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Resolution
on the
United Thank Offering
of 1931

Resolved: That the United Thank Offering of 1931 be given to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to be used as follows;

One-tenth of the Offering to be added to the permanent trust fund, the income from which is to be used for retiring allowances of United Thank Offering workers.

That at least \$75,000 be held in reserve for training of United Thank Offering workers, any surplus to revert to the general fund.

And the sum of not less than two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) to be appropriated for buildings to be erected in the mission field.

The balance of the Offering, together with all interest earned thereon to be used by the Missionary Society as directed by the National Council, for the work of women in the missionary enterprises of the Church including their training, equipping, sending and support and for their care when sick and disabled, the appointment of said women having been approved by the Executive Board.

Be It Further Resolved: That to our United Gifts shall be added our united and earnest prayers, that God will put it into the hearts of many faithful women to give themselves and their substance, to the work of the Master in the Mission Field.

[OVER]

*Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that
he will send forth labourers into his harvest.*

S. Matt. 9:38.

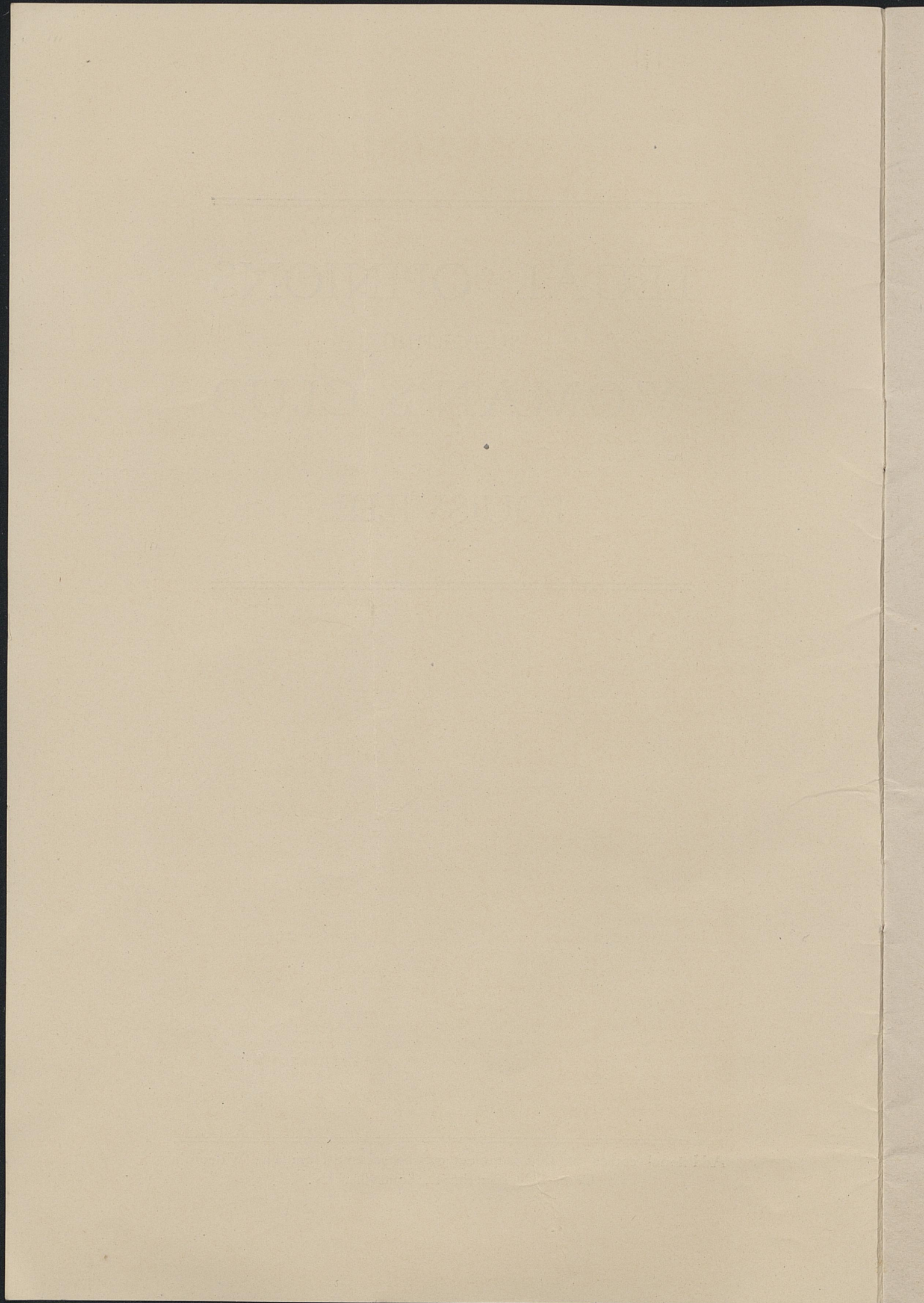
The Prayer for the **United Thank Offering**

O Lord, our heavenly Father,
we pray thee to send forth more
labourers into thy harvest, and
to grant them thy special grace
for every need. Guard and guide
the workers in the field, and
draw us into closer fellowship
with them. Dispose the hearts
of all women everywhere to give
gladly as thou hast given to
them. Accept, from grateful
hearts, our United Thank Offer-
ing of prayer and gifts and joy-
ful service; and bless it to the
coming of thy Kingdom
through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

[1926?]

LEGAL OPINIONS
SUPPORTING
WOMAN'S CLUB
OF
LOUISVILLE

Additional copies of this pamphlet can be secured from The Woman's
Club, 1320 Fourth St., Louisville, Ky.



FOREWORD

The Board of Directors of the Woman's Club of Louisville, responsive to requests, herein presents the following legal opinions on the situation created by the demand of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, upon the Woman's Club of Louisville, to rescind its By-Law, Article 6, Section 3, adopted, April 13, 1926.

A re-statement of the facts preceding and following the adoption of this By-Law is as follows:

At the Thirty-First Annual Convention, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, meeting at Henderson, Kentucky, May 19-23, 1925, the Woman's Club of Louisville, alarmed by the arbitrary tendencies within both the Kentucky Federation and the General Federation, offered a Resolution, which was adopted into the By-Laws of the Kentucky Federation, Article VIII, Sections 2 and 3, as follows:

"All bills and resolutions, except those of courtesy, which are to be brought for consideration before the Annual Convention, shall be sent in writing to all Federated Clubs at least sixty days before the date of Convention. Clubs shall be given the opportunity, if they so desire, to send their delegates to the convention instructed by the vote of their own organization assembly.

"When this rule shall have been complied with, in case of legislative measures a two-thirds vote shall have been taken before said endorsement becomes binding on those voting with the majority, or before said endorsement can be said to be the endorsement of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs."

One week later, the Biennial Council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, meeting at West Baden, Indiana, June, 1925, adopted a majority ruling offered by Mrs. John D. Sherman, President of the General Federation, in its nature a denial of the stand taken one week before by the Kentucky Federation Convention at Henderson, Kentucky. This said ruling, which before it was binding as a By-Law, would have to be adopted by a General Federation Convention, being as follows:

"Through the delegates the Federation has its opportunity to record its stand on questions. When a resolution has been adopted at such meetings, either unanimously or by a majority it should be regarded as the action of the organization. State Federations, or individual clubs, opposed to the action taken, should not conduct a campaign in the name of the State or the Club, in opposition to that of the General Federation. Individual members of the State Federations or individual members of clubs, are free to enter campaigns in opposition as individuals but not as clubs. In no other way can the General Federation speak as an organization."

The following spring, April 13, 1926, six weeks prior to action on this ruling by the Biennial Convention of the General Federation, the Woman's Club of Louisville, seeing in this proposed reversal of policy by the General Federation, at once a denial of its rights as an individual club, and a declaration that minority clubs in general are bound by the will of the majority, thus converting the General Federation into an oligarchy ruled by a few officials at the top, took action by a vote of 254 to 80, as follows:

"WHEREAS, the General Federation of Women's Clubs was organized, as set forth in its charter, for . . . culture, and to bring into communication with one another the various women's clubs throughout the world," and

WHEREAS, the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs was organized as set forth in its Articles of Incorporation, "to bring together the representatives of various clubs of women in Kentucky," and

WHEREAS, nothing in the charter, articles of incorporation, or by-laws of either Federation, or of the Woman's Club of Louisville, or in the resolution under which the Woman's Club of Louisville became a member of the Federation, gives to either Federation any authority to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville by a majority vote or otherwise, and,

WHEREAS, the absence of proportional representation would be sufficient reason if no other existed for refusing to recognize the authority of the General Federation to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville, as claimed by Mrs. Sherman in her recent ruling at West Baden,

RESOLVED, That, the By-Laws of the Woman's Club of Louisville be amended by the addition of the following:

The Woman's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of this Club at a meeting called for the purpose."

So arbitrary and dangerous to the clubs throughout the United States, did the Woman's Club of Louisville consider this proposed reversal of policy by the General Federation, that it endeavored to protest through its delegates to the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the Kentucky Federation, meeting at Middlesboro, May 4-7, 1926. But when this West Baden ruling was brought up for endorsement at the opening session of this convention, the delegates from the Woman's Club of Louisville were denied time to adequately present their opposition, and the vote for endorsement was overwhelmingly carried. And this despite the fact, as set forth by the delegates from the Woman's Club of Louisville, that such endorsement, so long as the Henderson By-Law, Article VIII, Sections 2 and 3, defining and limiting the binding power of the majority, remained on the books, was null and void.

Again, at the Biennial Convention of the General Federation, meeting at Atlantic City, May 24-June 6, 1926, the delegates of the Woman's Club of Louisville, having asked to present a motion for the rescinding of the West Baden ruling, were allowed two minutes, to present the motion, and two to present the argument, the said ruling being endorsed by an overwhelming majority, a minority of eleven votes opposed.

The Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation, at a special meeting, held at Lexington, Kentucky, June 21, 1926, passed the following resolution by a vote of 9 to 1:

"WHEREAS, the Woman's Club of Louisville has adopted the following By-Law:

"The Woman's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of the Club at a meeting called for the purpose,"

WHEREAS, the enactment of this by-law would be a physical impossibility for the State or General Federation, and

WHEREAS, the enactment of this by-law would disrupt the unity and harmony from such a composite group as the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs derives its strength and benefit, the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation empowered to act in emergencies (Article IV, Section 7) respectfully requests the Woman's Club of Louisville to rescind the by-law.

RESOLVED, That if no official notice has been sent the President of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs of the rescinding of this by-law by November 1, 1926, the name of the Woman's Club

of Louisville shall be stricken from the records and books of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs."

The Woman's Club of Louisville, assured as it has been from the start that in passing this By-Law it was within its constitutional and legal rights, on October 6, 1926, re-affirmed its By-Law by a vote of 301 to 26.

To make clear that the right of the Woman's Club of Louisville to do so is well taken, its Board of Directors here offers to club women and others interested, the following legal opinions of members of the Kentucky bench and bar, and also takes this opportunity to acknowledge their kindness in thus giving of their time and their ability to this club.

OPINION OF MR. NEVILLE MILLER, LEGAL ADVISOR,
WOMAN'S CLUB OF LOUISVILLE.

The Woman's Club of Louisville on April 13, 1926, adopted the following by-law, to-wit:

The Woman's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of this Club at a meeting called for that purpose.

The Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs consider such a by-law inconsistent with membership in their organization and have therefore called upon the Woman's Club to either rescind said by-law, or have its name stricken from the records books of the Federation.

It is my opinion that said by-law is not inconsistent with membership in the Federation, nor has the Federation under its constitution and by-laws, power of authority to expel the Woman's Club.

The constitution and by-laws are adopted to outline the purpose and power of an organization. When once adopted, they are binding upon the organization until altered, amended or repealed. Action by an organization outside the purpose and authority granted by the constitution and by-laws is not binding and likewise action by a member which action is not prohibited and does not conflict with the purpose or authority of the organization, is not inconsistent with membership in the organization. A member upon joining an organization surrenders only such rights as the organization claims in its constitution and by-laws.

Therefore whether the said by-law violates any rule or law of the Kentucky Federation or is inconsistent with membership in the Federation, and if so, whether the Federation may expel the Woman's Club for failure to rescind said by-law, depends upon the purpose for which the Federation was organized, the rules and laws enacted by it for governing its affairs and the authority given the Federation as such purpose, rules and grant of authority may be found in the constitution and by-laws.

The purpose of the Kentucky Federation as stated in Article II of the articles of Incorporation is "to bring together the representatives of various clubs of women in Kentucky engaged in the work of education, economics, culture, philanthropy, civics or charity". Clearly, your by-laws, merely reserving your right not to be bound on any given subject until voted upon by your members, does not conflict with the object of the Federation as above stated.

The only by-law of the Federation touching this subject is the by-law adopted at Henderson in 1925 (Article VIII-Sections 2 & 3) and your by-law conforms to the spirit of Henderson by-law and in no way conflicts with it. That by-law expressly states that due notice must be given before the vote is taken on legislative measures and then "a two-thirds vote shall have been taken before said endorsement becomes binding on those voting with the majority.....".

Furthermore your by-law does not make your club ineligible for membership that qualification being stated in Article 1, Section I of the By-Laws of the Federation, the test being "that the organization requires no sectarian or political test for membership, that it is not a secret society, that no one of its members is affiliated with any organization which tolerates, either by practice or teaching, violation of national or state laws, and that it conforms to the By-Laws of the General Federation of Women's Clubs".

There is no by-law of the General Federation in conflict with your by-law and your by-law violates none of the tests of eligibility for membership.

The by-laws of the Federation make no provision for the expulsion of a member and therefore to properly handle such a case, by-laws should be enacted defining the offense, fixing the punishment and providing the method to be used for inflicting the punishment, and allowing the offending member an opportunity to be heard. Certainly without such by-laws, the Federation has no authority to expel a member without any semblance of a trial.

The Federation was formed by the clubs, and has only such power as the clubs have seen fit from time to time to delegate to it. All authority not delegated to the Federation remains in the clubs.

The clubs on forming the Federation did not delegate to it the right to bind them on any question, at no time have the clubs surrendered their right to their own opinion and at no time has the Federation by a properly adopted by-law or amendment to its constitution legally assumed such a right. The power to exercise such a right does not lie within the authority of the president or directors or any other officer or officers of the Federation.

In conclusion, it is my opinion that the said by-law does not conflict with the purpose for which the Federation was organized, violates no rule or by-law of the Federation and is not inconsistent with membership in said Federation, and by failure to rescind said by-law, the Woman's Club has committed no act for which it may be expelled and furthermore that there is no provision in the by-laws defining the offense or fixing the penalty or granting the offending member an opportunity to be heard, and therefore, the Board of Directors of the Federation have not the authority to strike the name of the Woman's Club from the books and records of the Federation for failure to rescind the said by-law.

Respectfully submitted,

NEVILLE MILLER.

OPINION OF EDMUND F. TRABUE, ESQUIRE.

Responsive to your request, I give you my opinion on the situation created by the demand of the Kentucky Federation upon the Louisville Woman's Club to rescind its by-law of last April providing:

"RESOLVED that the by-laws of the Woman's Club of Louisville be amended by the addition of the following:

The Woman's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of this Club at a meeting called for that purpose."

The demand of the Executive Committee of the Federation is that you rescind this by-law or submit to having your name stricken from the books of the Federation, November 1, 1926. The Executive Committee further resolves:

"That if no official notice has been sent the President of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs of the rescinding of this by-law by November 1, 1926, the name of the Woman's Club of Louisville shall be stricken from the records and books of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs."

The Executive Committee, in one of its resolutions, gives as its authority for its action Art. IV., Sec. 7, of its by-laws, which reads:

"Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall transact necessary business and act in emergencies. They shall report in writing all business transactions to the Board of Directors."

The Executive Committee bases its action on the assumption of emergency.

You are, therefore, confronted with the dilemma of either recanting, and of rescinding your by-law and becoming an inanimate cog in the Federation wheel, or standing by your guns and submitting to martyrdom, or petitioning a Court of Equity for an injunction. The choice must be made by you.

The question presented is of national importance, because the Federation is behind measures involving change of our dual form of government. The Cincinnati Enquirer said May 31, 1926, referring to your fight at Atlantic City:

"This is a matter of importance to the nation. It is easier for certain forces, inimical to the best interests of the American form of government, to 'get next' to a few individuals than it is to influence considerable groups of women."

What influence you can have under Federation methods without your by-law was shown at Middlesboro and at Atlantic City.

Has the Federation then a right to expel the Louisville Club for refusal to surrender so vital a privilege as the right to decline to support a measure deemed by it destructive of our institutions?

The by-law when made, seems admittedly to have been in accordance with the Kentucky Federation's by-law promulgated at Henderson, and this, I understand from you, was recognized at Middlesboro, but that it was there declared that the Henderson by-law would be repealed. The coincidence of the two by-laws, however, seems immaterial.

The Cincinnati Enquirer, June 2, 1926, through its Atlantic City correspondent reports:

"Mrs. Sherman said in an interview that a disciplinary by-law will undoubtedly be enacted at the next biennial to take care of just such cases of a disturbing minority which, at present, are beyond the jurisdiction of the Federation."

Admittedly then, your by-law when passed was not forbidden by any Federation by-law.

Expulsion of members, when it is desired to secure such right, is generally provided in the charter or by-laws of a corporation such as the Kentucky Federation, but I find no by-law of the Federation providing for expulsion of a member Club. There is a by-law (Art. XI) entitled "Parliamentary Authority" providing:

"All meetings shall be in accordance with the rules of parliamentary procedure, 'Roberts' Rules of Order' being the authority."

Of course, this by-law furnishes no support for the present action of the Executive Committee of the Federation. It is meant to provide the method of procedure in meetings of the Federation. Furthermore, it is "based upon the Rules and Practice of Congress," and it would be a bold man (or woman) who would assert that Congress could, under Roberts' Rules, expel a State from the Federal Government. Our question, however, is even narrower than might appear from what has been said, because the action under consideration is not that of the Federation itself, nor even of its Board of Directors, but only of its Executive Committee; and the Executive Committee has only authority in routine matters and in emergency, and the present action is neither. The Executive Committee, however, has no power of expulsion at all.

Your by-law was passed last April by a vote of 254 ayes and 80 nays, and there has been ample time for action by the proper corporate authorities of the Federation if they had desired to act. Also, there has been at least one meeting of the Federation since April. For this reason, also, there is no ground for claiming an emergency to give the Executive Committee the right to act, if it had had any such right. This consideration of itself ought to end the controversy and prove the Executive Committee's action void.

Equally fatal to the Executive Committee's action is that it afforded the Louisville Club no trial. It tried that Club behind the closed doors of the Executive Committee, in the absence of the Club, convicted it of a capital offense, and fixed its execution for November 1st. Your failure to rescind the by-law is made a crime punishable by expulsion. You are afforded no opportunity to try the question of your right to pass the by-law, nor of the Executive Committee's right to expel you for failing to rescind it. The Executive Committee's failure to afford you a trial is, of itself alone, fatal to the validity of its action. See, for example, *Heaton v. Hull*, 59 N. Y. Supp. 281, s. c. affirmed 64 N. Y. Supp. 279.

The excuse given for the action of the Executive Committee of the Federation is:

"WHEREAS the enactment of this by-law would be a physical impossibility for the State or General Federation, and

WHEREAS the enactment of this by-law would disrupt the unity and harmony from such a composite group as the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs derives its strength and benefit,

the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation empowered to act in emergencies (Art IV., Sec. 7) respectfully requests the Woman's Club of Louisville to rescind the by-law."

That the individual action of the Louisville Club would not have the effect thus attributed to it is demonstrated by the procedure of the United States Chamber of Commerce. It holds a referendum on bills before Congress, and requires a two-thirds vote of its member organizations to commit the National Chamber; and even then a member organization among the minority is left free to publicly declare its position, Art XIII., Sec. 10, of the By-laws of the Chamber providing:

"On a question submitted to referendum no organization member found to have voted with the minority shall be deemed to impair its standing in the Chamber by adhering to its position or by continuing its efforts in support thereof."

The Louisville Club's by-law, therefore, does not obstruct the purposes of the General Federation, nor of the Kentucky Federation, unless—unlike the United States Chamber of Commerce—they propose to represent to Congress that all of their member clubs are behind the Federation's measure whether the member clubs favor it or not. Your Club's by-law represents exactly the privilege which the Chamber of Commerce was careful to accord to its constituent members, and while the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation declares your action to be a capital offense, the Chamber declares that such action should not impair the constituent member's standing in the Chamber.

The excuse for the Executive Committee's action, therefore, is without foundation.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, my conclusions, as you see, are:

(1) That if the Federation had desired to prescribe offenses and penalties it should have done so in its charter and by-laws;

(2) Even had the Federation prescribed offenses, and provided penalties for their commission, the Executive Committee could have had no power to pass the expulsion resolution which it has undertaken to pass;

(3) With or without charter or by-law provision prescribing offenses, or providing penalties, neither the Executive Committee, nor the Board of Directors, nor the Federation itself could have expelled the Louisville Club without a trial on charges previously made, and notice of time and place of trial;

(4) You have, therefore, the option:

(a) To recant, and rescind your by-law under the lash of the threat made by the Federation's Executive Committee, or

(b) To submit to martyrdom for your principles, or

(c) To petition a court of equity for injunction against the Executive Committee's proposed action.

Very respectfully,

EDMUND F. TRABUE.

OPINION OF MR. H. H. NETTLEROTH.

Mr. Edmund F. Trabue,
Inter-Southern Bldg.,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Mr. Trabue:

Last night I carefully read your opinion in the matter of the controversy in which the Louisville Woman's Club is now involved and I fully agree with you in your conclusions under the facts as stated.

Yours very truly,

H. H. NETTLEROTH.

OPINION OF JUDGE ALEXANDER P. HUMPHREY

I have kept up, as well as I could through the newspapers, with the differences between the Woman's Club of Louisville, The General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. I have before me a very clear statement made by Mr. Trabue of the law and the facts incident to this controversy. I have never had any doubt of the right and duty of the Woman's Club to insist that it shall not be committed to the approval of matters of governmental policy unless and until it has had an opportunity to pass upon them. And, further, the right to differ with the conclusions reached by the larger bodies of which it is directly or indirectly a constituent member. As is well said in the Constitution of Kentucky:

"Absolute and arbitrary power.....exists nowhere in the Republic, not even in the largest majority."

This is especially true of opinion and the right to express it. I, therefore, approve of the by-law passed by the Woman's Club and hope that it will adhere to it.

With reference to the action taken by the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, I can see nothing in the grant of power to that committee which would justify it in expelling the Woman's Club from the Kentucky Federation, nor in laying down any hard and fast line of conduct, failure to observe which would result in the exclusion of the Woman's Club from the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.

I would suggest that the Club adhere to its by-law and express in a courteous but firm way its protest against the action of the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. I would further suggest that at the next meeting of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Club of Louisville appear with its delegates and claim admission and, if refused, demand a hearing, challenging the action of the Executive Committee and insisting that it is not within the lawful authority of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs to exclude the Woman's Club of Louisville on account of its passage or insistence upon its by-law.

Very truly yours,

ALEX. P. HUMPHREY.

OPINION OF JUDGE WALTER P. LINCOLN.

During the last forty years many clubs and associations of women have organized throughout the United States, each seeking to promote some special purpose, of interest to its own members. In the course of time, it became apparent that the individual object of each club would be advanced by a community of interest with other women's clubs, although the fundamental purpose of each was different. Hence, their union in State Federations and subsequently union of the State Federations in the General Federation. These unions of the individual clubs with the State Federations, and the State Federations with the General Federation, were not for the purpose of domination or absorption, but solely with the intent of aiding and supporting each individual club in carrying out, to the fullest extent, the peculiar and specific purpose expressed in its charter.

Taking into consideration the various diverse purposes for which these clubs were organized, it would seem that the charter of the General Federation, expresses no other purpose, as it was created "for educational, industrial, philanthropic, literary, artistic, and scientific culture, and to bring into communication with one another the various Women's Clubs throughout the world".

This conclusion is further fortified by Sections 6 and 7 of Article XI of the By-Laws of the General Federation, which provide the only means whereby either a State Federation or an individual club may lose its membership in the General Federation—resignation or non-payment of dues.

Also, this conclusion is further fortified by Section 6 of Article III of the By-Laws of the Kentucky Federation, which provides the only penalty for clubs "delinquent upon failure to pay dues" loss of representation in the State Convention.

There is no power, either expressed or implied, in the Charter of the General Federation or Kentucky Federation, or in their By-Laws, which authorizes or justifies the expulsion of a member, whether State Federation or individual club, except in the manner and for the causes prescribed by the laws of the federation itself.

Nor does the Kentucky Federation or General Federation possess the right or power to dictate to the individual clubs, or to their members, how they shall best carry out and promote the purposes of their own clubs.

The attempt of the Kentucky Federation to dominate and intrude into the affairs of the Woman's Club of Louisville and to coerce it to adopt or countenance a policy or purpose foreign to its charter grant is arbitrary and beyond its power.

WALTER P. LINCOLN.

OPINION OF JUDGE SAMUEL M. WILSON.

For convenience, the Woman's Club of Louisville will hereinafter be referred to as "Woman's Club"; the General Federation of Women's Clubs will be referred to as "General Federation"; the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs will be referred to as "Kentucky Federation"; and the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs will be referred to as "Executive Committee."

I.

The question is: To what extent may the freedom of action of the Woman's Club be controlled by either the General Federation or the Kentucky Federation, and how far may those Federations or the Executive Committee or Council of either, impose their will upon the Woman's Club?

A fundamental principle in the organization of voluntary associations or clubs is that (so far as they violate no positive law or public policy and are not inconsistent with the law of the land) every such club or society may adopt such constitution, charter, rules and by-laws for its government and guidance as to it or to a majority of its members may seem proper.

But once adopted, the constitution, charter or by-laws of any given organization are binding upon it until altered, amended, or repealed in the manner prescribed in the organic law of the association.

The constitution or charter and by-laws of the Woman's Club are the law of that organization; and the same thing is true as to the General Federation and the Kentucky Federation.

With reference to the relations established and existing between the Woman's Club and the Kentucky Federation and the General Federation, it may be said, in general, that the Woman's Club is a primary unit; and the Kentucky and General Federations are composite and secondary units. The powers of the Woman's Club, as an original, self-constituted organism, are primary and inherent or self-assumed; the powers of the Kentucky Federation and of the General Federation as well are secondary and derivative. These powers are delegated powers, not original or self-assumed powers. Furthermore, the Federations (whether State or National) are the off-spring of the Constituent clubs, by which they were formed. The local clubs were not brought into existence by any Federation of clubs but themselves united to form such Federation. Local clubs are, therefore, "the ultimate units," and as the word "Federation" itself implies, both the State and National associations of Woman's Clubs originate from a league, compact, or union between various local Women's Clubs. The development has come, not from a great national organization as the original fount and source, from which State and local clubs have derived their being, but from the establishment of Local clubs which, in turn, united to form State Societies, and these, in turn, united to form a general or National Society.

In determining the extent of control that may lawfully be exercised by either the State Federation or the General Federation over the Woman's Club one must consider, first, the precise terms upon which the Woman's Club became a member of either Federation and, in so doing, how far it, (the Woman's Club) may have surrendered to either Federation its right of complete self-determination and self-government.

When this point is settled, it will then be seen how far (if at all) the State or General Federation may enact rules or promulgate resolutions intended to circumscribe or govern the action of the Woman's Club and thus impose it (the Federation's) will upon that club.

II

The prevailing rule that a majority of a given body may control the minority of such body is not a rule of right but a rule of convenience and order. It is elementary that every individual, and much more a minority composed of several or many individuals, may have rights that no mere majority, however, large, may lawfully deny or take away. Parliamentary law embodied in so-called Rules of Order (such as Jefferson's, Roberts', or Cushing's, etc.) under which the proceedings of any society or deliberative body are ordinarily regulated by majority vote, in no way affects or alters the fundamental rights of the individual or the minority belonging to such society, club, or deliberative body. Such rights depend, not on mere rules of order, or rules of procedure, but on the organic or fundamental law of the organization. It is the law of its being, not the law of its decorum that must decide the question. Might does not make right, nor can mere members, however large or overwhelming, settle finally a question of law, justice or right.

III

What is here said with respect to the entire body, i. e., the Kentucky Federation or the General Federation, applies, of course, with even greater force to a Council or Executive Committee acting, *ad interim*, for such larger body. In other words, whatever rights are wanting to the main body will likewise be wanting to the Council or Executive Committee or other minor functionaries.

IV

Now, it is stated, upon what we believe to be unimpeachable authority, that there is "nothing in the charter, articles of incorporation or by-laws of either the Kentucky Federation or the General Federation of Women's Clubs, or the Woman's Club of Louisville, or in the resolution under which the Woman's Club of Louisville became a member of the Federation, that gives to either Federation any authority to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville by a majority vote or otherwise." This being so, there can be no serious doubt or question that the Woman's Club of Louisville was entirely within its right when, on April 13, 1926, it adopted the following by-law:

"The Woman's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, or the Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs, until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of the Club at a meeting called for the purpose."

The charter or constitution of the Kentucky Federation or of the General Federation is the sole measure of its powers. Action of whatever kind must be confined within the limit of these powers.

The threat made by the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, in a Resolution recently adopted by said Executive Committee, that unless the Woman's Club of Louisville rescinds its By-Law of April, 1926, (above quoted) and official notice of such rescission be given the President of the Kentucky Federation by November 1, 1926, "the name of the Woman's Club of

Louisville shall be stricken from the records and books of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs," is, in the opinion of the writer, not only contrary to the organic law of the Kentucky Federation and in violation of the terms of the compact upon which the Woman's Club of Louisville became a founder member of the Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs, but is ill-advised, usurpatory and arbitrary and a gross perversion of both constitutional and parliamentary law. In effect, it deprives or seeks to deprive the Woman's Club of valuable vested rights, without resort to that "due process of law" which has been the birthright of all English-speaking people since the signing of Magna Charta. And from the days of the Romans it has been a sacred principle that no accused person shall be condemned or punished without a hearing. Here, we have presented, not only a case of condemnation without hearing, but both offense and punishment are defined by an *ex post facto* law or resolution. This is expressly forbidden both to the State and National Governments. (See Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Secs. 9 and 10).

V

Whether the Woman's Club of Louisville be within its rights or not, in adopting and adhering to the By-Law of April, 1926, certainly such action on its part neither authorizes nor justifies its expulsion from either the Kentucky Federation or the General Federation. To warrant any such drastic discipline, it must be shown that the by-law in question exceeds the reserved rights of the Louisville Club or violates the delegated rights of the State Federation, and, in its essence and effect, amounts to a renunciation of the authority of the Kentucky Federation. But, as matters stand, the adoption, retention, and enforcement by the Woman's Club of Louisville of the by-law in question cannot fairly be construed as tantamount either to nullification or secession. To which it may be added that rebellion, in any case, if successful, has always been pronounced the highest patriotism; and with many others the writer is constrained to believe that, in the end, the Woman's Club of Louisville is "bound to win."

VI

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to cite a few potent authorities on the subject of the inherent, inalienable, and invaluable right of self-determination and of local self-government, as that right is recognized and sanctioned in a free democratic country such as ours. To claim for the majority the unqualified right, in every instance, to control the minority is a political heresy of the rankest sort. Such a doctrine is not accepted in any American State, nor by the United States as a whole under the Federal Constitution.

In Section 2 of the Constitution of Kentucky, as part of our Bill of Rights, it is distinctly stated:

"Absolute and arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of freemen exists nowhere in a republic, not even in the largest majority."

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides:

"Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

Black, in his work on Constitutional Law (1st Ed.) at pages 373, 374, states the principle thus broadly:

"The principle of local self-government is regarded as fundamental in American political institutions. It means that local affairs shall be decided upon and regulated by local authorities, and that the citizens of particular districts have the right to determine upon their own public concerns and select their own local officials without being controlled by the general public or the State at large It is axiomatic that the management of purely local affairs belongs to the people concerned, not only because of being their own affairs, but because they will best understand and be most competent to manage them. The continued and permanent existence of local government is, therefore, assumed in all the State Constitutions, and is a matter of constitutional right, even when not in terms expressly provided for. It would not be competent to dispense with it by statute. The institution of local self-government is not an American invention, but is traditional in England, and is justly regarded as one of the most valuable safeguards against tyranny and oppression."

Judge Thomas M. Cooley, one of the outstanding American Authorities on Constitutional Law, has thus stated the doctrine:

"If we question the historical records more closely, we shall find that this right of local regulation has never been understood to be a grant from any central authority, but it has been recognized as of course from the first: just as much of course, and just as much a necessary part of the civil polity, as the central authority itself For a State wholly to take away from any of its people these powers would be not only unprecedented, but would be so entirely opposed to the common understanding of the manner in which the powers of government were to be apportioned and exercised within the State, that the authority to do so could not justly be regarded as within any grant which the people of the State have made of the legislative authority to their representatives. In other words, the right of local self-government is so universally understood and conceded; its exercise has always been so entirely without question; to dispense with it would require and accomplish so complete a revolution in the public administration, involving, as thoughtful men believe, the destruction of the chief prop and support of our liberties—that its purposed continuance must be regarded as having been within the contemplation of the people of every State, when they framed their Constitution, and that instrument must be read and interpreted accordingly. Local self-government is consequently matter of constitutional right, and the State cannot abolish it and regulate the local affairs through agents, of its own appointment." (See story on the Constitution, 5th Ed. Vol. 1, PP 199-205.)

In McQuillin's Municipal Corporations, Vol. I, P 554, it is said:

"In American jurisprudence, it is a maxim that the Constitution, instead of being the source of our laws and liberties, is, in the main, no more than a recognition and re-enactment of an accepted system. The courts early accepted the usual rule of construction that the Constitution is to be regarded as an instrument adopted by a community previously organized, already familiar with the principles of free government, and not a mere aggregation of individuals who were before in a state of nature, without political or civil institutions."

"A constitution is not the beginning of a community nor the origin of private rights. It is not the fountain of laws, nor the incipient state of government. It is not the cause, but consequence, of personal and political freedom. It grants no rights to the people; but is the creature of their power, the instrument of their convenience, designed for their protection in the enjoyment of the rights and powers which they possessed, before the Constitution was made. It is but the form and framework of the political government, and necessarily based upon the pre-existing condition of laws, rights, habits and modes of thought A written constitution is in every instance a limitation on the powers of government, in the hands of agents. For there never was a written republican constitution which delegated to functionaries all the latent powers which lie dormant in every nation, and are boundless in extent and incapable of definition." Again in the same work, Vol. I, P. 560, it is said:

"The above views lead to the inevitable conclusion that there are implied restrictions on the power of the legislature as to interfering with the right of local self-government as it is understood and as it has been exercised in this country from the earliest time. Therefore, in order to invalidate a legislative act which denies or restricts such right, it is unnecessary to point out the express words of the Constitution that have been violated. 'Some things are too plain to be written', as the Supreme Court of Michigan once declared, and this is one of them."

In *Ex parte City of Paducah*, 125 Ky. 519, the Court of Appeals of Kentucky has said:

"The right of local self-governments is strongly established in this State, and has been amply recognized in a long line of decisions."

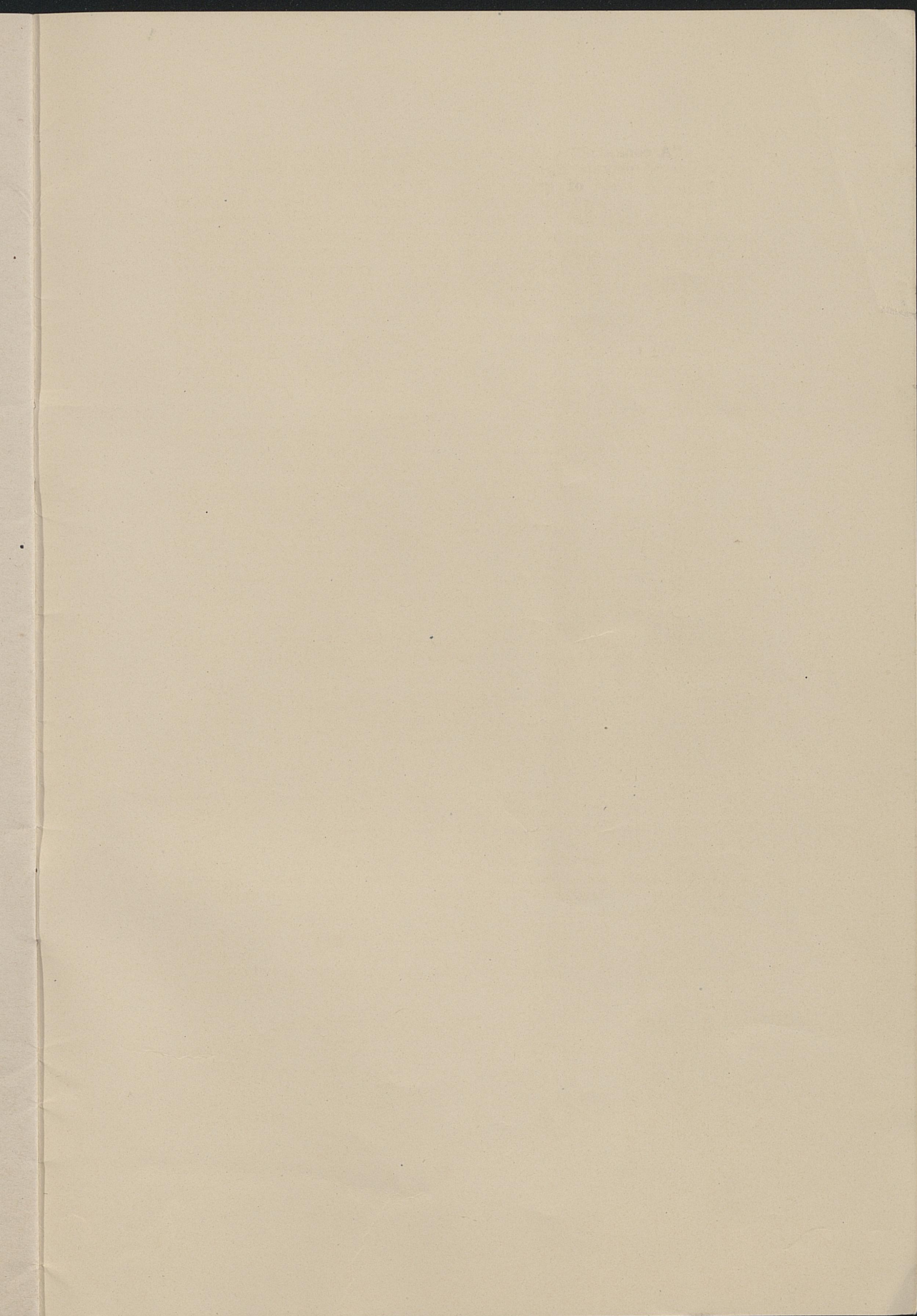
Citations from standard text-writers and from judicial decisions might be indefinitely multiplied, but the foregoing should suffice to satisfy the most skeptical that the contention made by the Woman's Club of Louisville is no mere idle or visionary contention for impractical or insubstantial things.

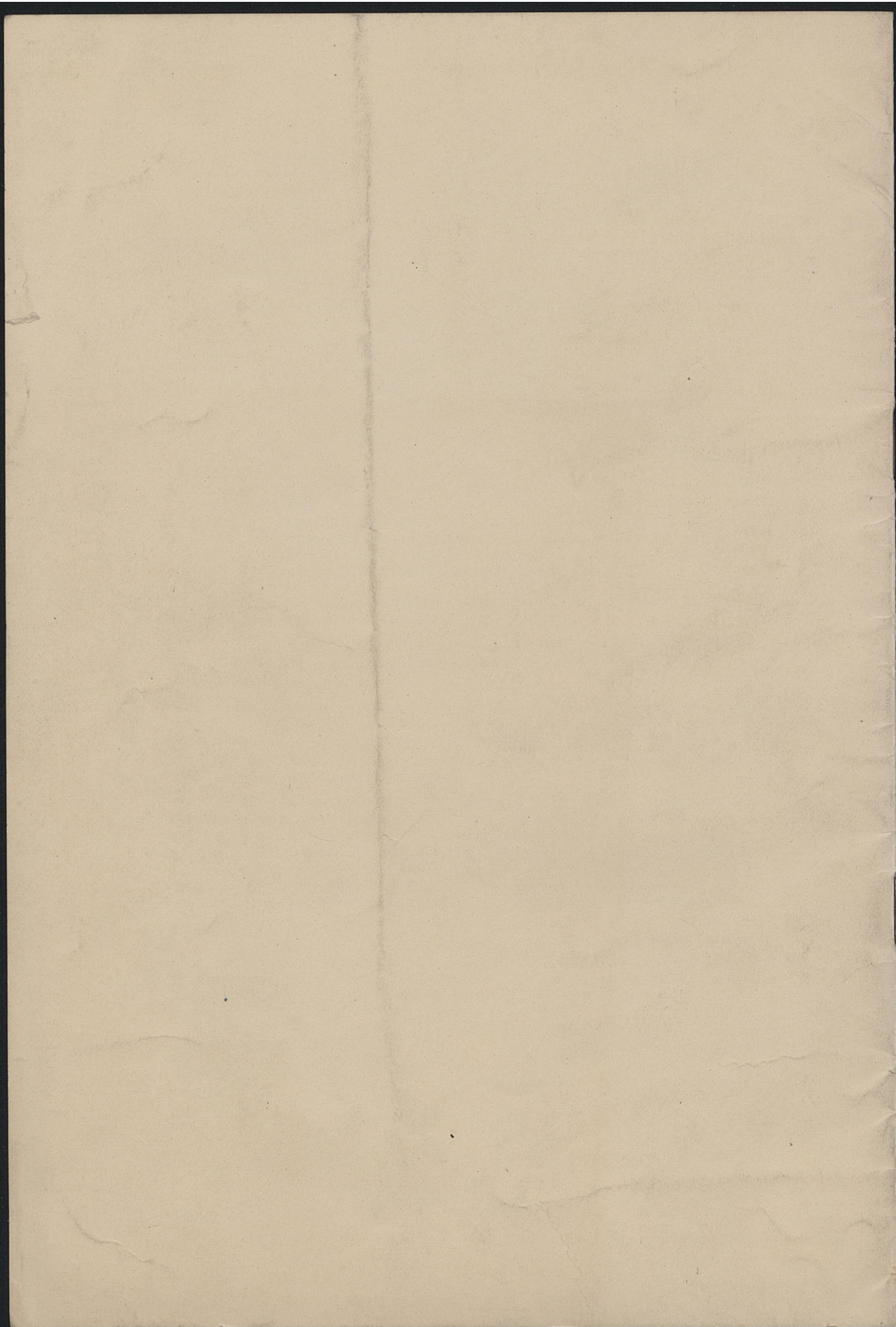
We do not lose sight of the general rule, always recognized in Kentucky, that "the constitution and by-laws of a voluntary association, whether incorporated or unincorporated, are controlling in all internal matters of the society," (211 Ky. 638) but it is equally the general rule that when such voluntary club, association, or society transcends the limits prescribed by its charter, constitution, or other organic law, the Courts will intervene, call a halt, and enforce the "law of the land."

Last of all, we have no hesitancy in expressing the opinion that, in the case under consideration, the Woman's Club of Louisville is absolutely right in its position, and that here, as elsewhere, in a free, civilized, and law-abiding country, the right at length must prevail.

Respectfully submitted,
SAM'L. M. WILSON.

Lexington, Ky.





[1926]

Local Self-Government

FOR

Federated Clubs

Additional copies of this pamphlet can be secured by addressing The
Local Self-Government Committee, 942 S. Fourth Street, Louisville, Ky.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

From the first settlement of the Dutch in 1624 to the present time. By J. B. H. VAN DER BEEK, Esq. of the City of New York.

NEW YORK: Printed and Sold by J. B. H. VAN DER BEEK, at the Sign of the Anchor, in the City of New York.

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1800.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT VERSUS CENTRALIZATION WITHIN THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

■ ■ ■

It is unwise to minimize the political power of the American woman through organization and the consequent responsibility of the individual woman within the organization.

The Woman's Club of Louisville, Kentucky, the oldest and largest woman's club in the state, alarmed by the recently declared policy of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, holding that the minority clubs are bound by the will of the majority, and thereby converting the Federation into an oligarchy governed by a few officials at the top, took recent action by a vote of 254 to 80, as follows:

WHEREAS, the General Federation of Women's Clubs was organized, as set forth in its charter, "for * * * * culture, and to bring into communication with one another the various women's clubs throughout the world," and

WHEREAS, the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs was organized as set forth in its Articles of Incorporation, "to bring together the representatives of various clubs of women in Kentucky," and

WHEREAS, nothing in the charter, articles of incorporation, or by-laws of either Federation, or of the Woman's Club of Louisville, or in the resolution under which The Woman's Club of Louisville became a member of the Federation, gives to either Federation any authority to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville by a majority vote or otherwise, and,

WHEREAS, the absence of proportional representation would be sufficient reason if no other existed for refusing to recognize the authority of the General Federation to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville, as claimed by Mrs. Sherman in her recent ruling at West Baden,

RESOLVED, That the By-Laws of the Woman's Club of Louisville be amended by the addition of the following:

No action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, shall be binding on this Club until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of this Club at a meeting called for that purpose.

So arbitrary and dangerous does the Woman's Club of Louisville consider this policy of the General Federation, first, as denying the fundamental and heretofore conceded rights of the sixteen thousand clubs and the three million women within the organization, second, as setting up a precedent for other women's organizations, that it sent its delegates to the Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, meeting at Atlantic City, May 24—June 6, 1926, to voice its protest.

This was done not with any expectation of favorable action at this time, but with the desire to bring the principles involved to the attention of the delegates from the individual clubs over the country, and in the hope that after due consideration of the grave issues presented, other clubs would feel it their duty to join with the Woman's Club of Louisville in this appeal for a return to the tried and proven policy of self rule within each club, always heretofore the policy of the General Federation.

Unfortunately, and as we believe unwisely, the delegates sent by the Louisville club were denied adequate opportunity to present their views and arguments to the convention. And it is hoped therefore, that the clubs and club women will study these issues for themselves.

The principal argument presented by the opposition to this action by the Louisville Woman's Club is that it would destroy the power of the General Fed-

deration to impose its will in the matter of legislation, but will not every thoughtful woman recognize that there should be a reasonable limit upon a power that may not at all times be wisely directed?

The foresighted wisdom of the principle of local self-government as embodied in our Federal Constitution has long since been demonstrated and recognized, as witness:

"No method of procedure has ever been devised by which liberty could be divorced from self-government. No plan of centralization has ever been adopted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, reaction, and decline."

President Coolidge, Williamsburg, Va., May 26, 1926.

Again,

"The task of the United States of America is to demonstrate that the Federal form of government can unite adequate central power and complete local self-government in one great federation resting upon the suffrage of freemen."

Nicholas Murray Butler, President Columbia University,
London, England, July 4, 1926.

Believing that women generally will be interested in the comments and conclusions upon the stand taken at Atlantic City by the Louisville delegates and by the officers of the Biennial as given in the newspapers and magazines of the country, the undersigned, women speaking as individuals and citizens who believe that only through local self-government and individual responsibility can the strength and usefulness of any and all American institutions be preserved, have pleasure in sponsoring and sending out this pamphlet which includes reprints from many newspapers covering the recent convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Atlantic City.

The editorial comments and news stories of the Biennial as shown in these reprints give a fair indication of public opinion and emphasize the importance of a proper understanding of the great principle involved.

We commend the study of this subject—local self-government—to your earnest consideration, because it is a basic principle in our American concept of government and can not be ignored without risk of ultimate failure.

We believe in organization as the most effective means of accomplishing anything worth while in our modern life, but we believe that if organizations are to live and function effectively, they must protect the integrity of the local club unit, because the actual power of the organization rests upon the authority of the individual clubs.

With women now a political factor in the life of the nation whose influence is sought by politicians, groups, or special interests, to further particular measures, it is timely, we think, to ask women to look into the machinery of their organizations and see whether through this mechanism, the will of the majority can be properly registered. If the means of expression at present operating, are not accurate, then we will have the anomaly of official pronouncements from organizations that are later reversed by the membership through their votes at the polls.

It is our desire to strengthen national club organizations but this can best be brought about, by recognizing that the local club is the keystone of the arch and must be sustained in its position of individual rights and individual responsibility.

The signatures are made as individuals only and not as representatives of organizations. The club connections are given to indicate the experience and service of the signatories.

Louisville, Ky., August 30, 1926.

MRS. SHACKELFORD MILLER, Chairman, President Woman's Club of Louisville, 1921-1924.

MRS. HENRY BURNETT, Historian, National Society Colonial Dames, State of Kentucky, 1905-1926; President, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1924-1925.

- MRS. WILLIAM R. BELKNAP, Charter Member Woman's Club of Louisville, 1890-1926; President, 1898-1900.
- MRS. T. HOYT GAMBLE, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1891-1926, Historian, Chairman of Finance, 1924-1925.
- MRS. ATTWOOD R. MARTIN, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1892-1926.
(Delegates to Biennial Convention, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Atlantic City, May 24 to June 6, 1926.)
- MRS. W. H. BLANC, President, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1917-1919.
- MISS SUSAN HUMPHREYS, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1919-1926; President, Louisville Business & Professional Women's Club, 1924-1925.
- MRS. ROBERT JUDGE, Chairman Finance, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1926.
(Alternates to Biennial Convention, G. F. W. C., 1926.)
- MRS. GEORGE C. AVERY, President, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1904-1906, 1908-1910; President, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, 1901-1903.
- MRS. GILMER ADAMS, First Vice-President, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1904-1906, 1914-1916; Past President, National Society Colonial Dames, State of Kentucky.
- MISS ANNIE STUART ANDERSON, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1902-1926; Principal, Kentucky Home School, Established 1865.
- MRS. ALFRED BRANDELS, Charter Member Woman's Club of Louisville; First Secretary, Woman's Club of Louisville; Chairman, Woman's Club Corporation, 1907-1913, 1917-1920; President, Legal Aid Society of Louisville, 1908-1912; President, Children's Protective Association, 1921-1926.
- MRS. WILLIAM BLACK, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1920-1926; President, Highland Mothers' Club, 1926.
- MRS. SAMUEL G. BOYLE, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1901-1926; Recording Secretary, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1903-1904.
- MRS. SIMON BOLIVAR BUCKNER, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1901-1926; First President and Honorary President, National Society of Colonial Dames, State of Kentucky.
- MRS. C. MALCOLM BULLITT, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1896-1926; President, Louisville Y. W. C. A.
- MRS. AUBREY COSSAR, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1895-1926; President, Louisville Business & Professional Women's Club, 1920-1922.
- MRS. WM. N. COX, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1915-1926.
- MRS. BEN CARLOS FRAZIER, Chairman, Committee on Health, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1921-1925; Past President, Louisville League Parent-Teachers Association.
- MISS MARY FINLEY LEONARD, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1890-1926; Corresponding Secretary, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1897-1898.
- MRS. MARVIN LEWIS, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1910-1926; President, Business Women's Club, 1920-1926.
- MRS. JAMES F. McCracken, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1921-1926; Deputy Commissioner, Girl Scouts Council, 1926.
- MISS ANNA BLANCHE MCGILL, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1906-1926; Former Literary Editor, Courier-Journal, Herald-Post.
- MRS. ALEXANDER McLENNAN, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1896-1926; Vice-President, Art Association, 1926.
- MRS. A. T. ROBERTSON, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1899-1926; Vice-President for Kentucky Women's Missionary Union Auxiliary to Southern Baptist Convention.
- MRS. J. B. SPEED, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1894-1926; Chairman Music Committee, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1924-1926; Founder, The Bach Club, Louisville.
- MRS. B. M. STARKS, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1921-1926; President, Louisville League Parent-Teachers Association, 1924-1928.
- MRS. I. F. STARKS, Vice-President Woman's Club of Louisville, 1925.

MRS. EDMUND F. TRABUE, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1891-1926; Chairman, Court Committee, Emergency Association.
 MRS. RANDAL WHITTIER, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1892-1926; Treasurer, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1912-1926.
 MRS. CHESTER RANKIN, President, Younger Woman's Club of Louisville, 1925-1926.
 MRS. JOSEPH D. BURGE, President, Junior League of Louisville, 1926.
 MRS. ROBINSON BROWN, Treasurer, Junior League of Louisville, 1926.
 MRS. GEORGE DANFORTH CALDWELL, President, Junior League of Louisville, 1925-1926.
 MISS ANNA L. EAMES, President, Louisville Business & Professional Women's Club, 1926-1927.
 MRS. GEORGE HENDON, President, Tourist Club, 1918-1919; President, Highland Mothers' Club, 1914-1915.

FRANKFORT, KY.

MISS REBECCA G. AVERILL, Third and Seventh President, Woman's Club of Frankfort.
 MISS MARIA LINDSEY, Former President, Woman's Club of Frankfort.
 MISS MARY MASON SCOTT, National Society Colonial Dames, State of Kentucky.

HAZARD, KY.

MRS. ROY HELM, Governor Tenth District, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.

HENDERSON, KY.

MRS. C. L. CLAY, Past President, Henderson Woman's Club.
 MRS. WILLIAM DISHMAN, Vice-President (and Past President), Henderson Woman's Club. Past Vice-Governor, Second District, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.
 MRS. J. H. LYNE, Past President, Henderson Woman's Club.
 MRS. H. E. THIXTON, President, Henderson Woman's Club, 1926; Chairman of Citizenship, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.
 MISS SUSAN S. TOWLES, Recording Secretary, Second District, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs; President, Henderson County Historical Society; Vice-President, Audubon Memorial Society.

LEXINGTON, KY.

MRS. W. L. LYONS, President, Woman's Club of Louisville, 1902-1904; Ex-Vice-President General, D. A. R.; Ex-State Regent of Kentucky, D. A. R.
 MRS. SAMUEL HALLEY, President, National Society Colonial Dames, State of Kentucky, 1926; President, Woman's Club of Central Kentucky, 1919-1920.
 MRS. GEORGE HUNT, President, Lexington Red Cross, 1917-1920; President, Orphan's Home, Lexington.

PARIS, KY.

MRS. M. H. DAILEY, Former President, Bourbon County Woman's Club; Former President, Bourbon County Health & Welfare League.
 MISS LUCY BLYTHE SIMMS, Former President, Paris Literary Club; Former Treasurer, Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.

PADUCAH, KY.

MRS. MUSCO BURNETT, Vice-President, Paducah Woman's Club, 1925-1926; Chairman, Department of Social Service, Paducah Woman's Club, 1925-1926.

RICHMOND, KY.

MISS LAURA CLAY, President of Kentucky Equal Rights Association for twenty-four years.

REPRINTS
FROM NEWSPAPERS REPORTING
The Biennial Convention of
The General Federation of Women's Clubs
Atlantic City, May 24 to June 6, 1926

KENTUCKY LEADS THE WAY

The Indianapolis News, June, 1925.

For a good many years delegations of women have appeared before congressional committees declaring that, in their support of certain measures, they represented millions of women, and apparently men have taken them at their word. Of course, the thing never was true except in a sort of technical sense. The women of Kentucky, as represented in the council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, now in session at West Baden, have taken the ground in their own state that there should be no indorsement of policies by the state federation until the individual clubs have, after full hearing and consideration, taken action. And even then there is no action if there is a strong minority opposed. Mrs. Bayless, (General Federation Director for Kentucky) said: * * * * "Our new move makes a complete right-about-face, and there is to be no more indorsement of things that have not come before individual clubs first. And, of course, we believe that the General Federation should not take a stand on anything that has not been passed on by the states first."

That, of course, is the common sense view. It may also be that there is too much formulating and indorsing of political programs. The average woman—if there is any such creature—when she joins a club does so because of the pleasure she expects to derive from it, without thought of being committed by her membership to any general political policy. It must be embarrassing to such women to find themselves cited as among the several millions favoring a certain policy—simply because her club has indorsed it—when they themselves individually do not favor it. This at-

tempt to organize opinion into blocs may be overdone—indeed the Kentucky women seem to be against it. As they are receiving congratulations from the women of other states in session at West Baden on "their forward step," it may be that the practice is on its way to "innocuous desuetude."

WOMAN'S CLUB
HERE BALKS AT
BEING BOUND

ADOPTS AMENDMENT AGAINST
AUTHORITY OF STATE AND
NATIONAL BODY.

VOTE IS 254 TO 80

COMMITTEE ASKED TO PREPARE
MATTER FOR PRESENTATION
AT CONVENTION.

Courier-Journal, April 14, 1926.

Freedom on the part of the Woman's Club of Louisville to follow its judgment in working for or against legislative measures, although the general Federation of Women's Clubs may have taken a contrary stand, is declared to have been gained with the final adoption of an amendment to the club's by-laws at a meeting in the auditorium of the club Tuesday afternoon.

The vote Tuesday is said to have been 254 to 80. The amendment formed part of a report by the club's committee on revision of by-laws, which was accepted as a whole with

more than the required three-fifths vote. First action on the amendment was taken last Wednesday, when by a margin of seven votes it was allowed to remain as part of the report.

Text Of Amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

The Woman's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs or General Federation of Women's Clubs, until such action shall have been ratified by the members of this club at a meeting called for the purpose.

A debate on the amendment March 31 disclosed the interest aroused in many States by the proposed action of the Woman's Club here, which, it is said, may affect others of the 15,000 clubs and 3,000,000 members connected with the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Edward Franklin White, of Indianapolis, Ind., first vice president and legal adviser of the national organization, opposed the amendment in the debate here and Mrs. Attwood Martin, of the Woman's Club of Louisville, advocated the change.

Resolution Adopted.

After the passage of the amendment Tuesday the club adopted a resolution calling for a special committee, composed of the committee on revision of by-laws and an equal number of club members opposed to the change, to decide upon the instruction to be given delegates from the club to the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Atlantic City May 24 to June 5. * * *

Arguments for the adoption of the amendment were made from the floor Tuesday by Mrs. Henry Burnett, chairman of the committee on revision of by-laws; Mrs. Martin, Miss Annie Anderson, Mrs. Hoyt Gamble, Mrs. William Black, Mrs. Shackleford Miller, Mrs. J. C. Englehard and Mrs. A. T. Robertson, in addition to others.

Those who opposed the amendment in speeches from the floor included Mrs. Charles Semple, Mrs. Reuben Post Halleck, Mrs. Samuel Henning, Mrs. John C. Graham, Mrs. James Leech and Mrs. J. B. Judah.

Members who were present at the meeting Tuesday said that it was the largest business meeting in the history of the club. The Woman's Club of Louisville has 700 members.

REVOLT

SEEN IN CLUB VOTE

DEFI THROWN TO WOMEN'S NATIONAL BODY.

IS WRITER'S VIEW OF NEW MOVEMENT.

LOUISVILLE IS SCENE OF OPENING STROKE.

To Shear Federation Of Power To Dictate Policy Of Local Members Of Organization.

By S. E. Spicer.

Cincinnati Enquirer, April 11, 1926.

A pebble, as it were, was cast into the smooth waters of women's clubdom on last Wednesday in Louisville, Ky., that has caused a ripple on the surface that will widen for many days before it reaches the shores of an amicable settlement, according to many interested in the outcome.

The Louisville (Ky.), Woman's Club of 700 members voted in favor of the adoption of a resolution which will nullify the "majority rule," formulated by Mrs. John D. Sherman, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at the mid-biennial at West Baden, Ind., last year, and at the same time will conserve the right of the club to determine its own policy.

* * * *

This resolution was aimed primarily to take from the general federation the power to dictate the policy of the individual clubs and state federations.

WOMEN IN BUSINESS

N. Y. Commercial, April 6, 1926.

One of the most important results of the entrance of women into various departments of business and industry has been their gradual recognition of the close connection between wise legislation and the smooth function-

ing of affairs in the business and industrial worlds. And with their growing appreciation of this fundamental relationship, women are showing increasing interest in assuming their share of the responsibility for keeping such machinery running smoothly. They are eager to know just where their responsibility lies, and then to find out how to take the steps that will put it to work for the common good.

A large proportion of business women throughout the country are working for the principles they want to see put into practice through the medium of the many women's clubs. As members, first, of their local organization and, then, usually of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, they are studying the questions which will come before Congress for enactment into law, and contributing the support of their convictions for or against these questions.

Child Labor Law Argued.

Probably no public question has been before the country for many years, if ever, which so aroused and so divided the women as the recent agitation over the so-called child labor amendment. Discussion in the women's clubs almost invariably revealed a sharp division of sentiment, and resolutions proposed either urging or condemning the measure generally went through a hard, and sometimes bitter fight before their final adoption.

The stand taken by the General Federation of Women's Clubs in favor of the amendment was felt by a number of affiliated clubs to be on the wrong side of the fence, and much dissatisfaction was expressed by the dissenters because the minority went officially unrecognized. They felt it to be unfair and unauthorized that they should be placed on public record as concurring in a matter to which they were strongly opposed.

Federation Is Challenged.

Largely out of this affair, there has developed a movement within the General Federation to test the constitutionality of the right of the Federation to impose its viewpoint upon local organizations, and the challenge has been definitely thrown down by the Woman's Club of Louisville, Ky., * * * on the ruling of Mrs. John D. Sherman, Federation president, that Federation action is binding on all clubs.

A MISSTEP AT MIDDLESBORO

Courier-Journal, May 8, 1926.

It is not the purpose of The Courier-Journal to intrude into any quarrel among the women's clubs. They have a perfect right to decide on their own rules, unsubjected to any criticism by the outside public.

At the same time the relations which they seek to maintain to that public, the part which they endeavor to play in public affairs, justify a public journal in noting what it regards as their mistakes.

It was a mistake, in The Courier-Journal's view, for the State Federation, at its Middlesboro meeting, to overrule the Louisville club in its adoption of the by-law that "the club shall not be bound by any action of the Kentucky State Federation or National Federation of Women's Clubs, until such action shall have been ratified by the members of this club."

That by-law was recently agreed to by the Louisville club after thorough discussion. The observance of its principle undoubtedly would promote the vitality and influence of these organizations. Its repudiation, as Mrs. Shackelford Miller warned, will tend to make the Federation a mere machine. That affects the public in this way:

The National Federation of Women's Clubs maintains an active lobby at Washington. It elects to espouse certain movements and measures. In working for these, it tells the representatives of the public in Congress that the Federation speaks and acts for 3,000,000 women voters. This impresses the politicians of Congress and helps many of them to decide on their action when the roll is called in the Senate and the House.

But that argument is not going to be so impressive in the light of the rejection of the Louisville club's by-law. In that light, Congress and the public will know that the Federation cannot assume to represent anything like 3,000,000 women. If the Federation is to be ruled from the top, instead of from the bottom, no one will know how many or how few women it does represent.

THE WOMEN'S CLUBS IMPERILLED

Courier-Journal, May 22, 1926.

There leaves today for Atlantic City a delegation of eight of the ablest members of the Louisville Woman's Club. These members are sent by the

club as delegates to the Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs which meets in Atlantic City next week.

Their mission, in The Courier-Journal's opinion, is of vital importance to the organization. It is, in short, twofold:

First, to resist the conversion of the democracy of the clubs into an oligarchy, ruled by an official few at the top, regardless of the rights of the individual clubs.

Second, to urge the postponement, for two years' consideration, of the proposed revision of the charter, by-laws and standing rules of the General Federation in a manner that would revolutionize it, radically changing the very nature of the organization which has made marked headway in promoting public welfare and influencing public legislation.

If the first of these aims of the Louisville women fail, it matters little what be the fate of the second. For if the democracy of the clubs be destroyed their power to influence public opinion and public legislation will be destroyed, as undoubtedly it should be destroyed.

When the Federation espouses a legislative measure now its lobby tells the law-makers at Washington that it is backed by 3,000,000 women voters, constituting the memberships of the clubs. This is a powerful argument to present to the vote-seekers of Congress; but it will lose its power when it is known, as it will be known if the plan of the oligarchists prevails, that their lobby, instead of speaking for 3,000,000 voters, speaks only for a few officials and a technical "majority" which under their system of representation may not be even a respectable minority.

This plan to deny the individual clubs their rights has no other authority than the ruling of the president of the General Federation, but in making this ruling she has assumed an authority which has never been granted by the clubs to her or even to the Federation. Unless the clubs that stand with the Louisville club can prevent the observance of this plan, the usefulness of the General Federation will be ended.

The Courier-Journal speaks on this point, not in any desire to meddle in quarrels of the clubs, but as a representative of that public opinion which their organization endeavors to influence.

'CLUBS' RIGHTS' UP AS WOMEN'S ISSUE

WOMEN'S CLUB OF LOUISVILLE, KY., OPPOSES MAJORITY RULE BY GENERAL FEDERATION.

(Special to The N. Y. Times.)
N. Y. Times, May 25, 1926.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 24.—Members of the Women's Club of Louisville, Ky., here for the eighteenth biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, appeared before the Executive Committee of the Federation today to explain their stand against the consideration at this convention of the proposed revision of the charter, by-laws and standing rules of the Federation and to the ruling by which a minority in the federation is bound by the decision of the majority.

The Women's Club of Louisville has presented resolutions asking that the charter revision "be deferred in order that the individual clubs may better acquaint themselves with these proposed changes," and that the ruling on minorities given at the council meeting at West Baden, Ind., last June "be rescinded."

No action has been taken on the resolutions presented by the Kentuckians. Possibly they will not be considered at this convention, not having been presented within the time limit prescribed.

In April the Women's Club of Louisville adopted in direct opposition to the ruling at West Baden this by-law:

"The Women's Club of Louisville shall not be bound by any action of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, or the Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs, until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of the club at a meeting called for the purpose."

SANE WOMEN WILL ACT

New York Commercial, May 26, 1926.

Kentucky has sent a delegation of women to the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Atlantic City who will undertake to restore the command of that organization to the members. Within the organization there has grown up a system by which a few officers have undertaken to commit the entire membership body to policies not approved by the majority of this membership. The action of the General Federation in endorsing the so-called child labor amendment has

resulted in a pronounced fight for a change. * * *

The system employed by those seeking to commit organizations such as the General Federation to some radical policy has been to "bore from within" to reach the heads, secure their aid and support and then undertake to force the entire membership body to follow the dictates of these few officials. It has been done in a number of instances. Many organizations had been committed by their national officers to the child labor amendment when the majority of the members were working against that amendment. It is to be hoped the women of Kentucky force the issue.

KENTUCKY WOMEN TELL GRIEVANCES

Newark, N. J., Evening News, May 25, 1926.

A delegation of Louisville, Ky., club women were given a hearing yesterday afternoon at an executive meeting of the board of directors and an opportunity to voice their grievances.

* * * *

Mrs. Sherman, at the close of the board meeting, appointed Mrs. White as her representative to give out information to the press.

* * * *

Mrs. White asserted that the child labor amendment was irritating Kentucky club life. She said the insurgents wanted action to prevent the federation's actions binding the individual clubs. No action was taken on the Kentucky women's petition, the vice president said.

CLUBWOMEN SEE CAPITAL 'BLOC' OUT OF CONTROL

VOICE OF CONSTITUENTS AT
HOME SHOULD BE STRENGTH-
ENED, DELEGATES TO AT-
LANTIC CITY CONVEN-
TION HEAR.

LOUISVILLE IS IN 'REVOLT'

"REBEL CLUB" SAYS MINORITIES
ARE COERCED INTO SUPPORT-
ING ALL MEASURES.

A Staff Correspondent

N. Y. Herald Tribune, May 26, 1926.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 25.—
The General Federation of Women's

Clubs must increase its influence at Washington by strengthening the voice of the constituents back in Main Street, Mrs. Kate T. Abrams, member of the joint Congressional committee told the delegates to the biennial convention at the legislative conference this afternoon.

Mrs. Abrams made no reference to the complaint of the Women's Club of Louisville that minorities were coerced into supporting legislative measures at Washington to which they were opposed, but she did admit that the strength behind these measures as presented by the joint Congressional committee was "not on a firm foundation" because the policies of the committee were initiated by Washington leaders rather than by the women at home.

"Women Should Be Driving Force."

"We were not building on a firm foundation when we initiated the plan that this co-operation be directed by representatives in Washington," she said. "It should have come through study of each measure by state groups and then the women constituents of the men in Congress would know exactly what they favored. The joint Congressional committee should discuss methods in promoting bills, and the women in the states should be the driving force."

"The representative in Washington is helpful only when she has behind her the intelligent, united support of her organization in every state."

Mrs. Abrams opposed the suggestion which had been made in some groups that the federation withdraw from the joint Congressional committee and carry on its own campaign.

"Because we are strong shall we be selfish?" she asked. "We can well afford to hold back, to move slowly and lend a helping hand to weaker organizations."

The joint Congressional committee, she said represents 11,000,000 women in twenty-three nation-wide organizations.

Louisville Is "Bad Boy."

Louisville has become the "Peck's Bad Boy" of the convention as a result of the stand it has taken against uniform political action.

"Louisville is the only club we have to spank," Mrs. Edward Franklin White, vice-president of the federation, said in an interview. She added that Louisville's position was not endorsed by the State Federation of Kentucky, nor was it unanimous within the Women's Club itself.

From the number of club presidents on the Boardwalk to-day who have offered to "help spank Louisville" it seems clear that the proposed plans

for strengthening the political power of the federation will be passed. * * *

"There must be no secession," said Mrs. Alonzo Richardson, of Atlanta, Ga., director of the Southeastern Council, representing the states of the South and East. The women of this region held a business meeting this afternoon at which no help was forthcoming for the Louisville rebels.

These delegates will not even register a protest against the child labor amendment, although most of them are personally opposed to it.

"We would not be good Federation women if we tried to interfere with the program," said Mrs. Richardson.

Atlantic City Daily Press, May 26, 1926.

* * * * Thoughtless endorsement of legislation on which many women of America not only disagree but do not even understand was strongly opposed by Miss Susan Humphreys, of Louisville, leader of an insurgent group attending the convention.

Seven members of the Louisville group, headed by Miss Susan Humphreys, are sponsoring an amendment of the by-laws by which individual clubs will not be bound by the action of the general federation.

"We do not consider ourselves insurgents in any sense of the word, but merely seek what we believe to be our rights," Miss Humphreys said. "We do not intend to withdraw, and have no thought of taking such action unless pressed. If the federation presses us to withdraw it will be proving itself autocratic.

"We feel that if women understood our stand more they would sympathize with us. A little bit of missionary work and explaining has converted many to our way of thinking. Of course we do not feel that any great change will take place at this convention, but we are convinced that the foundation should be laid.

"What we object to is the thoughtless endorsement of legislation. We object to women saying that the three million members of the federation are behind the bill when they are not. Many of them disagree or do not understand the legislation.

"We feel that it is misrepresentation to say that the entire federation is backing a resolution when it is not," Miss Humphreys said. * * * *

Mrs. Atwood Martin, another of the Louisville group, attempted to present the "minority viewpoint" from the floor during a meeting of the Southeastern council yesterday afternoon but was refused.

Another plan to break away from the women's joint congressional committee in Washington and, in future,

to try to put over federation-endorsed legislation without assistance, was voted down at a committee meeting. The committee also voted down the possibility of the Florida delegates getting in a late resolution against the child labor amendment.

Plans Voted Down.

All three of the proposals voted down were considered to be the bulwarks behind which the "minority element" were to make their stand during the convention. With these out of the way, the rest of the convention is expected to have smooth sailing ahead.

The Southeastern council, at its meeting voted, with some opposing, to table a resolution to take a stand either for or against the child Labor Amendment. Mrs. W. F. Blackman, of Orlando, Fla., the spokesman, said the resolution had been proposed too late.

THE SPANKERS

Courier-Journal, May 29, 1926.

The vice president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in session at Atlantic City, publicly announces that the Louisville Woman's Club, whose delegation to the Federation is made up of some of the most intelligent women of Louisville, "should be spanked."

This is because the women of the Louisville club have minds of their own, which they refuse to surrender in order slavishly to take any orders that the oligarchy at the top of the Federation chooses to issue.

And because of this self-respect and independence of the Louisville women they should be spanked by the oligarchy!

Assuredly, that is the ultimate of Federalistic paternalism—or maternalism, as the spankers may prefer.

It is strongly significant of the spirit of autocracy that has come over the Federation's officials, who have set out to rule instead of to represent the individual clubs; who seem to have forgotten—at least, contemptuously to ignore—the fact that the individual clubs are not the children of the Federation, but that the Federation is the child of the individual clubs; that the Federation was the creature, not the creator, of the individual clubs.

It is a spirit which, if persisted in, as now seems the determination of the oligarchy, will greatly impair, if it shall not eventually destroy, the Federation's influence in public affairs.

FEDERATION HEAD CORRECTS AN ERROR

HASTILY RECALLS CONVENTION
TO READ OMITTED PART OF
ANNUAL ADDRESS.

DEALT WITH VITAL TOPIC

BINDING MAJORITY RULE IN
CLUBS CAUSE OF ANIMATED
DISCUSSION.

Phila. (Pa.) Record, May 27, 1926.

Atlantic City, May 26.—Deliberate omission from the reading of the presidential report, printed copies of which were in the hands of press representatives this morning, of the section stating Mrs. John D. Sherman's stand of binding majority rule, and a last-minute reconvening of the adjourned convention to read in an omitted section, caused more stir in the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs than anything else in her report.

Mrs. Sherman had finished her report, and the convention had taken a recess, when it was called to her attention by a question from press representatives as to why she had omitted this crucial section, storm center of the convention. Mrs. Sherman's gavel fell, and as the adjourned meeting came to order, she said: "It has been brought to my attention that I have omitted to read a section of my report dealing with the activities of the Council at West Baden. A detailed report would have taken hours to read. I selected only the portions dealing with the activities of the president, but as this omission has been called to my attention, it is with the greatest pleasure that I now read it."

The section in question is being fiercely attacked by one insurgent club, the "Women's Club of Louisville," the "minority voice." * * * *

Important Point Of Policy.

The section was a parliamentary opinion delivered by the president at the West Baden Council, as follows:

"When a resolution has been adopted by a meeting of the General Federation, either unanimous or by a majority, it should be considered the action of the organization. State

federations or individual clubs opposed to the action taken should not conduct a campaign in opposition."

Reiteration of this policy is of the greatest interest at this convention, in view of the Louisville women's club's rebellious stand against it. A fight from the floor is expected when the president's recommendations come up for action tomorrow.

REBELLION WITHIN WOMEN'S GENERAL FEDERATION GROWS

MINORITY VOTE BATTLE IS
TAKEN TO FLOOR OF
CONVENTION.

By Associated Press.

St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat, May 27, 1926.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 26.—Undercurrents of opposition to the organization and administration of the General Federation of Women's Clubs broadened their channels today.

Mrs. Joshua Hodgins of Marinette, Wis., reporting on the West Baden Biennial Council, told the eighteenth biennial convention that the organization was top-heavy with city women, while leaders of the "Louisville rebellion" announced they had sent a letter to Mrs. John D. Sherman, national president, asking whether their minority voice against majority rule binding minority clubs would be heard.

Mrs. Atwood Martin, publicist and writer, who is a leader of the rebellious group, said the letter was sent after Mrs. Sherman this morning omitted from her report a paragraph stating the ruling that resolutions adopted by the federation, unanimously or not, should be considered the action of the General Federation. The paragraph was reinserted after Mrs. Sherman's attention was called to the omission and she stated that it had been passed over in an effort to shorten the time required for reading the report, advance copies of which were distributed to the press yesterday.

The Louisville delegation's resolution proposing a change in the federation charter is before the Emergency Committee. It would release opposing clubs from any responsibility for measures indorsed by a majority of the federation.

MAJORITY CONTROL STILL SUPREME IN FEDERATION CLUBS

"Louisville Rebellion" Crushed By
Board In Executive Meeting;
Not Emergency.

KENTUCKY'S HEAD OPPOSES MEASURE

Would Have Allowed Clubs, State
Federation To Follow Own Lines
On Carrying Out Policies
They Favor.

Bristol (Va.) Herald-Courier, May 29, 1926.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 28.—The "Louisville rebellion" against majority control within the General Federation of Women's Clubs was put down officially today by the federation board in an executive meeting. The board unanimously decided that a resolution of the Louisville delegation asking that this policy be rescinded was not an emergency measure and therefore could not be considered at this convention.

Mrs. Allie Dickson, of Paris, Kentucky, state president, opposed the "insurrectionists" asserting their stand did not represent Kentucky's sentiments which, she said, had been expressed on endorsement of the presidential policy as passed last year at the West Baden Council. * * * *

Abolish Office.

The board also voted to abolish the office of corresponding secretary, transferring those duties to the Washington headquarters, authorized appointment of an assistant treasurer who shall be a salaried officer and decided that eight department chairmen heretofore elected by the board shall be appointed by the executive committee from nominees named by the state presidents and directors.

All three of these decisions were designated as tending to centralize power in the Washington headquarters and on this ground a previous board meeting had voted down a proposal for abolishing the office of corresponding secretary.

Two resolutions were authorized for introduction as emergency measures. One would urge the United States Senate to pass a measure extending the Shepherd Towner act to two years

as was adopted by the House. A second resolution regrets discrimination against books in the present postal law and urges Congress to grant this class of mail matter the same privileges as periodicals.

The board meeting topped the afternoon filled with last minute canvassing by supports of the "fighting resolutions" for the child labor amendment and a federal department of education and with a new agitation to do something about the broadside delivered by Major John Thomas Taylor against women's anti-preparedness propaganda.

Southern delegates have said they would oppose from the floor the reaffirmation of affirmation of endorsement in the child labor measure. South Carolina is expected to lead in this opposition.

Philadelphia Ledger, May 28, 1926.

* * * * Throughout the day there were various things which stirred the great body of women. The first of these occurred when the Louisville Women's Club lost its initial battle for club rights as opposed to the General Federation adopting the standard for the entire body. Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, president of the General Federation, read her policies, which included one recommending the indorsement of principles of bills instead of the bills themselves.

Who Will Be The Interpreter.

At that Mrs. Shackelford Miller, of Louisville, rose and said that she would like to ask a question.

"I would like to know who will interpret the spirit of these measures?" she demanded.

Mrs. Sherman paused. This was the first time the revolutionary policy had cropped up in a general meeting. "I would leave that to the duly accredited delegates," she replied.

And then she paused again. "The Clubs will have to learn to trust the people that they put in position of responsibility," she said.

The policy was immediately voted on and carried except for a few dissenting voices.

New York Times, May 28, 1926.

* * * * The delegates from the Louisville Women's Club were the only opponents of the recommendation of Mrs. John D. Sherman, President of the General Federation, for the Federation's support in the future of "the principles of a bill," rather than the bill itself.

The same group opposed a proposed revision of the charter to change the statement of the aims of the Federation.

POLITICS RULE MEETING OF WOMENS CLUB

MRS. SHERMAN LEADS ADMINIS- TRATION TO VICTORY OVER INSURGENTS; PINCHOT GIVES SPEECH.

Washington (D. C.) Daily News, May 29, 1926.

By United Press

ATLANTIC CITY—Politics continued to dominate the convention of the General Federation of Womens Clubs here today. * * *

The administration forces, guided by Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, of Washington, triumphed over the insurgent minority when they overruled a motion by Mrs. Shackelford Miller, of Louisville, Ky., hostile to the child labor amendment.

Detroit (Mich.) News, May 31, 1926.

The "Louisville rebellion," temporarily suppressed by action of the board of directors in refusing to recognize their demand for minority rights, broke out again Sunday when the eight women leaders declared they would not give up the fight. Plans were made to oppose every action of the delegates involving state rights or the rights of individual clubs and to carry the resolution protesting against majority rule to the floor of the convention.

LOUISVILLE WOMEN'S CLUB REBELS RENEW FIGHT AGAINST MAJORITY RULE

DELEGATION PLANS TO OPPOSE EVERY MOVE INVOLVING "STATE RIGHTS."

Atlantic City Gazette, May 31, 1926.

The fight of the Kentucky insurgents flamed anew yesterday when eight Louisville club leaders announced that they would continue to fight against a majority rule binding individual clubs.

Taking advantage of the lull over Sunday, the Louisville delegation formed plans to oppose every move of the convention involving "state rights." They asserted they had not

lost hope of getting a hearing for the minority.

The fight of the Louisville group started at the outset of the convention, but they were blocked at every move, both on the floor of the convention and in committee meetings. They are seeking an amendment to the by-laws whereby individual clubs may not be bound by the action of the majority in regard to certain resolutions. * * *

Resolution Barred.

The Kentucky group first met defeat in a committee meeting of the Southeastern Council when leaders of the Louisville group were not permitted to offer a resolution. It was also later ruled by the executive committee that the resolution could not be considered as an "emergency measure."

WOMEN'S "REVOLT" OVER CLUB POLICY LOST, THEY ADMIT

LOUISVILLE DELEGATES, HOW- EVER, WILL BE GIVEN HEAR- ING AT ATLANTIC CITY.

Washington (D. C.) Post, June 1, 1926.

Atlantic City, N. J., May 31 (By A. P.).—The five "Louisville insurgents" at the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs were notified today by Mrs. John D. Sherman, national president, that they would be given a hearing from the floor of the convention tomorrow. Each delegate may speak for two minutes and may offer resolutions which the general board previously refused to consider "emergency measures."

The resolutions attempt to rescind the presidential policy by which individual clubs are bound by the action of the federation and ask deferment of changes in charter and by-laws tending to centralize power in the executive committee composed of the officers.

The cause of the Louisville delegates is virtually lost, they themselves admit, since the policy they seek to have rescinded was passed by the general federation a few days ago, as were the opposed revisions.

Want To Present Case.

"All we expect to do is to stand up and present our case as best we can," said Mrs. Atwood Martin, spokesman of the minority. "When the vote is called for, we shall probably stand

alone unless two other Louisville clubs lend us their support.

"But, by doing this, we shall have put the information before the federation and when in the future some individual club finds itself bound as we have been by a federation ruling directly contrary to its own policy, they will remember our arguments and they will do just as we have done—rebel."

Mrs. Rufus Dawes, of Evanston, Ill., speaking today in the international relations program, declared that club women should be less arrogant in dictating how members of Congress should vote on international relations. "Just because we have attended a course of lectures on economics does not prove that we understand as much about international problems as the experts," she said.

New York Times, May 31, 1926.

The Louisville delegates do not wish to bring before the convention their support of the rights of minority clubs as a separate issue, but will seek to express their views by their attitude.

* * * It is understood that the communication of the national board points a way for the Louisville delegates to bring before the convention for a vote their desire to have the ruling on minorities rescinded. * * * An intimation that the Louisville Club would be free to secede from the federation is seen in the statement of Mrs. John D. Sherman, President, that she would rather have "100,000 solidly together than 1,000,000 not united."

MAJORITY RULE IS LIMITED

Louisville Herald-Post, May 29, 1926.

The system of majority rule on which our government operates does not mean blind submission to the majority. The majority rules only within definite limits and restrictions. There are certain things which even the majority dare not attempt. In the main it is powerless concerning what we regard as inalienable rights of the individual. The majority must respect personal and individual rights as set forth in the Constitution. When it oversteps these bounds it becomes the right and privilege of the minority to resist.

This policy is what Louisville delegates to the General Federation of Women's Clubs attempted to preserve in their fight before the national convention. They were willing to submit to majority rule as long as the sacred right of the minority to think for itself was not invaded. They tried to preserve the essential integrity of the in-

dividual conscience and to resist the tyranny of hand-me-down opinion.

The resolution adopted binds all member clubs to support principles of legislation indorsed by the majority, or in this case representatives of the majority. Inasmuch as the Federation meets biennially its attitude on various questions is fixed by officers. The local delegates take the position that such action shall not be controlling until ratified by their club.

These contentions represent systems of thought as old as history. The one is autocracy; the other democracy. The method approved by the Federation puts its affairs in the hands of a few. "You must trust the people whom you elect," said the president when asked who is to determine what is the spirit of legislative bills. In other words, you must consent to our dictatorship and surrender your rights of local self-government. It is the system by which one or two presume to speak for, without consulting, several millions. Their opinion must be accepted by the many member clubs. What the latter think is of no moment, once the inner circle has spoken.

Although the power centralizers are for the time being victorious, we doubt whether this fight is over. It typifies too significant a social revolt to be stamped out thus easily. It parallels the political fight to protect State's rights. As surely as the pendulum is swinging back to the restoration of local self-government, so surely will the Woman's Club of Louisville ultimately win its contention that the minority need not surrender its opinions to the enthusiasms of others.

LOUISVILLE DELEGATION MAKES LONE FIGHT AGAINST UNIT RULE IN FEDERATION

REFUSE TO DEBATE CONTENTION IN TWO-MINUTE SPEECHES.

New York World, June 2, 1926.

ATLANTIC CITY, June 1—Making their last stand against the right of majority rule in binding individual clubs five Louisville delegates went down to defeat to-day in an attempt to present a resolution before the general Federation of Women's Clubs now in convention here.

The debate came as a last minute change in policy by the Louisville group. Early yesterday they had been

granted the privilege of presenting their arguments in two minute speeches.

Late last night, however, Mrs. Shackelford Miller President of the Louisville Women's Club, addressed an open letter to Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, Federation President, refusing the offer. She said that their cause was "so far reaching in its import that two minute speeches would not be time enough to present the case."

A resolution instead again urging the rescinding of a binding majority rule was presented by Mrs. Miller.

CLUBWOMEN DENY VOICE TO MINORITY

GENERAL FEDERATION REFUSES TO RESCIND POLICY OF BIND- ING MAJORITY RULE.

Baltimore (Md.) Sun, June 2, 1926.

Atlantic City, N. J., June 1.—The eighteenth biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs today defeated the resolution of the Louisville delegation for "minority voice" and refused to rescind the policy of binding majority rule.

Only two of the five delegates of the Louisville women's clubs succeeded in addressing the convention, the others being shut out with cries of "question, question."

Opening the argument, Mrs. George Madden Martin, Louisville leader, who followed Mrs. Shackelford Miller's presentation of the motion for rescinding, declared that "for thirty-five years the federation guarded the right of individual clubs to expression, a right which this policy destroys."

State President Interrupts.

Mrs. Allie Dickson, Kentucky State president, obtained the floor at this point to say with some emotion:

"The State of Kentucky, with the exception of this one part of one club, is absolutely and loyally behind the federation and behind our president, Mrs. Sherman."

"We, as the Woman's Club of Louisville, shall continue to oppose any measure passed by the federation with which we are not in agreement," Mrs. Martin continued. "And we will not withdraw from the federation."

Following the debate and voting a demonstration of loyalty to Mrs. John D. Sherman, president, was so prolonged that in rapping for order she broke her gavel.

MINORITY LOSES FIGHT AGAINST WOMEN'S POLICY

SUPPORT OF FEDERATION DECISIONS VOTED BY CONVENTION AFTER HEATED DEBATE.

STATE UNITS MUST ABIDE BY RULING, IS DECREE

MRS. SHACKELFORD MILLER
CHARGES NATIONAL BODY
WITH INFRINGING ON
CLUB RIGHTS.

Atlantic City Times, June 1, 1926.

"Louisville Rebels" Rewarded by Women

That there is no resentment against the five so-called "Louisville Rebels" who have been the most disturbing element in the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs was illustrated on the Steel Pier today when Mrs. Orlandus West, of Clarksburg, W. Va., offered a pledge of \$10 for the Federation maintenance fund in their honor.

"I offer this pledge," Mrs. West said, "in honor of the lone five delegates from Louisville, Ky., who had the courage of their convictions and who fought for them, even though they stood alone."

There was a great burst of applause and considerable laughter following the offer.

The Louisville delegation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs made a last vain effort on the floor of the convention on the Steel Pier today to tear down the ruling that State clubs and State Federations must abide by the actions of the majority in the General Federation meetings.

Mrs. Shackelford Miller, head of the Louisville women, presented a resolution aiming to rescind the ruling which would force State units to abide by General Federation action, even if

the State units are not in accord with the majority.

The presentation of the resolution was prefaced by a remark from Mrs. Miller that the Louisville women "are not insurgents or rebels"; that the five delegates who have been the stormy petrels at this biennial are "merely making an effort to fortify, not minimize the power of the Federation and the liberty of action of individual clubs."

Mrs. Miller then launched into her appeal for repeal of the West Baden ruling, concluding with the remark that the opposition of her delegation was "not rebellion."

"If we had no chance to take up these matters in the general Federation meetings the biennial convention, she said, "would be reduced to mere social debating club meetings."

In the course of her arguments Mrs. Miller pointed out the basis for her strenuous opposition.

Not Bound By Ruling.

"This ruling has never been enacted into the by-laws of the General Federation," she maintained. "And only when it becomes a by-law does it become binding on the minority as well as the majority. We do not consider ourselves bound to it until it has been ratified by the Louisville Women's Club. We have a clause in our constitution to that effect."

This brave fight was to no avail. Mrs. F. Glacier Smith, retired State President of Massachusetts Federation, arose to ask that the general body go on record as abiding by the West Baden council ruling and to make it binding on individuals that they voice their contrary opinions as individuals, not as clubs or State units.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, who was taken ill during the meeting yesterday, was back on the platform today, although in weakened condition. She received permission from Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, president of the General Federation and author of the West Baden ruling, to speak while seated. She asked that the Federation back the President's ruling.

Mrs. Leroy Springs, of South Carolina, got to her feet, ready to rally to the Louisville banner, but she was never given a chance to say what was in her mind.

Vote To Close Debate.

Mrs. Sherman asked the formal question, "Shall we close the debate?" The balanced chorus of "ayes" and "nays" forced a count with the result that the "ayes" had it. The count revealed, however, that no less than 67 delegates were in sympathy with the Louisville women. They vot-

ed against the sudden ending of debate.

Mrs. Miller's resolution was put to the vote and was overwhelmingly defeated. Only 11 voted for it. * * *

The other Louisville delegates, Mrs. William R. Belknap and Mrs. Hoyt Gamble, had prepared arguments against the West Baden ruling, but never reached the floor with them. The close of the debate shut them out.

30 States Against Regulation.

Mrs. Belknap had prepared data to show that 30 States had taken a stand against regulation of child labor and the women's clubs in those States were, in many cases, in sympathy with this attitude.

"But the General Federation acts in the matter and we must conform with that action.

"What is a clubwoman to do in such a case? To whom does she owe the greater allegiance?" These were her arguments.

The Louisville delegates seemed to show no resentment, however, that Mrs. Miller's talk had been limited to four minutes. Mrs. Miller herself was asked if she resented the imposition of a four-minute limit. She smiled. "Mrs. Sherman," she replied, "is a magnificent parliamentarian. She handled the meeting admirably." Mrs. Miller would make no other comment.

"We are not defying the policy of the general federation," another delegate said, "but we have legal advice that we are perfectly right in our opposition to the West Baden ruling." She refused to amplify this statement, nor would she give the source of the legal advice.

Boston (Mass.) Transcript, June 2, 1926.

The five Louisville dissenters from the majority ruling left for home yesterday afternoon, announcing that they would continue to stand for the freedom of action that they consider their right. Although the sentiment of the convention was overwhelmingly against them, much sympathy with their cause has been expressed. Many who believe in the edict that majority rule should govern the minority, nevertheless feel that the Louisville quintette received a rather shabby and unfair deal in the summary way in which debate was brought to a close after two only had been permitted to speak. All five had understood that they were to have two minutes each. Mrs. Sherman told the press representatives later that she and other officers regretted that action, but had no power to avert it as a resolution to close debate was not debatable. It was surmised, during a discussion of

the incident, that some disciplinary legislation may be enacted at the next biennial to cover such cases.

Boston (Mass.) Transcript, June 4, 1926.

* * * * Mrs. Sherman added that she thought amazing progress has been made at this biennial. "The aim and grasp of the organization and the subjects we have considered are ten times greater than they were two years ago," she said. "Women are waking to a clearer understanding of their power in creating public opinion. I have been saying for the past two years that every individual club woman has a personal responsibility as great as that of the president or any officer of the General Federation."

Echo Of Kentucky "Rebellion."

In reply to a question as to the significance of the "Kentucky Rebellion," Mrs. Sherman continued: "Things like that are helpful. I did not mind in the least that it happened. Dissension often knits the clubs more closely together, just as sorrow unites a family. It increases loyalty and respect. This has set the club-women thinking. The Federation could not possibly have acted differently. I do not think the Louisville women realized what they were trying to do. If they had succeeded the effect would have been to disrupt the Federation."

"GAG RULE"

ADOPTED BY CLUBS

**IN SUPPRESSING LOUISVILLE
REBELLION, IS GOSSIP.**

WOMEN OVERRIDE IDEA OF MINORITY RIGHTS

**ONLY FOUR MINUTES FOR PRE-
SENTATION GRANTED.**

**On Proposal Requiring Six Months'
Preparation—Wave Of Disapproval
Follows Strategic Move.**

Cincinnati Enquirer, June 2, 1926.

Atlantic City, N. J., June 1.—The Louisville delegation's "insurgents" in the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs

finally reached the spotlight of the platform and had their stellar moment this morning when through the "graciousness of the President," to use their words, they were permitted to bring to the floor their motion that the delegate body rescind the Council's ruling that individual clubs shall abide by the decision of the majority voting.

Mrs. Shackleford Miller presented the motion and Mrs. Atwood Martin spoke for it.

Mrs. Miller asked the convention not to believe the circulated stories that they were insurgent or rebellious, but that they were seeking to show the light as they see it, so individual clubs may not be "weakened, stultified and cramped" by having to maintain the paradoxical position of loyalty to the Federation when their sympathies often are with the cause the parent body does not favor.

Mrs. Martin simply asked the delegates to take the matter home for further study and act upon it at the next biennial.

Texas Woman Is Appointed.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, of Texas, former President of the General Federation; Mrs. Frederick Smith, of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Allie Dickson, President of the Kentucky State Federation, spoke against the motion, and Mrs. Sherman was about to present another speaker, when Miss Mary Garrett Hay, of New York, veteran parliamentarian, called loudly for the original question for rescindment.

This strategic move swept the convention into a wave of demonstration in support of the administration, and the Louisville motion was defeated overwhelmingly.

"We have worked six months, with legal aid, to perfect our statement of principle," said Mrs. Miller later, "and we had only four minutes to present it. But we feel that we gave those who did not know the fine points involved a germ of thought which may bear fruit later."

"The proposed child labor amendment illustrates a disturbing situation brought about by this ruling," said Mrs. William R. Belknap. "Legislatures of over thirty states rejected it, many women's clubs within these states are opposed to it. Yet the General Federation rules that clubs within these states shall reinforce the twentieth amendment. This places us in a position where we must be disloyal to one side. A club denied

independence of action becomes an insipid body."

Corridor talk was rife that the delegates had voted for gag rule without knowing it; that they were too fearful to speak; that they were ignorant of the principle involved.

The Louisville delegates left Atlantic City today, declaring their intention of going home to stand by their principles in the matter of legislation.

Mrs. Sherman said in an interview that a disciplinary by-law undoubtedly will be enacted at the next biennial to take care of just such cases of a "disturbing minority," which at present are beyond the jurisdiction of the Federation. * * * *

Mrs. Sherman resented the suggestions of certain press accounts that the abolishment of the office of Corresponding Secretary was a sign of centralization of power in the Washington headquarters. This move, also the resolution passed this morning for the establishment of the Federation's own legislative bureau in Washington, simply are aids to clarify the work at headquarters, she said.

THE OLIGARCHY AT WORK

Louisville Courier-Journal, June, 1926.

No "steam roller" of political bosses ever worked more smoothly and more ruthlessly than that of the oligarchy, last week, that rules the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The proceedings of the Federation's convention at Atlantic City were notable for still further centralizing in the oligarchy, under the direction of the oligarchy, the Federation's functions.

This oligarchy calls itself "the Board." "The Board," under the rules which it, or some Federation functionary, makes or dictates, is the Federation. It considers itself the individual clubs which created the Federation. It would have the public and the country's legislators believe that it is the 3,000,000 voters it claims are ranged behind or against measures or principles which it advocates or opposes.

Just how "the Board" operates was strikingly illustrated by the manner in which it disposed of the Louisville club's protest against the methods of the oligarchy. The Louisville club objects to being throttled by the oligarchy and being made a dummy in furtherance of the oligarchy's plans. It sent its delegates to Atlantic City to press that protest, but they were not allowed even to present it. "The Board" held an execu-

tive meeting and decreed that the resolution of the Louisville delegation was not an "emergency measure" and therefore could not be even considered by the convention, of which the Louisville delegates were supposed to be members. In the lexicon of the oligarchy, they were "rebels." They demurred to the autocratic domination of the oligarchy; therefore they were not permitted to lay their case before the convention, and the convention was not permitted to consider it.

That is the spirit which provoked the Louisville protest. It is the spirit which is wrecking the General Federation of Women's Clubs as an instrument for promoting public opinion.

There are times when there is honor in rebellion. If, as charged by the Federation oligarchy, the Louisville Woman's Club is in rebellion, it is in an honorable rebellion.

EXPLANATORY

Baltimore (Md.) Evening Sun, June 2, 1926.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has been holding a meeting in Atlantic City and there have been rough doings. The dust has been so thick that it was almost impossible to discover what it was all about and who. Today, however, for a moment, there is a rift in the cloud and through it may be discerned the figure of Mrs. George Madden Martin, of Louisville, Ky. Immediately the cause of the row is understood. * * * *

Mrs. Martin is an independent-minded woman. * * * And a year or two ago she * * * indited an article on club women in general. This is one of the things she said:

Relying upon our leaders, the mass of organized women too often know little or nothing about the measures which we indorse. And as a woman's club member of thirty-one years' standing, I hold I have a right to an opinion.

This was the theory Mrs. Martin sought to expound at Atlantic City. It sounds reasonable to an outsider, but to the General Federation of Women's Clubs it is sheer anarchy. Mrs. Martin has sought to establish that the minority has a right to an opinion. She has been voted down. The Women's Clubs have decided that the minority has no right to an opinion. And that's that.

CLUBWOMEN PICK TEXAS FOR 1928

FEDERATION GOES TO SAN ANTONIO AND BIENNIAL COUNCIL MEET AT GRAND RAPIDS IN 1927.

FUND TRUSTEES ARE NAMED

MRS. SHERMAN EXPECTS \$1,000,000 TO BE CONTRIBUTED TO CARRY ON WORK OF AMERICAN HOME SURVEY.

New York Times, June 6, 1926.

ATLANTIC CITY, June 5.—Following a meeting of the Executive Board of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. John D. Sherman of Estes Park, Col., President of the Federation, announced that San Antonio, Texas, has been selected for the 1928 convention. The biennial council which is made up of the directors, department chairmen and one delegate from each of the State Federations, will convene in Grand Rapids, Mich., in 1927. * * * *

Mrs. Sherman said that she expects outside contributions of \$1,000,000 to the foundation fund, which the federation has decided to raise to help carry on its work. She announced the names of five of the seven trustees who will handle the fund.

As for the so-called "Louisville rebels," who sought vainly to free minorities from the binding action of the majority at the last sessions, Mrs. Sherman said she would "let them be naughty for a while."

THEY DESERVED TO WIN

Louisville Herald-Post, June 3, 1926.

They did not win, but they deserved to win.

In the face of the manifest distaste of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the Louisville brand of independence—it was treated as though it were contumacy—we remain of that opinion still. * * *

There is something challenging—offensive is too ugly a word—in the arrogant assumption of a dominant and deciding authority. It may not always so much as represent a respectable minority. It may—and, in parallel conditions among men, it of-

ten is—it may be no more than the voice of a militant and mischievous clique. But it goes.

We will not say that this is somewhat the wadyer-goin'-to-do-about-it attitude; but it does most closely bear a complexion of that sort.

As we understand it the undemocratic have prevailed.

That does not modify our respect for the courage and the soundness of the position taken by the Louisville protesters.

WOMEN IN COUNCIL

The Outlook, New York, June, 1926.

The eighteenth biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs has been in session in Atlantic City. The purpose of the club federation, as succinctly stated by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter in a recent article, is "to stimulate the individual club; to weld the clubs into State organizations; to draw the States into a more profound understanding of each other through the central body, as the spokes of a wheel are made a unit by the hub." The thousands of delegates at the Convention represent many hundred thousands of members of local clubs.

Originally the Federation did not enter the field of National issues, but was chiefly educational and social. At the biennial of 1914, however, after a hard fight for years, the pressure of the suffrage issue resulted in widening the scope of the General Federation, and naturally, therefore, of the State and local clubs. This year, for instance, the subjects which have attracted most attention have been the enforcement of prohibition, the establishment of a Federal Department of Education, and the continuance of the effort for a child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution. Speakers like Governor Pinchot and William Green, head of the Federation of Labor, were listened to with deep interest. The Federation voted strongly in favor of all three causes. The warmest discussion was over child labor, many Southern delegates urging that the matter was properly one for the States to control, but the affirmative action was taken by a vote of 678 to 263.

There has long been a difference of opinion as to how far the General Federation has the right to control action or expression of opinion by the individual clubs. Common sense indicates that the relation is friendly and advisory rather than coercive. The clubs are of varied character and purpose—art, education, literary, musical, local improvement, philanthropic, and so on. They will listen to

the resolutions passed by their General Federation with respect, but in large measure they will continue to hold their own views and support the measures they think to be for the general good.

The Federation is a great instrument of social progress, but it does not and ought not to have the binding authority of a party convention.

WOMEN OF INDEPENDENCE

Cincinnati Enquirer, May 31, 1926.

Our hat is off to the women delegates from Kentucky who attended the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Atlantic City. They are women of sanity who believe in democratic principles. They resent the overlordship, or overladyship one perhaps should say, of a few officers who appear to be convinced of their sovereign right and title to commit the entire membership body to policies which may not be approved by the majority of the membership.

More power to the lady delegates of Kentucky! They are champions of democracy, foes of oligarchy, vital opponents of an official few sisters at the top of the organization, who would rule without regard to the rights of individual clubs.

This is a matter of importance to the nation. It is easier for certain forces, inimical to the best interests of the American form of government, to "get next" to a few individuals than it is to influence considerable groups of women. This accounts for the child-labor amendment agitation and the maternity monstrosity proposed under Government auspices, direction and control, and for many Socialistic themes of propaganda.

The women of Kentucky also urge the postponement, for two years' consideration, of the proposed revision of the charter, by-laws and standing manner that would revolutionize it, radically changing the nature and constructure of the organization.

But it is their stand for democracy that most should entitle the Louisville ladies to commendation and support. It means that the top-sergeant sisters at the head of the organization will not be permitted, without strenuous opposition, to go to Congress, from time to time, declaring that they represent three or more millions of voters, when they want something in the way of legislation, or think they want it. They really may not represent a respectable minority.

The ladies of Louisville are for the individual club and do not recognize

the finality of the authority of the President of the General Federation when that officer makes a ruling. They want the individual clubs to have the right to think about, talk about and act upon any proposal worthy of consideration by the women of America. And they are right.

BOUND TO WIN

Louisville Herald-Post, June 1926.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, in session at Atlantic City last week, spent a part of one of the closing days of the session debating reducing measures, i. e., plans to avoid getting fat, and ended up by passing resolutions advising members not to adopt any dietary tactics not recommended by a reputable physician.

This is all right if the ladies wished to put in their time that way. The decision they came to was sensible, and many a convention of men have wasted time in subjects even more trivial. Let us make ourselves clear on one thing. Women have as much sense as men. We offer no stricture of the Federation of Women's Clubs that could not be duplicated in writing of many of the annual gatherings attended only by those of the male sex.

And yet, when this is said, the fact stands out that the governing spirits of the Federation of Women's Clubs refused to permit the delegates from the Louisville Woman's Club to properly discuss a great principle of representation, although they had plenty of time to give to a talk about reducing measures.

II.

The biennial convention of Women's Clubs has passed into history. Let us sum up on the issue presented to that organization from Louisville.

As things stand, the officers and the "inside coterie" of the Federation of Women's Clubs maintains a "lobby" at Washington. It is the favorite assertion of the representatives of this "lobby" that they "represent 3,000,000 women." The accuracy of this claim is disputed from Louisville. The Louisville Woman's Club maintains that, before an attempt is made to commit the 3,000,000 women more or less loosely affiliated with the federation to any political measure that an attempt should be made to see what the women think about it. "Consult the individual clubs and the individual club members before committing them to any legislative proposition at Washington"—such was the sensible proposition of the Louisville organization. It got nowhere before the At-

lantic City meeting, but it is certain to triumph in the end, or the Federation of Women's Clubs will melt away.

III.

The inner coterie of the Federation of Women's Clubs is committed to a national child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Now every humane person believes in reasonable regulation of child labor. As a matter of fact, reasonable regulation has now been provided by all the States. What these violet-rayed reformers propose is that Congress be given the right to impose on the States new regulations, enter into family life from Maine to California, control absolutely the destinies of the young people of America.

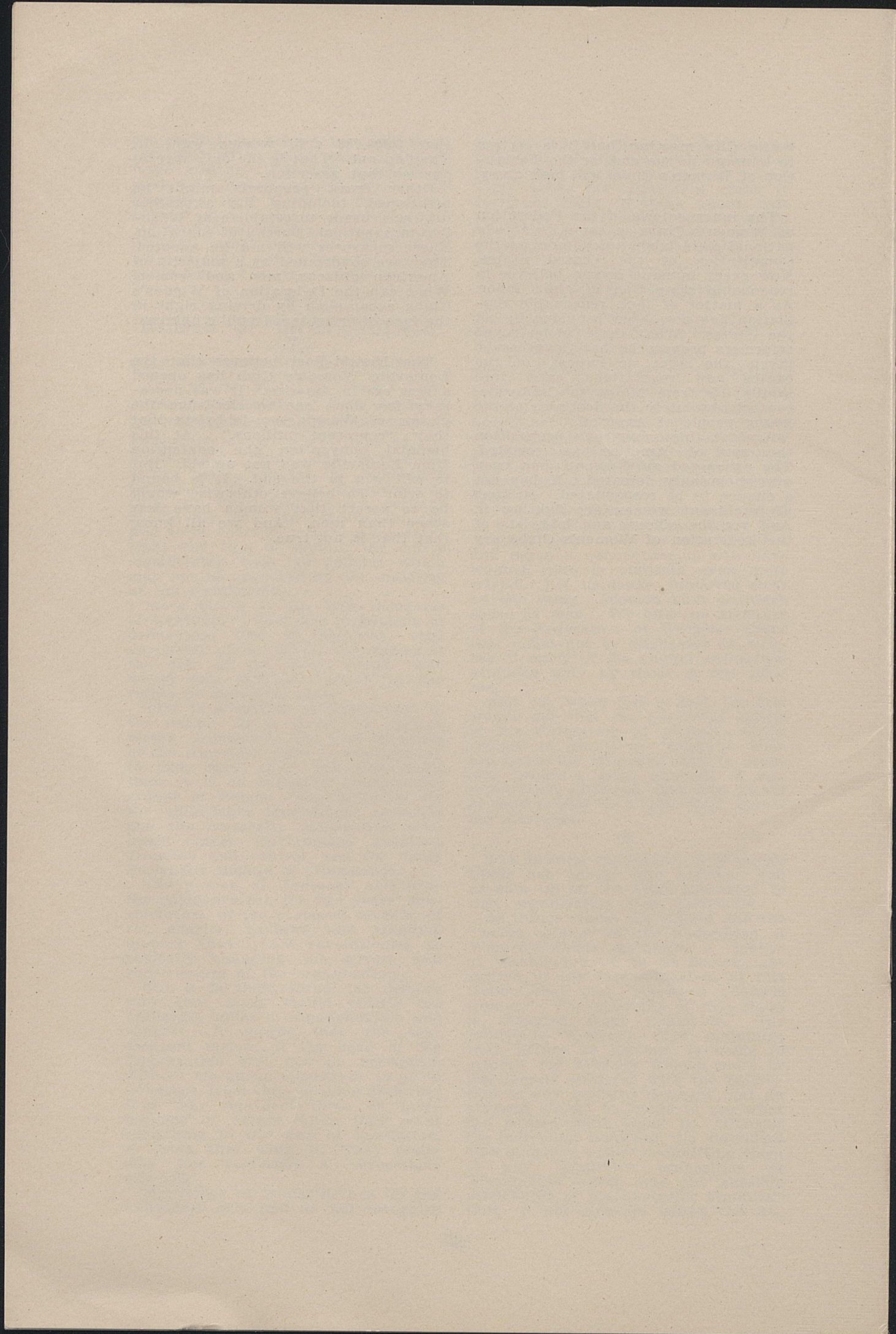
Against this monstrous proposition the soul of America has revolted. The proposed amendment has been overwhelmingly defeated. It has not a chance to be resuscitated. Millions of intelligent women are fighting it. And yet the officers and lobbyists of the Federation of Women's Clubs say

that 3,000,000 club women want it. They do not. That is the only way to answer that assertion.

Other freak proposals might be mentioned, including the altogether unwise crusade to establish at Washington a national bureau of education. These measures will not be adopted. They are condemned by a majority of American citizens, men and women. What can the Federation of Women's Clubs accomplish by driving right in the face of enlightened public opinion?

V.

The Herald-Post believes that the Louisville Woman's Club has opened a new era in America. It was necessary for some one to challenge the claims of Washington lobbyists that they "represent millions." At this biennial convention the contention from Louisville was not upheld. But it will win in the end. It is bound to win. To believe otherwise would be to assert that women have less sense than men. And we all know that that is not true.



FOREWORD

The Woman's Club of Louisville, April 13, 1926, adopted a By-law in opposition to the ruling made by Mrs. J. D. Sherman, President of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, at the Biennial Council, June, 1925, holding that the will of the majority binds the minority.

The Woman's Club of Louisville passed a resolution May 5, 1926, to the effect that its delegates to the Biennial Convention of the General Federation, May 24-June 5, 1926, ask that no action be taken by that body at this time on the proposed changes in its Charter, By-laws, and Standing Rules, or, if such action is taken, to cast a negative vote against such changes.

The following are the respective arguments presented to The Woman's Club of Louisville, on these two occasions, before the vote resulting in the two stands, was taken by its members.

ARGUMENT IN DEFENSE OF THE RIGHT OF THE WOMAN'S
CLUB OF LOUISVILLE TO CONTROL ITS ACTIONS.

Madame President and Members of the Club:

The Woman's Club of Louisville was organized in 1890, thirty-six years ago. It joined the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1891, and it assisted in forming the Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs in 1894.

When the Woman's Club of Louisville was organized, woman had no direct political power. The enfranchisement of the women in the United States in 1920, and subsequent developments through the exercise of this franchise during the last six years, have brought new conditions within this and every woman's club. Where this club was for thirty years an influence only, and that local, it is now become through its recommendations and endorsements of legislative measures, backed by the power of its combined vote, a factor in both state and national politics.

An organized group or club, may be non-partisan, working for measures regardless of parties, but from the moment when it endeavors to influence legislation through the power of the vote it represents, it becomes political.

It is because the Woman's Club of Louisville is a political factor that the necessity faces its members to decide how the club's policy is to be determined; whether by and for itself, or by the State Federation and the General Federation respectively, as determined by the will of the majority.

Your Committee on Revision of By-Laws, finding the position of the Woman's Club of Louisville undeclared on this question, either in its Articles of Incorporation or its By-Laws, believed it to be its duty in the circumstances to bring the matter to the body of the club, and thus ascertain the wishes of the members.

In the judgment of your committee, the best way to get this expression was to submit to the Club a proposed By-Law embodying this issue; the approximately 700 members of the Club through the adoption or the rejection of this By-Law, to signify their stand upon the question:

Shall the Woman's Club of Louisville retain, or surrender, its right to determine its policy?

The General Federation has always expressed itself forcibly and unequivocally for the rights of the individual club until now, when Mrs. Sherman's recent ruling reverses this policy.

At that initial gathering, March, 1889, where the assembled delegates from sixty-one individual clubs met in Madison Square Garden, New York, and organized the General Federation, the question that this club is discussing today, was then and there settled, as the delegates supposed, and embodied in the motto for the General Federation, "Unity in Diversity."

The second President of the General Federation, who was also a member of the first Advisory Board, said, as reported in the General Federation records, and speaking officially:

"The General Federation has no wish to curtail the freedom of the local clubs, but desires them to exercise the largest liberty of thought and action consistent with loyalty to the general movement."

The third President of the General Federation said, at the Biennial meeting held here in Louisville, 1896, this as recorded in the official records:

"The General Federation ***** is pledged to accomplish this (its work and aims) without arbitrary and antagonistic means; in this great democracy it is what the individual freely wills that must conquer on the higher planes of politics, of education, of art and of religion, and to the non-aggressive and educational methods, the Federation stands pledged by its motto, 'Unity in Diversity'."

If doubts remained with the clubs as to where the General Federation stood on the subject, it was settled definitely in 1902. A question of policy arose at this time, the clubs within the Federation divided on the old lines of North and South, feeling ran high and, in the language of the official recorder, 'the Federation itself was endangered.' The matter was adjusted by the adoption of the so-called 'Compromise Resolution,' resulting in an amendment of the By-Laws, the said Resolution standing in the official records today and saying:—

WHEREAS, We recognize the principle of States Rights, etc., and

WHEREAS, We desire a full exemplification of the General Federation's basic principle of 'Unity in Diversity,' etc., etc.

A dozen further confirmations could be added to these cited, were there time, leaving no doubt where the General Federation stood during the first thirty years of its life, on the right of the individual club to control its own action.

Last June, at the Biennial Council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, meeting at West Baden, Indiana, your President, Mrs. Gifford, asked the Chair, Mrs. Sherman, for a construction of the rule of the majority as accepted in The General Federation.

Mrs. Sherman, replying, made the following ruling:

"Through the delegates ***** the Federation has its opportunity to record its stand on questions. When a resolution has been adopted at such meetings, either unanimously or by a majority, it should be regarded as the action of the organization. State Federations, or individual clubs, opposed to the action taken, should not conduct a campaign in the name of the State or the Club, in opposition to that of the General Federation. Individual members of the State federations or individual members of clubs, are free to enter campaigns in opposition as individuals but not as clubs. In no other way can the General Federation speak as an organization."

Let us look now at this ruling from the standpoint of Mrs. Sherman and her Board of Directors who hold that Mrs. Sherman is wholly within her rights in thus reversing what up to now has been the policy, affirmed and recorded, of the General Federation.

Mrs. Sherman herself, replying in a telegram to your committee, confirms this ruling, and says further:—

"Ruling is not a By-Law but plain common sense. What could you accomplish in a club if members opposed to action taken, work against such project in name of club. There is an ethical and rational obligation of clubs to the Federation as well as of members to a club."

Mrs. Plummer, Chairman of Applied Education, General Federation, replying to a letter from your committee, confirms the ruling as binding on individual clubs, saying:—

"A ruling was asked for from the Chair. Mrs. Sherman gave it, as quoted, and the House sustained her ruling. This is then binding upon the organization until the vote has been reconsidered, or the action rescinded."

The point held, ladies, by your committee, is that, as the authority claimed by Mrs. Sherman for the General Federation has never been delegated to the General Federation by the individual clubs, any ruling on the subject, whether backed by a majority or a unanimous vote, is null and void.

No attempt is made on the part of Mrs. Sherman, or her supporters, to show where or when any such authority has been delegated. And the further position taken by your committee is that it cannot be shown because it has never been delegated. Your committee offers in proof of this as regards your own organization, The Woman's Club of Louisville, the following:

The Articles of Incorporation of the Woman's Club of Louisville were granted in 1912. Consolidation of corporations can exist only when expressly authorized to do so by Statute. Your revision committee can find no Statute authorizing this corporation, The Woman's Club of Louisville, to consolidate with any other corporation. In other words, the association and affiliation of the Woman's Club of Louisville, Incorporated, with the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and with the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, is voluntary and informal, and being without legal sanction, carries with it no surrender of rights.

Further, your revision committee finds nothing in your Articles of Incorporation, or in your By-Laws, defining, limiting or conceding any right to any other organization or federation.

Again, the original constitution of the General Federation, 1890, its succeeding Articles of Incorporation granted by the State of New Jersey, 1893, and its present Charter granted by an act of Congress 1901, recognize nor claim such delegated power, nor is there any word on the subject in their respective By-Laws.

Again, the Articles of Incorporation granted to the Kentucky State Federation, 1918, neither recognize nor claim such delegated power, nor is there anything touching on the subject in the By-Laws.

Mrs. Plummer says further in her reply to your Committee:—

"There is no doubt a club can reserve the right of independent action when measures it does not endorse receive the endorsement of other organizations with which it is affiliated. As to the ethics of such a course, I should like to ask another question which will perhaps illuminate. If a club has departments, or committees, can that department or committee insert in its rules the provision

that it reserves to itself the right to act contrary to the voted will of the Club?"

This, ladies, seems a rather unfortunate illustration for Mrs. Plummer's argument, as she seems to have overlooked entirely that the department or committee is the creature of the club, while the club is certainly not the creature of the Federation, but the other way around, the clubs having created and set up, as their creature, the Federation.

Mrs. Edward White, Chairman of Legislation, General Federation at the time of this ruling, sustains Mrs. Sherman and justifies the ruling, saying:—

"It is a cardinal principle, not only of parliamentary law, but of our United States government, that the majority must rule. ***** I may liken our position to the United States Government."

This, ladies, is true, but it is only partly true, and half truths are sometimes more dangerous than falsehoods. The will of the majority as expressed in the Congress of the United States is binding on the several states and the citizens thereof, but only to the extent and within the limits of the authority specifically conferred on the Congress by the states. And any attempt on the part of the Congress by a majority and even a unanimous vote, to control the actions of the states or of the citizens, in matters where authority has not been specifically conferred on the Congress, is null and void.

As stated already, it is our position that the General Federation in making this ruling is claiming authority never conferred on it by the clubs, and therefore not binding.

Assuming for the moment, however, that the General Federation is within its rights in making this ruling based on the rule of the majority, Mrs. Sherman, after taking office in 1924, sent a message to the clubs in Kentucky. This message as printed in the Manual of the State Federation, 1924-5, says:—

"The General Federation is a Democracy."

Mrs. White, in turn, as we have seen, likens the Federation to the United States Government, and on this basis, claims for it majority rule. Now, granted that the General Federation is a democracy, and granted that democracy implies rule by the majority, we find this:—

Rule by the majority as recognized here in the United States is based on proportional representation. If the General Federation had contemplated any such right of control, through majority action, do you believe that the women at that time in control of the destinies of the local clubs would have been satisfied with the basis of representation as provided in the respective By-Laws of the General Federation and the Kentucky State Federation? Under which, in our State Federation, for example, the three smallest clubs in the State can outvote the Woman's Club of Louisville with its 700 members.

Ladies, the unnatural formation of the General Federation, in which individual clubs and State federations were admitted on an equal footing, and where at the council, every officer, every director, every chairman, and every past president, has a vote equal to the vote of the Woman's Club of Louisville with its 700 members, has proved too complicated a system for your committee. But as far as it could be worked out by this committee, you shall have it.

In the original status of the clubs, and federations, the machinery through which these three systems functioned, made no provision for strictly construed proportional representation. At the Tenth Biennial, 1910, a report by the Chair, calling the attention of the delegates to the inconsistencies in the present system of Club representation, says:—

"Sometime, too, carefully, prudently and thoughtfully, we may want to remove the danger inherent in our present duplex and illogical basis of representation and membership."

Your revision committee offers the following analysis of this system of representation, taking first, the Kentucky State Federation, and second, the General Federation. The figures as your committee finds them are as follows:

At the Kentucky State Federation Conventions:

	Votes
Woman's Club of Louisville, 700 members.....	5
Any club in the State of 25 or less.....	2
Any club of 100 members.....	5
State Board of Directors, each.....	1
Past Presidents, each.....	1

Illustration,—any three clubs of 25 members each, or less, can outvote the Woman's Club of Louisville, 700 members, at the State convention. Any club of 100 members has equal voting power with the Woman's Club of Louisville, 700 mem.

bers, and with the vote of one director, or one past president, can outvote the Woman's Club of Louisville.

Turning now to representation in the General Federation, and considering first, the Biennial Convention:—

	Votes
Woman's Club of Louisville, 700 members.....	7
Any club of any membership.....	1
The Kentucky State Federation.....	11
Each officer, and each director, and each past president of General Federation.....	1
Consider now representation at the General Federation Council:	
Woman's Club of Louisville.....	1
Any club.....	1
State Presidents, each.....	1
Officers, directors, past presidents, each.....	1

You will note the voting strength of the officers, directors, past presidents, etc., as compared with the individual clubs and will realize for yourselves what was meant at the Tenth Biennial by—

“the danger inherent in our present duplex and illogical system of representation.”

Illustration: At the General Federation Biennial and Council, entitled to one vote each, are six officers, twenty-six chairmen and forty-eight directors, a working total of eighty votes, to which are to be added the vote each of every past president.

To minimize the power of organized women; to-day and in the future is shortsighted, ladies. The best club woman is she who takes the longest view. This ruling by Mrs. Sherman not only denies to every individual club the right as a minority to work through resolution, press, Legislature and Congress against a measure it, on principle, may have opposed, or to work for any measure it as a minority may have endorsed, but it does more.

It wipes out the minority, ignoring this vote entirely, in the general statement as given to the press, the public, to legislators and to congressmen, that this measure is endorsed and supported, and that measure is condemned and opposed, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs representing three million votes. At once denying the right of the minority to be heard, and conveying to the public a false conclusion.

It is no solution of this question that we are here to-day to consider, to say, “Let the clubs dissatisfied with this ruling by Mrs. Sherman, resign and get out of the Federation.” The reverse is the duty of the disaffected clubs. The General Federation is their own structure, built up by them through thirty years under a different policy.

The so-called club movement among women, originating in the 19th century is listed as one of the notably great movements of the century. This is conceded on three grounds, first,

Those things accomplished in their communities by the 15,000 local clubs throughout the 48 States have been on the whole, commendable and wise;—second,

Those things accomplished in the states and the nation through the banding together of these several million representative American women, have been, on the whole, commendable and wise; third,

The work done, both singly and through federation, whether social, intellectual or ethical, has been broadly educational, alike to these clubs and to their communities.

The more then that this past record was achieved under the original policy, is it the duty of the disaffected clubs to remain within the Federation, and seek to preserve this policy.

Said another President of the General Federation, as recorded:

“Federation offers wider opportunities and experiments, a more extended outlook and association with women and other localities, having different points of view. Yet while much has been done through collective strength and influence, yet the ultimate unit is the individual club. Therein lies the chief source of strength to the Federation. The ultimate clubs are, and should remain, local clubs, with aims and purposes apart from those which engross the General Federation. In these local purposes are the causes for their existence and the guaranty of their perpetuity. The strong basis of self-interest and individual liberty is the nucleus of strength vitalizing the collective organization.”

In offering the following proposed By-Law, it is the thought of your committee to afford you the opportunity to re-open the issue. And, by its adoption, provide in

your club, a test case for the trying out of the validity of this ruling, at the forthcoming Biennial, in June.

In thus having a question fundamental to the future of the club movement, given wide hearing and free debate, you will serve clubs and federations alike, and this in a constructive sense; in that the ultimate decision will be based on a wider understanding by the 15,000 clubs of the Country, of the principles involved.

Your committee on revision therefore, here submits for your action, the following:

WHEREAS, the General Federation of Women's Clubs was organized, as set forth in its charter, "for * * * culture, and to bring into communication with one another the various women's clubs throughout the world," and

WHEREAS, the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs was organized as set forth in its Articles of Incorporation, "to bring together the representatives of various clubs of women in Kentucky," and

WHEREAS, nothing in the charter, articles of incorporation, or By-Laws of either Federation, or of the Woman's Club of Louisville, or in the resolutions under which The Woman's Club of Louisville became a member of the Federation, gives to either Federation any authority to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville by a majority vote or otherwise, and,

WHEREAS, the absence of proportional representation would be sufficient reason if no other existed for refusing to recognize the authority of the General Federation to control the action of the Woman's Club of Louisville, as claimed by Mrs. Sherman in her recent ruling at West Baden,

RESOLVED, That the By-Laws of the Woman's Club of Louisville be amended by the addition of the following:

No action of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, or of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, shall be binding on this Club until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of this Club at a meeting called for that purpose.

The following excerpt from the By-Laws of the CHAMBER OF COMMERCE of the United States of America shows how this organization handles the question of preserving the rights of the minority among its organization members:

Article XIII, Section 10. On a question submitted to referendum no organization member found to have voted with the minority shall be deemed to impair its standing in the Chamber by adhering to its position or by continuing its efforts in support thereof.

ARGUMENT FROM THE FLOOR OF THE LOUISVILLE WOMAN'S CLUB, MAY 5, 1926.

For Postponement of Action on the Proposed Changes in the Charter, By-Laws and Standing Rules of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The CALL to the Biennial Meeting includes the proposed revisions in the Charter, By-Laws, and Standing Rules of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to be voted on at the Biennial Meeting of the General Federation to be held in Atlantic City May 24 to June 5, 1926.

The proposed change in Section 1 of the Enabling Act of the Charter has a tendency to change entirely the purposes for which the General Federation was established in 1889 since it states that the women of the United States are no longer banded together in a General Federation "for educational, industrial, philanthropic, literary, artistic, and scientific culture," but that they are banded together "to promote projects for the betterment of humanity and to take concerted action toward that end."

All history shows that the great achievements of any nation are accomplished during, or after, an intellectual, artistic, or spiritual awakening, but according to this proposed revision, we are to be confined to projects, and we may take concerted action to accomplish them! Here follows the Charter, Section 1, as it now is and as it is proposed to revise it:

REVISION TO CHARTER, By-LAWS AND STANDING RULES TO BE
VOTED UPON AT THE EIGHTEENTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CHARTER:

Be it resolved, and it is hereby ordered, that the necessary procedure be taken to amend Section I of an Act entitled—"An Act Granting a Charter to the General Federation of Women's Clubs," as follows:

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Repre-
- 2 sentatives of the United States of America in Congress
- 3 assembled, That (Names of signers of the charter
- 4 * * * * *) and their associates and successors,
- 5 are hereby created a body corporate and politic of the
- 6 District of Columbia, by the name, style and title of
- 7 the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and by
- 8 that name shall have perpetual succession, for educa-
- 9 tional, industrial, philanthropic, literary, artistic, and
- 10 scientific culture, and to bring into communication
- 11 with one another the various Women's Clubs through-
- 12 out the world, with power to said corporation to make
- 13 and use a common seal, and to alter the same at
- 14 pleasure.

Line 9, finish the sentence with the word "succession."

Lines 9, 10 and 11, strike out the words "for educational, industrial, philanthropic, literary, artistic, and scientific culture, and"

Line 11, insert the words "The object of this organization shall be" before the words "to bring into communication, etc."

Line 13, add after the word "world," the words, "to promote projects for the betterment of humanity and to take concerted action to that end."

The section will then read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (Names of the signers of the Charter
* * * * *) and their associates and successors,
are hereby created a body corporate and politic of the District of Columbia, by the name, style and title of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and by that name shall have perpetual succession. The object of this organization shall be to bring into communication with one another the various Women's Clubs throughout the world, to promote projects for the betterment of humanity and to take concerted action toward that end, with power to said corporation to make and use a common seal, and to alter the same at pleasure.

Under the title of ELIGIBILITY OF ORGANIZATIONS the proposed change in Section 4 of Article 1 is quite startling because the revision omits the present requirement "that no member of a club joining the Federation may be affiliated with any organization which tolerates, either by practice or teaching, violation of national and state laws."

This means that the I. W. W., a Bolshevik or any other radical organization, or one disloyal to our government, may become a member of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. It is of course true that a clause insuring loyalty to the individual State and the Federal government is not in the Charter of all individual clubs, but the significance of this revision in the General Federation's Charter is in its being taken out at a time when the world's peace is being disturbed by radical and disloyal organizations.

ELIGIBILITY OF ORGANIZATIONS.

Article I.

- 1 Section 4. All applications must show that the or-
- 2 ganization requires no sectarian or political test for
- 3 membership; that it is not a secret society that no

4 one of its members is affiliated with any organization
5 which tolerates, either by practice or teaching, viola-
6 tion of national and state laws, and that it agrees to
7 the constitution and by-laws of the General Federa-
8 tion.

Lines 3, 4, 5, 6. Strike out "that no one of its members is affiliated with any organization which tolerates either by practice or teaching, violation of national and state laws."

N. B.—Since the meeting of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs at Middlesboro, Ky., May 4-8, 1926, Section 4 of Article I has been withdrawn from the Call to the Biennial and will not be presented at the meeting of the General Federation in Atlantic City. This withdrawal has been officially announced to the National Federation Director for Kentucky.

Under the topic "Method of Electing Chairman of Departments of Work and Standing Committees, Articles II and IV, such a reorganization of the General Federation is effected by the revisions that the destinies of all the clubs in the country are placed in the hands of nine persons composing the Executive Committee who are to appoint (according to the proposed revision) the Chairmen of Departments of Work and Standing Committees, instead of these Chairmen being appointed by the Board of Directors from the individual States.

Below find Articles II and IV.

METHOD OF ELECTING CHAIRMEN OF DEPARTMENTS OF WORK AND STANDING COMMITTEES.

Article II.

Section 2. "The board of directors shall elect chairmen of departments of work and standing committees. The board of directors may create, discontinue, or combine departments of work and standing committees."

Strike out first sentence.

Article IV.

Section 1. The board of directors shall, at its first meeting following the biennial convention, elect an executive committee of nine, to consist of the president, the first and second vice-presidents, the recording secretary, the treasurer, the chairman of the finance committee, a department chairman and two directors.

The executive committee is empowered to transact, between board meetings, the routine business of the Federation and to act in emergencies which do not affect the policies of the Federation or entail large expenditures of money.

This committee shall meet at the call of the president.

After first paragraph insert:

Section 2. The executive committee shall appoint the chairmen of the departments of work and standing committees.

Make second paragraph "section 3."

In addition to this centralization of power in the hands of nine women, Article V under Work of Departments demands by the proposed revision that "chairmen of all Departments of Work of the Federation shall conduct the work appropriate to their Departments in accordance with a plan which shall be approved by the President and may in co-operation with the Chairman of the Department of Legislation prosecute such work to completion through legislation both State and Federal." This revision is in strong contrast with Section 2 of Article V as it has long read. See Article V and proposed changes below.

WORK OF DEPARTMENTS.

Article V.

Section 2. The plan of work of departments shall be submitted to the president for her approval, and no such work shall be undertaken without such approval.

Substitute the following:

"Chairmen of all departments of work of the Federation shall conduct the work appropriate to their departments in accordance with a plan which shall be

approved by the President and may in co-operation with the chairman of the department of legislation, prosecute such work to completion through legislation both state and federal."

The revisions in Articles II, IV, and V in fact make the General Federation of Women's Clubs a political body, similar to other political bodies, determined to hold and wield power over Congressmen and members of the Legislatures largely by means of lobbies maintained in Washington and in the capitals of the various States.

In the list of Resolutions to be presented at the meeting in Atlantic City, under the head of Department of Legislation appears one asking for relief of the President of the General Federation in the matter of legislation. The Resolution reads—

"WHEREAS, endorsement of Federal legislative questions is becoming yearly a more and more intensive proposition requiring generous financial support, frequent calls upon the General President to preside at Congressional Hearings, very constant attendance at Sub-Committees of the Woman's Joint Congressional by the Washington Vice-Chairman of the Legislative Department, active lobbying and the taking of polls in both Senate and House, and

WHEREAS, the legislative schedule of measures already endorsed by the General Federation is still heavy, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the General Federation of Women's Clubs in the future guard its endorsements even more strictly, adopting the trial policy, for one year at least, of endorsing the principle of new measures rather than the Bills in entirety; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Board of Directors take some action looking toward the establishment in Washington, of a permanent Legislative Bureau that the President may be relieved of irksome legislative duties."

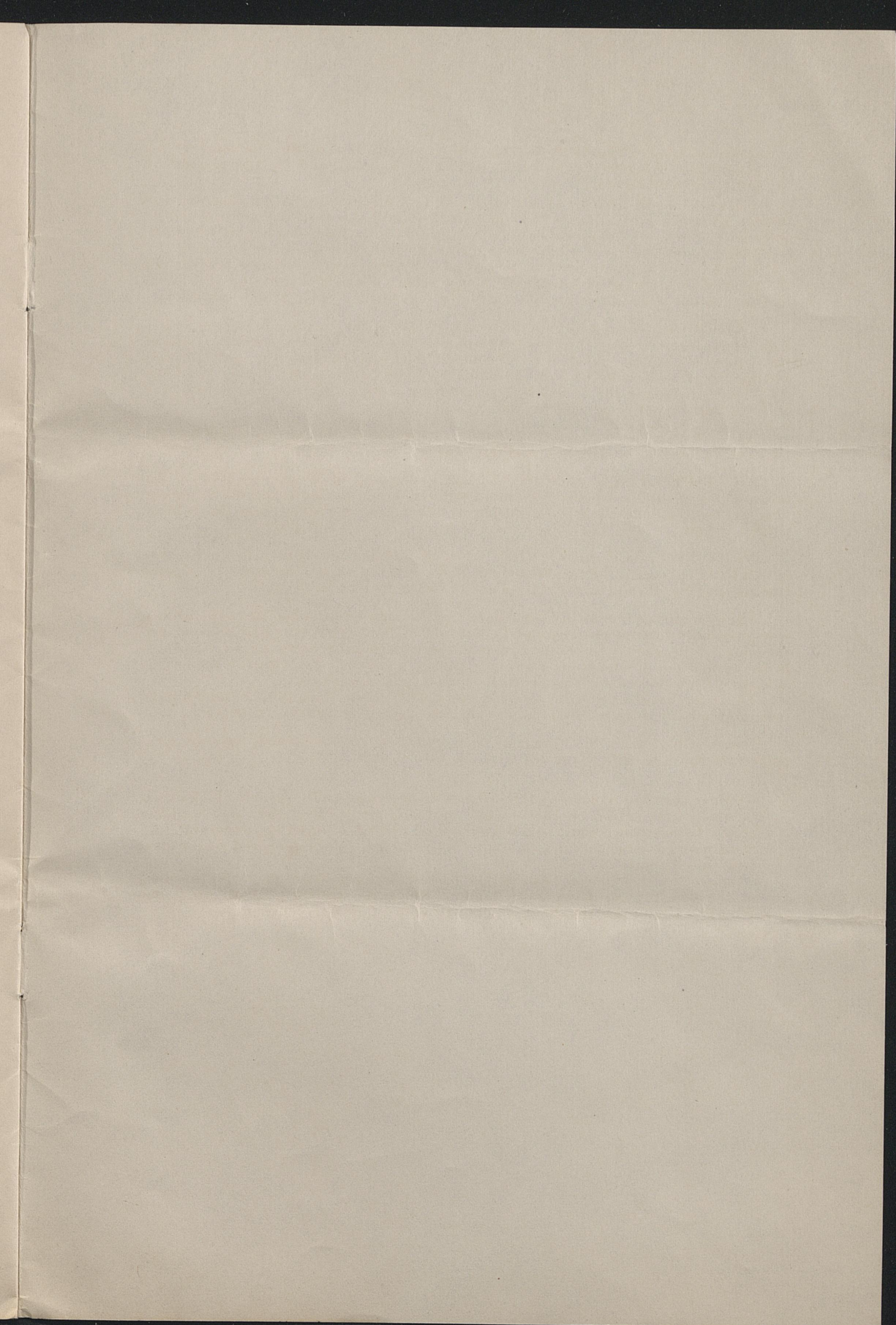
These proposals are far distant indeed from the purposes and spirit of the women who originally formed the General Federation of Women's Clubs and who wished the Clubs of the country to be able to communicate with one another and to co-operate in the promotion of education, literary, artistic, and scientific culture. We in this Woman's Club do not wish to organize ourselves for power.

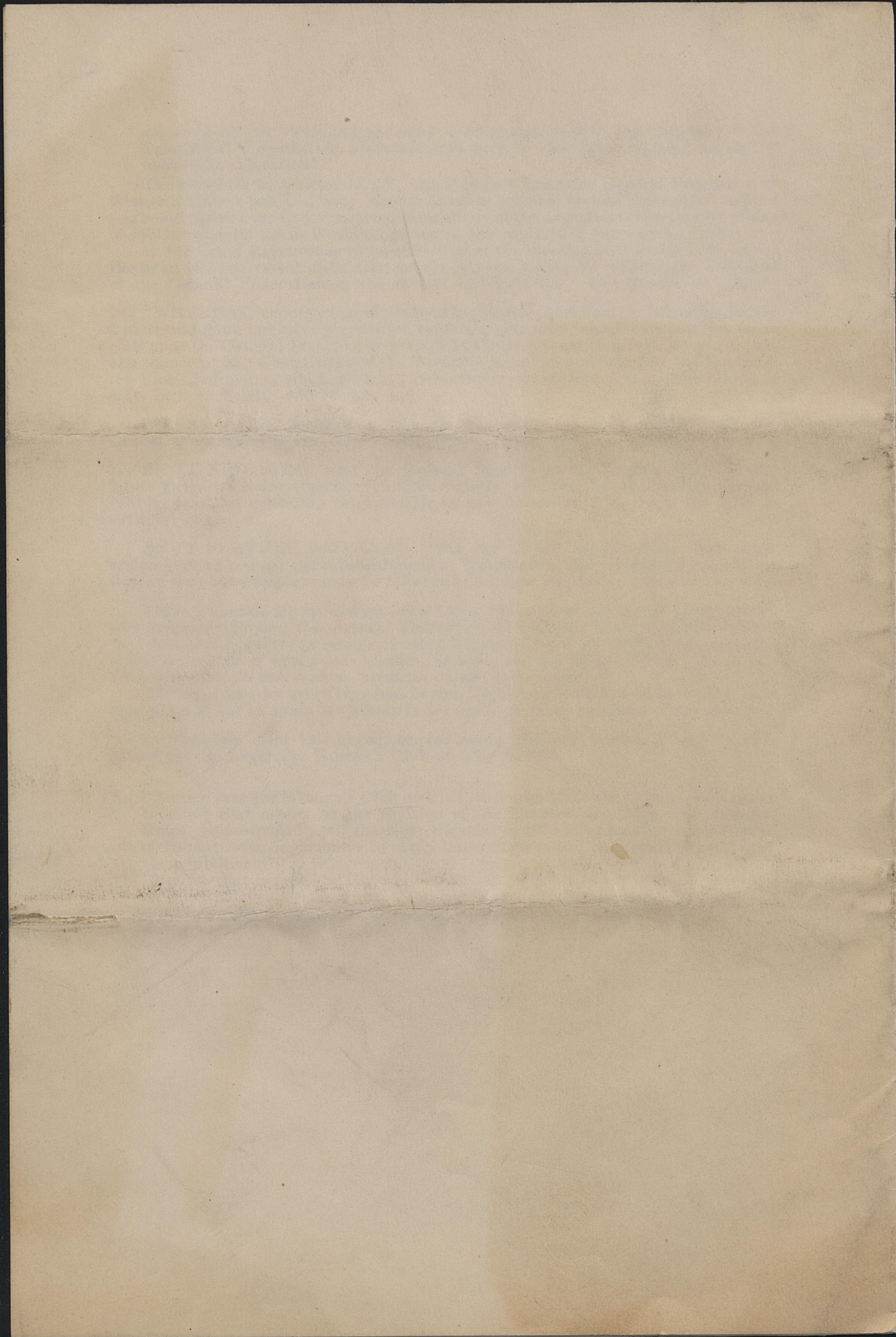
There are various other revisions in this CALL to the Biennial but enough have been pointed out to show the necessity for study of these proposed revisions.

Immediately after this argument was made, the two following motions were passed by the Louisville Woman's Club on May 5, 1926.

"I move that the Woman's Club instruct its delegates to the General Federation to move that action on the revision of the Charter, By-Laws, and Standing Rules, be postponed until the Next Biennial in 1928 in order that the affiliated clubs may have opportunity to study these changes and be prepared to act upon them intelligently in 1928."

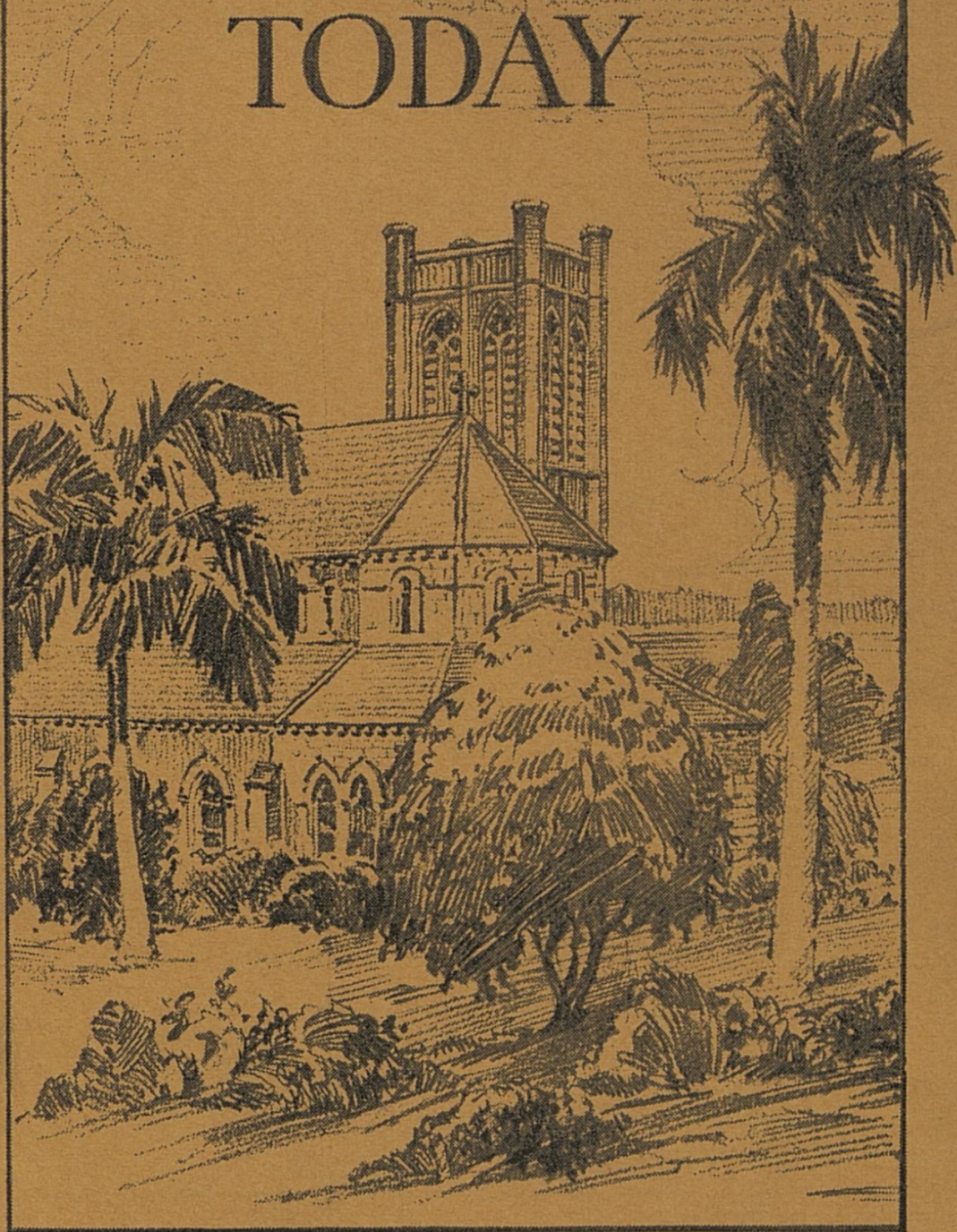
"I move that in case the General Federation proceeds to act upon the revisions of the Charter, By-Laws and Standing Rules at this Biennial Meeting, our Woman's Club delegates be instructed to vote against the change."



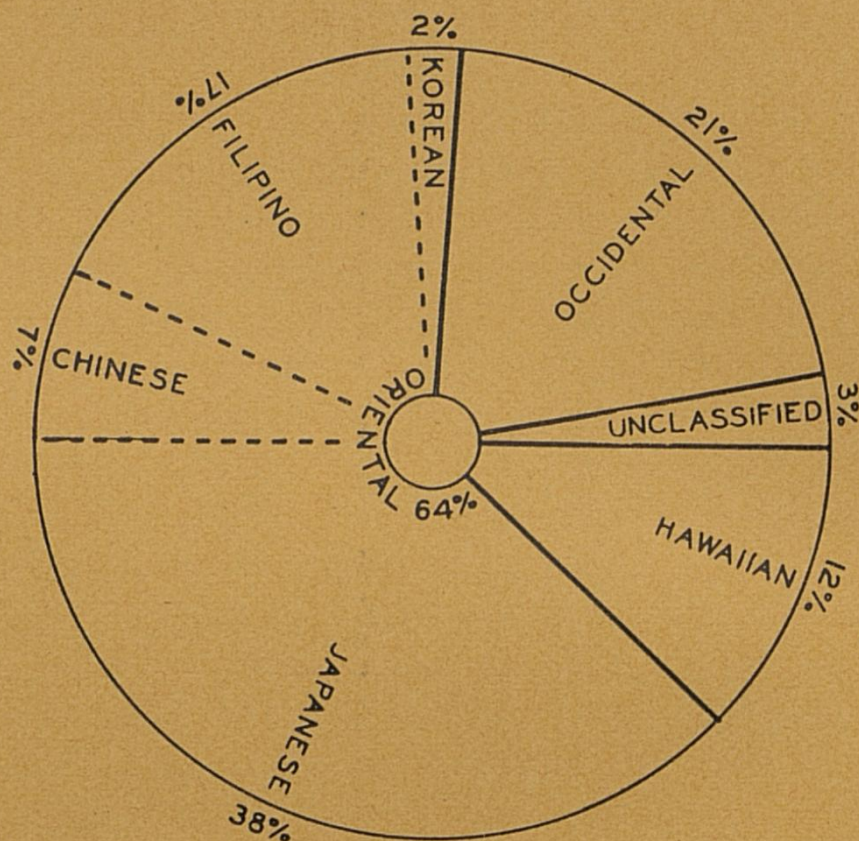


No. 1010

The
HAWAIIAN
ISLANDS
TODAY



THIRD EDITION



POPULATION *of the* HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Hawaiians	47,764
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ORIENTALS

Japanese	137,407
Chinese	25,211
Filipino	63,867
Korean	6,393

OCCIDENTALS

Portuguese	29,717
Porto Rican	6,923
Other Caucasians	39,857
Unclassified	11,197

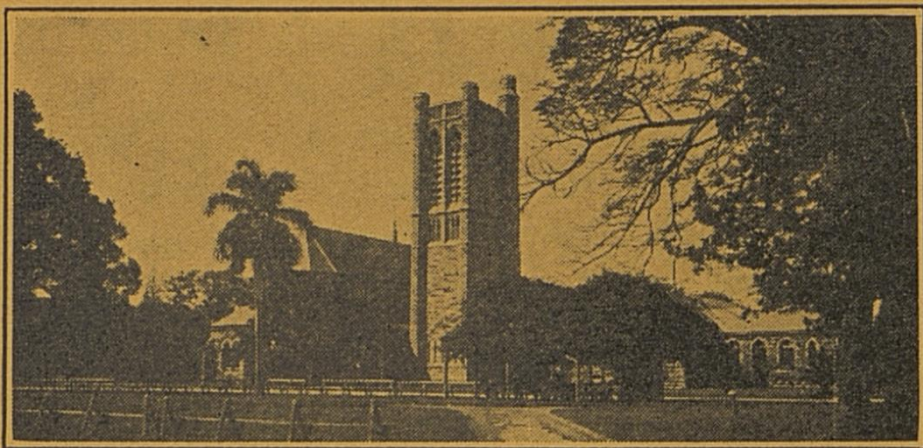
Total	368,336
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These population figures are according to the census of 1930 and show an increase of forty-four per cent during the last decade.

The Hawaiian Islands Today

THE DISTINCTIVE feature of the Church's Mission in the Hawaiian Islands is its interracial quality. Here, Orient and Occident meet in a manner duplicated nowhere else in the world. In a thoroughly western environment of 135,000 Occidentals, nearly a quarter of a million people of Oriental ancestry live, study, work, and play. About half of these people are Americans by birth, who are developing steadily into English-speaking American citizens. To this civilian population which needs the Church's ministrations must be added about twenty thousand soldiers and sailors who serve their appointed time in fortresses and camps, and at the Pearl Harbor Naval Base.

These people of many races live together in remarkable harmony and goodwill. Hence it is of the greatest importance that the Christian message should be presented to them in the fullness of its power. While the majority of the older generation Orientals adhere to their ancestral religions, there are almost unlimited opportunities for Christian evangelism among the younger generation. They are American citizens. They are predisposed to be sympathetic towards all aspects of western life, including religion. In a large number of cases, however, these young people are abandoning their ancestral faiths with nothing to replace them. A recent religious census taken in the Honolulu schools and in communities on other Islands shows that nearly fifty per cent of the younger island-born Orientals repudiate any connection with Buddhism, Shin-



St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu

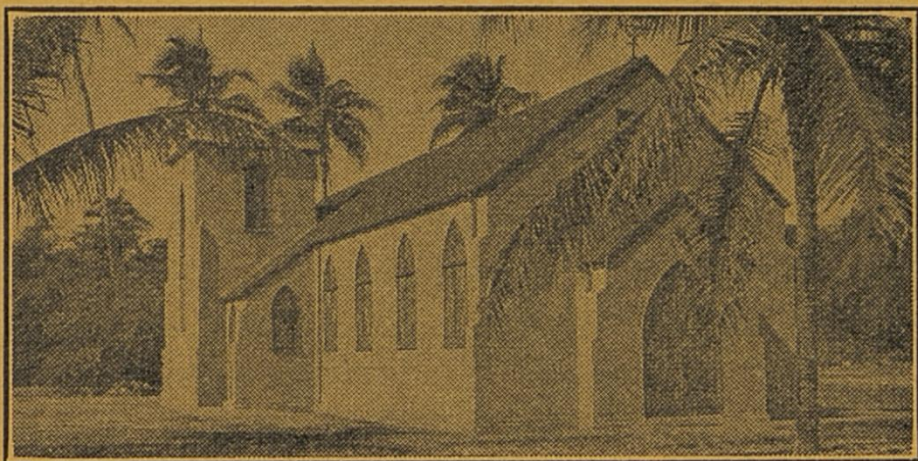
toism, and Confucianism. They are bewildered and perplexed; they need the vision of spiritual power which Christ and His Church alone can give.

In 1932, the Church in the Islands completed seventy years of work from the time the Rt. Rev. Thomas A. Staley, D.D., of the Church of England, the first Bishop of Honolulu, reached Hawaii. Since 1902 the work in the Islands has been under the jurisdiction of the American Episcopal Church.

Honolulu, the capital and only large city in the Islands, has a polyglot population numbering 140,000. This represents a growth in the last decade of sixty-four per cent and comprises more than a third of the entire population of the territory. Naturally it is the See City.

St. Andrew's Cathedral

Here St. Andrew's Cathedral Parish has just completed a remarkable group of parish buildings containing a chapel, separate class rooms for the Church school, a library, kindergarten and auditorium for general parish purposes.



Church of the Holy Innocents, Lahaina, Maui

These new additions make the Cathedral buildings perhaps the most striking and beautiful ecclesiastical and architectural group in the Islands. As the Cathedral grounds adjoin Washington Place, the Governor's mansion, these two properties comprise an open and attractive center in the closely built up downtown section of Honolulu. The Rev. Kenneth A. Bray arrived in August, 1932, to take charge of St. Andrew's Hawaiian congregation, which worships also in the Cathedral, and of St. Mark's Mission.

Other Honolulu Churches

In addition to the Cathedral congregation, there are in Honolulu a parish, (St. Clement's), eight missions, eight day and two boarding schools, four kindergartens and an orphanage. Three of the missions, St. Peter's (Chinese), St. Elizabeth's (Chinese), and Epiphany, are strong and give promise of becoming self-supporting.

St. Peter's Chinese Mission is in charge of the Rev. Sang Mark, an island-born and educated Chinese, of long experience.

Another important Chinese mission is St. Elizabeth's founded and largely maintained by the Procter family of Cincinnati.

Holy Trinity Japanese Mission, with its church, parish house, and small residence in the midst of the most densely populated Japanese section of the city, is developing vigorously under the Rev. P. T. Fukao, a Japanese priest.

The first exclusively Korean mission of our American Church is St. Luke's, in charge of the Rev. Noah Cho, a Korean priest. A new building, comprising chapel and schoolrooms, has been built, for which the Koreans themselves raised more than a third of the cost. The present buildings are altogether inadequate, in view of steady growth in the congregation and the schools. In the day school there are now ninety-nine Korean-American children.

New Mission on the Island of Molokai

The Church's mission on the Island of Molokai was inaugurated in January, 1931, by breaking ground for the Robert W. Shingle, Jr., Memorial Hospital, a gift of Senator and Mrs. Shingle in memory of their son. The hospital is on a five acre plot of land given the Church by the Government for religious and general community purposes. Molokai was the only Island of the group which had insufficient medical advantages before the hospital, the only medical work of our Church in the Hawaiian Islands, was started. In the first year, after the hospital was dedicated, there were sixteen persons baptized in chapel, and five confirmed.

New Japanese Missions

The Good Samaritan Mission in a growing suburb of Honolulu, Palolo Valley, was opened early in 1931 and is a center of active Church life. An experienced Japanese priest, from the Diocese of Osaka, lives in the new and commodious mission building. While the priest-in-charge is Japanese, there are assisting him Chinese and Hawaiian teachers; in the Church school there are pupils from seven different racial ancestries.

An active mission for the Japanese is carried on at Paauilo, Hawaii, under the direction of the Church Army men, much of the work being in the Japanese language under volunteer workers.

A school in connection with St. Andrew's known as the Cathedral Japanese School is situated on the Cathedral grounds. It is a very effective, evangelistic, as well as educational institution. Eleven pupils were baptized in 1932.

Another new Japanese Mission, St. Paul's, has been opened in the pineapple plantation camp of Libby, McNeil and Libby, on the Island of Molokai, about eighteen miles from the new Shingle Hospital. Seventeen persons have been baptized during the past year at St. Paul's.

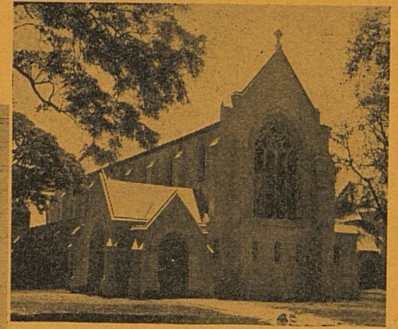
Missions Among Hawaiians

In January, 1931, a congregation of about eighty persons in a small fishing village, twelve miles from Honolulu over the famous Pali, asked to be admitted into the fellowship of the Church. Nearly all Hawaiians, they were left out



*Capt. Benson and his "boys,"
Church Army Work on Hawaii*

*In this recent Confirmation Class, Church of the
Holy Apostles, Hilo, Hawaii, are Caucasians,
Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians and part Hawaiians*



*Parke Memorial Chapel, St.
Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu*

of the main stream of life, religious and otherwise. They had been carrying on a small independent Sunday school, and felt the need of connection with some strong and active religious organization. They have been cordially received into the Church, and form the center of a very active work. They have brought a new impulse and enthusiasm in our work among the Polynesians, who are the original inhabitants of these Islands at the crossroads of the world. Forty-seven persons have been confirmed in this new mission, St. John's-by-the-Sea, Kahaluu.

In March, 1932, in the homesteads area of Hilo, on Hawaii, the Rev. Hollis H. Corey, assisted by three Hawaiian lay readers, opened a mission which now has one hundred and twenty-five regular attendants, almost entirely pure Hawaiians. Two corner lots of land have been given to the Church at the main crossroads of this newly-developed district.

St. Stephen's Mission, Waialua

A year ago a mission was opened forty-five miles from Honolulu, not far from Schofield Barracks, under the direction of Deaconess Sarah F. Swinbourne. The work has been greatly blessed, and an organized mission there is ministering through chapel and playground to a community in which the young people, especially, are in need of supervised occupation. The Church has sufficient land ideally located, but has outgrown its temporary rooms and chapel for the Church school already.

Schofield Barracks

Schofield Barracks is the largest military post in the United States. Here by arrangement with the commanding general, the Bishop provides regular service in the Post Chapel. A Sunday school with fifty-five children is carried on, and

our people at the Post are being connected more closely with the Church life of the diocese.

The Church Army

No recent event has had more religious significance for the Islands than the arrival and the work of experienced Church Army evangelists. Three are working in a large area on the Island of Hawaii. Three plantations are aiding in the support of Captains Benson and Bronwell who are living at our Church Army headquarters, Paauilo. The plantations have furnished the house in which the men live, two chapels, and three community halls. At one plantation, where no hall existed, the manager built for us a fully furnished center of work, including the chapel, in the midst of a camp of Filipino plantation workers. Niulii Plantation, on the northern tip of Hawaii, has provided a house for Captain Roberts, the Church Army evangelist, working in the Kohala district. The Church Army men are ministering to Filipinos, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Caucasians.

In September, on the arrival of the fifth trained Church Army evangelist, Captain John Oliphant, we were able to start Church Army work on another island, Kauai, at All Saints' Church, Kapaa. Captain Henry Hamilton has recently been appointed to Eleele, under the Rev. H. A. Willey of All Saints'.

Educational Work

A vital feature of the Church in Hawaii is its educational work, with two principal outstanding institutions, Iolani School for boys and St. Andrew's Priory School for girls, Honolulu.

Iolani School, established during the regime of the English Church, has borne aloft for seventy years the torch of Christian education. Iolani boys are scattered over the world and include such men as the late Sun Yat-Sen, provisional president of China; Curtis P. Iaukea, court chamberlain and special envoy to London under Queen Liliuokalani, and a prominent official under the republic and territory, as well as in the monarchy; Dr. Matthew Makahea, sent by King Kalakaua to England to study medicine; Dr. Lo Chong, graduate of Oxford, consul general first in London and then in Singapore; C. K-Ai, Charles Wong, Tong Phong and Yap See Young, outstanding Honolulu business men; Oscar P. Cox, United States Marshal; and Dr. S. T. Tyau, prominent physician at St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai. Eight of its Chinese graduates have become priests. In one class there have been Anglo-Saxons, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiians, typical of the racial complexion of the school's 200 boys.

Iolani now occupies a spacious and beautiful site in Nuuanu Valley, formerly a part of one of the Island's finest private estates. Here temporary classrooms, an office, and a combined chapel and assembly hall have been built, as well as a permanent dormitory to house the boarding pupils. Religious instruction, of course, is part of the curriculum and the boys attend the daily chapel service. Twelve of the students were confirmed in the last class. The Church has taken certain features of the development of Iolani School as the special memorial to the late Bishop La Mothe. The amount sought for this object

which was so close to the heart of the Bishop, is \$300,000, to be divided equally between grounds, endowment, and the first permanent buildings. About \$136,000 have been given or pledged. Bishop La Mothe died before he could secure the \$75,000 still needed to complete payments on land and buildings, and this sum, plus interest remains as a heavy burden to the Church in the Hawaiian Islands. The particular building to commemorate Bishop La Mothe will be St. Alban's Chapel, the center of life and inspiration of the school, which is the objective for 1932-4 of the Birthday Thank Offering. A house for the principal is to be erected and for this \$8,000 have been given by the Woman's Auxiliary. The Diocese of Pennsylvania has taken the main school building, and the ground upon which it will stand, amounting to \$50,000, as one of its "Advance Work" items.

The Rev. A. H. Stone, for twelve years the principal of the Kuling American School in China, became principal of Iolani School in the fall of 1931. He has reorganized Iolani, making it more effective as a diocesan school and more representative of the various racial groups which make up the Church life in the Islands.

What Iolani does for boys, St. Andrew's Priory, under the Sisters of the Transfiguration, does for girls. This school also dates from the time of the English mission. Sisters of the Order of the Holy Trinity, a religious body in which Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey was deeply interested, sent out several Sisters in 1867 at the request of Queen Emma who was a devoted and



Court Yard and Coral Cross, St. Andrew's Priory

faithful Churchwoman. The last of this number was Sister Albertina, who spent sixty-three years in these Islands with only one short visit of three weeks to the mainland, never once returning home. She died in July, 1930, leaving a record of faithful work and absolute devotion. The Priory occupies a beautiful group of buildings in the Cathedral Close, adjoining the Bishop's House. Two hundred and twenty-five girls, fifty of them boarders, are given a sound Christian education, to fit them for normal school, university, or a home-making career.

St. Mary's

Another outstanding Church institution in Honolulu is St. Mary's which includes a home for children and neighborhood mission work. Beginning with January, 1933, St. Mary's for the first time in its history has a priest of its own, the Rev. O. M. Bailey. The Misses Hilda and Margaret Van Deerlin have been in charge of the Home for many years and have cared for the children, mostly orphans, in this homelike institution which is largely supported by the community through the United Welfare Fund.

Seaman's Church Institute

Work among the seamen from the many vessels calling at the port of Honolulu is in our hands. In 1932, two records were broken: first, the actual number of men, representing two dozen different nationalities, who used the building, was larger than ever before, just over twenty-five thousand; and secondly, the financial receipts of the Institute, for beds, meals, and other services, exceeded all previous records. From this center sailors are commended to similar Institutes, and to Church of England Missions to Seamen in ports all over the world.

The Island of Hawaii

Outside of Honolulu, on Oahu and on the other Islands, Church work is less developed but full of promise. On Hawaii, the Church of Holy Apostles, Hilo, is developing rapidly among people of all races, under the Rev. H. H. Corey, who for twelve years was a missionary in Japan. At the northern tip of the Island, in the Kohala district, four missions, two of mixed races, one of Koreans, and one principally of Chinese at Makapala, carry on some of the most effective work on the Island. This work is increasing rapidly with the coming of the Church Army. At Makapala there is a most useful parish hall which serves the community as a center for its religious, social, and intellectual life. The Girls' Friendly Society has given its 1932 Special Offering to help construct a similar hall in connection with St. Augustine's Church, Kohala.

In the Kona and Kau districts of Hawaii regular services are maintained in three places.

The Island of Maui

In the Island of Maui, there are two missions at Kula and Lahaina, and a parish, the Church of the Good Shepherd in Wailuku, the third largest town in the Islands. One mission, thirty-five hundred feet up the slopes of the great extinct volcano, *Haleakala* (House of the Sun), was founded many years ago for a small group of Chinese by the late Rev. Shim Yin Chin. Now his widow and daughter carry on the work instructing the children and reading the services, under the direction of the rector of Wailuku.

The Island of Kauai

On east Kauai, the "Garden Island," is a country parish, where, seven years ago, there was no church, rectory, parish house, communicant list, or even a Sunday school. Now there are over a hundred and forty communicants, a large Church school, a beautiful church, rectory, and parish house on five acres of ground, with religious, social, and athletic activities going on seven days a week. This mission, All Saints', is moving rapidly towards self-support, and has opened two new missions where vigorous Church schools are being carried on and for which ground has been given during the past year for permanent development. On the west side of Kauai, at Kekaha, four lots have been purchased in the center of the town, for a church and parish house. Meantime the work is carried on in an unused church building loaned to us by the Congregationalists. At Eleele, the McBryde Sugar Company has given the Church the community hall and ground, adding sufficient land for a church building and rectory in the future.

NEEDS

Needs are many, of which the most pressing are:

1. \$75,000 to complete payments on the land and building of Iolani School;
2. Scholarships for candidates for Holy Orders and for pupils in our two major schools, namely, St. Andrew's Priory and Iolani;
3. Endowments for St. Andrew's Priory and Iolani;
4. Gifts for the Bishop's much-used Discretionary Fund.

Will those who read this leaflet give thanks for many proofs of God's blessing upon the Church work in the Hawaiian Islands, and pray earnestly that the most pressing needs may be supplied.

The official diocesan paper, THE HAWAIIAN CHURCH CHRONICLE, is full of interesting notes of the progress of the Church in the Islands. Subscription \$1.00 a year. Address: Bishop's House, Emma Sq., Honolulu, T. H.

1933

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Church Missions House
281 Fourth Avenue New York, N. Y.

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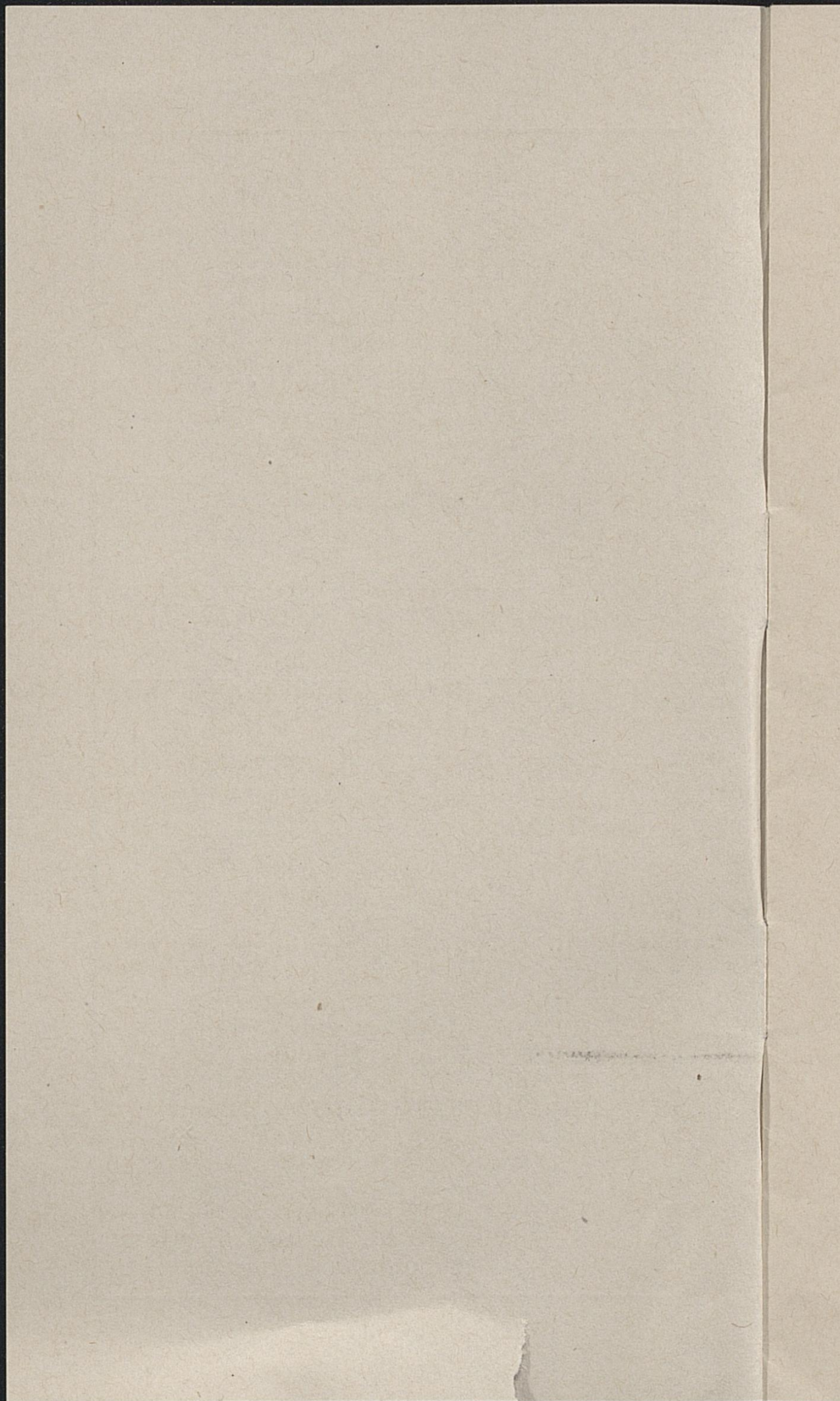
Candidates

For Senate and House

KENTUCKY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
1924

Issued by
Associated Industries of Kentucky
INCORPORATED

76-77 Kenyon Building
LOUISVILLE



Candidates for Senate

(Holdover Senators also listed.)

(Candidates Marked * Served in Last Senate)

FIRST DISTRICT—Fulton, Graves and Hickman; B. T. Davis*, Hickman, (D).

SECOND DISTRICT—Ballard, Carlisle, Marshall and McCracken; Walter G. Dycus, Benton (D). (Holdover).

THIRD DISTRICT—Caldwell, Calloway, Lyon and Trigg; H. P. Atwood,* Cadiz (D).

FOURTH DISTRICT—Crittenden, Livingston and Union; Harry F. Greene, Smithland (D). (Holdover.)

FIFTH DISTRICT—Henderson and Webster; J. F. Porter, Dixon (D).

SIXTH DISTRICT—Christian and Hopkins; James R. Rash, Madisonville (D). (Holdover.)

SEVENTH DISTRICT—Butler, Muhlenberg and Ohio; J. C. Flener, Morgantown (R).

EIGHTH DISTRICT—Daviess and McLean; Griffin Kelly, Maceo (D). (Holdover.)

NINTH DISTRICT—Logan, Simpson and Todd; J. W. James, Franklin (D).

TENTH DISTRICT—Breckinridge, Grayson, Hancock and Hart; Pal Garner, McDaniel (R). (Holdover.)

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Allen, Edmonson and Warren; J. F. Denton, Scottsville (D); A. A. Demumbrun*, Mammoth Cave (R).

TWELFTH DISTRICT—Bullitt, Hardin, Larue and Meade; Charles J. Hubbard, Hodgenville (D). (Holdover.)

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT—Floyd, Knott and Pike; E. D. Stevenson, Pikeville (D); Chas. W. Connor, Esco (R).

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT—Green, Marion, Nelson, Taylor and Washington; Frank E. Daugherty, Bardstown (D). (Holdover.)

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT—McCreary, Pulaski and Whitley; Henry M. Cline, Whitley City (R).

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT—Clinton, Cumberland, Monroe, Russell and Wayne; Frank M. White, Tompkinsville, (R). (Holdover.)

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT—Bell, Knox and Laurel; White L. Moss*, Pineville (R).

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT—Boyle, Casey, Garrard, Lincoln; Joseph S. Haselden, Crab Orchard, (R). (Holdover.)

NINETEENTH DISTRICT—Adair, Barren and Metcalfe; Azro Hadley, Picnic (R); J W. Kinnaird, Edmonton (D).

TWENTIETH DISTRICT—Anderson, Franklin, Mercer and Spencer; H. V. Bell, Lawrenceburg, (D). (Holdover.)

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT—Carroll Henry, Oldham, Shelby and Trimble; Newton Bright*, Eminence (D).

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT—Jessamine, Scott and Woodford, Dr. Thomas R. Welch, Nicholasville (D). (Holdover.)

TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT—Eleventh and Twelfth Wards of Louisville; Wm. M. Duffy, 808 Realty Bldg., Louisville (D); T. B. Watts*, 1058 S. Eighteenth Street, Louisville (R).

TWENTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—Kenton County; Robert C. Simmons, Covington (D). (Holdover.)

TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—Campbell County; Webster Helm, Newport, (D); Chas. B. Truesdell, Fort Thomas (R).

TWENTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—Boone, Galatin, Grant, Owen and Pendleton; Rev. John A. Lee, Glencoe (D). (Holdover.)

TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—Fayette County; Arch L. Hamilton, R. R. No. 1, Lexington (D); J. Will Stoll,* Lexington (R).

TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—Bourbon, Clark and Montgomery; Henry S. Caywood, North Middletown (D). (Holdover.)

TWENTY-NINTH DISTRICT—Estill, Jackson, Madison, Owsley and Rockcastle; Miss Laura Clay, Richmond (D); Wm. O. Mays, Richmond (R).

THIRTIETH DISTRICT—Bracken, Harrison, Nicholas, Roberston; Dr. B. F. Reynolds, Carlisle (D). (Holdover.)

THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT—Bath, Fleming, Mason, Menifee, Powell and Rowan; Judge Allie W. Young, Morehead (D).

THIRTY-SECOND DISTRICT—Carter, Elliott, Greenup and Lewis; Bannie Tabor, Lawton (R). (Holdover.)

THIRTY-THIRD DISTRICT—Clay, Harlan, Leslie, Letcher and Perry; Hiram M. Brock, Harlan (R).

THIRTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—Breathitt, Lee, Magoffin, Morgan and Wolfe; Dr. J. D. Whiteaker, Cannel City (D). (Holdover.)

THIRTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—Boyd, Johnson, Lawrence and Martin; J. M. Clay, Catlettsburg (D); J. B. Clark, Inez (R).

THIRTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—Jefferson County and First Ward of Louisville; W. A. Perry, Louisville, (D). (Holdover.)

THIRTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Wards of Louisville; Frank Dacher, 80-83 Kenyon Bldg., Louisville (D); Sam A. Anderson, 510 Marion E. Taylor Bldg., Louisville (R).

THIRTY-EIGHT DISTRICT—Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Wards of Louisville; Dr. Lewis Ryans, 1206 W. Jefferson Street, Louisville (R). (Holdover.)

Candidates for House

(Candidates Marked * Served in Last House.)

ADAIR-TAYLOR, 36th District—A. H. Ballard, Columbia (D); Herschel T. Baker, Columbia (R).

ALLEN, 28th District—Harry E. Morehead, Gainesville (D); R. O. Huntsman,* Scottsville (R).

ANDERSON, 45th District—Wm. Duncan, Lawrenceburg (D).

BALLARD-CARLISLE, 2nd District—W. R. Haselwood, Bardwell (D).

BARREN, 29th District—J. Wood Vance, Glasgow (D).

BATH-ROWAN, 96th District—T. J. Knight, Sharpsburg (D); Chas. M. Crain, Salt Lick (R).

BELL, 84th District—J. F. Bosworth,* Middlesboro (R).

BOONE-GRANT, 62nd District—W. M. Simpson, Williamstown (D).

BOURBON, 73rd District—Wm. B. Ardery, R. R. No. 8, Paris, (D).

BOYD, 89th District—Wm. P. Renfroe, R. R. No. 2, Ashland (D); Otto C. Gartin, Ashland (R).

BOYLE, 43rd District—Jas. Harris Baughman, Danville (D).

BRACKEN-PENDLETON, 68th District—Martin Light,* McKinneysburg (D).

BREATHITT-LEE, 79th District—W. J. Brandenburg, Beattyville (D); Dr. E. L. Gamble, Jackson (R).

BRECKINRIDGE-HANCOCK, 22nd District—Samuel Monarch, Glen Dean (D); R. J. Cain, Irvington (R).

BULLITT-SPENCER, 33rd District—F. W. Collings, Taylorsville (D).

BUTLER-EDMONSON, 24th District—Homer Beliles, Morgantown (R).

CALDWELL, 6th District—Thos. H. King, Princeton (D); Wm. J. Carner, Princeton (R.).

CALLOWAY, 7th District—Lee Clark,* Lynn Grove (D).

CAMPBELL, 66th District, County—A. J. Jolly, Mentor (D); Harry H. Richards, Bellevue (R).

67th District, Newport—M. F. Moloney, Newport (D); Herman Q. Thompson,* Newport (R).

CARROLL—GALLATIN, 60th District—Thos. H. Golden, Ghent (D).

CARTER, 87th District—Dr. H. M. Fultz,* Carter (R); Talt Hillman, Grayson (D).

CASEY-RUSSELL, 39th District—G. L. Perryman, Dunnville (R).

CHRISTIAN, 14th District—Lon Johnson, Hopkinsville (D); George W. Morgan, Crofton (R).

CLARK, 77th District—Jas. O. Evans, Winchester (D).

CLAY-OWSLEY, 85th District—Wm. J. Moore, Manchester (R).

CLINTON-CUMBERLAND, 38th District—W. L. Agee, Aaron (R).

CRITTENDEN-LIVINGSTON, 5th District—H. Walter Pierce,* Salem (D); Roy Johnson, Marion (R).

- DAVIESS, 19th District, County—D. D. Thornberry,* Philpot (D).
20th District, Owensboro—Claude Westerfield, Owensboro (D); Mrs. Sadie Quigley, Owensboro (R).
- ELLIOTT-LAWRENCE, 90th District—V. H. Bedwine, Sandy Hook (D).
- ESTILL-JACKSON, 80th District—Hector Johnson, McKee (R).
- FAYETTE, 75th District, County—Samuel H. Cole, R. R. No. 7, Lexington (D); Newton P. Howard, 901 E. Main Street, Lexington (R).
76th District, Lexington—Harry Miller,* Security Trust Company Bldg., Lexington (D); Fred H. Ryan, Security Trust Company Bldg., Lexington (R).
- FLEMING, 72nd District—Arthur Saunders,* R. R. Flemingsburg (D).
- FLOYD, 93rd District—A. L. Allen, Allen (R); W. S. Wallen,* Prestonsburg (D).
- FRANKLIN, 49th District—Ed. C. Walker, Frankfort (D).
- FULTON-HICKMAN, 1st District—W. W. McMurry, Hickman (D).
- GARRARD, 48th District—W. B. Swope, Lancaster (D); R. D. McMurry,* Buena Vista (R).
- GRAVES, 3rd District—J. E. Robbins, Mayfield (D).
- GRAYSON, 23rd District—I. T. Layman, Leitchfield (D); Z. T. Proctor, Leitchfield (R).
- GREEN-HART, 30th District—Finis E. Wilson, Greensburg (R); B. F. Grant, Bonnieville (D).

GREENUP, 88th District—Henry J. Kegley, Tygart's Valley (D); A. S. Copper, Greenup (R).

HARDIN, 31st District—C. A. Nelson,* White Mills (D).

HARLIN-LESLIE, 98th District—D. C. Jones, Harlan (R).

HARRISON, 71st District—H. C. Duffy,* Cynthiana (D).

HENDERSON, 11th District—G. G. Dixon,* Henderson (D).

HENRY-OWEN, 61st District—Allen B. Cammack, Owenton (D).

HOPKINS, 13th District—N. I. Toombs,* Madisonville (D).

JEFFERSON, 51st District, County outside Louisville and annexed territory—W. D. Watkins,* R. R. No. 17, Anchorage (D); Homer McLellen, 1409 Inter-Southern Bldg., (R).

52nd District, 1st Ward, Louisville—Lee L. Simons,* 817 Inter-Southern Bldg., (D); Miss A. Viola Hans, 1318 St. Anthony Place (R).

53rd District, 2nd and 3rd Wards—L. D. Bax, 719 E. Chestnut Street (D); Fred A. Ziegler, 1014 Sylvia Street (R).

54th District, 4th and 5th Wards—J. Rivers Wright, No. 9 Realty Bldg. (D); Oscar Liebsen,* 804 Marion E. Taylor Bldg. (R).

55th District, 6th and 7th Wards—Leon P. Lewis,* 1401 Inter-Southern Bldg., (D); Miss Ella Compton, 833 S. Third Street (R).

56th District, 8th and 9th Wards—Henry W. Eddleman, 615 W. Broadway (D); J. L. Richardson,* 902 Realty Bldg. (R).

57th District, 11th and 12th Wards—Louis F. Coomes, 1733 W. Oak Street (D); Frank J. Humbert,* 460 S. Fifth Street (R).

58th District, 10th Ward—Wm. Gosey, 1005 W. Broadway (D); Chas. W. Ryans, 211 W. Market Street (R).

JESSAMINE, 47th District—J. R. Dorman, High Bridge (D); A. M. Baker, Nicholasville (R).

JOHNSON-MARTIN, 91st District—A. J. Baldrige, Tomahawk (R).

KENTON, 63rd District, County—S. W. Adams,* Covington (D).

64th District, Covington—J. T. Cushing, 323 E. 18th Street, Covington (D); Mrs. Jessie E. Firth, 402 Garrard Street, Covington (R).

65th District, Covington—Harry J. Meyers,* Covington (D); No Republican.

KNOTT-MAGOFFIN, 99th District—J. Fred Reed, Salyersville (D); J. Bennett Conley, Falcon (R).

KNOX, 83rd District—John H. Lawson, Barbourville, (R); W. M. Tye, Barbourville (D).

LARUE-NELSON, 34th District—J. W. Martin, Samuels (D).

LAUREL-ROCKCASTLE, 81st District—Sherman Chasteen, Bromo (R).

LETCHER-PERRY, 97th District—Dr. E. H. Maggard, R. R. Whitesburg, (D); J. G. Campbell, Hazard (R).

LEWIS, 86th District—Leroy Lewis, Vanceburg (R); Thos. B. Bullock, Vanceburg (D).

- LINCOLN, 42nd District—Lester J. Jeter,*
Hustonville (D); E. E. Hickman, Crab
Orchard (R).
- LOGAN, 16th District—Jas. T. Linton, R
R. Adairville (D); Carlie Turner, Lewis-
burg (R).
- LYON-MARSHALL, 8th District—Geo. W.
Smith, Benton (D).
- MADISON, 78th District—Marshall E.
Vaughn, Berea (D); Dr. Jas. C. Gabbard,
Berea (R).
- MARION, 35th District—J. E. Bickett,*
Loretto (D).
- MASON, 69th District—H. C. Hawkins,*
Mayslick (D).
- McCRACKEN, 4th District—Henry A. Pul-
liam, Paducah (D); E. W. Neel, Paducah
(R).
- McCREARY-WAYNE, 40th District—G.
W. Eller, Monticello (R); Frank M. Lee,
Monticello (I).
- McLEAN, 18th District—D. E. Edwards,
Calhoun (D); A. T. Lee, Calhoun (R).
- MEADE, 32nd District—W. M. Boling,
Brandenburg (D).
- MENIFEE-MONTGOMERY, 95th District
B. F. Day, Mt. Sterling (D).
- MERCER-WASHINGTON, 44th District—
Edward B. Miller, Harrodsburg (D);
- METCALFE-MONROE, 37th District—Dr.
E. E. Palmore, Strode (R).
- MORGAN, 100th District—J. Woodford
Howard, White Oak (D).
- MUHLENBERG, 17th District—W. D. Dun-
can,* Central City (D); C. D. Vincent,
Central City (R).

NICHOLAS-ROBERSTON, 70th District—
Amos Stamper, Carlisle (D).

OHIO, 21st District—E. C. Yeiser, Hartford
(D); W. S. Tinsley, Hartford (R).

OLDHAM-TRIMBLE, 59th District—Wm.
B. Belknap, Goshen (D).

PIKE, 92nd District—Jerome Damron,
Yeager (D); J. L. Morgan, Pikeville (R).

POWELL-WOLFE, 94th District—W. B.
Bush, Torrent (D); Robert A. Dunn, Lee
City (R).

PULASKI, 41st District—Wm. A. Measel,
Eubank (D); G. W. Shadoan, Somerset
(R).

SCOTT, 74th District—F. V. Nunnelly,
Georgetown (D).

SHELBY, 50th District—E. J. Doss, Shel-
byville (D).

SIMPSON, 27th District—J. Will McFar-
lin, R. R. No. 2, Franklin (D).

TODD, 15th District—J. E. Hadden,* Elk-
ton (D).

TRIGG, 9th District—J. J. Patterson, Cad-
iz (D); H. H. Herndon, Canton (R).

UNION, 10th District—G. L. Drury,* Mor-
ganfield (D).

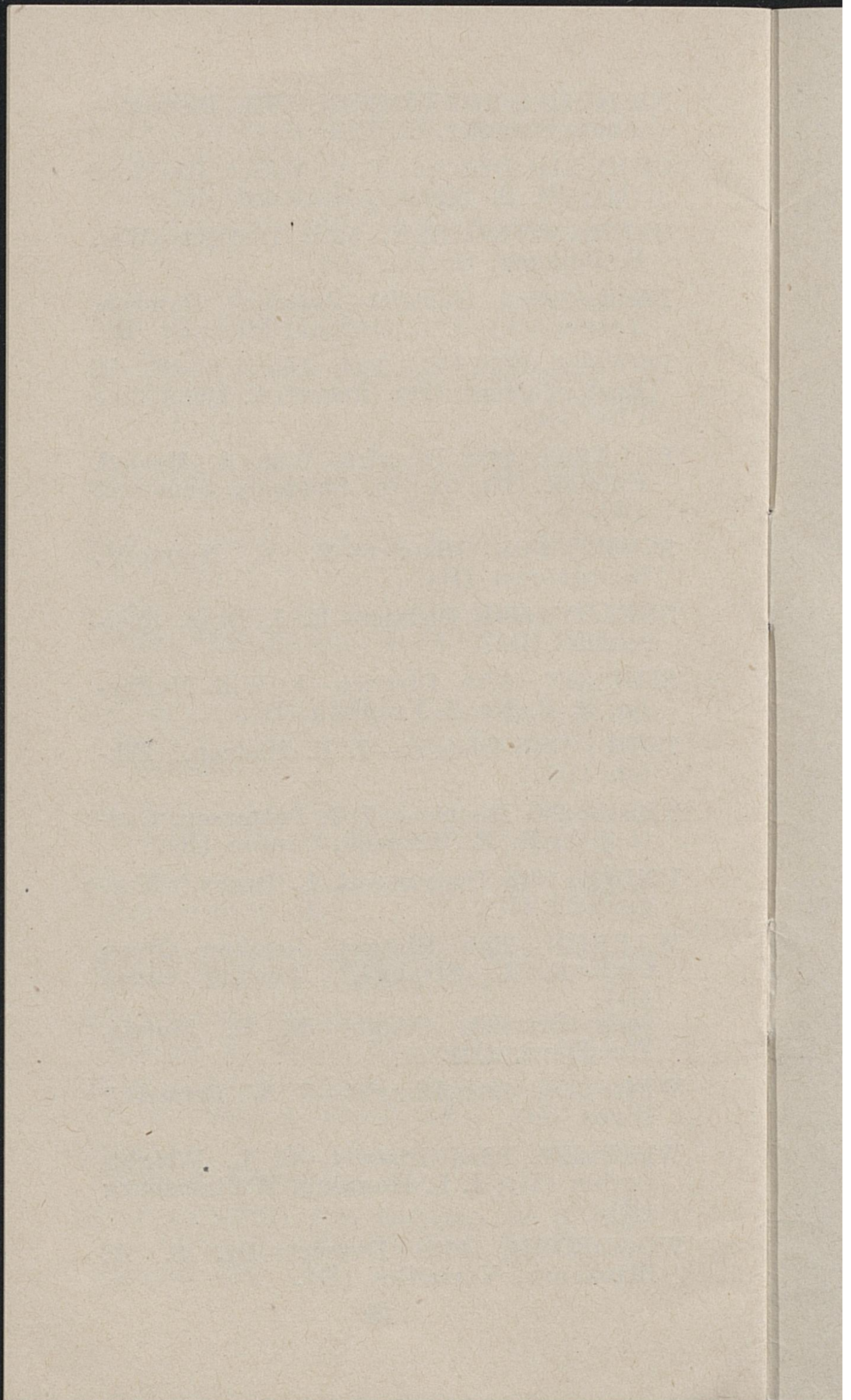
WARREN—25th District, Bowling Green
City—F. L. Strange,* Bowling Green
(D).

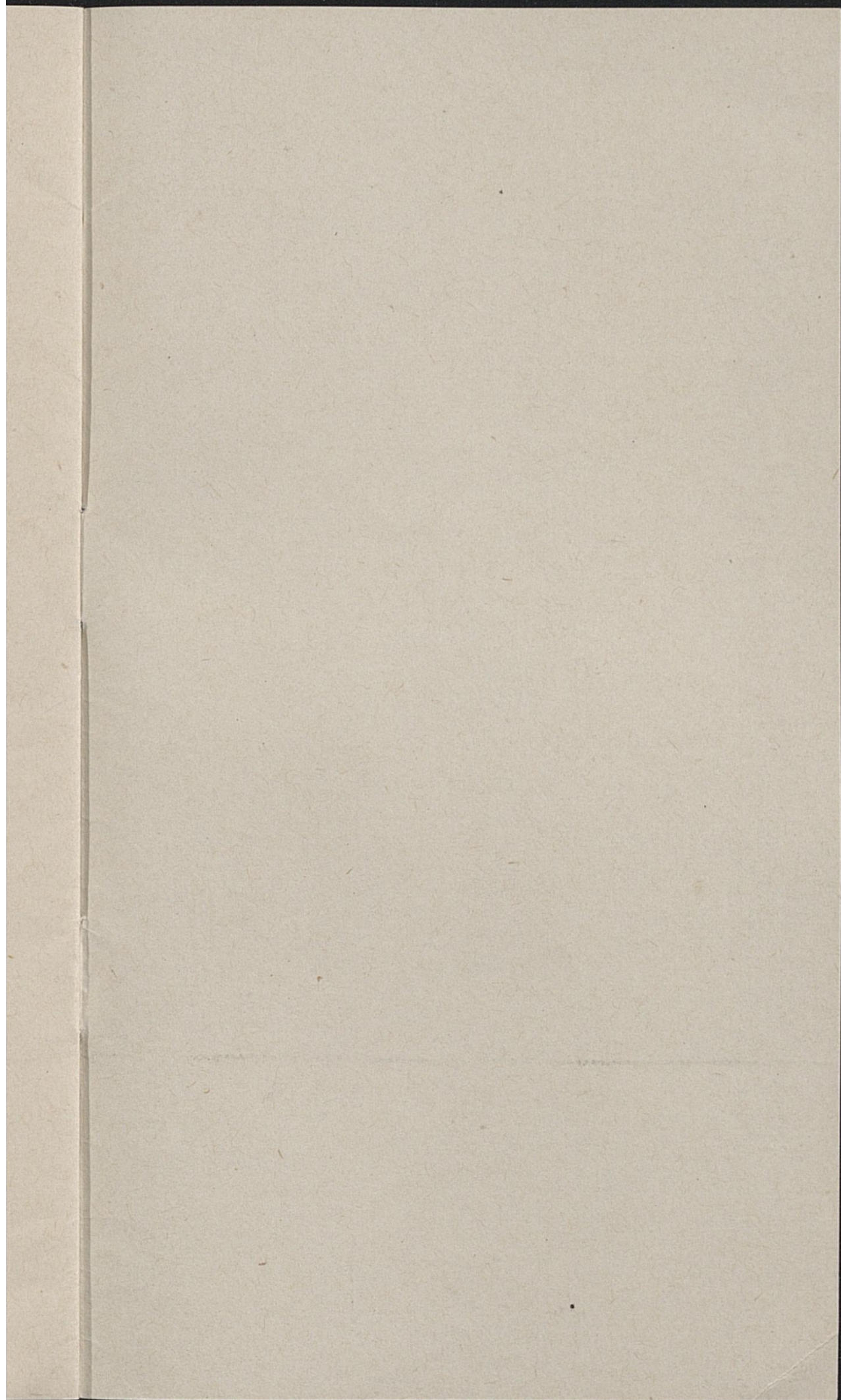
26th District, County—E. D. Morris,
Woodburn, (D).

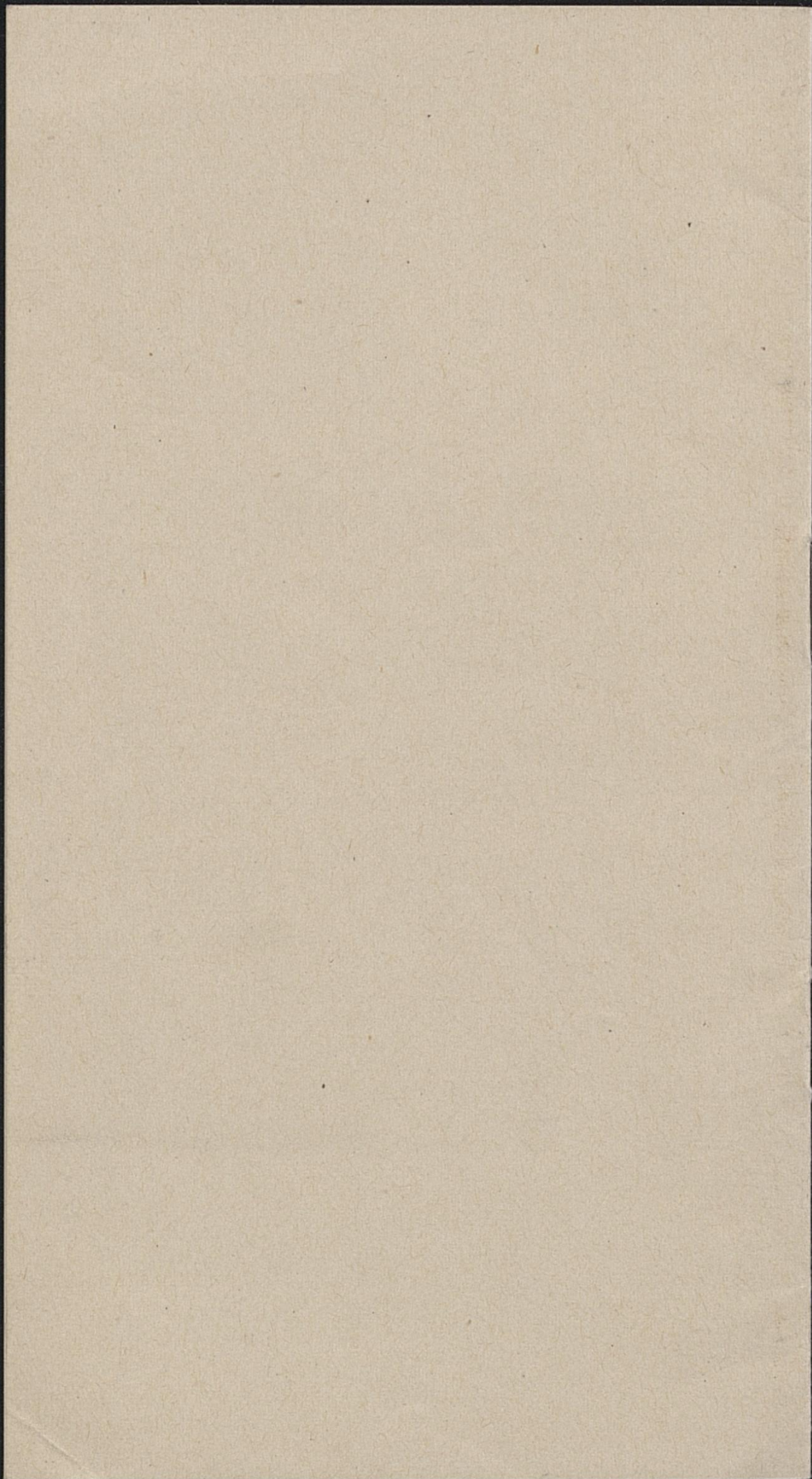
WEBSTER, 12th District—C. W. Bennett,*
Dixon (D).

WHITLEY, 82nd District—C. L. Wright,
Corbin (D); J. L. Manning, Williamsburg
(R).

WOODFORD, 46th District—Dr. S. A.
Blackburn, Versailles (D).







"TAXATION"

Issued by Committee on Taxation of Associated Industries
of Kentucky

Bulletin No. 3

76-77 Kenyon Bldg., Louisville

September, 1923

THIS BULLETIN is issued monthly by Associated Industries of Kentucky, under direction of the Committee on Taxation.

It is distributed free of charge. If you are not now receiving "TAXATION" regularly, or if you have friends to whom you wish it sent, kindly send names and addresses to Associated Industries of Kentucky, 76-77 Kenyon Bldg., Louisville.

IS KENTUCKY'S WEALTH GOING UPWARD LIKE A SKY-ROCKET OR IS FAIR TAXATION SIMPLY "DISCOVERING" IT?

Press dispatches from Frankfort recently carried a report of the State Tax Commission showing total assessment of the various kinds of property in Kentucky for which taxes for 1923 were levied to be \$2,204,927,427. It is illuminating to compare this princely sum with the total assessment of \$922,456,481 for the year 1917, referred to by the State Tax Commission in its fifth annual report as "the last year under the old revenue law."

Probably no citizen can be found whose loyalty to his State and whose enthusiasm over the development of Kentucky will lead him to believe a tremendous sheer increase of nearly 140% in wealth has been enjoyed by Kentucky in six years. Nor will a desire to be fair allow him to declare the increase is wholly represented by that world-wide malady tersely described as inflation in values. It is well to remember that values were well on the up-grade in 1917, the year in which America entered the World War.

The citizen seeking for the real facts as to what, for good or evil, the present System of

Taxation is doing for Kentucky will therefore find the following tables prepared by the State Tax Commission far more interesting than ordinary compilations of figures:

Assessment for the year 1923, showing the amount of taxes paid by various kinds of property, also percentage as paid by each:

Assessed value of bank deposits.....	\$ 271,541,050 @ 10c	\$ 271,541.05 or	3.43%
Assessed value of intangibles.....	330,516,419 @ 40c	1,322,065.68 or	16.71%
Assessed value of lands.....	772,137,740 @ 40c	3,088,550.96 or	39.03%
Assessed value of town lots.....	461,223,988 @ 40c	1,844,895.95 or	23.32%
Assessed value of tangible personalty.....	338,406,144 @ 40c	1,353,624.58 or	17.11%
Assessed value of live stock.....	31,102,086 @ 10c	31,102.09 or	.40%
	<u>\$2,204,927,427</u>	<u>\$7,911,780.31 or</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

Assessment for the year 1917, showing the amount of taxes paid by various kinds of property, also percentage as paid by each:

Assessed value of bank deposits.....	\$ 11,177,196 @ 55c	\$ 61,474.58 or	1.21%
Assessed value of intangibles.....	68,750,880 @ 55c	378,129.84 or	7.45%
Assessed value of lands.....	391,694,806 @ 55c	2,154,321.43 or	42.46%
Assessed value of town lots.....	322,140,632 @ 55c	1,771,773.48 or	34.92%
Assessed value of tangible personalty.....	128,692,967 @ 55c	707,811.32 or	13.96%
	<u>\$922,456,481</u>	<u>\$5,073,510.65 or</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

Those who argue that the present System of Taxation favors some classes of property while it is prejudicial to other classes will find scant comfort in the foregoing cold figures. It will be conceded by every honest critic of the laws that if the assessed value is erroneous, it is absolutely no fault of the Taxation System. There is ample remedy to correct false assessment.

So the reader's attention is directed particularly to a comparison of the figures for 1923 and 1917 on lands (outside towns and cities), town lots, bank deposits and intangibles. In making comparisons it is well to note the rates for the respective years, and then the percentages of revenues produced by the compared classes today and six years ago. For instance: Farm lands, at a 55c rate, were compelled to pay 42.46% of the total taxes in 1917, while in 1923, with the rate reduced to 40c, they were contributing but 39.03% of the total; and intangibles in the meantime, with rates in the respective years the same as farm lands, had been brought to the surface in such manner that this year they bore 16.71% of the total, where in 1917 they paid only 7.45% of the State's revenue.

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE TAX COMMISSION.

Many a citizen who pauses to reflect will no doubt express wonderment at the progress which has been made in the few brief years of try-out given Kentucky's present System of Taxation. Inspired by a sincere desire for the substantial growth and prosperity of his State, such citizen will be impressed with the need for caution in making any radical change in laws which undeniably are functioning with a success never approached under old conditions.

Study of the reports of the State Tax Commission will be helpful to the seeker for taxation facts. The first report issued laid the situation boldly before the citizenry of the Commonwealth in such sentences and phrases as follow:

"We found that taxpayers had hardly been requested to list their property for taxation. * * * Only a small percentage, less than one-third, of the taxable property was assessed for taxation. * * * The State and counties were, in effect, supported so far as they were supported at all, by voluntary donations, tax payers generally deciding for themselves how much they paid. * * * The old plan of taxation penalized the man who had regard for the law and rewarded the man who ignored the law. * * * Comparing counties with counties, we found that in some the average assessed value was as low as 30%, while in others it was as high as 80%. The difference in individual assessments was greater and varied from one to 100%, and some were not assessed at all."

Even so early as the second report of the State Tax Commission comes the following significant note of improvement:

"The present system of taxation has vindicated its right to the place it occupies in the minds of the citizens."

The fifth annual report of the State Tax Commission was given to the public in the early months of the present year. The tabulated information carried therein was laid before the Governor, with a letter from the Commission. Some quotations from that letter are given here-

with for quick comparison with extracts from the Commission's first report:

"During the years 1917 to 1919 inclusive, this Commission made very material increases in the total assessed values of the different classes of property in this State. The members of the Commission during that period should be commended for their efficient services rendered in obtaining these results, although they were aided materially by a constant advancing market. The assessments of 1920 to 1922 inclusive, have been made upon a declining market and in the face of the unsettled conditions existing in this State as well as the country at large during that period.

"We have compiled statistical tables, found in the report submitted, showing the assessed value of the different classes of property in each of the counties of the State and the revenue produced therefrom.

"By making a comparison with the assessment of the lands, timber and improvements for 1921 and 1922, we find that this class of property was assessed for 1921 taxes at \$741,943,101, and for 1922 taxes at \$736,271,726, only a loss of \$5,671,375.

"By making the same comparison of the assessment of mineral rights, leases and coal mine equipment, we find the assessment for 1921 taxes was \$31,973,733, and for 1922 taxes \$39,952,584, an increase of \$7,978,851.

"Town lots were assessed for 1921 taxes at \$412,874,991, and for 1922 taxes \$438,132,922, an increase of \$25,257,931.

"A study of the assessments of the coal producing counties since 1917 reveals some interesting statistics. Practically all of the coal in the State is mined from fourteen counties, and we classify these as the chief coal producing counties of the Commonwealth. The land in these fourteen counties was assessed for 1917 taxes at \$44,474,721, in 1920 at \$93,565,087, an increase of \$49,090,366, or 110.3%. The assessment of the land in these same fourteen counties for 1922 taxes was \$115,062,913, an increase since 1920 of \$21,497,826, or 22.9%. From the foregoing

figures, you will observe that there has been an increase in the assessment of the land in these fourteen coal-producing counties from 1917 to 1922 of \$70,588,192, or 158.7%.

"The land in the remaining one hundred and six counties, classed as agricultural counties, was assessed for 1917 taxes at \$328,539,373. The land in these same one hundred and six counties was assessed for 1920 taxes at \$614,518,289, an increase of \$285,978,916, or 87%. The land in these same one hundred and six agricultural counties was assessed for 1922 taxes at \$624,144,698, or an increase since 1920 of \$9,626,409, or 1.5%. From the foregoing figures, you will observe that there has been an increase in the assessment of the land in these one hundred and six agricultural counties from 1917 to 1922 of \$295,605,325, or 89.9%.

"By comparing the assessment of franchise paying corporations, you will find that public service and public utility corporations in this State were assessed for 1921 taxes at \$226,605,017, and for 1922 at \$244,681,513, or an increase of \$18,076,496, or 8%.

"The assessment for 1923 taxes, which is just now being completed by the county tax commissioners, indicates that we will be able to secure a more uniform assessment of the property, based upon its actual values, than has ever been before in this State. While there will be only a small increase in the assessment of the agricultural lands of the State during the past year, we will be able to obtain an increase in the assessment of the coal-producing counties of practically thirty million dollars.

"The survey of the mineral lands of the State, authorized and provided for by the last General Assembly, is being made under the supervision of this Commission, and material results have already been obtained by reason of the information secured by the aid of experts in the service of this Commission. We hope to be able during the next year to complete the valuation of the mineral lands under the method adopted by this Commission, and will be ready for report to Your Honor before the next General Assembly convenes."

CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS ON TAXATION.

It is perhaps well for the tax payer who is giving thought to ways and means for raising the necessary revenues for the operation of the State always to bear in mind that the Kentucky Constitution contains provisions which must be taken into account in the making of tax laws. Repeal or amendment of present laws is ineffective when either runs counter to the Constitution. Some sections of the Constitution are therefore brought to attention:

Section 170, Specifies property which is exempt from taxation.

Section 171, Provides that all property not exempted by Section 170 shall be subject to State taxation, and an amendment to this section authorizes the General Assembly to classify property, to fix different rates on different classes, and to determine which classes shall be taxed for local purposes.

Section 172, Provides that all property subject to taxation shall be assessed at "its fair cash value."

Section 174, Provides that corporate property shall be taxed in the same manner as individual property.

Section 181, Provides that the General Assembly shall not impose taxes for county, district or municipal purposes; it provides that taxes may be imposed by licenses, and on incomes and franchises, in addition to ad valorem taxes on property; and this section has been amended to permit cities and towns to impose taxes based on licenses, incomes and franchises, in lieu of ad valorem taxes on personal property.

The Constitution, as is well known, can be changed only by the voters and tax payers of the Commonwealth. Laws made by the General Assembly always must be in harmony with the State's organic laws.

A TEST QUERY FOR APPLICATION TO TAX PROPOSALS.

Those who would substitute something else for the present Taxation System of Kentucky

are asked by those who have given careful study to the subject to consider the fundamentals of the present system.

The principles underlying the system are simple enough. They recognize that property is variable in character. Different property has different earning power, and consequently taxes must be imposed in proportion to what each class will stand, and they must be uniform as to the class.

The Constitution now provides that all property of the same class must be uniformly taxed, and that the General Assembly may determine which classes shall be subject to local taxation.

It is worth remembering that no one, with the exception of the few who were not bearing their just burden of expense in operation of the government, was satisfied with conditions prior to the adoption of the present system. There was an appeal for relief, for a system of greater fairness, and above all for one which would produce revenue adequate to meet increasing expense of government, which culminated in the Special Session of the Legislature in 1917. The appeal came from all over Kentucky. Its earnestness was attested by the adoption of the constitutional amendment in 1915, making it possible for the Legislature to prepare a remedy for the antiquated, unfair system prevailing since 1891.

Those who would carelessly abolish, or radically change the new order of things are asked by the conservative thinkers to move slowly indeed. They are reminded of the long, hard work put in by the Special Tax Commission whose report culminated in the present laws. Never from any source has there been a question of the sincerity, earnestness and intelligence thrown into its herculean task by that Commission.

It produced something which, attaining effectiveness through legislative sanction, has been accepted by many students as one of the best Systems of Taxation in the Nation. More than that, it is a system which, by the testimony of

unbiased observers, is gradually bringing from all classes of property taxes in proportion to what each class is capable of paying. By reason of its justness and fairness, it is encouraging property to disclose its existence and bear its right burden of governmental maintenance.

When a change is proposed in the law would it not therefore be well carefully to analyze the effect of the proposed change? Is not the first question, What, if any, property will run to cover if this change is made?

1928

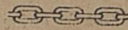
Record of
Alfred E. Smith



Issued by
CENTRAL REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS
of the
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Hotel Jefferson St. Louis, Mo.

*If you like this,
write your State Headquarters
for more.*

Record of Alfred E. Smith



Governor Smith's leadership has given a whole code of progressive legislation to the 10,000,000 people, including 800,747 farmers and 1,228,130 industrial workers of the State of New York.

His leadership in the Federal Government would insure the same successful accomplishment of the Democratic party's national program.

A part of Smith's progressive legislation is outlined in this leaflet:

Governor Smith, the Friend of Children

Governor Smith's attitude toward children is marked by tenderness and care for their well-being. He has fostered and fought for many protective measures for the children of New York.

For instance, formerly in New York State, when a family was deprived of its father and provider, the widowed mother was separated from her children, who were placed in an institution. A small group of New York women had been fighting this practice for they believed if the mother was a fit person, physically and morally, she, and not an institution, should be the agent of the state.

In 1913 they carried their fight to the legislature. A commission was appointed to look into the subject. A Widow's pension bill was prepared and on the occasion of its third reading, in March, 1915, Alfred E. Smith, as minority leader of the Assembly, made a speech in which he said in part:

"The mother stands in the police court. She witnesses the separation of herself and her children. . . . What must be her feelings? What must be her idea of the State's policy when she sees these children separated from her by due process of law, particularly when she must remember that for every one of them she went down into the Valley of Death that a new pair of eyes might look out upon the world? What can be the feelings in the hearts of the children themselves separated from their mother by what they must learn in after years was due process of law?"

State aid to widows was bitterly opposed by the opposition as "socialistic" and "paternalistic." Nevertheless Alfred E. Smith won his point. In state aid for widowed or deserted mothers New York now spends millions of dollars. No child goes to an institution so long as the mother is physically and morally fit to care for it. These expenditures are known as "Mother's Allowance," the mother receiving \$6.50 each week for each child.

New York's child welfare legislation is known as the most enlightened in the country. Children—some mere babies—used to be employed in the hop fields and in canning factories to do such work as painting flowers, sewing on buttons, seeding raisins. Governor Smith fought such practices until they were abolished.

He appointed a Children's Code Commission to revise and codify laws relating to children. He aided in the final passage of an amendment to change the handling of juvenile delinquents. Formerly they were all treated as criminals and herded together without regard for age or misdemeanor. Now they are treated as wards of the State. He has created a Children's Court in every county, where these youthful offenders are treated humanely and intelligently to save them for worthy manhood and womanhood.

Other legislation for which he has worked includes a bill to keep newsboys off the streets after 8 o'clock at night—Governor Smith was himself a newsboy. He has also advocated a bill to prevent child marriages, now effective for children under fourteen years of age, and with a higher age limit the future hope.

Governor Smith, the Champion of Public Education

Governor Smith's work in behalf of public education, not only in the city but in the country schools, has been one of his outstanding achievements.

After the war teachers in New York State were so poorly paid that many of them were leaving the schools to take better-paying positions, and thousands of school children were left with no one to teach them. Under Governor Smith the number of students in State Normal Schools has increased threefold.

Governor Smith set about to remedy this situation, for he, almost self-schooled, realized the value of good schooling. Accordingly he signed in 1919 a bill for the largest appropriation ever made for public schools in New York State—\$32,000,000, thus guaranteeing teachers a decent living wage. He believed also that

women teachers should have the same pay as men for an equal amount and quality of work and while still in legislature, he assisted in putting this law on the statute books.

He did not forget "the little red schoolhouse." In 1923 in his annual message he said, "I am satisfied that the children in these (the rural) sections of the State are not getting from the State the same opportunities for education that are accorded to the children in the cities. We owe it to all children alike and we should try to give it.

"It might well be said that the inadequate school facilities now in farming communities present an additional reason why people leave the farm and move to the cities. Every father and mother instinctively do their best to give their children all that the State affords in education. It is the safeguard of the State and of the Nation. Anybody desiring to have a proper understanding of the necessity for an education need only talk to the man who was denied it."

In 1925, after many years of struggle, he succeeded in getting an additional appropriation of \$9,000,000 for rural schools, by adopting an equalization program with larger state aid to those communities where the financial burden of the support of schools is especially heavy. High school facilities were extended in rural communities as well as in cities, and the high school population has doubled during the decade. Despite the increased expenditures, Smith was able to reduce taxes by \$63,500,000 in the last four years.

In 1926 Governor Smith called a conference of educators and citizens interested in public education, known as the Friedsam Commission, to consider the financing of education. As a result of their recommendations, he initiated the policy of increasing State quotas to local schools. These totaled \$16,500,000 in 1927 and 1928. Since he took office as Governor, State appropriations for public education have increased from \$7,424,440 to \$86,197,000.

Because the humblest as well as the highest have always received his tender consideration, Governor Smith has advocated better educational facilities for the children in state institutions. Some of these children are juvenile disabilities, and has stood for special schools in which they could receive the personal attention they need.

Governor Smith Promotes the Welfare of Farmers

Governor Smith, as head of one of the largest agricultural states in the Union, and one which itself owns

and operates forty farms with a total area of 35,000 acres, has definitely proved his acquaintance and sympathy with the farmer—and the farmer's wife.

Here are some of the specific things he has done that are of interest to farm women:

He advocated and sanctioned large appropriations to do away with tuberculosis in cattle, so that only pure milk came from the dairies of New York State where, incidentally, dairying is one of the chief industries. But having deprived the farmers of their cattle, he did not forget them and leave them to bear the loss as a previous Republican Governor had done. Governor Smith insisted that they be paid indemnities generously and promptly. In the past ten years more than \$20,000,000 has been spent in New York to suppress bovine tuberculosis and of this amount \$19,632,206 was paid in indemnities to farmers. This appropriation was the largest sum ever expended for this purpose.

Governor Smith aided in the passage of the Co-operative Marketing Bill, to improve agricultural conditions in New York. In 1918, when he first became Governor, there were only seventeen active co-operative associations in the State. In 1928 the record shows about 1,100, doing an aggregate annual business of more than \$115,000,000.

"I would want the farmer to be relieved of undue burdens of taxation and expense, and have worked toward that end," he said recently in an interview. His past program and present platform show that is exactly what he proposes to bring about. Throughout his administration Governor Smith has consistently pursued the policy of tax reduction upon the land wherever possible, and in one single year was able to secure a reduction of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % in the direct tax on real estate, thereby saving the farmers and land owners of the State of New York millions of dollars.

Realizing that the State Fair is one of the greatest means of arousing interest in farm production one of Governor Smith's proudest accomplishments is the improvement in the State Fair grounds, where a fine new coliseum was begun and completed during his administration and dedicated by him at the World's Dairy Congress.

Legislation giving State aid to rural communities for highway construction to promote the use of motor truck transportation between farms was sponsored by him and enacted. He appointed a commission of rural motor express routes to further the extended use of motor trucks and thus cheapen transportation costs to farmers and consumers.

He believes farm homes in remote districts should have the same advantages as city homes, and advocates development of state-owned water power which can be transmitted to the farms of these sparsely settled communities. He has placed New York in the front rank in protective and preventative work in behalf of rural health. He called a conference of physicians in the Executive Chambers, and got their expert advice and help, and succeeded in obtaining the first Act for State aid to rural communities in public health effort. His work for rural education is discussed elsewhere.

Governor Smith Promotes Public Health and Welfare

Taking the lead in a fight for better living conditions, not only in the crowded tenement sections of the cities of the State, but in rural communities, hospitals and prisons, Governor Smith conducted a social welfare program which, in the last few years, has made of New York a model for the entire nation.

Always interested in those things which affect human welfare, public health has been of prime interest to him. He consistently has sought and secured liberal appropriations to the State Department of Health, has aided its work in every way possible, and has advocated an extension of the public health laboratories.

He called a conference of physicians and placed before them the health conditions in rural communities, enlisting their expert aid in solving problems affecting medical practitioners. With their assistance he succeeded in passing through the Legislature the first act for State aid to rural communities establishing public health work throughout the State.

He also succeeded in enacting supervisory measures for control of the sale and use of narcotic drugs, regulation of private sanitariums for drug addicts, and later initiated the movement to control the practice of medicine by quacks, securing, after three years' effort, the passage of a regulatory medical practice act.

Governor Smith procured the passage and signed the largest appropriation in the history of the State for support of the hospitals for the insane and mental deficient.

He signed large appropriations for fire protection and prevention in State institutions, his policy being one of consistent humanitarianism and of conserving the best interests of the State in its care of unfortunates. Visiting many of the State institutions in person, he recognized and understood their needs, and

saw how hopeless it was to attempt to house adequately the insane by yearly legislative appropriations out of current revenue. He therefore carried through a \$50,000,000 bond issue for the construction of State institutions so as to decrease the dangerous overcrowding.

In 1919, when housing became an emergency problem, he directed the Reconstruction Commission to make a study of conditions throughout the State, and at a special session of the Legislature he secured the passage of laws suggested as temporary relief measures. In 1920, he recommended to the Legislature, a thorough plan for permanent relief, embodying the appointment of a State Housing Board to co-operate with local boards, a constitutional amendment permitting the State to loan its credit under certain restrictions for construction of low-priced homes, and permitting municipalities to extend credit in a similar manner.

When conditions became acute in 1920, Governor Smith called a special session of the Legislature and recommended and signed the emergency rent laws which succeeded in keeping 100,000 families in their homes and prevented rent profiteering. He also secured the passage of a bill authorizing cities to exempt certain classes of houses from taxation for a given period of time, in order to equalize the increased cost of building and to stimulate resumption of construction activities.

For the prisons of the State, he obtained a special survey commission during his first term as Governor in 1920 and put many of its recommendations into effect while still Governor. He returned to office in 1923 and found that the most important of the proposed reforms—a system of prison industries with standards of pay to be applied for prisoners' families—had not been carried out.

He had a new survey made and has carried through the Legislature new laws involving proper payment to prisoners for industry and consideration of industrial records of prisoners in connection with applications for parole or pardon.

In his work for the welfare of mankind during his administration as Governor of New York, Governor Smith has:

Passed a bill providing a bond issue for a permanent program for the elimination of railroad crossings at grades.

Appointed the Children's Code Commission to codify and draft laws relating to all fields of child welfare.

Appointed the Governor's Labor Board, which successfully adjusted or averted many industrial difficulties in the period immediately following the World war.

Restored the Labor Department to efficient operation by means of adequate appropriations. (Its activities had been crippled between the two administrations of Governor Smith.)

Aided in the passage of a State bonus to soldiers comparable with the Federal Act.

Initiated and passed an appropriation of \$1,500,000 to establish a military memorial hospital.

Created the State Council of Parks and provided for a bond issue to improve and extend State parks so that opportunity for recreation is near all communities.

Abolished direct settlements between injured workmen and insurance companies, and signed bills for more equitable compensation benefits.

Passed the bill for a new Children's Court Act for the City of New York, removing the child offender from the criminal class and making him a ward of the State.

Many improvements strengthening the Workmen's Compensation Law, providing for increased compensation and shortening the waiting period.

Appointed a State Crime Commission to inquire into the causes, prevention and better control of crime and its correction.

Secured passage of 48-hour week for women and minors.

Governor Smith Fights for Working Women

While Alfred E. Smith was still in the Assembly there was a terrible fire in which 145 girls were burned to death or killed by jumping to the sidewalk, in the destruction of the shirtwaist factory where they worked. As a result the State Factory Investigating Commission was formed in 1911, with Mr. Smith as Vice-Chairman.

Since the Commission was formed Smith has put through the legislature almost every one of its recommendations. It was a fight to the finish. For example, the canning interests, trying to show that women must work every day and long hours, persuaded a group of clergymen and other respectable citizens to go to Albany and plead their cause.

Smith defeated them in one sentence when he said: "If these distinguished champions of women and children were to re-write the divine law I have no doubt they would change it to read: 'Remember the Sabbath

Day to keep it holy—except in the canneries.’”

The forty-eight hour bill, for unskilled workers in factories and girls in stores, was advocated by Smith in his first term at Albany. It was bitterly opposed from session to session by a strong manufacturers' lobby. Smith fought side by side with the women and girls who came to the State Capitol to advocate this bill. Among the prominent women who fought with him was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. By this measure alone Smith won a tremendous number of independent women voters to his permanent support.

The compensation law, designed to compensate at least in part the man or woman who loses a leg, an arm or an eye, has been developed into one of the very best in the country through the energy of Governor Smith in accomplishing the necessary legislation.

Many thousands of women engaged in the monotonous, speeded-up labor of modern industry count Governor Smith their benefactor.

Governor Smith Protects People's Water Power

As far back as Governor Smith's legislative record goes, he has been a consistent advocate of the absolute ownership and control by the State of water power resources. He has time and again prevented raids by private interests on this great natural resource of the State of New York and water power is still in possession of the people. He inaugurated and carried forward successfully the State's negotiations with the Federal government, conserving to the State title to the water power resources within its own borders.

In speaking of the water resources, Governor Smith said:

“I am satisfied that I am expressing the modern, progressive thought when I say that the people not only of this State but of the entire country stand in opposition to the alienation of their property for private profit or for private gain. If these franchises are worth to private companies what it is claimed they are, they are worth that much to the people themselves and in my opinion should be retained.”

Governor Smith, during his office as Chief executive of the State of New York, has faced and fought successfully many efforts to raid the water power of Niagara Falls and the St. Lawrence River. For example, in 1907 a grant to develop 500,000 horsepower of electric energy was given a developing company at a rate to the State of \$25,000 per year. This grant

was revoked later, but the Aluminum Trust has been working consistently to get control of this water power.

Smith's plan is to construct a state-owned power plant and sell energy to distributing companies. To use the Governor's own words, "It only takes two men and a dog to run a power house," and political authorities would be shelved if the plan he is advocating is adopted.

In his speech of acceptance of the Democratic nomination, Governor Smith said:

"Under no circumstances should private monopoly be permitted to capitalize for rate-making purposes water power sites that are the property of the people themselves. It is to me unthinkable that the government of the United States or any state thereof will permit either direct or indirect alienation of water power sites."

Governor Smith Puts State on Business Basis

Setting himself to the task of establishing better business in the government of the State and lowering taxation, Governor Smith realized in 1920 that if adequate progress was made in the work a complete reorganization of the government must be made. Accordingly working through the Reconstruction Commission, which he appointed, he recommended to the State legislature that:

1. The machinery of the State government, which was being conducted through 187 boards, commissions, bureaus and departments, be consolidated into nineteen major state departments, combining under each for budgetary and administrative control, all departments having similar functions, and a short ballot by which only the executive officers of the State would be elected and the other officers appointed as members of the Governor's Cabinet.
2. A four-year term for the Governor instead of the present two-year term.
3. An executive budget instead of a legislative budget, which would do away with "padding" appropriations.

Governor Smith took the issue to the people and, after a long and hard campaign in which he fought pork barrel politicians, finally had necessary amendments to the constitution passed and voted on favorably by the people of the State in 1925. In the election of 1927, the executive budget amendment was passed, but the four-year term for Governor failed.

These fundamental reforms in the administration of the State government will permanently decrease government expense and as a result, taxation.

Governor Smith also advocated the use of public credit rather than state credit for development of revenue-producing public improvements, and at the same time advocated and succeeded in accomplishing a 25 per cent reduction in the State income tax, applicable to 1928 incomes. This measure gave immediate relief of \$8,250,000 to the income tax payers of the State.

As the legislative session of 1924 closed, it was found that, through good management and economical administration, it would be possible not only to reduce the income tax, but also the direct tax on real estate and personalty. Reduction in this tax gave relief to real estate owners and other classes of taxpayers who pay personal and indirect taxes affected by real estate rates.

Governor Smith secured a reduction of 25 per cent on the direct tax, which resulted in a saving of \$8,650,000 for that year. Together with the savings on income tax, the taxpayers of the State were saved nearly \$17,000,000 in each of the three years, 1924, 1925 and 1926, a total of \$51,000,000. Not satisfied with this, in 1928 he secured a reduction in direct taxes of one-half mill, which resulted in a saving of \$12,500,000 to farmers and land-owners. Altogether, Governor Smith, through his economical administration of government affairs, has saved the taxpayers of New York \$63,500,000.

As a result of Governor Smith's constructive work, New York State has been enabled to take the lead over all other states, and even the Federal government, in tax reduction.

In studying the record of Governor Smith as Governor of New York, especially the consolidation of state departments resulting in tax reduction, it readily will be seen that he has accomplished what few state executives have been able to do. He has put business in government and has the State affairs running on a business, rather than a pork barrel, basis.

As an illustration of his business ability, Governor Smith purchased the building in New York City which housed the State Labor department and it was paid for within a few years with funds which otherwise would have gone for rent on the structure; put canals of the State on a business basis for the first time; extended tax exemption for the building of homes; and secured passage of constitutional amendment permitting the legislature to issue bonds over a period of ten years for permanent public works improvements.

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on EVANGELISM

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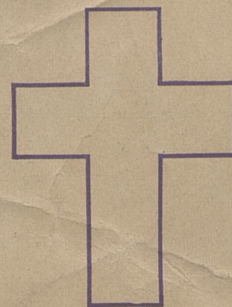
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Evangelism *and the*
Bishops' Crusade

THE OBJECTIVE



Issued by the
National Commission on Evangelism
of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Additional copies of this leaflet may be obtained at the rate of One Dollar per hundred from the Commission on Evangelism, Mount Saint Alban, Washington, D. C.

A STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EVANGELISM

To Every Member of the Church

THE National Commission on Evangelism was created in 1925 by General Convention in response to a widespread appeal from all parts of the Church for a new emphasis upon the value and necessity of incorporating personal evangelism in the life of the membership of the Church.

The testimony received by the Commission evidences afresh the world's need of a real and vital religion—a need which the Church can best meet by pressing the high claims of evangelism, that is, recognizing in a more emphatic way the saving of the world through a living Christ.

The Commission strongly feels that this must not be merely an ephemeral movement, and again that it shall not be characterized by an elaboration of details or the setting up of complicated machinery.

After prayerful consideration the Commission sets forth the following as indicating the purpose and objective of the approaching effort throughout the whole Church, the initial step of which is the Bishops' Crusade. A Call to Rededication to Jesus Christ in Life and Service, by

- 1 Confession of Christ openly before men as Lord and Saviour. *"Not only with our lips, but in our lives."*
- 2 Regular daily individual and family prayer. *"Lord, teach us to pray."*
- 3 Understanding better the mind of Christ through daily Bible reading. *"That I may know Him and the power of His resurrection."*
- 4 Seeking strength for service through worship and sacrament. *"I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me."*
- 5 Active service by every member of the Church. *"Laborers together with God."*
- 6 Developing a deeper sense of individual responsibility for bringing others to Christ. *"He first findeth his own brother He brought him to Jesus."*
- 7 Earnest effort to combat worldliness by more consistent practice of the Christian life. *"What do ye more than others?"*

COLLECT OF THE COMMISSION

ALMIGHTY GOD, whose Son Jesus Christ came to cast fire upon the earth; grant that by the prayers of thy faithful people a fire of burning zeal may be kindled and pass from heart to heart, that the light of thy Church may shine forth bright and clear; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.* —From the Grey Book

* * *

In my judgment the "Objective" is well planned, wisely formulated and worthy the consideration and co-operation of the whole Church for the accomplishment of the purpose of the Commission.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN G. MURRAY,
Presiding Bishop



In Defense
of
Religious Liberty

BY

Rev. Henry van Dyke, DD., LL. D.

Former Minister of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York,
and Professor of English Literature at Princeton University



Democratic National Committee
1775 Broadway, New York City



In Defense of Religious Liberty

By Dr. Henry van Dyke



At the present moment there is on foot in these United States a wide-spread cabal to keep one of the candidates for the Presidency from election because he is a member of the Catholic Church. The other candidate has handsomely disavowed any personal share in the sentiments or arguments which characterize this cabal. This is much to his credit.

But unfortunately he can not, or at least he does not, restrain and check the pernicious activity of his supporters, who are convinced that the end of a victory for their party justifies any means which they employ to secure it. Hence, if their candidate should be elected, he would owe his election in part to the religious prejudice and anti-Catholic enmity which the cabalists have stirred up and marshalled to the polls. This would be a misfortune for him, and a calamity for our country as the home and citadel of religious liberty.

The mere prospect of such a calamity ought to move the hearts of true Americans and honest Christians with dismay, and awaken their minds to serious thought and earnest action in defense of that real freedom of conscience which is the hard-won crowning glory of America and the dearest jewel of Christianity.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the American colonies were not altogether free from sectarian bigotry and intolerance. Quakers and Baptists were made to suffer as enemies of religion. Maryland, founded by Catholics, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, founded by Quakers, were the colonies where the light of religious tolerance and Christian good-will shone most clear. From them it spread, with the liberation of the people and the founding of the Republic, until it illumined every State and glows now like a sacred and undying fire on the high altar of the Constitution. Shall it be extinguished by open bigotry, or be dimmed and dishonored by secret hostility, in this year of our Lord 1928?

That seems to me far and away the most important question before the country today,—a question not to be answered by heated appeals to partisan allegiance,—a question not raised, thank God, by either of the honorable candidates for the Presidency, but a burning question thrust upon the con-

science of every American voter by the overt fulminations and covert whisperings of those who seek to defeat one of the candidates because he is a Catholic.

Never yet has a national election in the United States been determined on such grounds. Secret societies we have had, with masked costumes, and cryptic pass-words, and dark ungainly rituals of superstitious fear and hatred, banded to injure and proscribe our fellow-citizens of different race, color or creed. These fungus growths have been more detestable than dangerous. They have always tended to dissolve in the bad odor of their own corruption and to disappear under the gloomy shadow of their own misdeeds.

But now the danger to our dearly gained liberties takes a new form, more subtle, more plausible, and therefore more menacing. It comes clad in garments of respectability and using the phrases of antique piety.

'You must stand by the banner of Protestantism in this election,' it says. 'You must be true to your faith. You must vote against this man because he is a Catholic, and therefore your foe and an enemy of the Republic.'

Who told you that, friend? Who has carried the banner of Protestantism into a political contest, the ark of the covenant into battle? My Protestantism is obedient to Him who said, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.' My Protestantism, which is hereditary from the school of William of Orange, tells me that 'conscience is God's province.' My Americanism, which is a stout growth of eight native-born generations, tells me that to vote against a man because of his church-membership is to be untrue in act to the central faith of the Republic.

But some reader may ask, 'Why are you so emphatic about this? Why do you insist that it is the most important issue in the campaign? Other people do not agree with you about that; they say that farm-relief, or water-power ownership, or prohibition is more important. Why do you lay so much stress on the question of religious liberty?'

I will answer frankly, without fear, and my answer is in some sort a confession. I am not a politician. I am only an unimportant old Presbyterian minister, a stout liberal, and an independent writer. Being pretty near the end of this life, I have nothing to gain or lose in the way of office or emolument, and nothing to dread in the way of partisan obloquy or reproach, of which I have already endured a considerable amount without serious injury to my bodily health or mental peace.

Because I love my own free church and my own free country, because I value my own self-respect, I resist, and shall always resist to the very end of life, every attempt to arouse and array religious prejudice and hostility in a political campaign in the United States of America.

If you ask why I venture to assert that an anti-Catholic cabal is at work in the present Presidential election, I reply that the evidence is too clear to be disregarded except by those who are asleep or voluntarily imitating the opossum. The proof comes in many ways, now in the bold vociferations of a Howling Bigot, now in the gentle murmurs of mild Congregational ministers who merely suggest that it is not improper to let your ecclesiastical prejudice control your vote. Not the great Methodist Church, but four Bishops of that body, speaking with whatever authority may vest their episcopal role, issue a pronunciamento to urge their people to vote against a Catholic. Devout women not a few, forgetting the faithfulness of the Catholic Church in defending the marriage vow and the sanctity of the home, have been led to support the anti-Catholic with more fervor than thoughtfulness. On top of all this a religious newspaper of liberal reputation, prints an editorial justifying the expression in a vote of dislike for Catholics, but graciously conceding that *'if* a Catholic is elected, he should not be debarred from office.'

O wondrous IF,—thank you for nothing! You are willing that Protestant feelings should be excited against Catholic candidates at the voting booths, but if in spite of this one of these candidates should be elected by a majority of honest, open-minded, God-fearing, liberty-loving Americans, you really would not call out the army and navy and police to keep him from taking his seat! Is this the measure of your liberalism? Is this the full extent of your faith in religious freedom? Then either your mental processes are eccentric, or your memory is bad and your faith in America is weak.

Let us remember that the first settlers of America came hither to escape from ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution, some of which called itself Protestant and some of which called itself Catholic. Let us remember the dreadful bloody wars of so-called religion which desolated Europe, and from which men and women fled with their children as from a cruel and devouring fire. Let us remember through what hard experience our forefathers finally won through to their proud conception of real liberty of conscience and fearlessly embodied it in their supreme law. Is all this to be forgotten, sacrificed, or even tampered with and imperilled to meet the supposed exigencies of a political campaign?

Under the Constitution, Jews and Catholics have served with honor in Congress, in the Cabinet, in diplomacy, and on the Supreme Bench. They have not endangered the liberties of the Republic. They have upheld and defended them. Two Catholics have served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, an office of the highest dignity and of final power in the interpretation of the law. No one has ever reproached them with unfairness or with disloyalty to the American principle of separation between church and state. By what right, then, does any one say that the election of a Catholic to the Presidency would endanger that principle or threaten American freedom? On the contrary, such an event would prove the reality of that freedom by manifesting the firmness of the separation between church and state.

I am convinced that most of our citizens, men and women, do not comprehend the fierceness and subtlety with which that freedom is now being attacked by the great cabal. Let me illustrate it by a small, concrete, pernicious proof which I have found floating around in this quiet little village on the sea-coast of Maine. No doubt it has been multiplied exceedingly and its like is circulating in many other rural districts and innocent communities.

It is a pamphlet, well printed on expensive paper, bearing the title *America's Two Unwritten Laws*. The name of the author is modestly withheld, but he signs his production with the initials E. A. (which may possibly mean Evidently Absurd), and he is careful to give an address at which further copies of his pamphlet may be procured for distribution. Thus his production betrays all the ear-marks of cabalism,—it is anonymous, it pretends to be respectable, and it begs support for its propaganda.

The second 'unwritten law' which Evidently Absurd lays down for America is this: '*No Catholic shall be President of the United States!*'

Who framed this law for a country which expressly declares in its Constitution that no such law shall be made? Who dares to put it into words and proclaim it in a country which stands expressly for religious liberty, and to whose flag millions of people have been drawn by the nobility of that pledge? Has any man of credit and reason ventured to formulate such a slander upon the honor and good faith of the Republic? No, it is the anonymous work of Evidently Absurd, who puts it forth with a pious air, and asks decent Protestants and honest Americans to obey this law of intolerance, which he calls 'unwritten' although he himself wrote it.

This is *nullification* with a vengeance! It affects not a mere matter of personal habits and diet, but

a national principle of peace and union. It proclaims a Jihad, a religious war, in the heart of America.

And the pity of it is that good people, devout people, otherwise respectable people, will listen to this preaching of prejudice and enmity, and will repeat it, and will blindly obey it, not knowing what they do. Virtuous and lovely ladies will say, with horror on their faces, 'Surely you think a Catholic is an impossible candidate!' A few weeks ago a proud professor at Princeton asked me in raucous tones, 'Would you vote for a Catholic as President?' His look of contempt was unmistakable, and I was tempted to answer, 'Even if there were no other reason, beloved brother, it might lead me to vote for a good Catholic just to shake your self-complacent Phariseeism, and maintain America's honest faith in real religious liberty.'

Freedom of conscience is the greatest thing at stake in this campaign. Hundreds of thousands of voters fail to realize it. Interested in other matters they ignore this vital cause. Both of the Presidential candidates in this election are men of integrity and ability. Our choice between them should be made on a conscientious conviction of their respective equipment for the difficult task. But if one of them should be excluded from the Presidency by votes cast against him on the ground that he is a Catholic, it would dishonor the pledged faith of America and cast away her most precious heritage.

It is time to blow a trumpet to awaken the sleepers. The Palladium of the Republic is attacked by secret and open foes. It is in danger, trembling in its marble hall. The spiritual call to arms goes out to every man and woman. Defend the Religious Liberty of America.

Seal Harbor, Maine,
August 30, 1928.

[Dr. Van Dyke is perhaps one of the best known clergymen and writers in the world. He was graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1877 and holds degrees from Princeton, Harvard, Yale Universities, Union College, University of Pennsylvania and Oxford University. He was ordained a Presbyterian Clergyman in 1879 and was pastor of the United Congregational Church, at Newport, R. I., from 1879 to 1882 and the Brick Presbyterian Church, in 1883, in 1900, 1902 and 1911. He has been professor of English literature at Princeton University from 1902 to 1923 and was United States Minister to the Netherlands from 1913 to 1917, when he resigned. He also was American lecturer at the University of Paris.]

millions of debt which England used up to fight the French and the Americans a hundred years ago, and then England, out of "pure philanthropy," took over our Exchequer to prevent us from getting bankrupt fighting any more big nations. So that for over a hundred years we have had no Exchequer, no Treasury, and no place to put the money England would give us if she had any place to put it where we couldn't lose it.

By the blessings of that Providence which always watches over English financial operations, it so happens that that altruistic and self-sacrificing nation has, perchance, not always lost over her generous appropriation of the responsibilities of financing Ireland. It so happens that, with the exception of a few years, her books, carefully balanced as they are, show a goodly surplus. It is true that the year quoted by the Editor of "Harvey's Weekly" shows, according to the balancing of the English Account, held by English clerks according to English rules, a loss of £790,000. In the following year a loss of £266,500 is recorded. But the succeeding financial year of 1916 shows a handsome profit of £5,332,000; the year 1917 shows a profit of £11,080,500; the year 1918 shows a solid surplus of £13,863,000; and 1919 a surplus of £15,118,500. So that English "philanthropy" is a progressive paying proposi-

tion. The surplus of 1920 will show a further appreciation of "pure philanthropy."

The expenditure on "Irish Services" consists generally of money spent in paying wages of English police or officials, and on the maintenance of English boards and institutions in Ireland. They are no more Irish Services than English Expenditures in the Plantations constituted American Expenditure in pre-revolution days. Moreover, there are no Irish taxes. The revenue England collects in Ireland is England taxation levied in England and extended to Ireland as an act of "philanthropy" in order to remove any grievance the Irish people might have, because it is notorious that the Irish are a highly sensitive people who might not like to have their claim to recognition passed over by the English Treasury.

On the whole, it may be said that English "philanthropy" has filled the Treasury so well that we propose to make the bold experiment of applying to ourselves some of those generous philanthropic principles which have been so successful with the English. We have come to believe that philanthropy, like charity, commences at home, and we propose in future to make the great sacrifice of collecting and spending our own taxes in the most philanthropic Irish fashion.

Ireland's Economic Situation

England's Irish Philanthropy

Being an answer to England's statement that Ireland pays no economic tribute to the Empire

BY

ARTHUR GRIFFITH

Acting President of the Republic of Ireland



ISSUED BY
FRIENDS OF IRISH FREEDOM
NATIONAL BUREAU OF INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 1920



No. 21

ENGLAND'S IRISH PHILANTHROPY

It is a myth long in common use by English propagandists in America that Great Britain keeps Ireland within the Empire at the price of a heavy financial loss for the sole purpose of saving the people of Ireland the cost of keeping their own country. This absurd statement has received such wide circulation in the United States that this Bureau is glad to be able to present, in concise form, a final answer, briefly stated by Mr. Arthur Griffith, Acting President of the Republic of Ireland, which should remove all doubts on this subject from American minds. The English myth was recently stated in briefest form by the editor of *Harvey's Weekly* in reply to the query of a correspondent. It is to this statement of a current misconception, herewith reprinted, that Mr. Griffith gives his answer.

DANIEL T. O'CONNELL, *Director,*
Friends of Irish Freedom
National Bureau of Information

(In the last financial year before the great war Ireland contributed in taxes, £9,627,000 to the Treasury of the United Kingdom, and received from it, in expenditures on her public services, £10,417,000; thus receiving £790,000 more than she paid. She was exempt from land tax and from house duties, which in England paid £2,522,000, and in Scotland £162,000. We are unable to ascertain that any portion whatever of the expenditures on public services in Ireland is devoted to the military establishment, or that there is discrimination in favour of the North of Ireland.—*Editor, Harvey's Weekly.*)

We will first suppose that these two points are correct, namely, that Ireland pays a smaller rate of taxation, and that the expenditure is greater than the revenue. The answer is a simple one. If England is losing on Ireland, why the deuce doesn't she clear out of the country. This is a commonsense answer, because nobody asks England to lose money on Ireland. As an act of kindness to England, we ask her to give up spending money on us, and not to spend any more of her cash on this "pure philanthropy" business.

But it is possible that if England lost money, admittedly a very small amount, she might gain financially in other ways. She may make good her losses and recoup herself generously. England has the sole monopoly and absolute control of our trade, which to her is a great advantage. She has the profits derived

from carrying our goods by sea, and the amount her ships earn in the Irish freights is an item running into many millions. In the year 1913 our imports per head were £16.2s.10d. per head, while for the United States they were only £3.15s.6d. and the exports of Irish produce were £16.3s.9d., as compared with the U. S. A. exports of £5.5s.2d. These figures are taken from the Statistical Return of Irish Trade for 1916, page XIX. English policy has driven our trade into her ships, and she collects the freight on our goods with her well-known "philanthropy."

Moreover, England obtains enormous supplies of foods, such as butter, bacon, eggs, cattle, poultry, cheese, potatoes, oats, and supplies of fodder from our good farmers at prices which are fixed by England with equal "philanthropy," so that she feeds a considerable

number of John Bulls from our soil, and she does it with the utmost "philanthropy," preventing our farmers from selling their foods anywhere else except to the kindly and most "philanthropic" John.

Furthermore, England obtains large supplies of raw materials such as hides, skin, wool, tallow, lard, timber, flax, and yarns, and in this department, so essential for her industries, she very kindly arranges to take all we have to give, and goes out of the way to save us the trouble of asking any other friends to relieve us of these goods. This she contrives by killing off any industries which might make too great a draft on our nerves, and by forbidding us to lose weight looking for Continental or American customers. England, in short, wants us to live a calm, and undisturbed life of scenic contemplation, of idyllic ease and Arcadian charm, free from the embarrassments of international affairs and the turmoil of overseas trade. She wants us to give up hard work and pay attention to raising cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens for her table and providing hotels, fishing, and shooting for her tourists in knickerbockers.

But unfortunately for the "philanthropic" attention of the English occupation, it is not a fact that this policy of condemning Ireland to economic isolation is achieved at a nominal loss. England makes much money out of Ireland in many ways. Leaving out the indirect means, such as trade, shipping, insurance, and banking, by means of which she draws many millions yearly the fact remains that England gains directly by taxation of Ireland, even by the admission contained in the figures which she compiles and publishes without the knowledge, supervision or audit of any Irish delegation. Ireland is not permitted to have any exchequer audit of moneys levied from her.

The standard authority on the subject is the finding of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations of Ireland and Great Britain, a joint body containing a proportion of Irish representatives. They found that whilst the

actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxing capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of the Commissioners as exceeding one-twentieth. This was in 1894. Down to 1894 it has been proved that the over-taxation of Ireland on the lowest ratio amounted to some three hundred and fifty millions (see "The Economic Case for Irish Independence," by Darrel Figgis, p. 74).

In view of the findings of the Royal Commission, it takes a special English agent in America to attempt to spread the argument that England keeps Ireland for love.

Since 1894 the English revenue of Ireland has increased from eight millions to considerably more than forty millions. How much of it is actually spent in Ireland is not revealed. England does not furnish us with the expenditure in Ireland. She calls it "Expenditure on Irish Services," that is to say, expenditure on English services in Ireland. The expenditure does not necessarily take place in Ireland; a portion of it passes into hands of philanthropists disguised as English contractors. Our American friend, the Editor of "Harvey's Weekly," has apparently been misled by the English propagandists, when he writes that Ireland received from it (the English Treasury), in expenditure on her public services, £10,417,000 (in 1914). Ireland does not receive anything from the English Treasury. The English Treasury spends so much money on English services in respect to the occupation of Ireland, but it does not by any means follow that the expenditure on these services takes place in Ireland. England, for instance, has sent emissaries from Dublin Castle to America to work up propaganda against Ireland, and the salaries and expenses of these agents would be charged as an Irish service. It should be borne in mind that England took over the Irish Exchequer in 1816, out of "pure philanthropy," of course, saying it was bankrupt. Out American friends might recall that we incurred some hundreds of

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY of KENTUCKY

FAMOUS DATES IN BIBLE HISTORY*

Fourth Century	The Vatican manuscript (in the Vatican Library).	1539	The Great Bible ("Great" refers to size).
Fourth Century	The Sinaitic manuscript (in the British Museum).		Text of Matthews Bible revised by Coverdale.
	A Latin translation from the Hebrew and Greek by Jerome, called the Vulgate.	1593	Taverner's Bible (a revision of Matthews).
Fifth Century	The Alexandrian manuscript (British Museum).	1560	The Genevan Bible (earliest in Roman type and in handy cheap form). Trans. by William Wittingham.
1382	John Wycliffe completes the first translation of the Bible into English.	1568	The Bishops' Bible (a revision of the Great Bible).
1456?	The 42-line Bible issued in Mainz. Gutenberg Bible.	1582	Rheims' New Testament (from the Vulgate. First Roman Catholic version in English).
1483	The Golden Legend (from the Pentateuch and Gospels) -- London, William Caxton.	1609	The Douai Bible (First Roman Catholic version of entire Bible in English).
1488	First Bible printed in Hebrew.	1611	Publication of King James Bible. Translation built on the foundations of Tyndale and Coverdale.
1516	First edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament.		First Bible printed at Cambridge University Press.
1522	Martin Luther's New Testament in German.	1629	John Eliot's Bible for the Indians.
1525	William Tyndale's New Testament printed in Cologne. 80 pages only.	1663	Printing of Bibles begun at Oxford.
1526	William Tyndale's New Testament completed at Worms.	1675	
1530	William Tyndale's Pentateuch printed at Marburg.	1743	First Bible printed in America (in German).
1534	Martin Luther's Bible in German.	1763	John Baskerville's Folio Bible.
1535	Miles Coverdale's Bible Printed on the Continent.	1782	First English Bible printed in America by Aitken, Philadelphia.
1536	William Tyndale executed for translating Bible.	1881-1885	Publication of Revised Version. Translation by a joint committee of English and American scholars.
1537	Matthews Bible (from Tyndale and Coverdale)		American Revised Version.
1538	First printing of a Bible in England.	1901	

*The Publishers' Weekly, September 14, 1935.

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Letters of Approval and Support.

Bennettsville, S. C., Aug. 16, 1922.
Mr. C. C. Wallace,
Richmond, Ky.

My dear Mr. Wallace:
Your letter received and I most heartily endorse the organization of the "Belle H. Bennett Memorial Association" and the plans for the erection of a splendid church in memory of Miss Belle H. Bennett, the greatest leader in Southern Methodism, in her home city, Richmond, Ky.

My one regret is that the desire in the hearts and minds of so many of Miss Bennett's friends to have begun this memorial church early in 1921 was hindered. She at that time would have realized something of the love of her friends and their appreciation of her wonderful life and work for needy humanity throughout the world, where there are today living memorials in uplifted and saved men and women because of the life and influence of this consecrated woman. No greater or more beautiful unselfish life has ever been or will be lived in any church and her friends can do no greater honor than to erect this splendid church in the city, state and denomination which she loved and of which she was a life member.

I am enclosing a pledge for this work and I believe every friend who knew and loved Miss Bennett will appreciate the opportunity of having a part in thus honoring the memory of their friend and leader who has gone from us.

Very sincerely,
(Mrs.) R. L. KIRKWOOD.

Millersburg, Ky., Sept. 20, 1922.
Rev. W. O. Sadler,
Richmond, Ky.

Dear Sir:
At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Woman's Missionary Society it was decided that as a fitting tribute to the memory of Miss Belle Bennett, the women of the Kentucky Conference Woman's Missionary Society be responsible for a window in the Belle Bennett Memorial Church at Richmond.

The President requested that you be informed of this action of the Committee.

Sincerely yours,
ALFA BALL, Sect.

The following is from the former Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky.

O'REAR, FOWLER & WALLACE
Frankfort, Ky., Sept. 15, 1922.

Hon. C. C. Wallace,
Richmond, Ky.

I am handing you enclosed note to the Treasurer of the Belle H. Bennett Memorial Association, and I thank you for calling my attention to the matter, and affording me an opportunity to share in an expression of appreciation of the work and character of that noble woman. She spent her fortune and her life for the church. No one of this generation in Kentucky has contributed more, or perhaps so much, to the spreading of Christ's doctrine in the dark places of the earth than she. It is fitting that Southern Methodists should bear testimony in this substantial manner to their appreciation of her great work.

Yours truly,
EDWARD C. O'REAR.

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Kentucky Conference M. E. Church,
South.

Mrs. James H. Spilman, President,

Dear Brother Wallace:

It gladdens my heart to know your congregation has decided to build a Belle H. Bennett Memorial Church in Richmond.

I know there are hundreds of men and women in our Southern Methodism who will want a part in this good cause.

To me, one of Miss Bennett's strongest and most Christ-like characteristics was her continual searching for laborers for the Master's service. When she met men and women her first thought seemed to be where and how they could best serve.

I know there are men in the ministry, missionaries at home and abroad, teachers in our schools and other laborers too numerous to mention, who are filling important places because she presented the claims of Christ on their lives, so it seems fitting and beautiful that a splendid church, bearing her name, should stand in her home town, where annually hundreds of young men and women come for

training. And through this church, the appeal of the Cross should be made to this splendid body of virile manhood and womanhood, who come from the Hill Country of our commonwealth, and are training the young minds of all the Eastern section of our state.

I pray God's blessing on your undertaking and trust you may succeed. I shall help you all I can.

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs.) JAMES H. SPILMAN.

Danville District Kentucky Conference, Danville, Ky., Sept. 21, 1922.
Rev. W. O. Sadler,
Richmond, Ky.

Dear Brother Sadler:

For the vision of the necessities and possibilities of our work at Richmond that has come to you I am profoundly grateful to Almighty God. I do not believe that such an opportunity for a conference-wide usefulness has ever before been accorded to any church in our territory, or to our conference itself. That great State Normal School there makes it possible for our Methodism properly planted and manned at that point to touch the young life throughout all Central and Eastern Kentucky. Surely such an opportunity amounts to nothing less than a divine command that the work should be enterprised and carried forward.

Your brother,
C. L. BOHON, P. E.

THE CHARGE LEADERS' PRAYER.

Almighty God, we humbly beseech Thee to bless the work in which we are engaged. Preserve, O Heavenly Father, our church and its members. Aid us in the good work of erecting to Thy glory and to the memory of our beloved departed member, a church building to which we are pledged, and give success to our efforts. Endow us with Thy Spirit and by Thy wisdom. Let Thy protecting care be over us. Guide us by Thy power in the way everlasting. Direct us, O Lord, in all our doing with Thy most gracious favor, that all our works may begin, continue and end in Thee, and that we may glorify Thy Holy Name, and finally by Thy mercy, obtain everlasting life.—Amen.

A Belle H. Bennett Memorial

THE BELLE H. BENNETT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, RICHMOND, KY.

Organized for the purpose of Erecting a Memorial Church to Her Memory



MISS BELLE H. BENNETT

Founder of Sue Bennett Memorial College and the Scarritt Bible and Training School; President of Woman's Board of Home Missions, 1898-1910; President of Woman's Missionary Council, 1910-1922.



EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS RECEIVED

No greater or more beautiful unselfish life has ever been or will be lived in any church, and her friends can do no greater honor than to erect this splendid church in the city, state and denomination which she loved and of which she was a life member.—Mrs. R. L. Kirkwood, Bennettsville, South Carolina.

She spent her fortune and her life for the Church. It is fitting that Southern Methodists should bear testimony in this substantial manner to their appreciation of her great work.—Judge Edward C. O'Rear.

It is fitting and beautiful that a splendid church bearing her name should stand in her home town as a memorial to her.—Mrs. Jas. H. Spilman, President Woman's Missionary Society, Kentucky Conference.

In our Memorial Church there will be a Memorial Room where the names of all organizations and individuals having a part in this beautiful and fitting tribute to the memory of Miss Belle H. Bennett, will be sacredly kept.—C. C. Wallace.

SOME REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD HELP US ERECT A BELLE H. BENNETT MEMORIAL CHURCH IN RICHMOND

1. The Methodist church here gave Miss Belle H. Bennett to the World.
2. Our present church building is a discredit to our cause and a disparagement to her memory.
3. We are unable, with only 180 members, to erect a proper building.
4. Two thousand student teachers attending the Eastern Kentucky State Normal, located here, place a tremendous burden on the local churches, making this a Home Mission proposition.
5. Two of the other three denominations have large, new, modern, well located churches and the third has one in course of construction.
6. Methodism is doomed here in the home of Miss Belle H. Bennett unless we can build.
7. We would be unjust to you not to accord you the privilege of having a part in this most worthy enterprise.

Why a Memorial to Her Memory?

Miss Belle H. Bennett, L. L. D., was born, reared and died in Madison County, Kentucky, and at the time of her death was easily one of the foremost citizens of the State and of our Nation. Heredity, environment, training, and an intelligent consecration to a world task put this woman into the very midst of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South's most important program. She put herself into the work for the world and moved steadily forward, until in later years, she was a recognized and trusted leader, going into all the missionary fields of the world, thus becoming in the highest sense a World Citizen.

Miss Belle H. Bennett was the first president of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Kentucky Conference. Then the president of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and for the last twelve years was the president of the Woman's Missionary Council and a member of the General Board of Missions, and prominent, able and efficient, in all the work of the church. A wise leader, a safe counsellor, a charming friend—she gave the unstinted service of a noble woman in rich outpouring, so that multitudes call her blessed among the women who have greatly inspired humanity.

Scarritt Bible and Training School at Kansas City, Mo., and Sue Bennett Memorial School at London, Ky., are two of the outstanding achievements of her wise vision and great energy. One who knew her through all the years of her earnest service, says: "It does no discredit to any other woman to say that no other woman has done for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, what Miss Bennett has done. She had remarkable powers of mind and heart, and all were used for God and her church. She had a gift for friendship, and her friends were limited only by the number of her acquaintances. She was a strong character, and dealt with large things, but she could make anyone feel that she had a genuine interest in all the troubles and sorrows, and joys that had fallen to the lot of that person. May the God of the Church raise up others to take the place made vacant by her death?"

"She hath done what she could." And wherever our gospel is preached her deeds will live in the memory of all who love the Lord. The members of our church at Richmond, Ky., with heroic faith and beautiful devotion are planning to erect THE BELLE H. BENNETT MEMORIAL CHURCH, as the most fitting memorial to her whom we all loved, and whom we delight to honor. They offer the real privilege of sharing in this tribute to a noble woman, in the perpetuation of real living service in her name, in a real service in this important Educational Center. Trusting to receive a most hearty response, we are

Sincerely,
THE BELLE H. BENNETT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

METHODISTS TO BUILD HANDSOME CHURCH

As Memorial To Miss Belle H. Bennett, Who Devoted Her Life To the Master's Cause.

(From Richmond Daily Register, Aug. 3, 1922)

The life and noble work of Miss Belle H. Bennett are to be commemorated in Richmond by the erection of a magnificent Temple of God. This was decided upon at a congregational meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held here Wednesday night. As is well known, Miss Bennett gave her life to the service of her Master through the channels of this, her denomination. She was

without doubt the most prominent woman in the Methodist church in the world, and her labors were world wide in their scope.

An organization was set on foot at this meeting, to be known as the Belle H. Bennett Memorial Association and to have charge of the financing and arrangements for the building of the church house which will stand as a permanent and visible memorial to this great and noble woman. The following statement was handed the press about the matter:

"At the Methodist church Wednesday night, there was held a large and enthusiastic meeting of thorough organization of the congregation, at which a membership of the church, under the efficient leadership of Mr.

C. C. Wallace, charge Lay Leader, was had. At the conclusion of this, Dr. B. C. Horton, of Lexington, made an address on the life and work of Miss Belle H. Bennett, and the congregation was then organized into a Belle H. Bennett Memorial Association, whose purpose is to build a suitable memorial in the form of a great church in our growing and important city. There was manifested a great spirit of hope, faith and courage and it is confidently believed that an institution beautiful, useful and capable of rendering large service, will in the near future enshrine the name and commemorate the work of Richmond's greatest citizen, who was truly an unrequited queen."

The personnel of the Belle H. Bennett Memorial Association was announced as follows:

President—C. C. Wallace, Richmond, Charge Lay Leader.

Assistant President—B. C. Horton, pastor First M. E. Church, South, Lexington.

1st Vice President, W. O. Sadler, pastor M. E. Church, South, Richmond.

2nd Vice President, Mrs. A. J. Suit, superintendent District Missionary Board.

3rd Vice President, Mrs. G. D. Smith, president Richmond Missionary Society.

4th Vice President, Prof. I. H. Boothe, superintendent Sunday-school.

5th Vice President, Thelma McClintock, president Epworth League.

Treasurer, R. M. Rowland.

Secretary, J. H. Payne.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. J. Hale Dean.

Executive Committee—C. C. Wallace, B. C. Horton, W. O. Sadler, Mrs. A. J. Suit, Mrs. G. D. Smith, I. H. Boothe, Thelma McClintock, R. M. Rowland, J. H. Payne, Mrs. J. Hale Dean, W. F. Park, W. H. Park, W. Q. Park, H. E. Bingham, A. J. Suit, D. B. McKinney, T. S. Todd, Reed Just, W. L. Leeds, W. A. Langford, Mrs. W. A. Langford, Mrs. Ella Powell, G. D. Smith, H. M. Whittington, Geo. T. Fawkes, Mrs. James Burnsides, J. S. Miller, Miss Helen Bennett, Willard Sharp, Hubert Willoughby, C. T. Wells, Mrs. D. C. Ferrell, Mrs. Nannie McBroom, Mrs. Lula E. White Sadler, Harry Dykes, Mrs. Mary Bennett, Miss Mae D. Boyer.

All remittances should be made payable to R. M. Rowland, Cashier, Southern National Bank, and sent to C. C. Wallace, Attorney at Law, both of Richmond, Kentucky.

Where Should the Memorial Be Located?

Statement of Prof. John H. Payne, Superintendent of City Schools, Richmond, Ky.:

I want to call your attention to the inadequacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at this place. We have the Eastern Kentucky State Normal School located here, whose enrollment has been gradually increasing through the years, until it now averages 2,000 each year. Many of the student body are Methodists. Naturally, they will spread Methodism and be the cause of Methodism's growth all over Eastern Kentucky, when they go out as teachers in the schools. The church plant here is not adequate to nurture them in the faith and to keep their pulses warm while they are in school. The plant is entirely too small to accommodate the large number of Normal students who would attend Sunday-school if space could be provided. We have no such thing as rooms for individual classes, nor any possibility to make any in the present building. The auditorium is not large enough to seat the present church membership when the Normal students of Methodist affiliations are added.

The location of the church is not in any sense commanding. It is directly across the street from the jail. It is located on the corner of Irvine and Second street. All the other leading churches in town are located on West Main street in the residence section. The present location of the church will forever keep it from enjoying the dignity and social position which it must have if it is to compete with the other churches. It is located in the business section with a garage directly across the street. As a consequence, there is none of the atmosphere of quietude and privacy which should surround every church. The buzz of an automobile during a prayer or sermon is an every Sunday occurrence.

The other three leading churches of the city are new—the Baptist being in the course of construction. They are all modern workshops of the most commanding type, beautiful in architecture and commodious in arrangement. The location of the Methodist church is such that not only the Normal students, but many of the strongest citizens in town must pass right by the other three churches to go to it. This will be a hard thing for the Normal students to do when the three other churches are completed and pre-

sent an attractive appearance while the Methodist church is in an uninviting part of town and is unattractive in appearance.

Richmond needs a new Methodist church. Nearly all the wealth of the city is in the other three churches. It is out of the question to think of the membership financing a new church. The Normal students, of course, are not contributors. Yet, it is absolutely imperative that a new church be built here if Methodism is to hold its own, not only in this community, but in Eastern Kentucky as well. Hundreds of Normal students go from this place each year to teach school in sixty-nine counties. The Christian, Presbyterian and Baptist churches are taking care of all Normal students of their leanings in a fine way. If the Methodists do not come forward with a new church it will be hard for them to hold students of Methodist affiliations.

Eastern Kentucky State Normal School, Richmond, Ky.

Rev. W. O. Sadler, Richmond, Ky.

My dear Brother Sadler:

The Eastern Kentucky State Normal School and Teachers' College serves the sixty-nine counties of Eastern Kentucky. We have enrolled over 1,750 different students during the year 1921-22. The attendance at this institution will continue to grow as the demand for better trained teachers is made. I am confident that this institution will train seventy-five per cent of all the teachers of the Mountains and the Blue Grass Region before very long. The school has a wonderful future and its opportunity to render a service to the State can scarcely be measured. Probably, in another year, we will go on to the four-year college basis and this will enable us to prepare not only the teachers who will instruct children but, also, the supervisors and superintendents who will lead and direct the educational forces of the state.

There are in Eastern Kentucky, nearly 8,000 teachers in the public schools. This number is rapidly increasing because of the demand for more education on the part of the people. Eastern Normal must prepare practically all of these teachers in the future.

The churches of the city of Richmond have a chance to make a won-

derful contribution in the life of the student teachers who are here for preparation. As you know, most of our students attend church and Sunday-school quite regularly while they sojourn in Richmond. This offers to these institutions a wonderful opportunity to train these young people for religious service as well as for their positions in the public schools. If the public schools of America are to wield the influence which the nation must expect of them, the teachers of these schools must be Christian men and women. I trust that you and your congregation will be able to build a modern plant, which will help you to meet the challenge as offered to the churches of the city of Richmond, in the religious preparation of these young teachers.

With best wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

H. L. DONOVAN, Dean.

KENTUCKY CONFERENCE

ENDORSES PLAN

The Kentucky Conference in session at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, September 2, 1922, passed unanimously the following resolution approving and commending the proposed Belle H. Bennett Memorial Church.

The Resolution

Whereas, our people at Richmond, Kentucky, are making an effort to erect to the memory of Miss Belle H. Bennett, whose leadership and consecrated service so greatly blessed the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, a memorial church that will be a small expression of our very great appreciation of the consecrated service she rendered, and

Whereas, seventy-five per cent of the teachers of the public schools of the sixty-nine counties composing the mountains and the Blue Grass regions of our beloved State receive their training in the Eastern Kentucky Normal School, located at Richmond; therefore be it resolved,

First, that we approve the building of this proposed Memorial Church as an appropriate tribute to the worth of Miss Belle H. Bennett, as well as a plan to meet a great need for the work of Methodism in the regions served by the Eastern Kentucky Normal School.

Second, that we commend this enterprise to the authorities of our church and respectfully request them to give it all possible aid.

Very respectfully submitted,

H. C. MORRISON,
B. C. HORTON,
C. H. GREER.

\$-----

Richmond, Ky-----1922

In consideration of like promises for various sums by others, for the purpose of building a **Methodist Episcopal Church, South**, as a Memorial to Miss Belle H. Bennett, I hereby promise to pay to the order of

R. M. ROWLAND, Treasurer of the Belle H. Bennett Memorial Association

the sum of ----- **DOLLARS**

This Note is payable in four installments as follows: One-fourth January 1, 1923; one-fourth July 1, 1923; one-fourth January 1, 1924, and one-fourth July 1, 1924. Negotiable and payable at the **Southern National Bank Richmond, Kentucky**. Each installment to bear interest at the rate of six per cent per annum after maturity until paid.

Notice-----

-----Payee

Address-----

May 21, 1920

RATES

From Louisville to San Francisco and return, going via Chicago or St. Louis.....	\$107.69
From Lexington Ky. to San Francisco and return going via Chicago or St. Louis.....	111.28
From Evansville Ind. to San Francisco and return going via Chicago gateway.....	108.54
going via St. Louis gateway.....	101.25
From Cincinnati Ohio to San Francisco and return going via Chicago or St. Louis.....	111.28

PULLMAN SLEEPING CAR RATES

Chicago to San Francisco	
Lower Berth.....	17.01
Section.....	30.51
Drawing Room.....	59.67
St. Louis to San Francisco using Ohio State Special train	
Lower Berth (approximately).....	24.79
Section ".....	37.41
Drawing Room. ".....	72.36
Louisville, Evansville and Cincinnati to Chicago, and from Louisville to St. Louis	
Lower Berth.....	2.70
Section.....	4.86
Drawing Room.....	9.72

All of the above rates include War Tax.

- Governor James M. Cox Ohio Booster Train -

Itinerary for trip to San Francisco showing approximate schedule for Special Train via Big Four to St. Louis, Missouri Pacific to Kansas City, Union Pacific to Denver, D&RG to Salt Lake City, Salt Lake Route to Los Angeles, Southern Pacific to San Francisco stopping at Denver, Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City and Los Angeles.

This schedule is arranged to pass thru the Royal Gorge, Grand Canyon and wonderful mountain scenery on the D&RG in daylight.

Lv. Dayton Big Four.....	June 19th.....	8:30 PM
Ar. St. Louis " ".....	" 20th.....	7:00 AM
Lv. St. Louis Missouri Pacific... "	20th.....	7:30 AM
Ar. Kansas City " ".....	" 20th.....	2:50 PM
Lv. " " Union Pacific ... "	20th.....	8:45 PM
Ar. Denver " ".....	" 21st.....	4:45 PM
Lv. Denver D&RG.....	" 21st.....	10:30 PM
Ar. Colorado Springs D&RG.....	" 22nd.....	1:10 AM

Remain in cars all night, stay in Colorado Springs sight-seeing until 9:00 AM. Auto trip thru Garden of the Gods.

Lv. Colorado Springs D&RG.....	June 22nd.....	9:00 AM
Passing thru Royal Gorge and Grand Canyon and heart of Rocky Mts.		
Ar. Salt Lake City.....	June 23rd.....	10:15 AM
Remain in Salt Lake City until 11:00 PM- ample time to visit the Wonderful Mormon Tabernacle; also Salt Air Beach bathing in Great Salt Lake, - drive around the City.		
Lv. Salt Lake City-Salt Lake Route	June 23rd.....	11:00 PM
Ar. Los Angeles.....	" 25th.....	7:00 AM
Spend day at Los Angeles - time will be sufficient to make trip to Catalana Islands where the wonderful Submarine Gardens can be viewed from glass bottom boats.		
Lv. Los Angeles - So. Pac. Coast Line	June 25th.....	9:30 PM
Ar. San Francisco.....	" 26th.....	12:15 PM

Since the booklet "Local Self Government for Clubs" was printed, two significant news items bearing on this subject are reported in the press. One refers to a possible demand of the Executive Committee of the Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs that the Louisville Club rescind its recently adopted By-law.

The other is the action of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women at their Convention in Des Moines, Iowa, July 13-17, 1926, on two measures—referring the Child Labor Amendment back to the States, and rejecting a proposed ruling binding State Federations to act only in agreement with the National Federation—as given in their official organ, the INDEPENDENT WOMAN, August issue.

The reprints from the newspapers covering these points follow.

September 7, 1926.

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE,
942 S. Fourth Street,
Louisville, Kentucky.

The Louisville Times, Aug. 14, 1926.

A fight between a majority of members of the Woman's Club of Louisville and the executive committee of the Kentucky Federation of Woman's Clubs is expected in October as the result of a demand made to the committee that the Louisville club rescind a by-law against majority rule by November or forfeit its membership in the State organization.

The by-law of the Louisville club which has caused the edict of the executive committee is one adopted by the Louisville club on April 13, stating that, "No action of the Kentucky Federation of Woman's Clubs, or of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, shall be binding on this club until such action shall have been duly ratified by the members of this club at a meeting called for that purpose." The by-law was adopted by 254 to 80.

Officials Reticent.

Mrs. Morris Gifford, president of the Woman's Club of Louisville, when asked whether the Louisville Club would comply with the request of the Executive Committee or stand by its by-law, said she didn't know what action is to be taken. Mrs. Gifford pointed out that the Louisville club disbanded in June for the summer months, before word of the action of the Executive Committee was received.

Mrs. Gifford said she didn't know whether the Executive Committee or the State Federation had the authority to oust the Louisville club from the Kentucky organization.

Mrs. Martha D. Cheney, legislative chairman of the Kentucky Federation, said she would hesitate to predict what might happen in the controversy. She said she voted against the resolution of the Louisville club at the time it was adopted because she believed in the rule of the majority.

Doubts Federation Has Power.

So far as she knew, Mrs. Cheney said, the by-laws of the General Federation did not cover such action by an individual club and she said she never had seen anything in the by-laws of the State Federation vesting it with such power. * * * *

The Louisville Times, Aug. 16, 1926.

The Executive Committee of the Kentucky Federation of Woman's Clubs lacks power to expel the Woman's Club of Louisville because the club passed a resolution against majority rule. Mrs. Attwood Martin, prominent member of the club, said today in an interview.

The resolution which brought the threat of expulsion from the Executive Committee, unless it was rescinded by November 1, was adopted by the Louisville Club in April, and said, in effect, that the Louisville club was not to be bound by any action of either the Kentucky or General Federations unless the action was first ratified by the local organization.

Mrs. Martin is a strong supporter of the resolution passed by the club. As a delegate from the Louisville club at the General Federation's convention at Atlantic City she spoke against a ruling of the council that individual clubs shall abide by the decision of the majority voting.

"The members of the Woman's Club of Louisville have had no official notification of any action such as The Times said was taken by the Executive Board of the State Federation," Mrs. Martin said. "If true, it is surprising.

"The Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs is an organization functioning under articles of incorporation and by-laws, and as such must abide by and be governed by said articles of incorporation and said by-laws.

"No person or club can be expelled from such an organization unless the act to expel is covered and authorized by the articles of incorporation and by-laws.

"All power of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs is a matter of delegated power. No power has been delegated to expel, so the body is without power until such authority is delegated to expel.

In Conflict With By-law.

"Again, such action taken by the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, as reported by The Times, is in direct conflict with a Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs by-law, Article VIII, Sections 2 and 3, and therefore without force. The by-law reads:

"Whereas, the Kentucky State Federation of Women's Clubs amended their by-laws, May, 1925, by the following, Article VIII, Sections 2 and 3, "All bills and resolutions * * * which are to be brought for consideration before the annual convention shall be sent * * * to all federated clubs * * * sixty days before * * * the convention, etc.

"When this rule shall have been complied with in case of legislative measures, a two-thirds vote * * * of delegates * * * shall have been taken before said indorsement becomes binding on those voting with the majority, or before said indorsement can be said to be the indorsement of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs."

"Mrs. Sherman, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, admits that it is beyond the jurisdiction of its Executive Committee to compel the Woman's Club of Louisville to surrender its individual rights when she says, in a reported interview appearing in the Cincinnati Enquirer, June 2, 1926:

"* * * a disciplinary by-law undoubtedly will be enacted at the next biennial to take care of just such cases of a "disturbing member," which at present are beyond the jurisdiction of the federation."

"And what is true of the General Federation is equally true of the Kentucky Federation."

Independent Woman, New York,
August, 1926.

* * * It was the child labor amendment which provoked most strenuous discussion. * * *

Endorsement was given to all pieces of legislation except the child labor amendment which the committee offered for endorsement. Upon motion, it was determined to refer this amendment again to the States for study, and to act upon it at next year's convention.

* * * * *

A motion that State Federations should not take action on any subject which would be contrary to action taken by the National Federation was lost.

* * * * *

c Aug 7, 1920

Can the Present Legislature Act? Should the Present Legis- lature Act?

SUBMITTED BY THE
TENNESSEE CONSTITUTIONAL LEAGUE

JUDGE JOSEPH C. HIGGINS (Democrat), *President*
FOSTER V. BROWN (Republican), *Vice President*
GARNETT ANDREWS, *Secretary*, Nashville

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Nashville

OBJECT

*"The protection of the letter and the spirit of our
Constitution from the attacks of its enemies,
foreign or domestic, present or future"*

NASHVILLE, TENN., August 7, 1920.

To the Members of the Tennessee Legislature:

Every member of this body has taken an oath to support the Constitution of Tennessee.

The Constitution of Tennessee provides that the Legislature or Convention that shall express Tennessee's will with respect to an Amendment to the Federal Constitution "shall have been elected after such amendment is submitted."

This is a part of the Constitution that you have sworn to preserve. It has been respected by Tennesseans for fifty years. It was wisely designed to insure a reflection of the will of the people.

The Federal Woman's Suffrage Amendment was submitted after the members of this Legislature were elected.

Therefore, the Tennessee Constitution forbids you to act on this Amendment. Those who would have you act *themselves admit* that the Constitution which you have sworn to support forbids you to do so.

They ask you to do this revolutionary thing upon the ground that this fifty-year-old provision is void.

This means no more than that they "think" the provision is void. *Only a court can decide the question, and no court has.*

They base this opinion solely on what is known as the "Ohio Referendum Case." In that case the United States Supreme Court held that, since the Federal Constitution prescribed that Federal amendments should be accepted or rejected by State Legislatures or Conventions, a provision of the Ohio Constitution that such acceptance or rejection should not be valid without a direct vote of the people in a referendum was an attempt to change the "means" and "manner of ratification," and was, therefore, in conflict with the Federal Constitution and void. *That was all that was held.*

The Tennessee Constitution, on the contrary, has not sought to change the "means or manner of ratification," as the Ohio Constitution did. Tennessee has merely prescribed that the Legislature shall be one elected after the Amendment has been submitted. If the action was by Convention, this would have to be so. *There is no "conflict" here.*

Surely no Tennesseans—and certainly no lawyers outside of Tennessee—are better qualified to express

an opinion on this question than John J. Vertrees, a Democrat, and Foster V. Brown, a Republican and an advocate of woman's suffrage, both leaders of the Tennessee bar.

They tell you that this constitutional provision is not void; and so does S. F. Wilson, who has spent nearly thirty years on the appellate bench of Tennessee; and such was the unanimous opinion of the lawyers discussing this question at the recent meeting of the Tennessee Bar Association.

Upon this difference of opinion are you going to resolve the doubt against the Constitution that you have sworn to support?

Are you going to do so in the face of the sound principle of law that every doubt should be resolved in favor of the validity of a constitutional provision, and in the face of the fact that the United States Supreme Court itself refuses to strike down a provision in a State Constitution unless its conflict with the Federal Constitution is *clear beyond a reasonable doubt?*

Surely you will not say, and have not the right to say, that the invalidity of this provision of the Tennessee Constitution is "clear beyond a reasonable doubt."

Those who are urging you to act say that you are not bound by the oath you took. That is a grave matter to volunteer such advice about. *And remember that this oath that they tell you to disregard stands in the way of their purposes.*

There has been a propaganda—largely of people from without the State—to extract promises from you to support this Amendment. If you gave a promise that conflicts with your duty and power under the Constitution, you are released from it; *for you cannot lawfully promise to violate your oath of office.*

There is here also a grave question of public policy. Courts only are authorized to declare laws and constitutions void. Legislators have no power to do so, nor has the Attorney-General. *It is, therefore, a revolutionary thing for legislators to assume that a constitutional provision that they have sworn to support is void in order to absolve themselves from the obligations of their oath.*

If you have the right to do it, succeeding legislators have the same right, and our organic law—the safeguard of our lives, liberty, and property—loses its stability. The greatest menace to them is the radicalism that is abroad in the land to-day, that teaches disrespect for the organic law, that

urges that the end justifies any means that may be necessary to accomplish it.

Tennesseeans have not had the opportunity to express their will at the polls with respect to this proposed Amendment. *The oath that you took binds you to give them this opportunity.* You can fulfill that solemn pledge without violating either Constitution. *Are you unwilling to do that?*

And remember that there is no emergency and no peril that will excuse you from leaving this decision to the Legislature five months away, as in your oath you promised the people you would do.

Those who would have you to act know that to do so *you must either violate your oath or mutilate the Constitution that you swore to preserve and support.*

Respectfully,

TENNESSEE CONSTITUTIONAL LEAGUE,

By Joseph C. Higgins, *President.*