalted charges I made publicly before various church bodies as to his connection with this outrageous affair.

Notwithstanding the undeniable shameful part your employee, Mr. Fosdick, played in the effort to destroy my reputation and usefulness, I have uttered no word questioning your personal sincerity or purity of motive. But it seems to me a limit beyond which one may neither fail to obtain nor refuse to receive the facts about his agent without becoming fully and personally responsible for the latter's act.

SURROUNDED BY ADVISERS HOSTILE TO PROHIBITION

Mr. Fosdick admitted to me that you are surrounded by advisers, especially in the Rockefeller Foundation, most of whom if not opposed to prohibition itself are hostile to the Anti-Saloon League of the churches. And there is other evidence, but the hostility of others connected with the Foundation is a separate story.

Your failure through many months, so at variance with your custom of unfailling courtesy, to make even formal acknowledgment of my letters written solely to acquaint you with your publications and the inaccuracies and inaccuracies, when you gave your blanket indorsement of Mr. Fosdick, seems to indicate that your agents deny if they have not kept pace with you.

It has been said editorially within the past few weeks by a leading wet daily of greater New York City that your representative assisted Tammany in what this paper, bitternsly,抗ionistic to me, flatly branded as an effort to "railroad" me. It has also been published within the last few weeks by a leading wet daily city up-State, and quoted from it by others, that the statement of your attitude (as falsely published, and acquiesced in by your representative) and the "incidents" attending it, "had ten times the time to do it" without the illegal incidents recently found against me on evidence the District Attorney dare not have brought into the light, that is, the Tammany.

There has been no public denial from your office of any of these public statements, thus indicating acquiescence in the performance of the efforts to make harmful use of these falsehoods.

THE CRIMINAL WET WHO STOLE YOUR MONEY

About a year and a half ago I exposed the leadership of a condom League. The main officer of whose apparent influence was to be the main active official was one Jerome A. Myers, formerly identified in a manner that would not bear scrutiny with one of the old Tammany offices. And the Tammany, by means of your agent, obtained upon my subscription of an annual installment of $5,000, which he stole. He was indicted for grand larceny in the first degree and entered a plea of guilty.

This confessed criminal, allied with the wets, an opponent of prohibition on the part of the churches, thus availing himself of written statement from the district attorney's office in my possession, was allowed to go scot free on the promise of parole. It was repeatedly intimated that the district attorney personally recommended this leniency to a criminal wet. In the light of later disclosures it would be interesting to know to what extent the well-known anti-Saloon League agent was responsible for inducing the district attorney to whom he seems especially close to take the action which so condemns his attempted maintenance of the League.

In sharp contrast with this, your agent, Mr. Fosdick, making use of his relation to you, has actively, vitally and persistently, in his effort to mislead, secretly assisted the conspiracy to "frame" me, an innocent dry.

BITTER BECAUSE OF FAILURE TO CAPTURE CONTROL OF THE LEAGUE

Failing to intimidate me into changing the aggressive policy of the Anti-Saloon League by the threat of withdrawal of your subscription, and failing by the same means to coerce the Board of Directors of the League officially representing the churches, even before these false charges were invented, into eliminating me as superintendent, so bitter was the agent's effort to pro-here representative that he used his relation to you and the influence of your name with the district attorney's office in helping a convicted felon to escape from the place which he had been sent to, to extort money from the Anti-Saloon League and from me.

Your agent's later activity indicates that he intended to use my experience in the League, my history, and my efforts to cut off your support, as an objective I know I was long sought by anti-prohibitionists high in the management of the Rockefeller Foundation, who on this question are neither patriotic nor scientific.

YOUR AGENT WAS THE REAL PROSECUTOR WHO FIRST BROUGHT ME ON THE SCENE

Thwarted in this, instead of openly denouncing me as a criminal and making formal complaint as a brave, honest man with the facts and a valid interest might have been expected to do, your agent, Mr. Fosdick, made the second charge of my "incidents," which were then investigated by the district attorney, who has published his report which, I am sorry to say, I only just received. Mr. Fosdick, of course, made the other charges which had previously been pled to and rejected by leading wet newspapers and the leading liquor organization, and even by Boss Murphy of Tammany, concentrated his whole effort for three months on the alleged "evidence" supplied by your agent. There is a wealth of detail available on the.

INSTRUMENTAL IN GETTING TAMMANY TO ORDER INDICTMENTS FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES

A grand jury selected for the purpose and held nearly three months, with access to everything available to the later grand jury which indicted me, unless it be for certain documents which were strewn over the floor of that court in the retrenchment, would not accept as sufficient basis for indictment the stuff furnished by your man, and was discharged.

The district attorney who has been来这里 admits publicly discussing the relation of the contemplated indictments to his gubernatorial ambitions evidently had enough and wanted to quit.

But your agent has been so lenient with a criminal wet, and who, notwithstanding his reported assurance to you that his Democratic proclivities would not interfere with his loyalty to your Republican interests, had been encouraging the district attorney, was active in the effort, obviously successful, to force the district attorney's hand. Through the representative of a stool pigeon evening paper reputed to be in financial difficulties, your agent charged that the district attorney had "said to the district attorney to re-open the case and indict me regardless of this fact, what is justice, and justice, you can see it in the statement last winter that you hoped nothing wrong would be found. And he knew that the governor, with removal power, alone could bring conviction and your agents.

YOUR AGENT A NOTORIOUS OPPONENT OF EFFECTIVE DRY ENFORCEMENT

Your agent, only a few months before you selected him to pass on your request to the young and consecrated and comparatively League, had publicly opposed the only effective means of dry enforcement and objected to the enactment in the first place of the 21st Amendment. Your representative, who was a member of the League, opposed upon the subscription of an annual installment of $5,000, which he stole. He was indicted for grand larceny in the first degree and entered a plea of guilty.

November 3, 1923

THE AMERICAN ISSUE
President Coolidge to the Governors on Prohibition Enforcement

After speaking of joint efforts on the part of the states and the nation to enforce the immigration and anti-narcotic laws, President Coolidge spoke as follows to the Governors invited to confer with him at Washington on October 28:

"The Eighteenth Amendment was proposed by the Congress in 1917, and its ratification proclaimed in January, 1919. It proscribes the manufacture, sale, transportation, and the importation and exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and confers upon the Congress and the several states the power to enact such prohibitory legislation as they may deem necessary for the protection of public health, welfare, and safety. The power was exercised by the Congress in the National Prohibition Act, which was finally passed in October, 1919, two-thirds of the House of Representatives and Senate being necessary to a vote in the affirmative. Substantially all of the states have likewise passed enacting laws under the authority of the Eighteenth Amendment. In all of the states there have been laws regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, and in many of the states prohibition had already been adopted.

No provision of the Eighteenth Amendment, or the National Prohibition Act, contemplates any surrender of state responsibility. Under it prohibition becomes obligatory in all states, for the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are specifically declared, by the Federal Constitution, to be the supreme law of the land. They are binding upon every inhabitant. But there still remains to the states the power specifically reserved in the Eighteenth Amendment, to pass enacting acts, and there is still on them a joint responsibility to enforce the laws, which may not always be exercised, but which can never be avoided."

KINGS COUNTY, 17TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT:
Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate, favors state legislation ending all gewgaw laws and city and county ordinances which are based on the unreformed temperance laws. He favors the enforcement of state and city liquor laws and opposes the enforcement of national prohibition laws. He favors the enforcement of state liquor laws, favors restoration of state prohibition enforcement law, and is opposed to legalizing beer or to leaving the definition of "intoxicating liquors" to the states.
THE AMERICAN ISSUE
AN ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN PATRIOTISM

Issued Weekly, except during the month of August, by the Anti-Saloon League of New York.

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KOLLIN O. EVERHART, New York Editor

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Merely a Suggestion
Congress, at least, will probably regard the yearning for beer and light wines as a regional complaint.—N. Y. Herald.
As a sort of stomach ache, doubtless. Perhaps the medicine made famous by the Facisti would help.

Well Done, Gentlemen
The arrest of the New Jersey brewers and the federal enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment have up in the country a curiosity by which truck loads of New Jersey's real beer were being let across the Hudson, for sale in New York city, is earnest and commendable work. The men were arrested after a long and patient study of the corruption money to the sum of eighty-some thousand dollars. Commissioner Haynes, United States District Attorney, said the special federal detachment which had been engaged in the long and involved labor of netting these sleek violators deserve high praise.

Weed vigorous action against certain home grown brewers also. State line activity is good. New Jersey got it against Pennsylvania brewers. Now we New Yorkers have it against New Jersey brewers. There are some ripe New Yorkers, too, we fear. Let the Eagle fly over the beaver, the Dutch windmill and the barrel—and especially the barrel.

Pity Put by the Times
The New York Times closed its editorial on the address of President Coolidge to the governors by saying:

"The speech not only fitted the occasion, but will go to every part of the land as an announcement of the deliberate, sustained, and effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment by the federal government. The politicians who think to further their ambitions by attacking or undermining the President will only break their teeth.

"Through the meteoric years are already many who will misunderstand the Times; and its meaning is truth—gravel-hard. It pictures the opposition to prohibition and enforcement as made up of human rodents—grubbers at the law and its upholders. Rats is a familiar variety of rodents and the most of the opposers of prohibition are fit subjects for that term in its figurative uses—renegades against society for their base ends, traitors to orderly human association. Many of them are politicians, but the more they gnaw at this solemnly erected will of the nation the more they will make evident the flinty nature of the thing on which they try their teeth.

The Whine of Governor Smith
A quartet of little governors had their fling at prohibition in connection with the recent governors' conference and at the called meeting of the governors at Washington addressed by President Coolidge. Governor Blaine of Wisconsin and Governor Siler of New York went home to do their spitting at events. Governors Ritchie, of Maryland, and Smith, of New York, said their little say in the President's presence.

In answer to President Coolidge's reminding of the state executives that the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act constituted no surrender of state responsibility, and that the states have "a joint responsibility to enact and enforce the enforcement laws" which they may not always be exercised, but which can never be avoided," Governor Smith had the selfishness to rise and say, in effect, "But I and some other people do not like the law."

Fronted by a calm and unescapable statement of his (Governor Smith's) and his state's duty and obligation under the Eighteenth Amendment and the National Prohibition Act, he could not sense the dignity and value of the moment and did nothing but whine.

Once, in public comment upon President Harding's letter to a citizen of Newburgh urging the responsibility of a state for cooperation with the federal government in enforcement, Governor Smith, poetically sweeping his bow across the great giddle of utterance, said boastfully, "I am the head of the greatest sovereign state in the Union." There was that tremendous swagger on the occasion of the recent governor's conference with the President? Why was his noble sword of holy de- nounce not unsheathed? Surely there was more dramatic opportunity for political fuss and mullification sabe-rattling than did the sending of a letter by the late President to the New York citizen. "All" extravagant wearer of the courageous plume of sovereignty and a teller of Presidents where to get off, could do nothing but stand like a varlet poltroon and whimper.

To such a spectacle has the governorship of the greatest State in the Union descended! With the logic of everything majestic against him, in an hour and a half, as he should have put finger to lip and have pondered what the President said about the law having "behind it and supporting it a divine sanction," and its being "clothed with a spiritual significance in which is revealed the life or death of the American ideal of self-government" as those in executive place uphold and further it, or fled to uphold and further it, any executive could only show the moral and intellectual attainments of a guilty and evasive child.

Events since that flamboyant espousal of nullification have taught him not only how to parade that patriotism, but they have not made him any more the man and the patriot.

Judas Kisses the Government
Judas has written a long letter to President Coolidge saying that attempts to enforce prohibition are due to the corrupters and debauchery and corruption, but that, if the President and the government will allow, he will lay at their service all his experience of practical virtue in the system; that will result in at least in making them economi- cal minimum and at the same time restore respect for law and order and purge the government of the corruption that now threatens to undermine the republic itself.

Judas is a Saint Louis brewer. His name is Adolphus Busch.
Engaged all his life, until prohibition stopped him, in making and selling the thing which created and fired alcohol appetites and which was used to provide an intellectual and physical alienation of the nation—BEER, he now offers his experience in that line to help the government "reduce intemperance!"

Having been for years either a joint owner of, or supplier of liquor to, 1,200 saloons in New York city to the Pacific, which saloons brawnsily, vilily and lewdly defied every week-day and Sunday law meant to curb their immoralities and debauchery, he now offers his experience in helping on those nurseries of anarchy as an aid to the government in restoring "respect for law and order!"

Having engaged jointly, with other brewers, in operating a beer monopoly in Texas in defiance of Texas law, in raising corruption funds in that state by contributing a barrel tax for joint purposes of political corruption in contemptuous disobedience of the laws of Texas governing corporations, in the paying of the poll taxes of voters in Texas in flagrant violation of the Texas statute against such acts, in joint attempts with other brewers to corruptly subvert the will of the people of Texas on the prohibition issue; having engaged jointly in the like corrupt political conspiracies all over the nation, through a barrel tax contributed for years through the United States Brewers' Association for the maintenance of a corrupt national political machine for the interests of the liquor traffic; having joined with other brewers in contractually furnishing large sums of money to the German-American Alliance for its efforts to promote German interests, the interests of the United States, the preaching of Germanism as opposed to Americanism, for reviving, printing and circulating the Ger- man-American Alliance Bulletin, the American Democrat, the Der Stürmer, and the Unabridged German language edition of the Westminster, with all the other things that come under the jurisdiction of the National Prohibition Act,Streams of corruption have passed down to the Congress through state and federal legislation; for these reasons, and because the government is, according to the Constitution of the United States, vested with the duty of suppressing corruption, the virtue of the nation, and the national honor, requires the President to take steps to reduce corruption, and that is why the President must not shrink from the task, because it is his duty and obligation.

The weasel that silt the pellet's throat offers to police the fen-house.
The chief of the rattlesnakes wants to guard the children! Satan wants a job as an evangelist!
"If," Some Statements About the Promised Trial

I was finally indicted, after the District Attorney of New York county had dropped the matter, by order of Tammany and the anti-Protestant influences behind it, as part of a project to bring about a Tammany Assembly as an essential step in the scheme to put the Tammany nullification Governor of New York into the White House.

I intended to bring this to trial during the campaign as part of the fireworks to erect the Tammany Assembly on the assumption that a jury could be gotten together which would return a libel or perjury verdict.

However, Tammany, in the face of the public reaction from the refusal to grant an inspection of the grand jury minutes, to the refusal of five thousand dry Protestant churches while six other defendants who with their attorneys make a significant non-Protestant roster were granted this privilege by the same judge, the same term, and the reaction from the exposure of the disqualification of the Tammany District Attorney and of his political purpose, concluded it was not safe and that the probable outcome of the trial would be damaging to the campaign. So they put it over until after election in spite of the clamor from the District Attorney's office, the Tribune, and August for an early trial.

The District Attorney, interrogated as to whether the matter had been dropped, stated a week before last that it would be tried next week on a re-ropes and re-factor, and I am not particularly concerned on this point now, because this matter has been so handled and carried so far that anything but it is a sure gage.

It will react on Tammany if the "case" is opened dropped. Yet so long as it hangs it will be an irritant that will enable us to maintain a highway instead of a railroad to a realization of the anti-Protestant conspiracy against them.

On the other hand, if it is brought to trial and it becomes clear that evidence and witnesses would be available which it would be absolutely fatal to the prosecution, the duty under such circumstances, does not let the so-called "case" go to a jury, it will be damaging to Tammany and the Tammany regime.

If, even though there is no evidence, the court allows it to go to a jury and a jury brings in a verdict of acquittal, as a practical matter, I will be free to do in the future the inevitable pitiful showing that will be made by the "prosecution," that, if anything, will be still more damaging to Tammany.

On the other hand, if, in spite of lack of evidence, the so-called case is improperly allowed to go to the jury, and a jury by that kind of persuasion which in which Tammany is adept and concerning which the District Attorney is apparently not as much interested as the United States Attorney, brings in a verdict of guilty in defiance of the law and the evidence, that will supply a section of the public not even yet awakened, the conclusive proof of the nature of the conspiracy.

The proceedings from last winter around the churches to a greater interest and increased support. The actual finding of the absurd and illegal indictments against me kept up the vigor and further and further the financial response by the League constituency at church services. If a "frame-up" conviction is secured in defiance of the public sentiment of support, this will be one of the facts of the facts, that will proportionately still further stir up and warm up the situation.

This Tammany hunch and its anti-Protestant ecclesiastical backers found last winter and spring that the threat of indictment could not keep me silent. They have discovered this summer and fall that actual indictment merely stirred up more sentiment. And I can promise them that in the event, which is unlikely and unthinkable even in New York, that they will put over a so-called conviction which cannot stand in the higher courts, I will use that even more effectively pending reversal on appeal.

And finally, even assuming the possibility of the impossible, that this bunch can actually get me into prison on the testimony of the perjurer pal of the Tammany District Attorney and under the perjurer representative when the constituency of the League and the fair-minded public know in spite of poison propaganda from an anti-Protestant press that I have carried through super-human and super-ruthless, the result, although unpleasant to be for the time, would split things wide open in New York state and over the entire country, Tammany against the Tammany Assembly by a heat that Tammany and all concerns like it operating as the political front of such influences, would be fatal.

I know perfectly well that Tammany has not a chance in a thousand of getting an adverse verdict if it brings any of this personal testimony which, I believe, it is highly probable of having such hypothetical verdicts sustained, so I am not in much danger of having the privilege of martyrdom thrust upon me.

I have demonstrated that I am no pacifist and will not take any of this lying down. And there is no limit to which political fanaticism and so-called religious venom can pervert the machinery of justice that will cause me to weaken. Every step this ungodly crew takes in this outrageous affair simply thrusts into my hands a larger and heavier club and spreads out before me, as a kind of curtain, the public and the press audience. And if I could be the means of wrecking the political-ecclesiastical conspiracy to destroy prohibition enforcement by going to prison and prison bars and the press, I would feel that it had been worth while and rather enjoy the experience, knowing full well that there would be compensation further along in the political victory of the anti-Protestant forces and not as the shifting desires of our people may dictate.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every state of the Union the right to regulate its own public service laws so long as they do not infringe upon the public service laws of the other. The same obligation is due from all sworn executives of the United States or one of its subdivisions—or enforcing the law and the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the other. The same obligation is due from all sworn executives of the United States or one of its subdivisions—or enforcing the law and the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the other. The same obligation is due from all sworn executives of the United States or one of its subdivisions—or enforcing the law and the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the other. The same obligation is due from all sworn executives of the United States or one of its subdivisions—or enforcing the law and the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the other.

The states owe to the federal government a reciprocal loyalty to support and enforce the Constitution of the United States and the laws enacted by Congress pursuant thereto.

The question of the merits of a law is one that can not enter into consideration, but it is the order of the day in the debates in both the Congresses. They have been put there by the only recognized authority; they can be amended or repealed only by the same authority. The order of the day is said to be the Constitution, and not the constitution. So it may be said of government. Likewise the first duty of the governed is obedience to law.

When a Law is Enacted and Upheld by the Supreme Court

"Law enforcement officers need not justify the wisdom of laws, when regularly enacted. No political or personal consideration can safely interfere with vigorous, uniform and dispassionate enforcement. Especially is this true when the legislation has been held by the Supreme Court of the United States to conform to the principles of the Constitution."

"All questions of 'individual liberty,' 'indefensible rights' and state rights are foreclosed. There is no guarantee of 'liberty except by law.'"

"Today our country is menacing in many localities by a serious breakdown of the principles of authority. Smuggling, violation of the liquor law and of the immigration laws, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, with all its nefarious attendant crimes of graft, piracy and murder, exists through skillful and all organized 'rings' that thrive on the indifference of the localities in which they operate."

"The federal government should intensively police the border and ports of entry for smuggled narcotics, liquor and immigrants, together with violations of other federal laws. But the state must enforce its own law, and, so far as possible, punish local violations of federal law and in no way tolerate disrespect for the Constitution or laws of the United States."

THE AMERICAN ISSUE

November 3, 1923

NEW YORK THE STOCKS

The Attorney General of the United States nearly fitted the stocks to the State of New York and set this commonwealth in its moral shambles place before the nation by a sentence in his address to the governors, that walks with the authority of great truth. This is the sentence:

A reciprocal duty rests in corresponding measure upon the state and the federal government to respect the state respect to the federal, and the federal respect to the laws of the other.

In that sentence is genuine philosophy which shows how far the nation has traveled since the Civil War, and how completely the legislature and the governor of the state of New York have destroyed the proper relationship between this state and the United States, the presence in a reversion of having such hypothetical verdicts sustained, so I am not in much danger of having the privilege of martyrdom thrust upon me.

I have demonstrated that I am no pacifist and will not take any of this lying down. And there is no limit to which political fanaticism and so-called religious venom can pervert the machinery of justice that will cause me to weaken. Every step this ungodly crew takes in this outrageous affair simply thrusts into my hands a larger and heavier club and spreads out before me, as a kind of curtain, the public and the press audience. And if I could be the means of wrecking the political-ecclesiastical conspiracy to destroy prohibition enforcement by going to prison and prison bars and the press, I would feel that it had been worth while and rather enjoy the experience, knowing full well that there would be compensation further along in the political victory of the anti-Protestant forces and not as the shifting desires of our people may dictate.
the mutual duty of the state and the nation to engender respect for, and obedience to, each other's laws. This state, through its governor and legislators belonging to both political parties, has sinned grievously against that spirit. Having once, by legislative enactment, assumed the correct attitude of promoting respect for and obedience to the laws of the nation, the state, by its present legislature, with ribald flaunting of the state's responsibilities, has publicly declared its contempt for the nation, and thrown its bulky weight of inertia and undisguised official scorn squarely across the path of the execution of the will of Congress.

So citizens mourn, while the chief state of all emulates the behavior of certain states in the nation's adolescence and disowns the high call of loyalty to the Union that alone can stifle the spirit of the Gilded Age of 1890.

Macbeth heard a voice crying: "Sleep no more, Macbeth does murder sleep." The governor and a majority of the legislature and state establishment are in the same boat and themselves be shorn of honors as a consequence. They have committed a deep and violent wrong, and there can be no state peace until there has been atonement and restoration.

Program Adopted by the Conference of Governors

With the President

The conference of governors called by President Coolidge to consider cooperation between the state and federal government, attended by about two-thirds of the state executives, adopted seven suggestions to accomplish this purpose. Six of these suggestions were made by the governor of Oklahoma, and the seventh was presented by Governor Freun of Minnesota. The program accepted by the conference follows:

1. Coordination of all federal, state county and municipal forces.
2. To call upon the press to support prohibition law enforcement, stress law observance, and treat the enforcement program commensurate with the gravity of lawlessness.
3. To call conventions of municipal, county and state enforcement officials at a convenient date, to discuss and adopt a program to educate the government and pledges every possible support to these conventions.
4. To call upon the prosecuting attorneys in the various districts of the state to confer on the enforcement problem, pledging support with every facility to aid in such discussions.
5. To adopt whatever means are practicable to cause lawless citizens and aliens to respect the majesty and sanctity of the law, and to respect the various agencies enforcing it.
6. Cooperation by national authorities in all these activities.
7. Education of the school children as to the evils of liquor drinking.

At the close of the discussion it was moved that the six points, outlined by the president, be adopted as the sense of the conference. This was done with an amendment offered by Governor Freun of Minnesota recommending that schools teach the evils of liquor drinking.

Plain Words From Some Catholics and Some Newspapers

(From address of State Superintendent Anderson at the Central Park Methodist Episcopal Church, Buffalo, October 21)

"I notice that in common with the notorious attitude of the anti-Protestant press generally, some of your Buffalo newspapers following my address in this church last week, at the Temperance Anniversary of the Genesee Annual Conference, said that I attacked the Catholic Church. This was a falsehood as they well knew, for they had the written text of my address which specifically made clear the vital distinction.

"I have never attacked the Catholic or any other church and have never been unfair or untrue to any church, in the absence of any authoritative official action on its part, for the blunders or offenses of any individuals associated with it. I have never said a thing against the Catholic church as a church. I have never made any attack upon the religion of any sincere man or woman to whom the Catholic Church represents the expression of religious convictions and ideals.

"However, as I have shown up Protestants who were wet, not dry, but who were both unfair and unwise to both parties, I have exposed Jewish bootleggers and fake Rabbis, not because they were Jews but because they were violating the laws. I have gone to Congress and advocated the violation of the prohibition law, not because they are Catholics but because they are in conspiracy against the integrity of the fundamental law of the land. Furthermore, I shall not be deterred by cuttlefish tactics of obscuring the issue, nor intimidated by bluster on the part of their jour-

nating allies, which seem to include every daily newspaper in the city of Buffalo and the state.

"Your leading paper—amusingly respectable, theoretically not Catholic—falsely charged me with injecting the religious issue in the anti-Saloon League, which I had been secretly injected previously by the other side. This was the period of the New York papers some time ago, including the leading Catholic and anti-Saloon papers, most respectable pledge of loyalty to the nation, and threw its bulky weight of inertia and undisguised official scorn squarely across the path of the execution of the will of Congress.

"I am now hereby, for the first time in this explicit form, from a Methodist pulpit serving notice on Tammany and all Catholics in New York that I am in the utmost earnestness of my conviction that the anti-Saloon League in New York that I intend to finish the fight, and that we have started, and intend to keep things going until they are smashed out.

"So long as there seemed to be no special provocation which would conclusively answer the inevitable false charge that the Anti-Saloon League or I as its representative had injected the issue, we suffered the wet activity, most of it reprehensible and much of it criminal, of certain wet Catholics. Now that they have started a war of extermination, I intend to smoke them out and put up to the Catholics (undoubtedly the large majority of them) who are not engaged in this kind of business, and who do stand for upholding the law, the responsibility for clearing their skirts by results that show what Catholics who have lined themselves up against the conscience and intelligence of the American nation as expressed in the Thirty-Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

"And further, I want to serve notice on the Catholic clergy of New York state, from archbishop and bishops down, that it is about time for the forefathers of this anti-Saloon clergy who as Catholics give aid and comfort to liquor crime by attacking the prohibition law, and thus make clear that they can be got enough substance in our family to stand openly and sincerely for giving an honest, fair test to this American policy of prohibition.

"If, with the continued exposure of the assault on the Protestant churches by the wet Catholics back of Tammany through the effort to discredit the Anti-Saloon League and ruin its representatives, the impression becomes general that the entire Catholic Church establishment, officials and with sympathy with if indeed not a party to what Tammany has been trying to do and the outrages in general which have been invited the revilement of the church, the church authorities have the responsibility heads of the church in this jurisdiction will have only themselves to blame for what will become the natural and necessary to clear their skirts by results that show what may reasonably be considered a significant thing.

"By pressing this issue, not merely for a few days or a few weeks or a few months, but through the years until prohibition enforcement ceases to be opposed, or until there is an adequate, satisfactory, authoritative Catholic attitude toward which is backed up in a convincing way, then we are doing a real service to the Catholic church and to those Catholics, constituting a large majority, who stand for law, who feel and wish to see the Catholic church live on in a faithful way in terms of peaceful harmony with those churches that have taken the lead in discharging the moral leadership of the nation on the question.

"The standing of the Catholic church in America an' the attitude of Americans toward it will be very much improved when Catholics in a position to speak authoritatively make clear their absolute separation from the criminal and outlaw liquor traffic to a point that removes all ground even for suspicion."

Resolution Adopted at 69th State Convention

Rochester, N. Y., October 12, 1923.

The New York State Sunday School Association expresses its deep sympathy with, and support of, the proclamation, to the New York State Anti-Saloon League in its battle with those in this state arrayed against the enforcement of the provisions of the Thirty-Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States and the Volstead Act. It denounces as unjust the persecution of the superintendent of the New York State Anti-Saloon League by William H. Anderson, of New York City, the official "chieflain" of 5,000 Protestant churches as its fighting leader against the liquor interests of this state and against the church law enforcement as it pertains to state and federal legislation.

It calls upon the adult clergy and all adults interested with the 5,000 Sunday schools of New York state, to rebuke, both by resolution and vote, the enemies of law enforcement in this commonwealth, and to elect to the legislature in support of candidates as declare their intention (a) to enact laws that will protect temperance legislation already enacted, and (b) to favor the enactment of such laws as will make possible the cooperation of the state with the federal government in enforcing the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment.
Legislative Candidates Asked Whether They Will Favor Investigation of Both Wets and Drys


Dear Sir:

In view of the false statements that the Anti-Saloon League was afraid of a legislative investigation and in view of the later indication that Tammany is now afraid of the investigation, I hereby ask you to earnestly last summer, I desire to supplement the regular legislative questions of the Anti-Saloon League with another question.

Will you forward a complete investigation of the whole wet and dry question and all the issues involved, including not only (1) the Anti-Saloon League which we have been investigating if it is honestly thoroughly; but also (2) the district attorney of New York county and his apparent inactivity in office indicated by him, and (3) the Rockefeller representalive associate of the district attorney; (4) the liquor interests closely associated with the Tammany leadership which furnished the money that paid the confessions perjurer was to me and the activity of all of the other organized groups and liquor interests; and (5) the whispered charges of connection between the Anti-Saloon League and the Ku Klux Klan; with the provision of ample funds and full authority including process to compel the attendance of witnesses whose names will be furnished by the Anti-Saloon League, with the right on the part of the Anti-Saloon League through counsel to cross-examine the witnesses.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) William H. Anderson

Another Letter to Governor Smith

October 23, 1923.

His Excellency, Governor Alfred E. Smith
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Why don't you brag about the repeal of the State Dry Enforcement Code as one of the outstanding achievements on the basis of which you are asking a Democratic Assembly to return a second term? It is one of the planks and the "Safety First" policy of the recent New Jersey convention to refrigerate your stumping extenuates? It was not my turn to be railroaded through before election according to original plan and schedule. Is it not true that your failure to supersede the district attorney is due to the fact that he is carrying out your wishes, if not your explicit instructions, in the travesty upon justice which he has been pulling off, and that you feared he would tell the case you "wound him rough" if you are not afraid of the facts why have you refused my offer to furnish, to a duly accredited representative of yours, testimony from the city criminal court of malfeasance on the part of Joseph H. Banton, district attorney for New York county. Specifically, (1) refusal to prosecute the criminal leader of a wet organization, (2) the release of another criminal leader of a wet organization without punishment although he had pleaded guilty, and (3) instructions to one of his assistants to refuse to give the grand jury access to the records of the office to which I am referring. My offer to furnish the above facts to the district attorney for the city in May, and the prosecution of those responsible, is still unheeded.

If you do not meet this issue during the campaign, I shall put up to you after election the matter of asking the legislature to investigate the "whole works"—the Anti-Saloon League as far as they want to go and the wet crowd, including the liquor interests close to Tammany leaders that paid money to the confessed perjurer who is the district attorney's "nal" and start with the liquor. Of course unless such procedure includes an examination under oath of both the district attorney and his associate in this matter, Raymond B. Fosdick, Rockefeller representative, the public will understand why.

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) William H. Anderson
State Superintendent.

Enforcement

(Headline and editorial in the New York Evening Post, October 15, 1923)

Some one asked Governor Pinchot at Washington yesterday what his fighting speech for prohibition enforcement before the Conference was a bid for the Republican nomination next year. Governor Pinchot, probably not to the utter amazeiment of his questioner, smiled and denied that the speech had anything to do with political fortunes. If Governor Pinchot, instead of smiling and denying, had smiled and affirmed, we do not see that any harm would have come to the cause he was advocating.

If Pinchot is sincere in his call for the suppression of the "new whisky rebellion," as we believe he is sincere, then there is nothing more to be said. But if Pinchot is thinking only in terms of presidential nominations and elections, then it can only mean that a very astute politician believes that prohibition enforcement is a winning issue. When politicians are eager to scramble on the water wagon, the temperance workers must be assumed to be a popular vehicle. And the myth of an Eighteenth Amendment and a Volstead law "put over" on the people of the United States stands out as more mythological than ever.

The country as a whole wants the prohibition laws enforced. Certain sections of the country who feel that the prohibition laws modified by law or nullified in practice. The strength of such a revisionary or nullificatory sentiment is formidable but nevertheless it is being operated. In most states we can assume that Pinchot is not operating in a psychological vacuum; he must have a very solid body of Pennsylvania opinion behind him. In most states it is certain that a referendum on enforcement would go against enforcement. That long and painful hesitation of Governor Smith's over the Mullan-Gage repealer was significant. The situation, then, is this: Over the greater part of the country public opinion is overwhelmingly for enforcement. In the dissident sections enforcement has behind it at the very least a powerful minority. This minority in the states affected thus assimilates itself with enforcement opinion outside the state against hostile opinion within the state. The conclusion, therefore, is

The only conclusion is the one drawn so forcefully by Governor Pinchot yesterday and before him. The federal government as representative of the national sentiment must put much greater energy than it has hitherto done into the enforcement of the law. The administration of the prohibition law, as Pinchot pointed out, has not always been in sympathetic and competent hands. The enforcement personnel, for the most part, have been the agents of the Republican party. The law as it stands is now too old to be revised. The laws as they now stand are the only ones that are in force. And the enforcement of the law has been so weak that the enforcement agencies have not been able to do anything. The appropriations are ridiculous. It is almost incredible to confront with pleas from the Prohibition Commission for six additional $100,000,000.

The irresponsibility is an additional $100,000,000. These appropriations are asked to enforce a law which involved the wiping out of property rights in liquor to the value of hundreds of millions of dollars and the sacrifice by the federal government of revenue to the value of other hundreds of millions. If the American people thought the original money sacrificial worth while it would be justified by its money's worth by spending a good deal more money. For that matter, this is a proposition which the opponents of enforcement should welcome. If the Prohibition Congress has been rendering only mouth service to prohibition, then the best way to test the sincerity of Congress is to ask Congress to supply completely adequate funds for enforcement and see how Congress behaves.

Discontent sentiment within the disaffected States is only encouraged by half-heartedness at Washington. The people, like the politicians, love to go with the band wagon. A federal administration that sets out with the determination to win will also win over to its side the great mass of indifferents.

WHO IS VIOLATING THE LAW?

(Headline and editorial in the Illinois State Journal, September 24, 1923)

A. D. Plamondon, chairman of the Illinois division of the National Association Opposed to Prohibition, is worked up to a high pitch by the law violators that the prohibition laws have not been met. In view of the fact that practically all of the old breweries are engaged in making unlawful beer, the question may well be asked, who are the violators of the laws that the prohibition laws have created? Mr. Plamondon is also excited because of the allegation that the Chicago police force has been corrupted by violators of the prohibition laws. May we ask with expectancy of an answer when, in the history of the liquor business, has it not attempted and often succeeded in corrupting the police? Was there ever a time when the sale of liquor did not require to an extent sufficient to control the police? The liquor laws are not making more law violators than any other statutes. As we have understood it the liquor laws have been responsible for the alarming increase in the number of highwaymen and stick-up men.

A CATHOLIC PUBLICATION ON CATHOLIC POLITICAL WHO ARE AFTER ANDERSON

"The indictment of Mr. W. H. Anderson, the Superintendent of the New York Anti-Saloon League, is entitled to much more respect, if opposed to Mr. Anderson there could be found one official with an American name. In New York opposition to prohibition is a profession. Mr. Anderson is very closely allied to racial, religious and political interests."—Deer- born Independent.

It will be worthwhile to find out what Irish Catholic politicians are willing Tammany tools in this endless training of bloodhounds on the tracks of Mr. Anderson whose employers seem on assuring us that he accounts for every cent he earns all he gets, and is worthy of their highest confidence.

—The Father Mathew Man (Chicago), October, 1923.
Gloring Falsehoods as to Alleged New Organization Opposed to the Anti-Saloon League as Result of Washington Conference

Article in the New York Times Answered by Fred B. Smith, Chairman of Executive Committee of the Conference

The New York Times of October 17 and countless other newspapers elsewhere, contained the following utterly false statement about an alleged new organization opposed to the Anti-Saloon League, as the result of the Washington Citizenship Conference:

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE WILL HAVE A RIVAL

Nation-Wide Law Enforcement Organization to Be the Outcome of Citizens' Conference

Pennsylvania to Start It

Governor Pinchot is. Expected to Take a Prominent Part in the New Movement

(New York Times, October 17, 1923)

Washington, October 16.—The formation of a nation-wide law enforcement organization opposed to the Anti-Saloon League, as a result of the Washington Citizenship Conference, according to leaders in this movement who directed the meeting here have expressed opposition to the Anti-Saloon League.

This new organization is expected to enlist most of those who are now contributing to the Anti-Saloon League, as well as thousands of others who before the Eighteenth Amendment were dry, but who now declare that there is a surplus of law enforcement workers; that the public is not satisfied with the law enforcement in their locality, and demands more and better enforcement. The leaders are looking to the Washington meeting for help in bringing about a better enforcement of the law.

The new organization will come into being in November in Pennsylvania, when the prime mover in that state and other parts of the Union will meet in Harrisburg and adopt a charter and call for similar organizations in other states. This movement is the direct result of the Anti-Saloon League leaders, to whom no conspicuous part in the conference this week was given, are much disturbed over the plans to bring into being a new organization, which they fear will mean the end of their league.

Much criticism of the Anti-Saloon League was heard among those who attended the conference. The burden of their talk was that the League had developed into a political organization. They pointed to its activities in the Ohio election when the League supported Simeon D. Fess for the Senate. Another criticism was the exposure of the organization in New York state and the failure of the League to report its expenditures to the public.

Those who are behind the new movement say that it will be non-partisan and its entire purpose will be to fight for law enforcement. It will not display any active interest in politics but will content itself by asking candidates to state their views on law enforcement, and these views will be given to the public.

In Pennsylvania the Law Enforcement League will be organized in every county, and it is hoped by the promoters to form an organization that will commend itself to all good citizens irrespective of their views on the wet and dry subject.

The fact that Governor Pinchot will take a prominent part gave rise to the suggestion that the organization will be employed to advance his prospective candidacy for the presidency. The reply to this was that Mr. Pinchot had no desire to ride to the White House on a dry wagon and that his only interest in the organization lay in its helpfulness in successfully stamping out violations of the law.

The conference ended the small group of leading men in the Anti-Saloon League with the following statement to the press, "Today's Federation Commissioner Haynes said:

"The conference of the citizenship conference as the most significant gathering of patriotic American leaders of thought since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. The conference has worked out a clear law enforcement plan for the enforcement of the law as it is in the eyes of the people. The government has clarified many conditions and definitely indicated various responsibilities in the smaller political sub-divisions, as well as those at the national level. The conference leadership has not generally been understood by the people and many authors."

The other outstanding result of the conference was the program adopted providing channels through which crystalized public sentiment will become operative to the end that all enforcement of local, state and national, will be better supported, and at the same time, will be required to do their full duty, under stress of public opinion."

Here is the authoritative word of the chairman of the executive committee, and real creator, of the Washington Conference, which shows up the nasty animus and untruthfulness of the Times article:

CITIZENSHIP CONFERENCE

Executive Committee 102 East 22nd Street New York City

NO RIVAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

Mr. Fred B. Smith, chairman of the executive committee of the "Citizenship Conference", held in Washington on October 13, 14, and 15, speaking today for the officers of the Conference gave out the following statement concerning the future of the Citizens Conference plans:

The Citizenship Conference Committee does not plan to organize another great so-called temperance movement to enter the field in competition with the anti-saloon movement or any other of the great temperance movements. The announcement which appeared in the press that a meeting was to be held on November 27 at Harrisburg for that purpose is without any foundation. The officers of the Citizenship Conference Committee have no knowledge of any such meeting on November 27, and do not expect to attend or participate in any such meeting. The officers of the Citizenship Conference are instructed to call a series of conventions, twenty or more, upon the questions of law enforcement, especially with particular reference to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It is the purpose to go forward with these conventions and to keep intact an Executive Committee which will be in continuous cooperation with existing organizations now in the field working for the observance of law.

This series of Citizenship Conferences will be organized and conducted for the purpose of arousing public sentiment to back up the enforcement agencies of the country in the special emergency of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It is their purpose to have these conferences and conventions magnify the whole question of good government, sound citizenship, and true democracy. Mr. Smith further stated that he had information already of about "25 different brands" representing small groups, some with political ambitions and some without apparently any reason, who are now attempting to attach themselves to the same "Citizenship Conference." (Signed) Fred B. Smith. October 18, 1923.

Abraham Lincoln on Reverence for Law

At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? At what point, then, is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reaches us, it must spring up among us. The poison once let loose will not come into being a new organization, which they fear will mean the end of their league.

We must accept the one or the other. The answer is simple.

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher of his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others.

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to her little children. Let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries and in colleges; let it be written in primers, in spelling books and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

Never was the need of the importance of obedience to law, i. e., we would save our nation, more clearly stated than in this address by Abraham Lincoln. Every violator of law, every bootlegger and every bootlegger's partner in sin, the bearer of the drinker of his whiskey, is doing his utmost as Lincoln put it, to cause the nation to commit suicide.