Ada James papers, correspondence, 1923. Wis Mss OP, Box 20, Folder 4 [unpublished]

James, Ada Lois, 1876-1952
[s.l.]: [s.n.], [unpublished]

WISCONSIN ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

STATE OFFICES
825 GOLDSMITH BUILDING, 141 WISCONSIN STREET
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
R. P. HUTTON, STATE SUPT.

January 2, 1923

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wis.

My dear Miss James:

I regret very much that you do not feel that you can give the time required as a member of our Educational Executive Committee. I know that you are now and will be very busy with your other work, and that is one reason why I wanted you on this Committee because I find that people who are willing and capable of doing things are busy and that they are worth something to any movement that they will take hold of.

I shall see you in Madison during the Legislative session and will confer with you on legislative matters and ask your advice on certain points of our educational work.

Sincerely yours,

B. N. Hicks

Attorney.

BNH:JA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MADISON, WISCONSIN

FRED R. ZIMMERMAN
SECRETARY OF STATE

January 3, 1923.

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wisconsin.

My dear Miss James:

We were very glad that you were able to be here with us on New Year's day, for it is such people as you are and have always been who have made it possible for the present administration to go into office with the wonderful majorities that each received.

Please let me assure you again of my appreciation of your services and your interest. When you are in Madison, make this office your headquarters.

With personal regards, and wishing you a very Happy New Year, I remain,

Yours truly,

Fred R. Zimmerman

FRZ-K

My dear dear – here on my desk, covered over, I've just come on this letter to you, written the day after I received yours. How terrible! – Your telegram to me came on the Thursday, and I thought that you had not received my letter in the morning but found here it later in the day. – I had been expecting to

Lear from you — had thought of sending off another card to make sure that you understood.)

I am so sorry. But I feel just as definitely as I did then I write the letter — and I think that you will understand that part. But the delay, dear friend, that at least you must try to forgive me.

Ira

Saturday

[1923, Jan. 5]

Dear Ada,

I do owe you an apology. The telegram came when there were people here and it was, my reply was, unforgivably neglected.

Especially do I apolggize since it will not be possible to do as you ask. I am very much behind with my work, work which has been promised; and I am not able to accept any invitation to read or speak this Winter. This of course has to mean everything in order to mean anything. Do please understand, and know how sorry I am not to be there and to help even a little. Good wishes and warm remembrance.

Faithfully yours,

Zona Gale

Portage, January 5: 1923:

Mon. noon

Dear Ada:- The above just came this noon. What will we do now about that first night, think we ought to have an outstanding speaker preferably a woman, don't you?

Please send on Rutgers suggestions as fast as you work them out.

As ever hastily Grace L. Cl.

State of Wisconsin
Board of Regents of Normal Schools
Madison

January 7, 1923.

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wisconsin,
My dear Miss James :

Yesterday, Miss Comings, daughter of Lieut.Gov.Comings showed me a 22 page typewritten statement to be signed by the members of the legislative (or possibly the executive committee) of the Women's Progressive Association, and to be immediately sent to the members of that Association, all over the state. Miss Comings first saw this statement yesterday, and she was asked as a member of the committee to sign it at once so that it could be sent out yesterday. I suggested to her that such a document ought to have been submitted to the entire committee many days in advance of their signing it, and carefully considered by the committee. I also suggested that she consult at once with Mrs. Blaine .

This procedure brings up other like instances which I am sure you will wish to know. Since I am not asking the endorsement of any measure by the Women's Progressive Association, and since I firmly believe that such an Association may contribute powerfully in the future to the Progressive Movement, I am not conscious of any motive except to advance that movement.

I have no doubt that there are very many of the measures as set forth in this 22 page statement that are directly in harmony with the Progressive Movement as we have known it since 1901 in Wisconsin. But it is also evident that it suggests measures, some of which are positively dangerous, and some of which are so ambigous, intentionally so, as to discredit, later, any approval of them by the Women's Progressive Convention to be held in Madison late this month.

The following instances will illustrate the procedure which is now being used with the Women's Progressive Association :

(a) In October, 1921, Secretary Fitzpatrick gave out to all the news agencies a carefully prepared news article to the effect that the President of the University, the Head of the Dept. of Education in the Univ., the Supt. and Assistant Supt. of Public Instruction and the Secretaries of the 3 administrative educational boards, would have meetings to consider educational questions and policies, and that for " convenience it might be called an <u>advisory council</u>. " When we met, three of us promptly put an end to the idea that we were to advise all of the educators and other citizens interested in education. The news article practically told the people of the state that the various educational institutions and educational administrative boards would acknowledge the sovereignty of the State Board of Education, and in particular of its Secretary.

We only had one other meeting and this was for the purpose of reaching the same result in another way, as follows :

[1922, Jan. 7]

State of Wisconsin
Board of Regents of Normal Schools
Madison

(b) Early in 1922, the Secretary of the State Board of Education called a meeting of all the educational administrative boards in the Senate Chamber. The program devised precluded free discussion and the whole meeting was in confusion over 'procedure' and resulted in a wrangle and ill feeling. No other meeting of that kind has been held. All present knew that the meeting was held for the purpose of making the State Board of Education a "clearing house " for educational questions and policies.

(c) Early in December, 1922, the first of a series of 4 conferences was called by Mrs. Turner, of the Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association. I think the first one was on the question of ' Marketing'. Then a second was held, but I do not know the topic of discussion. Mrs. Turner is employed in the office of the State Board of Education, and she, with Miss Hochstein, are in cordial cooperation with Secretary Fitzpatrick.

(d). The 3d. was held in the Senate Chamber on Dec. 16, 1922, Mrs. Turner presiding, and Sec. Fitzpatrick, practically guiding the conference, he being the first speaker, and the program being practically determined in the office of the State Board of Education. You were present, and may recall that about 4 P.M. (not the time, 11:30 A.M. when I presented the functions of the state educational boards) at 4 P.M. I pointed out the importance of not endorsing any measure until it had been most carefully discussed, and I called attention in particular, to the question of junior colleges. You may also recall that my point was replied to with some asperity that " no cut and dried program ' was intended, but only free and full discussion was planned. I can now say that free and full discussion was not intended, was not had, and in particular, on the 2 most important measures-- junior colleges, and a county board of education, no presentation whatever was made in opposition to the cut and dried program which was carefully planned to exclude such discussion. Hence the asperity in disclosing the underlying plan. I plainly saw running underneath that program those 2 measures,- one made famous by C.E. Patzer in 1915, and one sent to defeat by Gov. Blaine in his veto of the bill drawn by Secy. Fitzpatrick.

At the time , 4 P.M., Dec. 16, when I made the point that that meeting ought notowithout further discussion and study to endorse those 2 measures, there was then set up in the Capital Times of Dec. 16, the following carefully prepared news article :

" L E G I S L A T U R E
(Main heading) TO BE ASKED
FOR COLLEGES "

" Plan Junior Institutions
at Women's Meeting
Here Today "

" The legislature is going to be asked to appropriate money for junior colleges to be established in all sections of the state," said E. A. Fitzpatrick,

[1922, Jan. 7]

State of Wisconsin
Board of Regents of Normal Schools
Madison

I would call your attention to one thing in this news article : It conveys the plain impression to the average reader out in the state that the Conference of Progressive Women in the Senate Chamber together with other representatives of organizations approved of the policy of junior colleges, and the article does not in any way distinguish between the policy of the bill of 1921 drawn by Secy.Fitzpatrick and vetoed by Governor Blaine, and the totally different policy of making junior colleges local institutions, with state aid. I have asked three prominent educational men to read this news article and they have all said that it conveys the idea that the Conference of Progressive Women endorsed the policy of junior colleges .Of course you were present at that Conference, and you know that it took no action whatever on that question.

(e) In the Capital Times of Dec. 8, 1922, is another carefully prepared statement by Secy. Fitzpatrick. In this, he states, that,

" A comprehensive educational program, the adoption of which, it is believed, will lead to the upbuilding of Wisconsin's public school system, was announced today by the state board of education, of which the state superintendent is a member. This program, backed by the present leaders of the state educational system, will be formulated into bills and brought before the legislature for enactment into law. Its principal features include the following :

1. Creation of a public education fund---- approximately,$ 1 000 000.
2. Establishment of junior colleges in the principal cities of the state to relieve the university of its first two years of college training.
3. Consolidation of rural schools, limiting one room school houses to instruction of only the first six grades.
4. Revision of state aids.
5. Representation of agriculture and labor on educational boards.
6. Creation of county school boards, elected by the people,with broad powers over rural education.
7* Elimination of college courses in normal schools
(This had already been done by the Normal Board on July 27,1922)

I think you will note the generality of 1,2,4 and even 6 of the above, and that any approval ought to be on the definite bills themselves. Dispute over the provisions for a county board of education in 1915 caused a perfect uproar in the legislature and the adoption of a resolution by the Assembly questioning the right of the chief lobbyist over his being here .

Can it be doubted that with Mrs. Turner as presiding officer of the legislative committee of the Women's Progressive Association,the effort is being carefully made in the office of the state board of education to commit the entire state Women's Progressive Association to the particular bills to be drawn by Secretary Fitzpatrick. ?

[1922, Jan. 7]

State of Wisconsin
Board of Regents of Normal Schools
Madison

(f) On December 16, 1922, there appeared in the Wisconsin State Journal of Madison the following news article :

(Main heading) " B O A R D P L A N S T O
M A K E A P P O I N T E E
O F S C H O O L H E A D "

(Sub-heading) " State Education Body Will Ask
Amendment to End Election
System And Take Job
' Out of Politics' "

" An amendment to the Wisconsin constitution providing that the state superintendent of public instruction should be appointed and not elected is needed to take the position out of politics, the state board of education will declare to the 1923 legislature in a list of suggestions for constructive legislation made public today by Maj.E.A. Fitzpatrick, secretary of the board. "

You will note that on Dec. 16, 1922, he stated that his board will declare for this very important change. How did he know that? I asked Supt. Callahan on Dec. 17th. if that board of which he is a member had decided on that and he replied that if it did, he knew nothing about it, and that it must have been done at some meeting when he was not present. On the same day, Dec. 17, 1922, President Sims asked another member, John Salter of Unity, Wis. if that board had taken that action, and Mr Salter replied that he knew nothing about it.

And yet, I have no doubt that this sham action will not be repudiated by that board and it is even more likely that they will declare in January, 1923 for such change. All of us who have dealings with that board know well that it does not function at all; it simply listens to a one-sided presentation of questions and policies and is strictly " a consenting board". Hence, I am sure Secy. Fitzpatrick knew very well what he was saying when he gave out that news article. But at the same time, educators and many others all over the state know just what such articles mean.

I wish to return to the proposition which I brought out late in the afternoon of Dec. 16th.-- that the Progressive Movement in Wis. under the most constructive and able leadership of La Follette has at every step in advance, rested on the firm foundation of very careful investigation. I am sure that many times, selfish and special interests have sought to advance unwise measures and to weaken wise and progressive measures. Is this also true of the situation of the Women('s Progressive Association.?

[1922, Jan. 7]

State of Wisconsin
Board of Regents of Normal Schools
Madison

I sincerely hope I will not be misunderstood in the following points which result from the group within your Association. I have so far as I know, nothing to ask of the Association, no candiates in whom I am interested, and no particular measure in view . I would like to see the Women's Progressive Association unified and strong,-- strong enough to be a powerful factor in all of the questions relating to public welfare and education,--the two fields in which women are bound to become more and more interested as the years come and go. In these two fields, we can be sure that there will be the two entirely opposing groups of women,--the conservatives and the progressives

1. Neither the Women's Progressive Association, nor any other political association can have in its inner directive and consultative committee or board of directors a small group of members affiliated and even closely connected with opposing and rival political associations. Secretary Fitzpatrick has in his own office a strong stalwart ,Geo. Landgraf, and he is closely allied to W.N.Parker who was Asst. State Supt. under L.AD. Harvey in 1900-1902 and who for years has been editor of the Wisconsin Journal of Education. Parker was Secy. of the Madison Club at the time they expelled La Follette in 1917. Through Mrs. Turner, who has been employed in his office for three years, he has direct communication with the Women's Progressive Association, and through Mrs. Turner and Miss Hochstein of the Legislative Reference Library in the Capitol, and a lso through Mrs. Turner, both being Socialists, direct communication with Labor Headquarters in Milwaukee with Secy. J.J.Handley, Mr. Ohls, John McQuade and Mr.Nickerson. Also through the same sources, he has direct communication with the Bergers and the Socialist Party. I know directly of this close relation. Secretary Fitzpatrick is also a close personal friend of Senator Roy Wilcox of Eau Claire,-- very close. During the last campaign in 1922, Atty. General Morgan publicly advocated the junior college bill which Gov. Blaine had vetoed and there can be little doubt that this was given to Morgan by Fitzpatrick, because I saw in a number of news articles in the Wis. State Journal of Madison the very same ideas set forth and I know that editor Brayton of the Journal was then close to Fitzpatrick.

I have no doubt whatever that the 22 page statenment shown to me yesterday by Miss Comings was all carefully gone over by Secy.Fitzpatrick and that it was all typewritten in his office. If this is true, and you can readily get this by a casual question to Mrs. Turner, then the Women's Progressive Association of Wisconsin is practically delegating its constructive work to a man who supported Roy Wilcox and Atty. General Morgan for Governor.

[1922, Jan. 7]

State of Wisconsin
Board of Regents of Normal Schools
Madison

2. Down to 1920, I never heard of either Mr. or Mrs. Patzer being progressives. I have known them both for at least 18 years. I have always regarded Mr. Patzer as being a conservative, and know that he was a very close friend and supporter of L.D.Harvey, W. N. Parker, Geo. Landgraf, etc. They always worked together in state educational matters and in the control of the State Teachers' Association, Mr. Landgraf and Mr. Patzer both being made presidents of the S.T.A. by that group. Both the Patzers are very close personal friends of Theodore Kronshage and were all through the years when Theo. Kronshage was with Gov. McGovern against La Follette.

Can there be any doubt that the connection of Mrs.Patzer with the Women's Progressive Association of Wisconsin gives to the two Kronshages, and with numerous other persons who have been opposed to La Follette and Blaine, a direct connection with the inner policies of your Association ? Has there not already in two years been ample evidence that the Women's Progressive Association has had in the Milwaukee membership ,and the situation created thereby, a whole set of difficulties ?

3. Is it not possible for the Women's Progressive Association, in the coming state convention this month, to secure a state executive committee (some small state board of directors) every member of which can be relied upon to be independent of outside influences and to hold at all times, and on every important measure, true to the progressive cause just as you know it ? I am sure you will know of such a committee and that if you set about it systematically, such a committee could be chosen by the coming convention. Such a state organization would unify progressive women throughout the state and would eliminate squabbles over vested interests of boards and persons.It would place the Women's Progressive Movement squarely on the basis of constructive legislation solely for the public good.With several hundred thousand women now given the right to vote, and also given the strong temperamental tendency toward questions and policies in the two great fields of public welfare and education, such a small state directing committee, could be of fundamental service to the state. We must remember that these two fields have never been touched by the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin in all the 21 years. They are peculiarly the field s for the political activity of women .

Your own well known devotion to the <u>principles</u> of the Progressive Movement has led me to write this long letter and I trust it will be considered in the spirit of a mutual interest in a common and inspiring cause.

Yours sincerely,

William Kittle

[1923, Jan. 26]

Executive Residence
Madison, Wis.

Dear Ada: Your card came yesterday and I am afraid I am going to be a quitter on the Welcome. I saw the Doctor yesterday and he said I would better not try it if I dread it so for it entirely unfits me for

all the things I have to do. In fact my vasomotor system, whatever that is, is out of order and that talk about Negroes which I know nothing about was the finishing straw — I haven't got over it yet and it is a week ago.

The doctor told me to be very quiet for the next three weeks. If some of John's plans work out we will get out of the Prison but I saw the Legislature Reception the Sixth and the State dinner the Seventh. However those are nothing compared with an address.

I suggested Gov.
Cummings - The women
like him so well and
he so lovely — I'll be
at the convention and do
everything I can but
speech making is not
my forte —

Yours met love —
Annie C.B.

Jan 24/23

[1923, Jan. 30]

ESTIMATE OF COST OF PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTION-1922

State Printing of notices, blanks, etc.,	$ 4879.29	
Estimated postage on letters, etc.,	120.71	$5000.00
Cost of county printing ballots, notices, etc., 5¢ per capita (2,632,067) (Dane Co., cost $3819.79 for 89,432 - about 4¢ per capita. Per capita rate higher in small counties.)	131603.35	131603.35
Local cost 2535 precincts, 7 officials each at $4.00 a day, primary and election @ $56	141960.00	
580 precincts (?) holding registration @ $56 each,	32480.00	174440.00
		311043.35

For Miss Jamieson
Richland Center.

1/30/23.

Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association

HEADQUARTERS: 111 WEST MAIN STREET. MADISON, WISCONSIN

TELEPHONE. FAIRCHILD 680

OUR PURPOSE

The purpose of our organization is to interest women in progressive principles and policies and to educate them to express these ideas through the ballot.

10

Convention minutes of the Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association held on January,30,31 and February,1-1923.

The second convention of the W.W.P.A.opened it's first meeting on Jan;30 at 3.30 P.M. in the G.A.R.room of the State Capitol,the president,Miss James,presiding.

After announcements concerning rooms for delegates and concerning resolutions/to be given to the chairman of the resolutions committee,Miss James announced the evening program to be held in the assembly chamber of the Capitol at 8 P.M.The chairmanship of the meeting was then turned over to Mrs.Granville Trace.

The secretary read the minutes of the convention of 1921.The minutes were approved as read.

Mrs.Glen Turner,chairman of the committee on revision of constitution gave the preliminary report of said committee.Copies of the revised constitution were distributed so that delegates might study them and have suggestions to make when the report of the committee comes up for adoption.

Dr.M.M.Park,director of Juvenile Institutions under board of control, gave an address on "Child-care Under The State",which was followed by a discussion.

A motion was then intreduced by Mrs;Hipke of Milwaukee and seconded by Mrs.Holden of Superior,that we ask the resolutions committee to draft a resolution relating to the curtailment of the State Militia.Motion carried.

Meeting adjourned at 5 P.M.

Evening Meeting.

The meeting was presided over by Mrs.Runge of Baraboo.

The address of welcome was given by Mrs.Kittleson of Madison

A vocal solo was rendered by Miss Neckerman.

Response and President's address was given by Miss Ada James.

Then followed another solo by Miss Neckerman of Madison .

Miss Jeannette Rankin,of Hull House,Chicago,first United States Congresswoman ,then gave an address.

Meeting adjourned at 10 P.M.

Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association

HEADQUARTERS: 111 WEST MAIN STREET. MADISON, WISCONSIN

TELEPHONE. FAIRCHILD 680

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Wednesday, January 31.

Meeting called to order at 9.45 A.M.

Dr.C.A.Harper head of the State Board of Health gave an interesting talk on "Public Health Problems". Followed by discussion.

Mrs.Chynoweth, chr.resolutions committee, announced further consideration necessary concerning the resolution on the Militia. Reconsideration was moved and seconded by Mrs.Widell of Superior and Mrs, Hipke of Milwaukee respectively. Motion carried.

Mrs.Turner, chairman of the legislative committee then gave her report. Resolutions by this committee were offered to the resolutions committee. Moved by Mrs.Green of LaCrosse and seconded by Mrs.Widell of Superior, that this report be accepted. Motion carried.

The minutes of previous meeting were approved as read.

Meeting adjourned at 12.30 P.M.

Wednesday-2 P.M.

The resolution on the State Militia first came up for reconsideration. Miss Hechstein, of Madison, amended the resolution to read as per resolution attached, seconded by Mrs.Gilligan, West-Port. Motion carried.

A talk was then given by Edward Nordman, director of Division of Markets, on "The Work of The Marketing Commission". A discussion followed.

The minutes of the morning meeting were read and approved.

The report of the finance committee was given by Mrs.Mendelsohn. It was moved by Mrs.Greene, LaCrosse, and seconded by Miss Koenen, Milwaukee, to accept this report. A vote of thanks was given to Mrs.Mendelsohn, for her work as chairman of the finance committee.

The report of the treasurer was then given by Mrs.R.L.Siebecker. Miss Koenen moved that this report be accepted. Motion carried. Mrs.Turner moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Mrs.Siebecker for her work as Sec'y; Treas; of the organization. At Mrs.Siebecker's suggestion a motion was made by Miss Koenen that a committee be appointed to audit the tresury accounts.

A suggestion was made that we take up for consideration at the following meeting the advisability of obtaining a State organizer.

Miss Hechstein then gave the report of the research committee. A standing vote of thanks was ~~then~~ given to Mrs.Turner and Miss Hechstein for their unlimited services to the organization. A vote of thanks was also extended to Mrs.Rosa for her services.

The members adjourned at 4.30 P.M. to the west entrance of the Capitol where a group picture was taken.

Wednesday Evening.

Reception-Governor's Reception Room in Capitol at 6.00 P.M.
Toasts by State Officials were given at the Banquet in Capitol Cafe at 7:P.M.
Mrs.G.A.Widell, of Superior, acted as toast mistress.
A play "Daily Bread" was given at 8.30 P.M. in the G.A.R. room.
This was followed by a talk on "Unemployment Insurance" by Senator Huber.

Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association

HEADQUARTERS: 111 WEST MAIN STREET. MADISON. WISCONSIN

TELEPHONE. FAIRCHILD 680

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Thursday, February 1.

The meeting was called to order at 9.45 A.M.

Senator Huber's joint resolution to amend the constitution by providing for the initiative and referendum was read by Mrs. Chynoweth. Mrs. Turner moved that the resolution be adopted. Motion seconded by Mrs. McCabe of Superior. It was also moved and seconded that the president appoint a committee to appear in favor of this bill. Motion carried. The president appointed Mrs. Smithback, Miss Keenen, and Mrs. Widell.

Mrs. Hipke read a resolution which would amend the Eugenics law to include women and moved that a committee be appointed to attend the hearing on this bill the same afternoon. Motion seconded by Mrs. Kuhlmey, Superior. Mrs. Hipke, Mrs. Follis of Superior and Mrs. Green were appointed by Miss James.

Report of the committee on ~~resolutions~~ revision of constitution by Mrs. Turner chairman. Mrs. Turner suggested that there follow a discussion on the revised constitution. She explained the different articles to be changed. A discussion followed.

A motion was made by Miss Keenen to have a committee appointed to study the question of organizing and financing local organizations. It was suggested that Mrs. Patzer offer her plan of reorganization. Mrs. Patzer outlined her plan of organizing local associations thruout the State.

Judge Rosa of the State Tax Commission gave a talk on "Some Concrete Lessons in Taxation".

Meeting adjourned until 2 P.M.

The afternoon meeting opened with a plea from Mr. Timbers, representative of the Friends Relief Work in Russia, for the help of the W.W.P.A. in this work.

Address "Electrifying Wisconsin", by Carl D. Thompson secretary of the National Public Ownership League of Chicago.

A motion was made that we proceed with the business meeting at this time and hear the next speaker on the program later. Motion was lost.

C.J. Anderson assistant State Superintendent of Schools gave a talk on "Rural School Problems".

Miss Keenen's motion to go over the changed articles of the constitution article by article was carried. The motion was seconded by Mrs. McCabe of Superior. This was with drawn in favor of the following motion.
Miss Hochstein made the motion that we amend articles 6-7-8 of the constitution as suggested by the committee on revision of constitution and leave the remainder as it stands. Seconded by Mrs. McCabe. Motion carried.

It was moved by Miss Hochstein that the secretary be instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the present officers. Motion carried. Mrs. R.L. Siebecker reguested that her name be withdrawn. It was moved by Mrs. Chynoweth that the resignation be accepted with regrets. Mrs. Harold Proctor of Wiroqua was then elected Secretary Treasurer.

Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association

HEADQUARTERS: 111 WEST MAIN STREET, MADISON, WISCONSIN

TELEPHONE, FAIRCHILD 680

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
GENA THOMPSON

OUR PURPOSE

The purpose of our organization is to interest women in progressive principles and policies and to educate them to express these ideas through the ballot.

Mrs&Chynoweth read the report of the resolutions committee.It was moved by Miss Hechstein to adopt the resolutions as the committee had drawn them up.Motion carried.

It was moved by Mrs.Hipke and seconded by Mrs.George Comings that we adopt the resolution presented by Mrs.Hipke opposing the abolishment of the College and Fine Arts course of the Milwaukee Normal School.

Them followed ~~the~~ a general discussion concerning the future organization of the W.W.P.A. Miss Gena Thompson moved that the executive board elect a representative from every county to sit with the executive board; and also that the board call within the next two months membersfrom each section of the State to assist in extending the work of the organization. Motion carried.

The convention adjourned at 6 P.M.

Mrs. R. L. Siebecker,
Secy-Treas. W.W.P.A.

Average daily attendance at the convention -60.

[1923, Feb. 13]

Executive Residence
Madison, Wis.

Dear Ada: Have you had the grippe? My mother and Helen have had it but John and I have escaped thus far. (rap on wood)
I hate to put this on paper but the chairman suggested for social affairs is hardly suited for a state office. She

doesn't extend her
activities out thro the
state and works
Madison overtime.
Wouldn't she be fine
as an auditor? That
isn't ignoring her
and is getting her
out of the Public Eye
for a while.
Mrs Patzer felt that
she was ignored in that

list on the back page of our program. I that so myself considering that she had brought in more than nine hundred members. How would she work on finance if Mrs Eschweiler would not accept? Or organization in the eastern part of the state or Milwaukee County or some place on the membership - of the committees -

Mrs Patterson's just a suggestion - but the first law asking you to consider thought fully. I am sure Miss Hochstein - Mrs Keenan - Mrs Slyngsworth and others would advise as I do —

Lovingly yours
Annie E. —

Feb 13/1923.

Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association

HEADQUARTERS: 111 WEST MAIN STREET, MADISON, WISCONSIN

TELEPHONE, FAIRCHILD 680

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
GENA THOMPSON

OUR PURPOSE

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February 20, 1923.

Dear Assemblyman:

The Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association went on record unanimously for the bill which will abolish the state militia.

In almost every speech we progressives made during the campaign of 1922 we denounced the federal government for the immense sums of money it was spending for military purposes, and the people applauded. To our chagrin, we discovered that OUR OWN STATE was spending hundreds of thousands of dollars annually on its militia. We ask you to give these figures your careful consideration. The expenditure for the militia in 1918-19 was $272,955.75. In 1922 the expenditure was $690,431.57. In addition to this, the federal government spends approximately $250,000 for members of the company at weekly drill at the camp in the summer and one-fourth million dollars for equipment that is furnished for the state in the way of supplies - a total expenditure by the state and nation of $1,200,000 in one year. This is almost criminal when you take into consideration that the constructive branches of our state government are hampered for lack of funds.

In 1921-22:	The state board of health spent	$205,244.81
	The industrial commission spent	305,079.93
	The marketing commission spent	139,185,02
	The dairy & food commission spent	109,089.74
		$758,599.50

The time has come for diverting the money which has flowed out in preparing for war into channels of constructive, useful work for peaceful pursuits.

America, since the world war, is in less danger from foreign aggression than at any time in its history. Europe is bankrupt. America entered the world war for the avowed purpose

3157--18th. St., D.C.
February 27, 1923.

Beloved Ada James,--

I sent you a nightlettergram, lest a letter might not reach you by Thursday. I enclose copy because they are so likley to bungle a message of that kind and destroy the sense. As I read it over it seems formal and in no way reflects the enthusiasm I feel. When I saw in the headlines of the Capital Times, the action taken by the W.W. P.A. I exclaimed with joy and fervor "They have found the way."

How to get at that cunningly devised army reorganization act with its militaristic aims so cleverly concealed, has long puzzled me. I believe it a stroke of genius to start with the State Guard. It furnishes the concrete object lesson which everyday people can see and understand. I can not take time to discuss it further, but I want you to know how deeply interested and anxious I am to cooperate with you and how grateful I am that you are giving so much of your time and strength to the work in hand.

Last night I received a bunch of letters from the Senate office which had been acknowledged by the secretary in my absence. I am glad to contribute ten dollars a month to the W.W.P.A. I wish I could do more. I don't know just how I stand. Before I left home I sent a check for fifty dollars that I "guessed" would square me for the year. I am enclosing one for thirty to apply on the first three months of 1923.

I know that your judgments are generous and never colored one way or the other by personal feeling. My theory about Governor Blaine is that he is honest and has true courage, that his heart is right and that he sincerely desires to serve the real people. He has limitations but everything considered would it not be hard to replace him with any one of equal strength of character and hold on the State? Your influence is helpful and important and I hope you do not get discouraged in trying to exercise it.

Love ever,

Belle C. La Follette.

350 OUTSIDE ROOMS
OPPOSITE UNION DEPOTS
FIRE PROOF

NEW RICHMOND HOTEL

SEATTLE

RICHMOND HOTEL CO.

H. E. MALTBY, VICE PRES. AND S. W. THURSTON, PRES.

LOUIS LUCAS, ASST. GEN. MGR.

March 1 - 28

Miss Ada L. James.
Madison Wis.

My dear Miss James
I see by the paper
you have in your
city a woman's pro-
gressive association
I am much inter-
ested in anything
progressive. I am
working for world
peace. I and leave
here, my home, for
a lecture tour - as

[1923, MAR. 1]

NEW RICHMOND HOTEL

SEATTLE

RICHMOND HOTEL CO.

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350 OUTSIDE ROOMS
OPPOSITE UNION DEPOTS
FIRE PROOF

an evangelist in the interests of world reconstruction for peace and good will. I will be very grateful to you for any data of the method of work you follow in your association.

Faithfully
Agnes J. Galer

address
Mrs Agnes J. Galer
(The above) Hotel New Richmond
Seattle Wn.

LAW OFFICES
SCHMITZ, WILD & GROSS

ADOLPH J. SCHMITZ
ROBERT WILD
EDWIN J. GROSS

373 BROADWAY - SUITE 416-17-18
TELEPHONE BROADWAY 220
MILWAUKEE

March 9, 1923.

Dear Miss James:

I was not only sorry that I did not have the opportunity of passing a few words with you, but that I missed what I heard was your splendid presentation on the National Guards Bill. I am not ready to say that I am in favor of a complete wiping out of the Guards, but of the two positions, I am sure that I would find myself lined up with your side. In any event I am only in favor of "darn" few men and "darn" small appropriations.

The superpower bill is taking on inertia and am counting on you for much help.

Hope to see you before long.

Yours sincerely,

Edwin J. Gross.

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wis.

JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 53, S.

March 14, 1923. Introduced by Senator STAUDENMAYER. Read and adopted.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Relating to the life and public services of Honorable David G. James.

David G. James, soldier, legislator and patriot died at his home in Richland Center, October 3, 1921. He was born in New Hampshire on August 3, 1843, and in 1855 he came to Richland Center with his parents. December 12, 1861, at the age of seventeen, he enlisted in company F of the sixteenth Wisconsin infantry, and later was made a corporal of company C. He took part in the battle of Shiloh, the siege of Corinth, the Vicksburg campaign, and the Atlanta campaign. In the battle of Atlanta he was taken prisoner and held as such from July, 1864, to February 1865. He was mustered out of the service on July 12, 1865. In 1862 when only nineteen years of age he had been breveted captain for conspicuous bravery.

Upon his return from the war he learned the tinners' trade, later becoming a hardware merchant which business he continued until his death.

In 1908 he was elected state senator from Richland and Vernon counties, serving one term. He was a delegate to the convention that nominated President Harrison and was postmaster of Richland Center under President Arthur.

While in the legislature he exerted his influence in matters desired by the old soldiers, being a member of the committee on state and military affairs and had much to do with the establishing of the Camp Randall memorial park.

Mr. James was a staunch champion of the civic rights of women both in the state and nation. In June 1919, he carried to Washington a certified copy of the Wisconsin legislature's ratification of the national woman's

suffrage. He was in Madison at the time the resolution ratifying woman suffrage was adopted. Securing a certified copy he caught the first train to Washington. Arriving there he secured the recording of his document fifteen minutes before that of the state of Illinois.

In 1901 he was chosen chairman of the Wisconsin commission which was to supervise the erection of a monument at Shiloh in honor of the Wisconsin soldiers who died there in the historic conflict of April 6 and 7, 1862. In 1903 he was chosen as one of a committee of three soldiers who had been prisoners at Andersonville to erect a suitable memorial to Wisconsin soldier dead at Andersonville.

He was for many years an active member of the G.A.R. in Wisconsin, serving one year as department commander. He was also a trustee of the veterans' home at Waupaca for a number of years.

Senator James at the time of his death was the last civil war veteran, but one of those who had been members of the state senate.

He was an active, aggressive man, but genial and friendly even to his opponents. He discharged the duties of life with ability and integrity, proving himself worthy of the respect of his fellow men. Therefore, be it

Resolved by the senate, the assembly concurring, That as a mark of respect for and as an expression of appreciation of the public services rendered by the Honorable David James this memorial be entered on the journals of each house. Be it further

Resolved, That a suitable copy of this resolution, engrossed and attested by the signatures of the presiding officers of the two houses, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

1923, March

Wisconsin Womens Progressive Association.
Financial Statement November 1920-February 1923.

Receipts		Disbursements.	
Memberships	$2092.40	Gena Thompson,	$2316.22
Primers	152.85	Gena Thompson, petty cash account	171.92
Gifts, petty	78.85	Gena Thompson, travelling expenses	107.41
Proceeds from Goods Sale	70.30	Avis Brickson, salary	846.00
Progressive Labor League	21.54	Avis Brickson, petty cash account	11.06
C.H.Crownhart, note	100.00	Capital Times	68.00
Harry Sauthoff, note	100.00	Fitch & Strauss	562.86
J.D.Beck, note, expenses, gifts, etc,	263.75	Josephine Merch, camp deficit	7.75
Ada L. James, Gifts, stationery, etc	227.15	New York Floral Co.,	12.00
Lucy Hall	80.00	General Paper Co.,	23.80
John J. Blaine	50.00	American Union against Militarism	6.25
Richland Co Association	100.00	Renschler Foral Co.,	12.50
Mr Voight	50.00	Anita Koenen, travelling expenses	154.93
Proceeds State Leg Luncheon	4.85	Mrs Patzer, 7 membership returned	7.00
Madison Branch W.W.P.A.	120.00	La Follette Progressive Ass'n	1.50
Mrs J.M.Nelson	120.35	Mrs J. Maxwell Murphy, services	35.00
Mrs R.M.La Follette	205.00	L. Lindberg, posters	2.00
Card parties, Mrs Mendelson	55.00	Print Shop, cut	3.13
Mrs Lampert	25.00	Harry Sauthoff, payt on note	50.00
Return Expense money (Miss Thompson)	4.00	Jonathan Rawson, slides	30.00
Mrs C.D.Rosa	25.00	J.D.Beck, return on check	40.25
Sol Levitan	50.00	Hunter Press Bureau, services	5.00
Loan from Bank	800.00	Mrs Kampert, return on check	.50
Mrs D.F.Parker	36.00	P.H.Lund, drawing charts	4.00
Mrs Kuhlmey, books 1&2 etc	9.00	Mosely Book Co., files	60.00
Geo F. Comings	12.26	Commercial Nat Bank, on note	150.00
Mrs Turner	17.00	Ada James, postage	5.00
Proceeds, Worlds Peace Meeting	10.37	~~Mrs Geo Leight Wausau Auto Repairs~~ Miscellaneous	45.00
Christian Dick	25.00	Avis Brickson, envelopes	6.28
Mrs J.J.Blaine	50.00	Commercial Nat Bank, on note	100.00
Mr Fred Holmes	25.00	Wisconsin Telephone Co.,	75.00
Money raised by Mrs Mendelson	53.50	S.R.Banks, cleaning offices	2.25
" " " " "	84.50	Post W.A.Devine, envelopes, stamps,	5.00
" " " " ~~Fiedler~~ Fiedler	30.10	Mrs C.D.Rosa, Expense, Stevens Point	18.25
Collection ~~from Assembly~~ at ove meeting	35.46	Money Orders, Mc Clurg, Am Ass'n Labor	1.74
Money raised by Mrs Mendelson	151.50	Nine Members, Mrs Mendelson	2.25
Check League Progressive Women	20.34	Postage	4.15
Sarah James	20.00	Mc Clurg Bros, 2 books	2.33
Collection Conference Nov 17,	7.18	Mc Millian Co., 25 Wis Ideas	25.00
Mrs J.Q.Emery	55.00	Payment on note	125.00
Ruth Nelson	10.00	Miss Janette Rankin	36.85
Anita Koenen, donation campaign	25.00	Mrs Engebretson, unused tickets	2.00
Banquet tickets	2.00	Check to W.W.P.A. from League	20.34
		Madison Library, use of room	1.75
		La Follettes Magazine, book	1.50
		BALANCE, ----------	356.98
	$5525.25		$5525.25
BALANCE, ----------	356.98		

The foregoing financial statement covers the financial condition of the organization from the beginning until the convention held in January at which time I was elected Secretary-Treasurer. Since that time the note of $800.00 has been liquidated and a few minor bills paid.

Respectfully submitted,
Lillian Proctor.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Dated March 14, 1923.

C. B. BALLARD
TREASURY AGENT

STATE OF WISCONSIN

STATE TREASURY AGENT

MADISON, WISCONSIN

March 23, 1923

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wis.

Dear Miss James:

I have read with much interest your letter and quotations from your talks relative to the national guard, and I am in full accord with your position on this matter. I feel sure this will be one of the big issues in the next campaign. I was very much dissapointed on the position some of our progressive senators took on this matter in the Senate.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I wrote Mrs. La Follette. I thought you might be interested in reading it. I trust you women will keep up the good work.

With all good wishes and sincere personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

C. B. Ballard

State Treasury Agent.

CBB:RM

1923, MAR. 23

GEORGE F. COMINGS
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN
CHAMBER OF PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE
MADISON

A FRIEND'S GREETING

"I'd like to be the sort of friend that you have
been to me;
I'd like to be the help that you've been always
glad to be;
I'd like to mean as much to you each minute of
the day
As you have meant, old friend of mine, to me
along the way."

"I'd like to do the big things and the splendid
things for you.
To brush the gray from out your skies and leave
them only blue;
I'd like to say the kindly things that I so oft
have heard,
And feel that I could rouse your soul the way
that mine you've stirred."

"I'd like to give you back the joy that you have
given me,
Yet that were wishing you a need I hope will
never be;
I'd like to make you feel as rich as I, who
travel on
Undaunted in the darkest hours with you to lean
upon."

"I'm wishing at this birthday time that I could
but repay
A portion of the gladness that you've strewn
along my way;
And could I have one wish this year, this only
would it be;
I'd like to be the sort of friend that you have
been to me."

Yours fraternally,
Geo Comings

March 23rd 1923

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MADISON, WISCONSIN

FRED R. ZIMMERMAN
SECRETARY OF STATE

March 24, 1923.

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wisconsin.

My dear Miss James:

We are just in receipt of a letter dated January 22nd from Mr. W. G. Calderwood of Australia. With his letter, he sends the letter of which we are enclosing a copy, and you are one of the people in the State to whom we are sending his request, hopeful that you may be able to give him the information he desires.

I do not know whether he is wet or dry. For that reason, the truth can do no harm, and I shall be very glad to know that you will write him.

I have written him also, giving him in a general way my opinion of what has happened in this State and have advised him that one of his letters has been referred to you.

With personal well wishes, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Fred R. Zimmerman,
Secretary of State

FRZ-K

[Enclosed in Zimmerman to Jones, March 24, 1923]

COPY

Dear Sir:

As an American citizen who is temporarily residing in a state where there is soon to be a poll on prohibition, I am plied with questions as to the results.

The papers here carry many statements to the effect that crime has very greatly increased generally since, and because of prohibition. Would you please send me any reports that may cover:

Jail population in your state.
Number of arrests in your state.
Number of convictions in your state.
Tabulation of specific crimes or classes of crimes.
Number of cases of insanity in your state for the two or three years preceding, and the two or three years succeeding the adoption of prohibition.
Figures that show the number of alcoholic patients.
Number of patients admitted to the hospitals of your state for the three years preceding and the three years succeeding the national prohibition.
Number of cases of blindness admitted.
Number of alcoholic deaths and the number of cases of delirium tremens.
Number of cases of cirrhosis of the liver and other alcoholic diseases.

And any other information that would be helpful.

I should also be grateful for your opinion as to the effects of prohibition in your state.

Most sincerely yours,

W. G. CALDERWOOD
310 Edward Street,
Brisbane, Queensland,
Australia.

I am a native Badger.

March 26th 1923.

Dear Miss James, -

Inclosed you will find a copy of the minutes of our convention which I have had typewritten.

Mrs. Proctor spoke of having calls from members for information on the convention, and, as I understand it, she wishes to send copies of the minutes to these people. Therefore I thought it best to embody the program within them, and so you will see that I have included the titles of the various addresses and numbers, and the names of those who delivered them.

Mrs. Chynoweth has probably given or sent a copy of the resolutions to Mrs. Proctor - these, of course, should be attached to the minutes. If I had had a copy of them I should have had them typed also.

I have been out very little since my illness - partly because we were snowed in a great share of the time and partly due to the fact that I am not very strong yet - I had a complication of things - four troubles at one time. Best wishes from - Your friend Doris B. Liebeck

GENA THOMPSON
1019 LAKELAND AVENUE
MADISON
WISCONSIN

April 17, 1923.

Dear Ada James; —

I feel as if I want to answer your letter of April 12, and postal card of April 13 even though you were kind enough to call on me in person since the receipt of these letters.

The Capital Times at any rate did not give my name as a member of any committee

of the W. W. P. G. so naturally I did not know I had been chosen as a member of the Military or Anti-Military Committee.

Inasmuch as I am a trustee of a National Peace organization I feel that I should not for the present tie up with another organization on the same issue. Hence I want to withdraw my name from above named Committee of the W. W. P. G.

Your plans for widening the scope of the W. W. P. G. ought to work to that the Progressive cause be fostered in Wisconsin.

I understand that there has be some discussion

[1923, April 18]

of the Volstead Act (the so called wet and dry issue) among a few of the Progressive women. I believe women who want to lead in the Progressive cause should be quite sure 1) that they know the facts concerning the different bills on the subject of enforcement 2) that they do not allow themselves to become tools of the Anti-Saloon League or of the Stalwarts whose primary aim at the present would

naturally be to split the Progressives for if they are successful in this their success in the next election is assured 3) that we just as well as the Stalwarts look at this matter from a State point of view and not a district point of view. A person elected to a state office is a common denominator of the will of the people from all parts of the state not only for one district. As politicians, men or women, ~~I~~

[1923, April 18]

3.

~~women~~, I believe we ought to take cognizance of that fact. It is quite a different matter to be a politician than it is to be a Suffragist, an Equal Rights person, a Prohibitionist or any one other individual with an ism. One, the latter, has to them all embracing nothing to lose by insistence, the other has much to lose. Perhaps it is for this reason that few people

can become real political leaders while there are so many "causists". We need them both. Let us not disparage either, but carefully distinguish between the two.

In regard to Gov. Blaine I want to say this: that we are all naturally watching his record during this legislative session. I have not been able to follow the work in detail the last few weeks, but I understand

[1923, April 18]

4.

that he has already signed a bill removing the secrecy clause. A Stalwart Gov. would not do that. I understand that he has practically promised to reduce military appropriations. That's something for a begining. I am quite certain he will sign a bill making military training at the University optional if it passes both houses. These moves certainly are not Reactionary. Moreover, the session is only about half

over rest it? I would hesitate to judge a race horse while he is in the middle of the course. If he were my race horse I would want to encourage and try helping him at that stage of the race rather than begin to discourage and throw impediments in his way. If Gov. Blaine should show that he is distinctly not a Progressive then Progressives of the State will

naturally not rally under his leadership; but altho' I'm not from Missouri you've got to show me at the present time. How do you know that the Gov. has no program? From what source have you obtained this information? Have you followed the tactics of a real radical and gone to the roots of

the matter? I'm a doubting Thomas you see.

Anyway when my tibia bone is repaired I hope to get fuller information on many things.

Would love to see you when you again come to Madison. I'm especially eager for company now when shut in

With my best wishes,

Jane Thompson

ANNA T. HELGELAND
CHIROPRACTOR
GRADUATE NATIONAL SCHOOL OF CHIROPRACTIC CHICAGO

HOURS 10 - 12 A. M.
2 - 5 P. M.
X-RAY EQUIPMENT

OFFICE 111 1-2 STRONGS AVE.
RESIDENCE 401 STRONGS AVE.

Stevens Point Wis
Apr 19 - 23

Miss Ada James
Richland Center. Wis.

Dear Miss James:

I notice by the paper that the names of the Committees are a little mixed. Mrs. Sanford was put on the Dry Com. but since that was abandoned probably you put her on the Legislative Com. but I'm afraid she will not serve on that. I have not had a chance to see her and don't know when I can as she is out of town. She is state organizer for the W.C.T.U.

Mrs. T. Mc Namara was put on the Education Com. and I see her name was omitted. I should like to have her on that committee if possible. Hoping we will have a very Progressive year I am cordially,

Anna Helgeland

1337- Mound St., Madison, Wis.

April 19th, 1923.

Ada James, Pres. Wis. Women's Prog. Assn.,
Richland Center, Wis.

My dear Miss James:

Last week some one called my attention to my appointment on a Progressive Committee, and the other day I received your letter. I certainly was flattered to be named at all, and to serve with you is certainly an honor,-- if you will make allowances for my handicaps.

Of course I have been interested in the women's determination to help the progressive movement for more just and humane laws,--- and their enforcement-- ever since I have been thrown on my own resources and have realized the necessity of women to promote general welfare that would be sustained by our courts. But at the same time, my time has been so limited in participating in the real effort, attending hearings and conventions, etc, because I have been holding down a job and keeping up a home for my boys.

However, I have endorsed all the noble efforts made by yourself and some of the other women, and never failed to stand by our principles when questioned, and was present at all evening sessions given for the benefit of the public. Your opening bomb on militarism in our state was most heartily approved by me, and I was glad you threw down the challenge to the legislature when you did, It certainly brought results, in spite of the attempt to split the progressive ranks, on that as well as other vital questions. Right here I will say that Blaine's attitude the last few months, has been a bitter disappointment to me as well as other Dry Progressives, because his personal opinions were so uncalled for, and insistence of law-enforcemnt might have qualified him as statesman instead of a politician---- and insured his future.

We all realized that this legislature was rather heterogeneous in character and purpose, and did believe that the Governor would be a leader to direct their ideals to a common effort in upholding the platform on which they were elected, which surely was not Wet, but urged respect and obedience to the Constitution. Mr. Evjue certainly expresses the sentiment of the majority of the Progressives, and even if the minority, the decent element in the ranks who really desire "Public welfare".

Besides getting the bills on the subjects you named and watching the papers for the attention given them, what else would you advise me to do ? I am personally acquainted with Miss Lucy Hall and know she has the time and the ability to study these problems, and unless you can find some one better fitted, I will be glad to confer with you any evenings you may name when you are in town. Some day I may devote all my leisure to a Cause, and so am glad to be initiated.

Yours for a solid standard for better Conditions for the general public. —

Frances G. Schwantz,

You may address me c/o "The Beavers" - Monona Ave.

STATE OF WISCONSIN
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
MADISON, WISCONSIN

April 23, 1923.

Dear Ada:

I have heard again that Mrs. E. H. Johnson is telling the members that they ought to stand by the Governor.

There was one thing you said the other day that I wanted to talk about and in the hurry with so many people standing around I forgot to do it. It was that Progressives ought to stand by each other's bills. I do not think that you can lay down a rule like that. Sometimes it may work and other times it may not. The first difficulty is "Who is a Progressive?" I have no more confidence in the power of that word to cover a multitude of sins than I have in the word "loyalty". The more I watch the members of the Assembly, at least, the more confidence I have in their honesty and good intentions and the less in their information and courage.

In the first place it is impossible to stand by a measure because it is introduced by a progressive. What are you going to do when two people who call themselves progressive introduce contradictory bills? That is what has happened in the educational field. What are you going to do when a progressive governor says that the State Board of Education renders no service and the progressive speaker of the house says that it does? What are you going to do when one progressive senator on the Finance Committee intimates that it has rendered him no service and another senator just as progressive insists that it has rendered great service. Here are two "Progressives" looking at the same thing, but seeing entirely different things. Which one of these should surrender his convictions & follow the other?

You say that you would be in favor of Senator Huber's unemployment insurance bill because it is the bill of a progressive senator, but

[1923, April 23?]

Senator Huber thinks the State Board ought to be abolished. More than that, Senator Huber last year was the cause of the introduction into his own initiative and referendum bill of the clause which seemed to me from a point of view of labor legislation utterly vicious, and he did it innocently.

It seems to me that we have to come back to our own individual responsibility on all these things unless the representatives of our group caucus and go over all these issues carefully and then come to an agreement and stick to it. That is what the socialist group does, but even they caucus on a great many things on which I think they are not in any position to caucus because they have not gone into the subject thoroughly enough. It seems to me that a caucus is likely to be unfair and unprogressive (in the true sense of that word) unless it actually holds hearings where both sides, or many sides, of each question are heard. As I do not know of any caucuses which make a practice of doing that I am not particularly enthusiastic about the caucus.

I believe much more in working out machinery which will make it necessary for the legislators to listen to the experience which their administrative departments are having in their various fields of work. As I have said so many times I think that Tony Miller's Bill to require Departments to appear before the legislature at the beginning of each session would have been a great step forward in giving the information and the perspective which are so sadly lacking.

There ought to be a few big bills worked out by the committees in cooperation with the various departments. These bills should be carefully studied and worked over. It is ridiculous that so much time should be given to unimportant measures introduced by individual members. But once more I want to say that the introduction of a bill by a self-styled or any other styled progressive does not make that bill progress-

[1923, April 23.]

ive in my estimation. Most bills have something good and something bad in them. Most bills, if they pass, are compromised. Not one of us is infallible and anything of any importance that we introduce needs a tremendous amount of amending and improvement.

I am going after this so hard because I think that it is a dangerous doctrine to preach. I am just aching to get at an article on a new constitution for Wisconsin (not that I have any desire to see a constitutional convention). When this disturbance is over, if it ever is, I want to get at it. I should like to get it out for the progressive women of the state to discuss.

On this State Board proposition itself I do not think that there is anything essentially progressive or unprogressive about the system. The thing that makes it unprogressive to abolish it now is, it seems to me, the fact that it is engaged now in disclosing and presenting conditions which ought to be disclosed and presented. If it goes down it, is simply another warning to public servants to be good and not to cause any inconvenience or discomfort on the part of other public servants who are not doing their duty.

Sincerely yours,

Jennie M. Turner
(Mrs. Glenn Turner)

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wis.

JMT:HR

When I dictate these letters Miss Ryan always finishes it up formally like this. I wish you were here listening & putting in an oar wherever possible. The pressure is terrific. I still have some hope, but not much assurance

(over)

Have you read Mark Twain's "The Mysterious Stranger?" If you haven't be sure to have the library get it. It was off the bookshelves during the war ~~wa~~ altho just published in 1916.

If I have my job I'd like to write a word. Only there are so many already that it seems a shame to add to the memories of the people.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Glenn Tupper)

Miss Ada Jamme,
Richland Center, Wis.

JMT:EM

THE SUN-REPUBLIC
Not a Village Paper, but
a County Paper
Circulation 2,200
—90% in Iowa County

Circulation Territory

Dodgeville City
4 rural routes
Mineral Point City
5 rural routes
Barneveld Village
3 rural routes
Highland Village
3 rural routes
Arena Village
2 rural routes
Avoca Village
2 rural routes
Hollandale Village
2 rural routes
Ridgeway Village
1 Rural route
Spring Green
1 Rural route
Muscoda Village
1 Rural route
Edmund Village
1 Rural route
Cobb Village
1 Rural route
Montfort Village
1 Rural route
Blanchardville Village
1 Rural route
Linden Village
1 Rural route
Mifflin Village
1 Rural route
Livingston Village
1 Rural route
Rewey Village
1 Rural route
Jonesdale Village

Iowa County

One of Wealthiest in State
Population 22,000
2 cities, 2,200 and 3,000
12 Villages
—10 without newspapers ex
cept county-seat papers
16 Banks
125 Cheese Factories
7 Creameries

Industries of County

Farming and Dairying
Cheese and Butter Making
Raising Pure-bred Cattle
Cattle Grazing
Zinc and Lead Mines
Smelting
Farm Implement Factories
Cigar Factories
Stock Food Factory

Dodgeville

County Seat
Population 2,300
Cheese Shipping Center
3 banks, resources $2,500,000
3 Small factories
2 Wholesale Cheese Houses
6 churches
6 Garages

The Dodgeville Sun-Republic

EFFECTIVE ADVERTISING MEDIUM
FOR ALL OF IOWA COUNTY

EIGHT PAGES All Home Print
Published Thursday
GRANVILLE TRACE, Pub.
Established 1881

DODGEVILLE, WIS.,

April 25, 1923

My De ar Miss James:

I have hoped till the last minute that I could be in Friday---want to so much---want to see you all and to find out what is really going on---also want to buy a spring coat.

However at present I see no possibility of my being able to get in. Busy, of course---- but chiefly too hard up. Business good, but collections slow---awfully slow.

Have been too busy to keep track intelligently of what is really happening-and of course am too far away to know the inner workings of things.

Had a special delivery letter Monday from Gena Thompson wanting me to get in touch with our assemblyman to try to reverse his vote on the Garey bill. Had been so busy did not know which way the Garey bill was worded and so did not know whether I approved or disapproved of our assemblyman's vote. Anyhow, her letter reached here so late it was too late to get in touch with him in time to do anything.

One of our business men told me he thot the assemblyman's vote was wrong and that he would tell him so---so I guess that would make his think a little before the new vote.

If you need my vote Friday to make a quorum, Mrs. Siebecker or Mrs. Turner can act as my proxy in voting on questions of business.

If votes are taken endorsing or condemning any of the things concerned in the various controversies between the governor and other people, I do not want anyone voting in my name. On some things they would know where I stand, on others they would not.

Hastily, Mary Trace

Committee of 48

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
15 EAST 40TH STREET
PHONE VANDERBILT 7594
NEW YORK, N. Y.

NATIONAL BUREAU OF INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

F. A. PATTISON,
CHAIRMAN

May 2, 1923.

Miss Ada L. James,
838 Hazeltine,
Richland Center, Wis.

Dear Miss James:

Realizing the necessity of crystallizing the Progressive sentiment which is calling for independent political action around a commanding personality, I presented a resolution to our Executive Committee which has been the subject of considerable discussion at the last two meetings.

At my own suggestion and in order to allow the opportunity of obtaining further information, I agreed to put this over for final consideration until our meeting on Monday next, May 7.

This resolution calls for the proposing of Senator Borah as the candidate for the new party movement for 1924 and directs our Chairman to organize a campaign committee for the purpose of circulating petitions in his behalf. You will doubtless appreciate that this proposal only comes as the result of a good many months careful consideration, during which time we have had quite a little experience with Senator Borah in connection with the introduction of our Coal Bill, the Progressive Party campaign in Idaho last November, and other negotiations which have included several very intimate talks between Senator Borah and our Chairman.

For many reasons which are impossible for me to express in a short letter, it seems to me, and so far as I know to a great many members of the Executive Committee, that we should lose no time in passing this resolution.

I appreciate that Senator LaFollette is also in the public eye, but up to the present time we have been unable, notwithstanding repeated efforts, to ascertain anything definite or satisfactory in regard to his course of action. In fact from what little I have been able to learn, I am very much in doubt as to whether Senator LaFollette would not prefer to remain in the U. S. Senate to which he has been elected for six years and throw his strength behind the progressive movement as he has always done, instead of coming out as a candidate himself.

However, this point has been carefully considered, and from what information I can gather, I am convinced that whatever Senator LaFollette's intentions may be, the passing of the resolution

[1923, May 2]

that I have proposed and the stirring up of the progressive sentiment all over the country will be of material advantage irrespective of who may ultimately be named as our candidate.

I am writing you because I take it for granted that you will not be able to attend our meeting next Monday night and would therefore like an expression of opinion from you on this subject.

I have discussed the whole question very carefully with Mr. Hopkins and can say that after most careful consideration he is heartily in favor of such action.

Sincerely yours,

Frank A. Pattison

FAP:MH

ELIZABETH KADING, PRESIDENT,
MADISON.

J. D. MORRISSEY, VICE PREST.
MADISON.

HENRY TOWN,
MADISON.

FRANK A. CROCKER
SECRETARY

State Board of Control of Wisconsin

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

Madison, May 12th, 1923.

Miss Ada L. James, President,
Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association,
Richland Center, Wisconsin.

Dear Miss James:

Since my last meeting with you I have given the matter of the appointing of a special legislative committee on social welfare further thought, and believe that it is indeed a splendid idea to have such a committee at work permanently.

I regret to say, however, that I shall not find it possible to serve on the committee, for the reason that my work here on the State Board of Control takes up my entire time and I am required to be out of the city a great part of the time inspecting state institutions. I shall be most pleased, however, to confer with you on matters of mutual interest whenever possible, and I believe that we can be mutually helpful in bringing about legislation relating to social welfare.

I hope that you will find time to see me when you come to Madison and that we may be able to discuss some of the questions of social welfare more in detail very shortly; and perhaps we could get together and outline a plan of work.

Very sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Kading

Elizabeth Kading,
President.

EK:CG

Committee of 48

William E. Borah for President

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
1924

RESOLVED: That the National Executive Committee of the Committee of 48 hereby proposes SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH as the Presidential candidate of the Progressive voters of these United States in 1924 on the Platform of the Committee of 48.

J. A. H. HOPKINS,
Chairman
SAMUEL SWETT,
Vice-Chairman

HEADQUARTERS: 15 EAST 40TH STREET
TELEPHONE, VANDERBILT 7594

New York, June 21, 1923.

Miss Ada L. James,
Richland Center, Wis.

Dear Miss James:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 16th which I deeply appreciate.

I shall be very glad to hear about what happens at Chicago on July 3, and hope you will be able to go there. I will not be able to be there myself but several of our other friends will be on hand. I would suggest your looking up Mr. Frank E. Johnesse, Mr. Ray McKaig, and Mr. H.F. Samuels, all of Idaho; also Mr. Julius Kespohl, of Quincy, Ill. if he is there. Of course I do not know just who will be on hand.

I am enclosing you copy of the newspaper article which we have just issued in answer to the alleged interview with Senator Borah in Chicago because I think this will make our position even more clear to you.

The problem on which we must focus all our attention is the necessity of bringing all the Borah, Ford, and LaFollette people under one roof at our National Convention later on, as indicated in this news article. There will be no trouble whatever in doing this if the LaFollette people show the proper spirit of cooperation. Unfortunately they have not done so in spite of their verbal assurances to me.

I am saying this to you confidentially because I do not wish to convey the idea to anyone that we have any hard feelings on the subject. I am simply sorry that they have not done some of the things they might have done, and I think that perhaps a little pressure from the inside would have a good effect. Of course Mr. Gross knows how I feel and that we are ready to do our part. Mr. Manly also understands the situation. I have no doubt, therefore, that if you do a little talking to your friends it will have a good effect.

In the meantime, with kindest regards, believe me

Sincerely yours,

Chairman, National Campaign Committee.

JAHH:BS

[1923, June 23]

Executive Residence
Madison, Wis.

Dear Ada: —

Was sorry not to see you in Richland Center. Had I known anything about it I would have written but John had promised to go so long ago that he had forgotten and we were contemplating a trip to

Racine when some one called his attention to the fact that he had promised to go Richland Center.

However the weather was so threatening here that either plan seemed out of the question till after ten o'clock.

Several people called on

up and invited us to dinner but we knew that was out of the question tho as we were getting such a late start.

I only ran about five people I should know not counting those who drove over from Boscobel.

We left as early as we could to drive around by Tower Hill. Some one ought to think of a <u>real</u>, definite use for that park or those buildings

will all go to pieces.
I can't imagine people going there for the summer unless the dining room is running and I can't imagine any one running the dining room without some definite attraction to get people to the park.
Let me know when you are to be in Madison again. My mother is in Boston for a month and has just returned.
She joins me in sending her love — Yours as ever
June 11/23. Annie B.

400 Superior Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
July 26, 1923

My dear Miss James:

As a devoted progressive, I am writing this letter to assure myself that you may know what is going on in Milwaukee. However, I wish you to regard this letter as one of personal confidence, and do not quote me in any way.

Mrs Potzer is spending this afternoon telephoning Milwaukee members of the Progressive organixation of women, that she has separated from the state group, and forms a County group. The reasons stated are that that state officers are poor managers, and tthat Milwaukee members do not get a sufficiant benifit for their contributions. She cites that a secretary and steno were employed at 2500 (or 2000) and 800 respectively when there were no funds in the treasury; also that when Milwaukee needed ai d it was not given.

Therefore she was elected or appointed by some county meet as chairman. I am told that the state members or rather some members in Milwaukee county did not receive ntice of this meet. At least some are totally ignorant of its being held.

The impression was also made that the Senator LaFollette approved it by this kind of reference: "and then I ~~[illegible]~~ calling upon Senator LaFollette and we had a .... talk with he & Mrs LaFollette about the progressive issues

She said they were so much in debt that they had to give a movie to raise $200. When in need of maney they had to beg it from LaFollette men. All this to give the impression that it was because the state organization is so poorly managed that they use any sums "out in Madosim" extravagently and when we need money we have to beg for more.

I do not know whether this letter has any meaning or service. I am interested in seeing harmony in the organization, as weak as it is. Since last fall, I was told that Mrs Potzer does not suit all in Milwaukee, I felt that it made a progressive group unfortunate that she should head up the bolt. Especially so, since she told me how happy they were to have put over gettleman, when labor and other groups were doubting his sincerity.

Please treat this in confidence. Act accordingly. No one knows I am writing this to you.

Sincerely yours

Allen B. Lindberg

MISS ANITA K. KOENEN
074 Auer Ave.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

July 29, 1923.

Dear Ada:

Thank you for your letter of July 23rd. I had been planning to write you. The Chicago convention had no surprises for me. That group is not intelligent enough to do anything, they remind me of a lot of naughty boys who come to the table and each pounds down his fist and says, " I want this! " and " I want that!" In stead of showing that they are capable of some social vision and doing something for the good of society as a whole. That is why they can spring jokers like this, second and third principle they adopted:

2, Industries must be run by workers and farmers.
3, Working and farming masses must be assured maximum security against destitution, unemployment, sickness and high prices.

In 2 they demand that they run things and in 3 they want to provide for security in certain lines in case they themselves run it badly. For the sake of the working masses one can only hope that a more intelligent element than the Chicago group will be the element to start something. It was interesting to hear your reactions.

The enclosed copy of plans for the work of our committee members has gone out for their approval. I have seen Mr. Gross about starting a Public Ownership group in Milwaukee and he is very much in favor of the idea. By the way, no letter such as was voted for at our last conference has yet been received by the men's organization. I would advise that it be not delayed nor indefinitely postponed. The only way in which we will be able to get the men or the women working on Principle, and get them to drop candidacies, appointments and personalities into the background is by getting the committee work going strong so that each one is tied up with the work for some idea in which he is particularly interested.

Mother and I did not change our membership dues this year because we have been under expense bringing a cousin of my mother's and her son from Germany to America, and in getting them started. The father died in 1911, and there were three boys to educate, then came the war and the hardships, and there was nothing left for the youngest boy, who is 15 and exceptionally bright. We have paid our dollar dues, I have made a small contribution and I will work, and then in January I can probably go on another basis.

It was a good thing that Governor Comings voiced a protest just at the time when it was most needed. I wonder how the Governor feels about it. I fear his judgement a little along several lines, he sometimes throws himself open to criticism like Senator Lenroot made, of working for the Special Interests of a group. To advance too much the demands of any group particularly a militant group, gives the appearance of playing the opportunist, and antagonizes large masses of the others. As a man he is far superior to any of the other possibilities and I hope he will get strong support. If you can help, use your influence to have the Labor people invite him to Milwaukee for the Labor Day speech.

Friends of mine who have just returned from the north say that the big pine, virgin pine on some of the State lands around Palmer and Tenderfoot Lakes, Crampton Lake, stateowned, has been leases to private companies and will be cut this year beginning in Sep. I know the Governor vetoed the bill for the Park, but I wish somebody would go into this thoroly, and find out just what is going on, and if possible save the trees by injunction of some other way.

Mrs. Turner would be splendid in organization work. At any rate I should think Mrs. Green would welcome her assistance. Little can be done in the summer time. Altho I also think that Mrs. Green takes herslf more seriously than she is.

Do not forget the letter to the men's organization, in which we are to demand better business handling of the political work on Progressive Principle That will help make them respect us. What about the Legislative Report which was also favorably reported by the last conference, is the work on that under way. I have written Mr. Evjue to make up a complete Roll Call for me on all questions relating to Public Ownership. Possibly while he does that it might be just as easy for him to make up a Roll Call for bills relating to our various committee interests. A friend of mine said, and I believe that he is right, that no middle of the road party will be able to put Progressive Principles across unless unless bodies of organized citizens are formed to back these principles. That is just what our committees will be able to do if they will get busy. Please send me the names of all local chairman or people who might be interested in Public Ownership so that I can begin the work of having larger groups started all over the state.

With many good wishes and love to you,

Anita

[Enclosed (?) in Roemer to James, July 29, 1925]

This is copy of letter sent to my committee members.

TO the members Of the Public Ownership Committee:

During the last session of the Legislature very little progress was made in Publoc Ownership lines. It would seem that the main reasons for this are:

I. General confusion in the minds of legislators due to propaganda of the opposition.
2. General lack of understanding of the principles involved.
3. A lack of systematic backing by citizen groups.

On speaking with women in different localities and from different groups, I have always found a few with a keen interest in some form of Public Ownership. This local interest would indicate that we can arouse enough state wide backing to pass all enabling legislation during the next session.

Personnally I would favor leaving present legislative restrictions as they are when referring to non-supporting utilities(those supported by funds taken from the General Treasury and raised by taxation), and making the following changes in regard to the self-supporting utilities(those in which a rate is charged sufficient to meet operating expenses).

I. Give cities the power to extend the debt limit to 10% to acquire such utilities.
2. Modify the constitution of the state so that the principle of Public Ownership of such utilities is approved by two Legislatures and a referendum by the people,- and that the old provision of passing each separate bill in that manner refer in the future only to non-supporting utilities.

The creation of Public Utility areas with respect to a common source of power ought also to be receiving more and more attention.

In order to coordinate the scattered P. O. sentiment in the state, it would seem advisable to address to each one of our chairmen in the state, aeking them to form P. O. Committees in their groups of those who are interested. These committees can then go outside of the Progressive Association and organize larger groups of interested citizens in the community. Literature, lists of reading material and miscellaneous items of value can easily be made available to these groups. Speakers can be supplied. The men's organization should be asked to cooperate, and the groups should be made up of men and women where possible.

Please submit at as early a date as possible your criticisms and suggestions on these memos as in some measure outlining the committee work for the rest of this year. Some time before the next convention the committee must meet and work out a report to be submitted to the convention . P. O. Roll Calls will also be worked out for the use of the local groups. Milwaukee will proceed almost immediately on the lines suggested above. Hoping to hear from you at an early date,

Very sincerely yours,

Anita K. Roemer

400 Superior Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
August 1,1923

My dear Miss James:

I am very happy to receive your latter, and to know that something will be done to wrest the Milwaukee group from the control of Miss Potzer for Blains's selfish ends.

I think that the men's organization and the railway brotherhood political club at Milwaukee would do a great deal to back you up. It is the economic program, the principles - that they seem to be most interested in, rather than the pomp and glory of being a part of a victorious machine.

I would be glad to cooperate with you in getting cooperation from some of the Milwaukee unions. I am a member of the carpenter's union, and also teach in the Milwaukee Worker's College.

While I have just been elected to the faculty of the University of Chicogo, I will be in Milwaukee about three days a week,beginning with October 1.

I am intensely interested in the lively time that awaits the Wisconsin Progressive movement. I am parying that it will not end in a thousand schisms, each so self righteous that no two cam work togather. However, with Dahl and Comings at work, their idealism and force ought not leave many progressives for the Blaine support - outside of those receiving appointments.

Do not hesitate calling upon me, at your pleasure.

Very sincerely yours,

Allen B. Forsberg

17

Aug 1, 1923
416 W. Johnson St.
Madison

Miss Ada L. James
Richland Center

My Dear Miss James:

A meeting of the delegates who attended the Chicago Farmer Labor Convention and others interested in the formation of a Farmer Labor Party will be held Friday evening Aug 3 at Mr. Glenn P Turner's office.

We have been sounding out opinion on the matter. We interviewed a number of Progressive leaders and also sent letters to various people in the State. The response is encouraging. Mr. Dahl, Senator Cashin assemblymen A. B. Blomberg, G. W. Schmidt and Carl M. Grimstad are in favor of such a movement.

We hope that you will be with us Friday evening. Mrs. Hoebel would like to have you come and stay with her while in Madison.

Should you be unable to come

[1923, Aug. 1]

please let us know whether you will be willing to give this movement your active support.

Yours Truly
Samuel Sigman

LA FOLLETTE, ROGERS & LA FOLLETTE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
MADISON, WISCONSIN

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
ALFRED T. ROGERS
PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

AUGUST 8, 1923.

MISS ADA JAMES,

Richland Center, Wisconsin.

DEAR MISS JAMES:-

The Republican National Committee has, by resolution, made provision for a woman associate member of the committee from each state. No doubt, the next Republican National convention will make permanent provision for women representatives on the National Committee. In the meantime, the Chairman of the present National Committee has asked each member to make the woman appointment for his state. This responsibility devolves upon me, and I would very much appreciate your telling me whom you think would be the most capable and representative woman in Wisconsin who is available for the appointment. I have the feeling that this appointment will help to establish leadership among the women voters of the state, provided an appointment is made which is generally recognized as fitting.

Any suggestion which you choose to give me will be treated as confidential, and I would be pleased if you would treat this request in the same manner.

YOURS VERY TRULY,

Alfred T. Rogers

LA FOLLETTE, ROGERS & LA FOLLETTE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
MADISON, WISCONSIN

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
ALFRED T. ROGERS
PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

AUGUST 23, 1923.

MISS ADA L. JAMES,
Richland Center, Wisconsin.

DEAR MISS JAMES:-

I am very glad of the suggestions which are contained in your letter of August 17th and will bear them definitely in mind when this matter comes up for final settlement.

I want to wait until the Chairman of the State Central Committee returns from Europe before making a decision.

YOURS TRULY,

Alfred Rogers

LAW OFFICES OF
KRONCKE & SAUTHOFF
ROOM 4, 5 & 6, BADGER ANNEX
MADISON, WIS.

GEORGE KRONCKE
HARRY SAUTHOFF
H. H. PUETZ

September 8, 1923.

Miss. Ada L. James,
Richland Center, Wisconsin.

Dear Miss. James:

I have delayed answering your favor of the 21st ult., for several reasons. One, because I have been away considerably, and the second, that I have wished to consult with others before taking a definite stand in regard to the meeting which you advise.

It has been my judgment in the past that no meeting should be held which would in any wise give an expression as to platform pledges or legislative programes until Senator LaFollette has returned, and we have had an opportunity to consult with him. I have taken that stand for this reason - because I felt that undoubtedly this would be Senator LaFollette's last opportunity to run as a presidential candidate, and because I have felt certain that he has been preparing himself both physically and mentally for that ordeal, and I have delayed in taking any attitude which might at all compromise his chances for that office. I am sure that you feel the same as I do about the Senator, and that he is so far more important to all of us than some of the so-called "lesser lights" that I have only the Senator's welfare at heart and do not wish to in any way embarrass him by anticipating some of his views or by declarations of policy or denunciation of lack of initiative and accomplishment by past administrations.

I am sure you will be in accord with me when I say that I feel the Senator's almost fifty years of struggle to achieve his ideals of Progressivism, have now reached a climax and that we must all be mindful of his welfare in this his last opportunity.

There are many things that I might say and write concerning my own views on subjects now before the public, but I would rather submerge my sentiments than to do anything that might be hasty and reflect to the Senator's discredit. I do not think it will be more than a few weeks now before his return, and I hope that everyone will wait patiently until he comes and we have an opportunity to consult with him.

Kindly let me know if you are in accord with my views as I am anxious to be advised by everyone and especially those who are fully conversant with the many problems confronting us as to our safe course in the future. Thanking you for your kindly interest and with the hope that I may receive suggestions from you, I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

Harry Sauthoff

HS:IC

COPY TO Lieut. -Gov. Comings.
Madison, Wis.

September 21, 1923.

I warmly appreciate the friendly spirit which led you to address me so frankly in reply to my letters of August 27th. Because of that spirit, I am led to address you further on the subject.

From your letter I am inclined to believe that you have not closely followed the course of events at the legislative session at Madison. While the limitations of a letter do mot permit me to go into the matter in such complete detail as might be necessary to carry complete conviction, I will venture to address you on some of the high points of that history.

When the legislative session convened, Blaine called into conference on the tax question, Dahl, Severson, Hanson and other progressive leaders. The conference developed that Dahl and Severson had quite different views on the subject. Blaine stated that there was only one feature, not a matter of substance but of procedure, upon which he would insist,- namely, that the various related but distinct phases of the tax question be handled through separate bills. With respect to the difference of opinion between Severson and Dahl, Blaine took what then appeared to be a very statesman-like attitude. He suggested that each prepare his own bill and that the decision between them be left to the decision of the progressive group who controled both houses and each of the various committees. Under this arrangement, Hanson was to introduce the repeal of the personal property offset and Severson and Dahl each his own tax measure.

After some weeks, like a bolt out of a clear sky, the Governor announced that he was preparing a tax bill of his own and asked that all of the various tax measures then pending be held up until his tax bill should have been given first considefation. I am informed on the highest authority that this action was taken without consultation with Dahl or Severson and that they had no intimation of it until a few hours before the matter was given to the Press. Notwithstanding this, Dahl and Severson, who, I am convinced, are both men who put Progressive principles before private political interests suppressed their personal feelings over the marked discourtesy shown them, and conformed inspirit as well as in letter to the Governor's request to give his bill the right of way.

When the Governor's bill was made public, it was found that he had violated the one thing he had positively insisted on at the initial conference,- namely, the handling of semi-independent phases of the tax ~~xxxxxxxx~~ problem by separate bills. The Governer handled all phases in a single bill and insisted that the entire bill was so much of a piece that no feature of it could be changed without ruining the whole. The suspicion is unescapable that the Governor, at the time of the initial conference, comtemplated the very action he later took and insisted on a division of the bills for the purpose of making more successful his strategy in putting across his own single bill.

It is my personal opinion that, while none of the tax bills

submitted at the recent session were free from serious defects, the Governor's bill was indefensibly bad whereas either the Dahl or Severson bill, despite serious defects, was an improvement over the present tax situation. This is of course, only my personal opinion; but it is very much to the point that the Committee, overwhelmingly controled by the Progressives, reported the Governor's bill for indefinite postponement.

As you know, the Dahl bill passed the Assembly by an enormous majority. When it came before the Senate, it was the votes of the Senators who were known to be dominated by the Governor whose votes killed the bill. The Severson bill suffered a like fate though possibly less blame is attachable to the Governor in that the Severson bill had nowhere near the commanding Progressive support that was given to the Dahl bill.

In this situation, State Chairman LaFollette called a conference of Progressives declaring that the Progressive platform pledges on taxation must be redeemed. Substantially all the Progressive members of both houses attended. Chairman LaFollettes proposal was that all existing bills should be considered discarded and that the Progressive majority of the Committee should frame a bill to be known as the Committee bill and divorced from all personalities. The conference broke up with the understanding that this was agreed to byall. Within a few days, certain of the Senators , for good reasons known as "Blaine Senators", repudiated the agreement they had made at the conference and declared that they would not vote for any bill unless it bore the Governor's name. When the Committee bill came before the Senate, it was defeated by the votes of those Blaine Senators. I, myself, was present throughout the Senate session at which this bill was killed.

To one who closely followed the course of the above events from the standpoint of Progressive citizenship, and not of selfish personal politics, the conviction is unescapable that Governor Blaine was playing throughout the most contemptible personal politics,- that he was determined that no bill should be passed unless he received all prestige accruing from its passage. On the other hands Dahl, Severson, Huber, and Lieut. Governor Comings, to mention but some of the outstanding personalities, showed so braad a spirit that the Governor might indeed have won his selfishly desired prestige, if only he had sponsored a tax measure which could win the support of the Progressive majority.

In the matter of the State Board of Education, the Governor sponsored and was able to put through a retrogressive measure which impartial judgment can only believe was dictated as a measure of personal revenge against Fitzpatrick. I understand the Governor's hostility to Fitzpatrick arose from the latter's support of Roy Wilcox some years ago for Governor. I have no sympathy myself with such support of Wlicox. At the same time, Fitzpatrick's services in the field of education have been capable and highminded and it is

in my opinion, a most reprehensible thing to have set back the State's educational effectiveness for what can only be interpreted as a matter of personal revenge.

The degree to which Governor Blaine played practical politics in the reprehensible sense of that word was a matter of common notoriety at Madison during the session. Legislators were told, in some instances by the Governor, in some instances by those known to be very close to the Governor, that the Governor had attractive appointmentsfor them or their friends if they voted right. Others were threatened that the Governor would go into their districts and fight them if they did not vote the way the Governor wished. The Governor's private secretary actively lobbied against certain bills which had received the support of the Progressive majority.

Throughout the session, the Governor's play for the wet vote was so cheap a piece of politics as should disgust every honest wet just as much as any dry. I speak as one who is neither wet or dry. My personal preference would make me dry but I am heartily out of sympathy with either a minority imposing its will on the majority, or with a small majority imposing its will on a large minority. I presume that this view point makes me unacceptable to both wets and drys but at least it frees me from the likelihood of being prejudiced in my attitude on specific phases of the wet and dry situation. The personal conduct of Stanley Smith during his term of office as Prohibition Commissioner was the continuing topic of scandalous discussion throughout the session. While Smith's conduct may or may not have gone as far as criminality, there seems to be no question, so widespread and credible is the testimony thereon, that it was sufficiently discreditable to utterly unfit him for the office he held. Yet when Blaine could no longer withstand the rising storm, he permitted Smith to resign and then appointed him to a higher paid office.

I regard Senator Severson as an extremist on the wet and dry issue and are quite far from agreeing in his views. On the other hand, I respect him as an able and high-minded man; and while I am sure that you do not wish to be unjust, I think you are, untentionally grossly unjust in criticizing Senator Severson for demanding an investigation while not making open charges. A man may have hear-say evidence of such a character as to convince him of the need of an investigation while yet not having the first hand evidence which would warrant him in making a direct accusation. Senator Severson has throughout refrained from mentioning the names of those all proteges of Governor Blaine, who in wide spread gossip at Madison were currently reported to have been guilty of scandalous conduct. I think he is quite justified, however, in demanding that the real facts be brought out in such a way as shall dissapate gossip and establish the truth; and it seems incredible to me something I cannot believe unless you further confirm it, that a man of your high mentality, legal training and fine public spirit can "fall for " the cheap subterfuge through which Governor Blaine seeks to avoid having the truth established.

Governor Blaine, by subordinating the State's welfare and the advance of the Progressive cause to his own cheap and selfish politics has alienated the clear majority of that group to which you belong,- the group of local leaders who are Progressives through deep conviction and not for personal advancement. When the issue of selecting a standard bearer for the next State Campaign comes up, you will find that the opposition to Governor Blaine makes his selection impossible What I fear, however, is a situation which may produce so serious a split as to make impossible a Progressive victory in 1924. On the other hand, if men like yourself will only exert themselves to secure full information on the subject, the majority repudiating Governor Blaine will be so overwhelming that Blaine will be openly left with nothing to support him but such a machine as he has been able to build out of his appointments. And let me here add, parenthetically, that I know several among the higher minded of Blaine's appointees, who conceive of their civic obligations in higher terms that as a matter of receiving and giving personal favors and who will not support the Governor when the time for taking a position arises.

I feel a little apologetic to have addressed you at such length but I have been led to do so by my high respect for you as a citizen and by the very intensity of my feeling that the issue involved is one of the moral integrity of our movement and as such, one in which it is peculiarlyimportant that each and every man of your type be on the side of high citizenship.

Forgive me if I urge again that you make such diligent and extensive inquiries as shall serve to reliably inform you on the Governor's activities particularly with relation to the issue arising at the recent legislative session.

With high personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

Arthur J. Sweet.

AJS.DP.

[ca. 1923?]

WOMAN'S PEACE PARTY
NATIONAL OFFICE
ROOM 500, 116 S. MICHIGAN AVE.
CHICAGO

Dear Mrs: platform

This seems admirable to me — with two exceptions: The references to Senator Lenroot. I think both might be used editorially, or in leaflets — but I do not think that personalities have place in a platform.

Why not say "the friends of the Sch-Cummins law want about the state initiative" and so on? And omit the second reference to him altogether?

If I had anything else to suggest

It would be ~~that~~ I like "we urge", "we affirm" "we favor" "we declare" and "we protest" – but that "we ask" is better than "we demand."

Don't you love "Broken Bow, Nebraska"?

On the whole, this seems to me a fine brave sound document and I congratulate you more than it is in doubt.

Oh yes. I wanted to ask you why not the planks which the Progressives favor on the Woman's Rights law? I think that should surely be included.

Love, dear Ada.

Lyra

[ca. 1923?]

Dear Ada,

I talked with Senator Staudenmayer yesterday morning, but his position you already know. Mine is that the spiritual effect of any one state laying down its arms would be greater than anything else which could possibly result. But at all events, it is most important to have had the bill introduced, discussed so widely, and passed in the Assembly by so large a majority.

Your letter was splendidly done--thank you for sending it to me. Love to you always and thanks for all that you are doing.

Affectionately,

Zona

Portage, Tuesday:

[ca. 1923]

Please return A.S.S.

Darlington - Sunday.

Dear Ada -

Your letter is at hand with subjects for speakers. Your suggestions are good.

Until last night I fully expected to do what you asked me for I would do almost anything to please you. However when I read the paper last night and

saw the new appointment to the Board of Control, I found it would be impossible for me to appear at the banquet. I am simply too embarrassed to face Gov. and Mrs. Blaine after that. You see, Ada, I fully expected that appointment and was relying on their own word given on their own initiative. I hope I can make the situation clear to you so you will realize how I feel.

You remember it was Mrs. Blaine's own suggestion about the Dean of Women — I had never even intimated that I wanted anything. Honors that did interest me so after hearing so much about the possibility, I went to Madison last spring at the time I was receiving offers of school positions, to see what there was to it. I saw both the governor and Mrs. Blaine at lunch and found the situation of the regents made the idea of Dean of W— all moonshine. Then the Blaines — on their own initiative — said I might have this other appointment when the resignation of the woman member came which would probably be in the summer. Relying on that, I refused

all school offers. Then this fall I took up this garage business because I knew if the appointment came — which I still expected — my partner could manage this while I did the other. Late in the fall I wrote Mrs. Blaine asking her what the situation was. As she did not reply to my letter I supposed that the former member had decided it was not necessary to resign but still I thought she might have replied to my inquiry. I did not think they would appoint someone else without a word of explanation to me. However since they have chosen to do it that way,

[ca. 1923]

that matter is ended.
It merely makes it impossible
for me to meet them for
a time.

This experience has been
awfully good for me. I am
the most trusting person
in the world and always
believe people even when I
ought to know they are
not telling the truth. Besides
it is the first time I have
ever tried to gain anything
through politeness and it will
certainly be my last. So altogether,
the result is all right.
The greatest loss will be

missing the visit that Fish and I were counting on having with you.

Are you at Madison most of the time? Let me know when something interesting is coming up and I'll be up for a day or two. We have a wonderful grand road from Mineral Point to Madison and I have a closed car so I can drive up any time we are not too busy selling cars. I'd like to see a legislature in action again although I think we have a pretty poor outlay of men just now. I know S. Hutchison pretty well from the W. P. district.

I must get this in the mail so you will receive it tomorrow and so give you plenty of time to get someone in my place.

Lots of love
Harriet.

Friday Nov. 23, 1923

Dearest Ada,

I am enclosing some letters which are self explanatory. I'm awfully sorry this took place but I think Jennie's reaction of laughing at it is about the most sensible. I've also talked to Gena Thompson about it and she feels as Jennie does. She was the one who suggested the chart in the first place. I am submitting my letter to you before sending it to Mrs Schwalbach. I have the highest regard for Mrs Schwalbach's work but I certainly do not feel that our chart is infringing on her rights. Mr Witte in the role of peace maker wants me to say to her that we ~~with~~ will paste a statement into our Primer stating that a chart on which the general idea of ours is based was copyrighted in 1912 by Laura Scott. I'm not yet convinced that we want to do that. I'm wishing we had thot of asking her to draft our chart in the first place, it was a beastly job to do and to get accurately ~~but~~ but ~~I'm~~ as long as we didn't ~~think of that~~, and with 4 small children on hand

hands & doubt if she could have done it, but as long as we didn't think of it at the time I don't see what can be done now. I'd be willing to add a note like this: "For those who are interested in the technicalities of legislative procedure a chart showing all the contingencies which may happen to a bill in the legislature was drawn and copyrighted in 1912 by Miss Laura Scott. A copy of this chart is in the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Miss Scott for ~~them~~ ideas ~~in~~ on the general form ~~for~~ used in this chart."

Please let me know what you think about this and the best method to proceed. ~~This~~ Miss Laura Scott, now Mrs Schwalbach wrote to Mr Witte and also to Mrs McCarthy telling her that if Mr McCarthy were living her interests would have been safeguarded and it made me mad that she didn't write to me directly!

Honestly if it were something for which I want credit I wouldn't mind the fuss — but a beastly chart! My ambitions just don't run in that direction. Will you please send this back with your suggestions Special Delivery so that I can write Mrs Schwalbach. I don't want to write her at all. If she had written

[1923, Nov. 28]

directly to me it would have been different!

Now for something nice. I am delegated by the Library to spend ten days in Milwaukee with our Library Commission exhibit at the Wisconsin Products Exhibition Dec. 1-9. I leave here on Wednesday Nov. 28th and will be in Milwaukee until the 9th. Will you be there at any of that time for our joint visit with Mrs Berger? It would be fun wouldn't it! I'm not at all keen about "wasting" time at the exhibit and I have a talk to prepare for for the Madison Women's Club History section, but it will be nice to have my mornings free for a whole week! Course I'd rather have the time to spend in New York or Chicago - Do come to Milwaukee -

My love to the girls and much to you -

I like your picture! Mr Comings admires it to me. You'll give me one for Christmas, won't you? ~~Love from~~ Did you hear how I forgot about going to dinner with Mr Comings - I was that absorbed in my Wilder diet! Good-night in haste Nina.

[1923, Nov. 23?]

Ada, - The whole thing really amounts to this - Miss Almere Scott seizes an opportunity to get her sister's chart printed by the University Extension division - ~~I'd rather~~ I wouldn't do a thing to prevent it; infact I'd like to see it done, since Mrs Hoyt showed her my chart and Dean Reber is enthusiastic about it, Miss Scott has sent her sister the bulletin, manual + recent laws so that she can draft a companion chart of a 1923 law to go with her old chart and have both published. Something of this Mrs Hoyt told me when she came down on Wednesday to explain why they were not going to reprint the chart.

Copy. R.C. Oct 24/23.

Dear Mr. Dean:- Last night while in Mil. I called on several Progressive leaders & had a long talk with several dry leaders at the anti Salon Hedqts. Mr. Arthur Burtell said "What! run Mr. Hull as a dry candidate?"

The anti salon league ridicule the idea. They will never support Mr. LaFollette will not support Hull. I do not know that he will Mr. C — but it is certain he will not Mr. H —

They told me you were far from satisfied with Mr. Hull's record at one time & they do not understand your present attitude.

In looking on the election statistics I find:

In 1921 Primary Mr. Hull polled 45,308 votes
Mr. Cummings " 152,052 "

In 1923 Mr. C was elected by a vote of 351,506

I cannot understand why or how you can think Mr. H — the stronger of the 2 men —

Cordially
A. A. James —

P.S. The anti salon League did not support Mr. C —, as you know in 1923 but will in 1925 in preference to Mr. Hull.

copy

Richland Ctr. Wis Oct 18/2

Dear Mr. Dean:

Did I give you the impression that Judge Rosa was bitter in his opposition to Mr. Neill's candidacy? He very quickly said he would as soon support John Blaine.

Every one of the men you mentioned to me as favorable to Mr. Neill's candidacy have expressed surprise at your statement, not one being in sympathy with bringing him out for Governor — naturally I am quite baffled —

Sincerely

Ada L. James —

Please return

WILLIAM C. DEAN, PRESIDENT
MRS. G. J. KOPPKE, VICE-PRESIDENT

ALFRED B. TAYNTON, SEC.-TREAS.
AUDITOR, BY APPOINTMENT

THE FORWARD PRESS ACTIVITIES

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PUBLISHERS OF THE CAMPAIGNER,
A MILITANT MONTHLY

201 EAST MAIN STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN

10/9/'23

Miss Ada James,
Richland Center, Wis.

Dear Miss James,--

I am somewhat surprised at the bitterness with which Judge Rosa is attacking Merlin Hull, altho I have not seen him personally, the reports having come to me thru other parties. It looks to me like a case of political jealousy or rivalry and in decidedly poor taste on the part of Rosa, who would like to be the choice for governor. He had better keep quiet or someone will dig up his own record when a member of the legislature at--or about the time Hull was speaker.

The only thing they have ever succeeded in bringing up against Hull's political career is that excise committee he appointed when speaker. As a matter of fact, the appointments were very fair. The wets were in a considerable majority in the assembly. They or some of them at least, supported Hull for speaker because they knew he would be fair. Had he packed the excise committee with drys, it would not have been fair. It would have been of no avail if he had, as the wet majority would have killed all dry measures on the floor. He placed three drys and three wets on the committee and tried to select as seventh member one who would be fair to both sides. I don't know how he could have done any better under the circumstances. Oh, yes, the chairman was one of the strongest drys in the house. As for his being friendly with Billy Austin, who could be otherwise? Even I couldn't.

The farther I go, the more I am convinced that Hull is the strongest man in the state among those who are both dry and progressive. This is not because I am a Hull partisan, but my candid judgment. I would as soon support Rosa, Dahl or Severson, if I thought they had the same political strength. I do not find many people taking Mr. Comings' candidacy very seriously, and some very good people are strongly opposed to him.

It may be just as well, however, in view of the opposition it has stirred up on the part of Rosa and a few others whose ambitions it interferes with, not to say much more about Hull at present. Perhaps we had better give Mr. Comings a fair chance to demonstrate how much support he can develop. I want to be perfectly fair to him, for I like him very much personally.

Very cordially yours,

Wm. C. Dean

[1923 ?]

European Plan
Just Off Capitol Square

Indian Room Cafe
Ye Coffee Shoppe

HOTEL MONONA

Madison, Wisconsin

Thursday

Very dear friend:—

Of course you know how disappointed some of us are with the governor's ~~stand~~ upon militarism, the "int" issue and his policy in connection with the board of Control etc.

But I do want you to know that I love you ~~and it~~ and every, every, every I feel that I must say that I do not approve of all that he has done.

My love for you is in no way lessened although it is quite natural that our affection for me should be greatly ~~[illegible]~~ cooled, also.

Richland Center, Wisconsin.

October 6, 1923.

Mr. William C. Dean,

201 East Main Street,

Madison, Wisconsin.

Dear Mr. Dean,

Since you were last here, I have made an effort to find out how various men, high in political circles, felt about Mr. Hull's candidacy. Thus far I have found no Hull sentiment whatever, even among the men of whom you spoke as favorable to Mr. Hull. I shall ask you to consider this information confidential:

Judge Rosa said he would support John Blaine as quickly as he would Merlin Hull. He seems to regard them as the same type of politician. Another man in the legislature when Mr. Hull was Speaker laughed at the idea of running him as the Dry candidate. He said he was elected Speaker by the Wets, and that he repaid them by appointing a Wet excise committee. In fact, he was greatly surprised, or amused. He said that every one knew that Mr. Hull went around with Billy Austin on one arm and a Methodist minister on the other.

It seems to me that it would be as tragic a mistake to have the Prohibitionists run him as any mistake that has been made by the Anti-Saloon League in the past.

Cordially yours,

Personally I always liked Mr. Hull & was surprised & disappointed at the information given me.

[ca. 1923]

"God give us men. The time demands
strong minds, great hearts, true faith &
willing hands:
Men who the lust of office does not kill:
" " " spirit " " cannot buy;
" who possess opinions & a will:
" " have honor: men who will not lie
" " can stand before a demagogue
and damn his treachery flatterers without winking!
Tall men, sun-crowned who live above the fog
In public duty & in private thinking;
For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creed
Their larger purposes & their little deeds
Mingle in selfish strife: lo, Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, God waiting
justice sleeps."

[1923]

Legislation for 1923 must necessarily cluster around three big subjects. There will be many minor subjects and much crisscrossing and interlocking. But the 1923 legislature will fail in doing its job unless it lays out a program and makes substantial progress in these three subjects which, to my mind, are major fields. These fields may be crudely designated as

1. Taxation
2. Good roads
3. Education

Taxation is bearing heavily jus t now upon the people of Wisconsin. This is especially true of the general property tax. The burden is heaviest in the rural communities and, as might reasonably be expected, is getting to be very trying in the more recently settled portions of the state. There the farmer is farther from markets; dairying is not so well developed; readjustments are harder to make, and there is much less property to form the basis of credit. Deflation hit him a hard blow below the belt and of course everywhere throughout the state the burden is bearing heaviest upon the citizen with little property. His income has been hit hard in the last two years. A thing which cannot be said of the well to do. Labor has been much out of work and when he has worked it has often been at a wage that is small compared to the high cost of living. I am enclosing some data (No.1) concerning delinquent taxes, which I had occasion to throw together last Spring. This speaks for itself and eloquently of the situation.

These people are looking to LaFollette Republicans for relief. The campaign promised relief-- more by inference perhaps than otherwise. Be that as it may, the conviction is general throughout the state that the Progressive promised to lighten this

Please return

burden--that it can easily be done-- and Blaine and the coming legislature are expected to do it. Of course, I need not say to you that it is not an easy task. But the ordinary citizen does not understand this. He has little knowledge of the origin, size, use, or proportions of or responsibilities for tax levies--what items can be dispensed with or trimmed and which can not--how to shift the burden from one class to another. What is true of the ordinary citizen is true of the ordinary legislator. He needs leadership. Much would have been done by the last legislature with such leadership. L ittle will be done by this legislature without it.

I am enclosing tables (No. 2) which show all taxes from every source levied in the state for the years 1919, 1920 and 1921, and collected in 1920, 1921, and 1922.

These indicate pretty clearly where the trouble lies--unprecedented increase in expenditures all along the line but the largest increases in amount and proportion of tax being in counties and localities. In cities and villages this increase has been caused largely by wildcat financeering growing out of the extravagances and hysteria of the war, and by sky rocketing prices, due to indirect taxes and profiteering. This has affected the schools and every department of government. Little of the increase aside from a portion of the county tax, has been state compelled. In the country there has been added to the above causes a road program which has put about $30,000,000 from all sources into good roads the past year. In a sense this increase in the country districts has been largely under a species of state compulsion, and has given some justification for the charge that the state is responsible for high taxes. A specific illustration of how this has worked in a town will make this more clear.

I stepped to the map upon the wall and picked out a town in Rusk County that was on one of the state trunk highways. It happened to be the town of Grant. I asked the statistical department to give me the expenditures of the town separated into highways and other expenses, running back over a period of years. Unfortunately, these figures are not separated back beyond 1915. The expenditures of such town for the years 1915 to 1922, inclusive, were as follows:

	Other than Highways	Highways
1915	$ 838.01	$2,836.76
1916	1,097.86	7,804.02
1917	1,156.52	4,817.27
1918	1,683.87	4,352.38
1919	2,330.71	5,713.96
192 0	1,693.02	5,651.57
1921	1,419.54	6,653.53
1922	2,413.74	7,109.54

You will note from these figures what is making the drain on the town's finances. As indicated this is a town picked at random. There are towns not so bad--some undoubtedly much worse. If we were to analyze the amount of county tax paid by this town, we would find the same large element of roads in it. The total levy for Rusk County for highways in 1918 was $50,496.36, or about 80 per cent of the amount spent by the county for all other purposes. In 1921 the amount had come to be $139,152.57, or almost twice what was spent by the county for all other purposes. The amount of road money levied by the county upon the town is in no sense within the control of the town. That sum would need to be levied if the town

determined that it was too poor to put a dollar into roads. The amount spent by the town itself would probably not have been anywhere near as large if it were not for the fact that the state and county were building a trunk line through the town. This gave to the people living along it the best sort of road facilities. Their neighbors living back from the road and in the far corners of the town of course would clamor to have the roads leading into the trunk road fixed up so that they would not be placed at too much of a disadvantage in reference to their neighbors living upon the road. Those residents of the town living on or near the state trunk highway could not in good conscience refuse to appropriate this money for the side roads. If the town neglected to make such improvements it would lead to a good deal of ill feeling and charges of favoritism in the town. It is safe to say this policy has driven hundreds of out towns into gross extravagance in the matter of road building.

If you will refer to the tables (No. 2) you will note that there was an increase in the tax for local schools from $20,916,518 in 1919-1920 to $30,831,586 in 1920-1921-- roughly an increase of 50%. There was a further increase to $32,564,513 in 1921-1922--another increase of approximately 10% over 1919-1920. The total expenditures did not increase quite so rapidly in percentages since the "state aid" increased only about $300,000 in that time. The total available of $24,628,926 in 1919-1920 was $34,803,745 in 1920-1921 and $36,603,895 in 1921-1922.

It is not so apparent from the tables what caused the local expenditure to increase from $32,655,664 to $41,549,320 and $43,306,660 in the same years and county expenditures to increase from $20,364,054 to $26,787,374 and $28,446,546. I am convinced, from my rather hasty study of the problem, that the causes for

the increase in localities are roughly as given above. The road program is almost the sole cause of the increase in counties. The so-called "state aids" returned to counties were almost entirely for roads--coming from the motor licenses and a state tax of $1,700,000. This $1,700,000 was levied on the property of the state and made a .37 mill tax to increase the burden on the already overburdened. The "state aid" for schools, as you know, was the proceeds of the .7 mill tax for common schools--also levied on the already overbudened taxpayer.

This is the condition. What is the remedy? There are two ways of relieving the general property from some of its burdensome tax.

1. Of course there is one sure way of reducing taxes--quit spending money for public purposes. But if the state levied no tax for state purposes at all, it would only cut off 7.97% of the total tax assessed in 1921 and collected in the winter of 1922. It is evident that there must be a reduction in the expenditures of counties, of localities, and of local school districts if much relief is obtained. If taxes are to be reduced by this method, the question to be answered is, what can the county dispense with, what can the locality dispense with, and what can the local school district dispense with? Without going into detail or explanation, I am making the bald statement that the great increase in county taxes in the last decade has been due to the building of good roads, and if the people are willing to dispense with either the building or upkeep of good roads fully two-thirds of the county tax can be dispensed with. This would be a saving of about double the state tax.

Road building has entered very largely into the increase in

local taxes, and by dispensing with it entirely a considerable reduction could be made in the amount spent for local purposes almost everywhere, more, perhaps, in the rural communities than in the cities, but this amount is of such wide variation that it is impossible to dran any conclusions and percentages as to what can be done.

The cost in the increase of local schools has been due to increases in teachers' wages and to increases in everything that is bought for the benefit of the schools. Wages of teachers might be hammered down although it is difficult to see how this can be done as long as the cost of living remains as high as it does. The other expenditures for schools will run high just as long as prices are high. If the price of commodities and the cost of living should drop to pre-war standards undoubtedly there could be a great saving in the school expenditures. There could also be a saving in county and local expenditures and still maintain the same program of improvement as we have in the past. I take it that the people of Wisconsin will not consent to have the schools curtailed, and will insist upon levying a tax sufficient to take care of them. If high prices remain the cost of our schools cannot be materially lowered.

It is safe to assume, I think, that the reduction in taxation by the trimming of appropriations and levies will not be great. The services now rendered by state, county, local, and school taxation units is demanded by the people of the state, and they insist on having it although they are willing to kick about the cost and look for somebody else to blame when it comes time to pay the bill. The $7,739,000 of general property state tax could be saved if all of the commissions and administrative boards were

abolished. The cost of all these agencies, according to my estimate some time ago amounted during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920 to $7,988,425.63. But it is safe to assume that the people would not be content to have many of these agencies abolished. In many cases the most strenuous kicking would come from those who opposed the creation of the agency in the first instance. For example the abolition of the Railroad commission or the Tax commission would be strenuously apposed by the railroads and public utilities. There is a reason.

2. The only other method of reducing the burden upon general property, aside from reducing expenditures is to shift the burden upon some other class of property. The special taxes, as indicated in the column of state taxes in the tables enclosed, probably can not be increased to any appreciable extent, with the exception of the motor license fees. I will discuss this item la ter in reference to good roads. The only other shift that could be made would be to decrease the general property tax and increase the income tax, either the normal tax in some or all of the brackets, or by addint a surtax upon higher incomes. In my judgment our income tax is not sufficiently graduated, the burden not being heavy enough upon the income in the higher brackets.

There is this difficulty that confronts us when we consider this method of lightening the tax burden. The real estate tax, as I have already indicated, is most burdensome in the rural districts and especially burdensome in the newly settled portions of the state. The income tac is largely an urban tax. I am enclosing preliminary report of the tax commission to the governor and legislature for the year 1922 (No. 3). On page 18 of such report is found the income tax assessed during the years 1916 to 1922, inclusive. These are the

only years in which the data in this office has been separated and classified into income from towns, cities, and villages. If a few villages in which there are large manufacturing plants are excluded from the list of villages, and approximately a dozen towns which contain large manufacturing plants are also excluded from the list, it will be found that the income tax would yield little revenue outside of such excluded towns and villages, and the cities of the state.

An increase in income taxes in all other taxation districts would be of small moment and would go a very small way indeed toward decreasing the burden upon real estate in the rural Communities. Practically no income tax is received from the rural communities in the newly settled portions of the state, and a very small amount indeed from such counties. If this method is followed there seems to be only one way to lighten the real estate burden, and that is by changing the entire method of distribution. I would suggest the following steps:

1. Remove the personal property offset and repeal the provision exempting dividends from the income tax, which would about double the present income tax and place it upon the taxpayer best able to pay it.
2. Increase the normal income tax by graduating it more sharply and increaseing the rates in the higher brackets.
3. Change the distribution so that 50% of the income tax shall be paid directly into the state treasury instead of 10% as at the present time. Divide the balance on a basis of 10% to the county and 40% to the locality.
4. Place the income tax thus obtained in a special fund in the state treasury from which to take various sums for the purpose

of reducing the tax upon general property in the state. This could be done:

(a) by wiping out the entire state tax levy--making a provision that such mill taxes as are surtaxes upon property and such other taxes as are now provided by law to be raised from the tax upon property shall be taken from this fund so far as the fund is available, and only the balance levied. This would wipe out, in my judgment, the state tax entirely and relieve the rural communities from ten to twenty cents of every dollar paid in taxes:

(b) if there still remained money in this fund it could be used for aiding common school education. This would also lighten the burden where it should be lightened. Educators feel that much more money ought to be put into this kind of education by the state. If it is done it must come from sources other than the meager property in many of the rural communities. This is already burdened to the limit.

2. Good Roads.

The good roads problem is very largely a taxation problem. As already pointed out, it is the outstanding cause of high taxes in many a community of the state. It is coming to be recognized as such by a growing number of citizens in those communities. The compulsion features are also recognized and there is a growing feeling that the program should call for a change in financing.

But there is another element which must not be overlooked. The policy of the Highway Commission has been extremely aggravating to the average rural taxpayer. He has considered that policy both highly autocratic and extremely wasteful. Many things have contributed to this feeling, chief among them being first, the employment of much young and sometimes egotistical and overbearing and not always very competent help from the university, and second, the policy of relocating roads. The taxpayer's mind has most always been made up from insufficient data. But the idea is there and must be reckoned with. In my travels about the state, I hear the work of the commission praised everywhere by autoists in the cities and "cursed" everywhere by the taxpayer in the country. The taxpayer reasons from the "extravagance" and "bone-headed" work of the Highway Commission, which he claims to know all about first hand, to the other commissions. He often argues that these other agencies, including the tax commission, are useless, extravagant and oppressive. Unfortunately, there is too much evidence in some quarters to sustain his arguments.

I believe the good roads program must be worked out along some such lines as these:

1. Shift the entire burden of building and maintaining the

federal-state trunk highways upon the motor vehicle and proceed no faster with the building of such roads than the money from such source will warrant.

2. Also load upon the motor vehicle a portion of the cost of maintaining the county trunk system. The balance of the expense of building and maintaining the county system to be borne by the counties.

3. Leave upon the rural towns the burden of building and maintaining the highways not a part of state or county trunk systems.

My reasons for my beliefs are many and are difficult to put into small space. I can only touch the most important considerations.

There is in the state outside of the city and village streets about 79,000 miles of country highway. With the building of more roads to settlers in the north this will soon be 80,000 miles. There are at present 7,500 miles of state trunk highways upon which federal aid is expended. It is the plan to extend this system to 10,000 miles in the near future. There are about 10,000 miles of road in so-called county trunk highways. This leaves 59,000 miles of highways that are not on either system. From a few rods to many miles of such road must be traveled by a vast majority of our rural population in order to reach either their destination or a county or state trunk highway.

The auto, totally unlike the old horse and buggy, has come to be a state-wide means of travel. Autos from Milwaukee annually travel these state and county trunk lines hundreds of thousands of miles outside of Milwaukee County. They also travel to a limited extent on the other 59,000 miles of roads. But the 20,000 of state and county roads have come to be auto thorofares where any other

conveyance is a rarity. It would seem that it could be no hardship to load upon this class of property the building and maintaining of half of this 20,000 miles and the aiding of maintainance on the other 10,000. This leaves seven-eighths of the roads to be built by other taxes and three-fourts of them to be maintained through other sources of evenue. The rate of tax should be sharply graduated on some basis of cost and weight so that the tax would in some measure fall more heavily upon luxury and would also measure somewhat the relative destructibility of the highways by the different classes of autos. The amount of gasoline consumed would be a good measure ofthe amount of use, but I am so much opposed to sales taxes in general that I would hesitate to assent to a gasoline tax without giving thesubject more thought.

I might say in passing that I believe the automobile owners would not object to such a tax. The manufacturers would be sure to be on the ground opposing it strenuously. I am certain that this class of property could stand a very substantial addition in its burden of taxation. I am equally certain that the burden of the general property tax has gone beyond the limit of endurance in many quarters.

The roads of a county are very generally used by the automobiles of that county. Most of the autos, especially of the heavier and higher priced classes, are owned in the cities and villages of the county. These autos not only use state and county trunk lines, but they use the other three-fourths of the roads of their county more generally than autos from other sections of the state. The entire system of highways has come to be so generally used by the inhabitants of the county, especially the county and state trunks in such county, that it would seem reasonable and just to place upon the entire property of the county the burden of building and maintaining the

county trunk highways of such county. I have already suggested that automobile owners aid somewhat in the maintenance of this system. There will be sufficient burden for the farmers of the county to build and maintain the remaining three-fourths of the highways in addition to paying their county tax for highways. This suggestions is for the purpose of placing more of the rural burden on the property of the cities and villages in the county.

Trucks and busses are using the highways increasingly. Trucks and busses that are virtually common carriers for hire should pay some additional wheel tax or mileage tax to help maintain highways. This should not be so high as to put an unreasonable burden upon them or drive them out of competition. It would not need to be and yet yield a substantial revenue to eas the burden on the little property owner who owns no auto or other means of conveyance.

A surtax upon higher incomes might be used to obtain the funds to build and maintain the highways of the state. But in my plan, I have reserved that source of income, above what is necessary to wipe out the state tax as suggested before, to build up the educational system of the state. I will discuss that later.

I can think of no other ways than those suggested to reduce the severe burden of road building that lays upon the farmers of the state. The only other alternative is to curtail or stop the building entirely. A majority of automobile owners would object seriously to this suggestion. Good roads in Wisconsin at the sole expense of the automobile owner would, in my judgment, be a paying investment. Most of the owners of motor vehicles know this and will not object to the tax if it means the price of continuing the road program. No doubt, like a big majority of taxpayers, he is willing the other fellow shall bear the tax as long as he will.

3 Education

The educational system in our state is in a bad way. It needs some far reaching reorganizing and some farseeing statesmanship in handling the problem. The most characteristic thing to say about the system is that it is not a system at all. It lacks all system. Some very glaring defects are apparent. I will enumerate some of them briefly:

1. The university is supposed to head up and complete the system. It is now and always has been a law unto itself. It is under the shadow of the capitol and can stage its demonstrations and make its appeal to legislators. In other words, its appeal can be made very specific rather than abstract. This has a tremendous influence in getting the money that it asks for. It also has influential alumni scattered everywhere throughout the state. These are influential men and women in their respective communities and have much influence with members of the legislature. The university does succeed at every session in getting about what money it desires without any reference to the fact that there may not be enough left over to take care of the other parts of the system.

2. The money part is not the worst feature. The university is controlled solely by its board of regents. These people are appointees of the governor and almost none of them educators. The university makes its own curriculum and sets its own standards of what a university education should be. It does this with almost no reference to the secondary schools of the state in which the taxpayer must education his son and daughter before going to the university. The standards of the

university are continually shifting and continually pulling away from the rest of the system. This fact has had a tendency to hammer the curriculum down into and through the secondary, elementary and primary schools. It is safe to say that the average good high school in the large cities of Wisconsin today are teaching about the same material that Harvard and Yale did in 1850. Much of the material that was formerly taught in high schools is now attempted to be taught in the grades - almost always to the detriment of the grades. The university during the last few years has been confronted with such a generous number of students that its policy has become very evident to weed out the inferior ones and retain the best . Many a little community of the state that had struggled to create and maintain a high school in which its children could be fitted for the university and thought, a few years ago, that it had attained that end, now finds its pupils sent home after a brief stay at the university. As I recall it, something like 1500 were weeded out of last year's freshman class. It is needless to say that people are wondering what is the matter and are taking this thing very much to heart and getting very sore about it.

3. The normal schools are so many that it is possible for them to get what they want through a system of log rolling in the legislature. Ten senators have normal schools in their districts. You can imagine the rest. A few years ago they began to put in four year college courses. This was fought by the university at the time because of the desire on the part of the university for more students. Now that the university has more students than it knows what to do with,

it is glad to have this policy carried forward in the normal schools to the entire wiping out of the original purpose of such schools. Fortunately, the various forces in the state have sought to correct this evil and the board of regents of the normal schools have begun a commendable plan to restore the normal schools to their proper functions.

4. The common schools which educate 95% of our citizens takes what money is left. While appropriations to university and normals have grown apace the common schools get little more help than they did a quarter of a century ago.

5. We have no standards for high school principals or city superintendents of schools. If a person is eligible to teach, he is eligible to become a high school principal or city superintendent. There is also very little state control over secondary schools. As a consequence, some individuals with very meager educational qualifications, and almost no knowledge of school management, can sell himself to a community, get in charge of the high school and introduce all sorts of fads and notions into the curriculum to the exclusion of the fundamentals of education. This is happening everywhere throughout the state.

6. The state superintendent and his department, which was intended by the constitution to supervise the whole educational system of the state, has almost no power over anything except the common schools, and so far as any effective power is concerned by which it could coordinate the different branches of

our educational system or lack of system, it is doing practically nothing in that line.

What is needed in my judgment is something like the following:

1. The creation of a state board of education to have supervision over all educational institutions of the state. There is at present a State Board of Education . This has two defects as presently constituted. It is too small. A policy-making board should be large so as to get a broad basis of opinion for the judgments. It has too meager powers. This board should be a large board and should have policy-making powers and also such powers as are necessary to organize and keep together a perfect educational system.

2. The board of regents of the university and the board of regents of the normal schools should be abolished or reduced to very small administrative bodies only and be subordinate to the policy-making power of the board of education.

3. The office of the state superintendent should be abolished by constitutional amendment. Until such thing has been done, he should be made an ex-officio member of the board of education.

It is my belief when there is a large board, responsible to all the people of the state for all of the different branches and divisions in our educational system, then we will have some system worked out of chaos. The curricula of the various institutions can be dovetailed together and held together. There can also be a proper distribution of funds which, after all is said and done, is what makes the mare go.