

# The Minnesota Legislature of 1919

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**C. J. BUELL**

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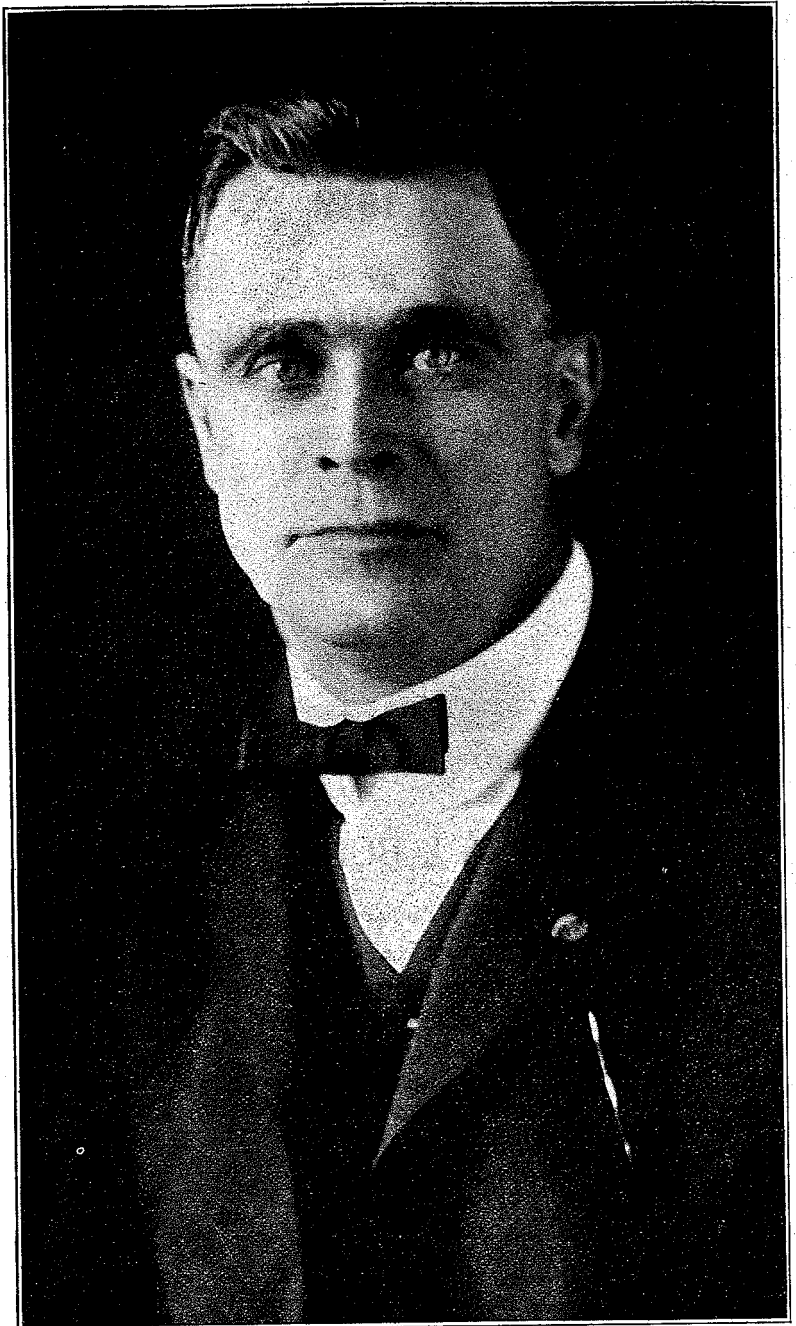
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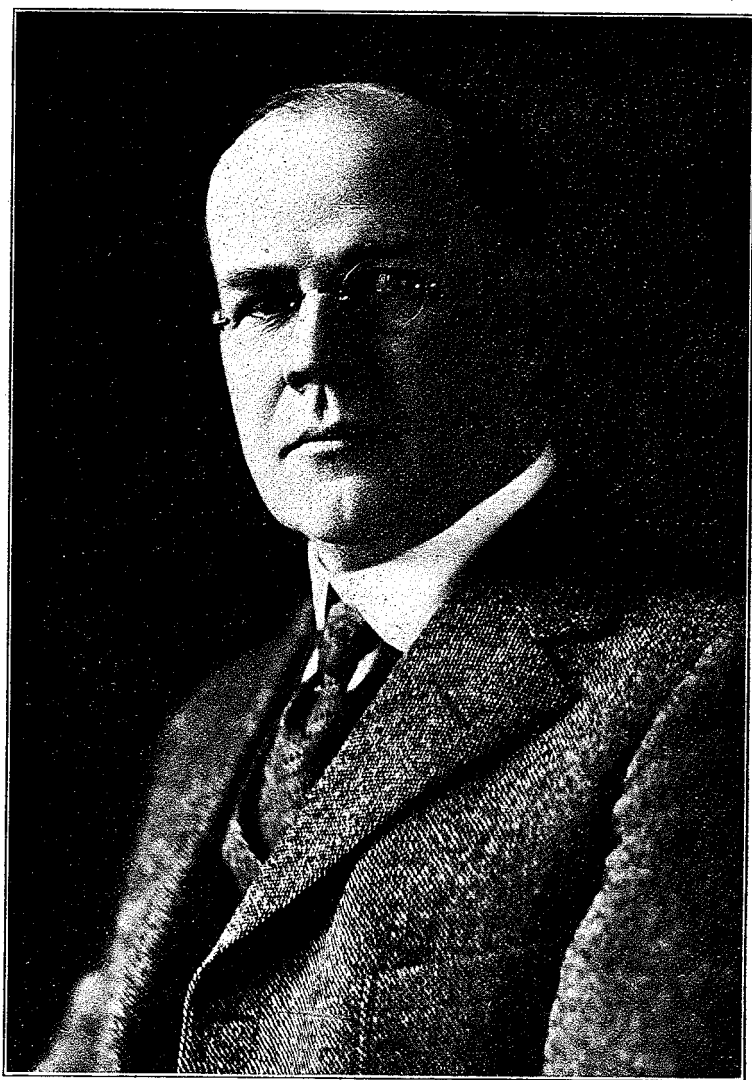
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**LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR THOS. FRANKSON**

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W. I. NOLAN, Speaker of House, 1919

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I—The Author's Point of View.....	7
Conflicting Elements .....	8
The Greatest Disturbing Cause .....	10
The Evil of Bonds .....	10
Chapter II—The Issues of the Election.....	12
Prohibition, Equal Suffrage, etc. ....	12
Non-Partisan League Platform and Conventions.....	13
Organized Labor in the Election.....	14
Chapter III—The Speakership .....	15
Nolan and His Qualifications .....	15
Non-Partisan League Candidate .....	16
The Committees .....	17
Chapter IV—Contested Seats .....	18
Lauderdale-Swenson .....	18
Sullivan-Wilcox .....	20
Chapter V—"Improving" Election Machinery .....	24
The Warner-Hompe Bill .....	25
Senator Lenroot Upholds the Primary.....	27
The Rockne Bill .....	28
Chapter VI—Equal Suffrage for Women .....	30
Memorial to United States Senate .....	30
Suffrage Amendment to State Constitution.....	31
Presidential Suffrage .....	32
Chapter VII—Co-operation and Marketing .....	33
The Wilkinson Bill .....	34
Co-operation in Denmark .....	35
The Grain Market .....	36
The Bulk Sales Bill .....	37
Oleomargarine .....	38
Trading Stamps .....	39
Chapter VIII—Banking Laws .....	39
Minnesota Banking and the Guaranty System.....	41
Bills in Interest of Bankers.....	44
Chapter IX—Taxation .....	44
Two Kinds of Taxes .....	45
Iron Ore Taxes .....	47
Labor Repudiates Its Representatives .....	53
Taxing Mining Royalties .....	54
Lower Taxes on Homes and Industry.....	58
Taxing Gross Earnings .....	60
Chapter X—Public Utilities .....	60
The Warner Street Railway Bill.....	61
The Red Wing Local Control Bill.....	64
Chapter XI—Labor Legislation .....	68
Workers and Exploiters .....	68
Industrial Insurance Bill .....	69
Eight-Hour Day .....	73
Chapter XII—Military Matters .....	75
The Motor Corps Bill .....	76
The Military Code .....	80
Chapter XIII—The Safety Commission .....	81
A Study in Mass Psychology .....	83
Chapter XIV—Reform or Repression .....	84
Two Theories of Government .....	84
The Nimocks "Red Flag Bill".....	85
The Siegel Bill to Protect Personal Rights and Liberties.....	88
Chapter XV—The Program of the Prohibitionists.....	88
Ratifying the Federal Dry Amendment .....	89
The Dry Zone Bill .....	90
Two Per Cent Beer .....	91
Chapter XVI—Medical Matters .....	97
The Chiropractors Are Legalized .....	97
County Boards of Health .....	97
Curbing the Medics .....	98
Do Germs Cause Disease? Dr. Frazer's Challenge.....	100
Chapter XVII—The Public Domain .....	101
Drainage and Flood Control .....	104
Game and Fish .....	106
Good Roads .....	106

## IMPORTANT MEASURES PASSED.

Federal prohibition amendment ratified.  
Dry law enforcement bill.  
Presidential suffrage for women.  
Memorial to U. S. Senate for woman suffrage.  
Plan for hard surfaced roads submitted to the people.  
State income tax submitted to the people.  
Requiring railways to pay for street improvements.  
State department of agriculture.  
Laws to encourage co-operation.  
New fish and game code.  
Authorizing state fishing.  
Legalizing chiropractors.  
State board and commissioner of education.  
Free tuition for returned soldiers and sailors.  
English language only in all common schools.  
Improved drainage laws.  
Many amendments to workman's compensation law.  
Budget system for Minneapolis.  
Separate city election for Minneapolis.  
Unification of Minneapolis Public Welfare laws.  
Increased appropriation to State Forester Cox for fire protection and making him also surveyor of logs and lumber.  
Deep waterway commission to co-operate with Canada.  
Captions for constitution amendments.  
Placing stockyards under Railway & Warehouse Commission.  
Court to certify recount in election contests.

## PASSED BY THE HOUSE—KILLED OR FAILED IN THE SENATE.

Five per cent tax on iron ore royalties.  
Neuman bill reducing taxes on homes and industry.  
Increased taxes on telephones.  
Workman's insurance administered by state.  
Guaranty for deposits in state banks.  
Abolishing Public Safety Commission.  
State budget commission.  
Medical freedom bill.  
Warner-Hompe convention bill.  
Bulk sales bill to prevent fraud.  
Motor Corps bills.

## PASSED SENATE—KILLED OR FAILED IN THE HOUSE.

Rockne convention bill.  
Land colonization bill.  
Resolution for a League of Nations.  
Limiting party campaign expenses to \$10,000.

## FAILED TO PASS EITHER HOUSE.

Military code bill—Killed in the Senate.  
All tonnage tax bills—Killed in the House.  
Siegel bill to protect personal rights and civil liberties.  
Warner street railway bill—Killed in the house.  
Eight hour day for women workers—Lost in the House.  
Free pass bill for legislators—Killed in the House.  
Doubling legislators' salaries—Killed in the House.  
All soldiers' relief bills except free tuition.  
All war memorial bills.  
Welch bill to crush butter substitutes.  
Boyd bill to destroy trading stamp business.

## VETOED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Prohibiting butter substitutes in state institutions.

## FOREWORD.

For the sixth time a brief history of the work of the Minnesota legislature is offered to the public.

Like its five predecessors this book is made possible by the financial support of those public-spirited citizens who united their efforts eleven years ago to finance the first of these undertakings, "The Minnesota Legislature of 1909," and to the many others who have since become interested in the work.

During that eleven years many changes have taken place.

Mr. Lynn Haines, who prepared and published the books in 1909 and 1911, went to Washington in 1912 to engage in somewhat similar work as Secretary of the National Voters League, and the present writer was asked to take his place.

The personnel of the legislature has greatly changed.

Only nine of the house members of 1909 are members of the house in 1919,—Adams, Bendixen, T. J. Greene, Haugland, Hinds, J. G. Lennon, Nimocks, Putnam and Rodenberg—and only Greene and Putnam have served continuously.

Senators Peterson, Sageng and Geo. H. Sullivan were then members of the Senate, while Senators Carley, Handlan, Lee, McGarry and Nolan were then House members.

Great as has been the change in personnel, greater still has been the change in ideals. There has been a great improvement in earnestness, intelligence, moral character and sense of obligation.

In 1911 the legislature was made non-partisan.

Since then the party boss and the party caucus have been less in evidence.

Members have been more free to use their individual judgment.

Whether or not this has been an improvement depends largely on the intelligence of the individual member.

An ignorant or dishonest member may be held in line by a caucus for either good or bad.

An honest, intelligent member is better off without a party boss or a caucus; and it is safe to say that the non-partisan election has resulted in a better and more independent group of men coming to the legislature.

It is not generally true, as some have charged, that more self-seekers have come to the front; just the opposite: there has been a different sort of cooperation among the voters, and a better sort,—less party, more principle.

Some of the same questions are still with us—equal suffrage for women, temperance legislation, tonnage tax, primary elections, corrupt practices acts, local legislation under the guise of general laws, especially Minneapolis, and there are still signs of trading and log rolling.

The millennium is not yet here by any means, but it is on the way—just ten years nearer.

Let us hope it will come faster.

# The Minnesota Legislature of 1919

## CHAPTER I.

### THE AUTHOR'S POINT OF VIEW.

This book is an earnest attempt to discuss public questions from the point of view of **Democracy and Americanism.**

Democracy and Americanism must follow the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

If they do not mean that all men, and women too, are born free, and equal as to political rights and industrial opportunities, then they do not mean anything.

If Democracy and Americanism do not mean the opposite of Autocracy, privilege and favoritism, tyranny, militarism and repression, then they have no meaning.

Democracy and Americanism must mean free thought, free speech, freedom to assemble and discuss any and all questions: Otherwise they are meaningless terms and only a mockery on the lips of those who pronounce them.

Any proposed legislation that cannot square itself with these principles should be rejected, unless it can be shown that it is a step in the direction of greater democracy, tho not reaching the complete ideal.

#### The Acid Test.

The acid test of all proposed legislation should be:

Does it lead away from injustice and toward greater justice?

Does it remove restriction and lead toward liberty?

Does it tend to establish a higher degree of political rights and industrial opportunities?

Does it increase opportunities for open and honest expression on all questions, or does it close the door and limit freedom of thought and speech?

Does it tend to preserve and extend the principle of home rule and local self-government, or does it destroy that principle?

Does it more equally distribute the common burdens in proportion to benefits received, or does it place burdens upon those who can and will shift them onto other and weaker shoulders—onto shoulders already bowed with too great a load?

Does it tend to remove the cause of dissatisfaction and unrest, or does it propose to crush and suppress the symptoms that arise from injustice?

Judged by these principles, the work of the legislature of 1919 presents some very peculiar aspects.

Bills were introduced that violated every principle of Democracy and Americanism as outlined in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights; and they were urged with the utmost sincerity by honest and conscientious men.

The scoundrel and the knave are not the only dangerous men to entrust with political power.

All thru the ages the benevolent despot, the honest ignoramus, and the conscientious autocrat have done the most harm to their fellowmen.

If one had been present at the time of the passage of the Motor Corps Bill, the "Red Flag Bill," and a few other measures, about the most charitable conclusion he could reach would be that many members had very little knowledge of human nature, and a very inadequate conception of how to adapt means to ends.

Perhaps the authors of those bills, in their original form, really believed they would be effective antidotes for Socialism, Anarchism, Bolshevism, I. W. W.ism, or some other "dangerous ism"; but that only proves that they were ignorant of the fact that you can't change men's opinions with a club, or forcibly compel people to be Christians.

**It is very dangerous to sit on the safety valve.**

But any general conclusions drawn from these few instances would be very misleading.

In reality most of the members of both house and senate were honest, intelligent, earnest and sincere, striving to do what they believed to be for the best interest of their constituents and the people of the state.

This was forcibly illustrated when the 42 supporters of the Bendixen bill instantly and instinctively refused to be led into a trap to kill the "Non-Partisan League bill." They were there to vote for a tonnage tax; and when their own bill could not be passed, they promptly fell into line for what they regarded as only second best. **But nine of these were against it on the final ballot three weeks later.**

Does this change of front prove that the nine men are dishonest?

Perhaps, but not necessarily.

There are honest reactionaries, and some of them come to the legislature. Members are often easily influenced by letters and telegrams from influential constituents.

And then take the conscientious work of the committees. When have we ever had a legislature with so many men who unsparingly devoted their time to the earnest, unbiased consideration of nearly every measure presented?

Why then was so little accomplished? Why so much time wasted?

### CONFLICTING ELEMENTS.

The campaign in the state had been most intense and, in many districts, passion and hatred had run high.

The result was that when the legislature met there were two groups that looked upon each other with open hostility.

I. There were 24 members, elected as Non-Partisan Leaguers, who were inclined to regard most of the others as stand-patters, gangsters, reactionaries, and supporters of special privilege; and some events in the early part of the session helped confirm this impression.

II. There was a group, comparatively small in number, but very much in evidence, who had worked themselves up to an intense degree of perfervid "patriotism." These members started in to bulldoze and domineer in a manner that would have done credit to Kaiser Bill or the Czar of Russia in the height of their power. The particular objects of their ignor-



ance and wrath were the Non-Partisan Leaguers and the one innocent and harmless Socialist from Minneapolis. In their eyes these men were "Black Anarchists," Red Socialists," "Bolsheviks," or "I. W. W.," and "enemies of the country."

Neither of these groups was particularly to blame for their mistaken views; for they had been fed up by public speakers and the press, till it is almost a wonder they didn't fly at each other's throats at the first meeting. And it must be said that the Governor's message did not pour much oil on the troubled waters.

Before the end of the session most of the members of each of these factions came to see that the truth usually lies somewhere between the two extremes. This was especially emphasized when the hated "Socialist" proved to be the only labor member from Minneapolis who measured up to expectations and voted for the tonnage tax. This started some more members to thinking. Now thinking is an excellent exercise. It helps very considerably in getting the right angle on things.

III. There was a small contingent from the iron districts whose ambition seemed to be to defeat any bills that proposed to get more taxes out of those natural ore deposits.

IV. There were a few wets whose chief object in life was to save "2 per cent beer."

V. Then came the professional labor men who had so narrow a conception of their duties to the public that they were willing to trade away even the most important measures for votes in favor of some petty labor bill, right enough itself, but of infinitely small consequence when compared with measures they were willing to sacrifice. Nordlin and Siegel of St. Paul and Miner of Minneapolis were the only labor-endorsed members who resisted the blandishments of the mining interests and voted for the tonnage tax.

It has been freely charged that the labor members of St. Paul and Minneapolis switched and voted against the tonnage tax bill in exchange for votes from the mining districts for their Industrial Insurance bill. If they did they got very poor pay; for every representative from the mining districts was expected to vote with labor on all important matters anyway, with the exception of Cullum and Pittenger, and they both voted against the labor bill.

It was the same in the Senate. All senators from these districts, except Adams, were committed to labor, and would have so voted. Adams has usually voted on the other side.

It has also been charged that labor voted against the tonnage tax in exchange for votes from the iron country against the Warner St. Ry. bill. If they did, they got stung again; for all the Duluth members but Pittenger were bound to vote against the Street car bill anyway; and every one of the six men from the iron country voted for it. Murphy and Gill, Burrows and Hitchcock, Long and Herried.

All wet labor senators voted to unseat Wilcox and two of them voted to seat Sullivan. Wilcox was dry and for labor. Sullivan was supposed to be wet, but he voted against

2 per cent beer, and against labor. This was a real "double cross" for labor.

### THE GREATEST DISTURBING CAUSE.

But probably the greatest disturbing cause of all is the fact that every village, township and county in the state and the city of Minneapolis, all bring their local matters to the legislature and use up half of the time or more with measures that might better be done at home.

St. Paul, Duluth and most of the other cities of the state are working under home rule charters and bring practically no matters to the state legislature.

Two things should be done:

First—A home rule charter should be framed for Minneapolis, and passed by the next legislature. That city should then be forced to govern herself, and keep her local linen out of the state wash.

Second—A comprehensive plan of self-government for counties, townships and villages should be adopted, including the initiative, referendum and recall, leaving all local matters in the hands of the people.

If these two things could be done, it would relieve the legislature of much useless labor, and remove many elements of disorganization, disturbance and corruption, and largely do away with trading.

There were 1,250 measures introduced into the House and 1,059 in the Senate, and it is safe to say that more than half of these were of a local nature relating to matters that the people of the localities ought to settle for themselves.

Herbert Spencer once published a very profound argument, insisting that legislators should be especially educated for their duties and then subjected to a rigid examination.

But who is to prepare the questions and judge of the fitness?

The voters may make mistakes, but there is no other way.

### BONDS, BONDS, BONDS.

The craze for bonds to pay for all sorts of public improvements is a very dangerous tendency.

Every needed public improvement creates values usually in excess of its cost.

Open and grade a street in a city, where it is needed, put in the sewers, water mains, gas pipes, sidewalks, curb and boulevards and plant trees.

What is the result?

All of this will cost about five or six dollars a front foot, for the lots on each side of the street.

The lots will be increased in value by five to ten dollars a foot.

This fact was noticed as soon as city streets began to be built; and the cost is now assessed against the benefited lot owners at so much per foot.

In nearly all cases the lot owners get a clear profit out of the transaction; and yet we often hear it argued that the

using public should help pay for such streets because they get the use of them.

The answer is: "The lot owners also have this general benefit. They also use the streets; but, in addition to this, they get the special benefit which they can sell for cash. Therefore they should pay for the street improvements."

#### Parks the Same.

In the opening and development of public parks the same principle holds.

If the park is **needed**, the surrounding lots will be greatly enhanced in value, and these lot owners will get that value.

If the land for the park or the cost of improving it, is paid for out of general taxes, the lot owners get the benefit anyway and only pay for a part of it.

#### School Houses.

The building of a school house in a new neighborhood, **where it is needed**, will cause all the lots in the district to double or more than double in value. And yet the land and building are both paid for out of general taxes, usually thru the medium of bonds. The lot owners get the benefit and the general public pays most of the bills.

#### Street Car Lines.

It is a well known fact that the building of a street car line into a section of a city, **where it is needed**, will always cause an increase in the value of the lots that are tributary to the line by far more than enough to pay for the cost of the entire equipment—track, cars and everything.

Many times in Minneapolis and St. Paul private owners of lots and lands that would be benefited by the building of an extension to a street car line have raised money enough by subscription to meet the cost of laying the tracks and equipping the line.

But instead of owning the line, after they have paid for it, they have allowed it to go as a free bonus to the street railway company.

Car lines should be built by the city, the same as other street improvements, and paid for in the same way, by assessments against the benefited lots.

Then the carfare need be only enough to pay for the cost of service, one or two cents for a ride.

#### Country Roads.

This same principle applies in the building of country roads. Any country road, **that is needed**, will increase the value of the lands adjacent and nearby, more than enough to pay the entire cost.

Why then should the cost be saddled upon our children?

The present owners of the lands, whether resident farmers or speculators, will get this increased value. They will sell that value to the next purchasers. Is it fair that they should have this value for nothing? Is it fair that the next purchasers should also have to pay again in taxes to meet interest and principle of bonds, for the very roads that they

paid for when they bought out the owner to whom the benefit accrued when the road was built?

In many states country roads are paid for in this way. Why not in Minnesota?

It is just as necessary that our public policies be honest as that people be honest in their private transactions.

You have now got the author's point of view.

Now read on and interpret the Minnesota Legislature of 1919, and draw your own conclusions.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE ISSUES OF THE ELECTION.

In the election of members to the legislature of 1919 there was no question of party, no Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Prohibitionists, Nationalists.

No party designations were permitted on the ballots.

After the name of each candidate was printed the word "Non-partisan."

#### Vital Issues.

But, while partisanship was excluded, there were, however, a number of vital issues that helped to decide the election.

#### Prohibition.

Both the Anti-Saloon League and the Minnesota Dry Federation sent out letters to all candidates before the primaries, asking three questions:

I. Will you vote to ratify the Federal Dry Amendment?

II. In case the voters adopt the state Prohibition Amendment, will you vote for the needed legislation to make it effective?

III. Will you vote for an effective Blind Pig Law?

The answers received to these questions showed plainly that the legislature was sure to be controlled by the Drys by a considerable majority in both houses. This majority finally proved to be much larger than even the most sanguine hoped for.

#### Equal Suffrage.

The Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Association, Mrs. A. Ueland president, mailed to each candidate the question, "In case the United States Senate votes to submit an Equal Suffrage Amendment to the constitution of the United States, for ratification by the states, will you vote to ratify such an amendment?"

The Equal Franchise League and other suffrage organizations also questioned the candidates, urging the submission of an amendment to the Minnesota constitution, granting full suffrage to women.

From the answers received it was evident that three or four to one of both houses would favor equal suffrage for women.

#### The Non-partisan League and Its Program.

The Non-partisan League was very active in both the primaries and the general election.

The following planks are taken from the "Platform and Declaration of Principles," adopted at the meeting of the Minnesota branch of the National Non-partisan League, held at St. Paul March 19th, 1918:

The producers of our state suffer tremendous losses through the extortion of trusts, monopolies, speculators in the necessaries of life and unnecessary middlemen. As a means to improve the economic condition of the farmers and workers of this state, we indorse the following legislative program:

1. Exemption of farm improvements from taxation.
2. Tonnage tax on ore production.
3. Rural credit banks operated at cost.
4. State terminal elevators, warehouses, flour mills, stockyards, packing houses, creameries and cold storage plants.
5. State hail insurance.
6. A more equitable system of state inspection and grading of grain.
7. Equal taxation of property of railroads, mines, telegraph, telephone, electric light and power companies, and all public utility corporations, as compared with that of other property owners.
8. State-owned and operated pulp and paper mills to furnish print paper at cost.
9. A soldiers' moratorium law to protect our soldiers at the front from suffering financial loss while in the service of their country, to continue six months after the war.
10. To the full extent of every resource of the state, individual and collective, within the power of this organization to control, every member of this organization and every candidate indorsed pledges his support to the war policies announced by President Wilson and to the prosecution of the war until a democratic victory is achieved.

We pledge our candidates one and all to the carrying out of the foregoing as fast as sound and safe progress will permit.

We also indorse the following legislative program as of especial value to labor:

1. State insurance.
2. State free employment bureaus.
3. State old age pensions.
4. State eight-hour law, except in agricultural pursuits.

As much of this program would require amendments to the state constitution, they favored an easily workable initiative and referendum, such as has twice been submitted to the people, receiving, in each case, a vote of four to one, but failing to be adopted, because our constitution is almost impossible to amend.

To accomplish these objects the league proceeded to organize the farmers, with the intention of electing state officers and a legislature that would support their policies.

#### Caucuses and Conventions.

Caucuses were called in each township where there were League members to meet on Feb. 22, Washington's Birthday.

At each of these caucuses the farmers present, all members of the league, were to vote for one delegate to attend a Senatorial District Convention.

At each of the conventions a representative of the League was present to see that the following rules were observed:

First, that the names of all delegates elected at the township caucuses should be placed upon the blackboard, whether the men were present or not. This was supposed to furnish a list of the most influential and capable of all the League members, from which to select candidates for Senator and Representative. But any delegate also had the right to place upon the board any other name he might see fit, whether a member of the League or not.

Second, the convention then proceeded, by secret ballot, to name a candidate for Senator from among the names on the board, and continued to ballot until some candidate had a majority of all the votes cast.

Third, as many candidates for Representative as the district was entitled to elect were then chosen in the same manner.

In the same way a delegate was then chosen to the state convention to nominate candidates for state officers. Preferably this delegate would be either the candidate for Senator or one of the legislative candidates.

In these conventions no nominating speeches were permitted but questions might be freely asked and answered regarding any candidates.

The representatives of the League at all these Senatorial District Conventions were instructed not to use any pressure or dictate in any way who should be nominated for senator or representative, or who sent as delegate to the state convention. These were matters entirely within the control of the farmers present from the different townships.

### **Organized Labor.**

Organized labor in the cities worked in cooperation with the farmers and placed in nomination candidates pledged to support a definite labor program, as quoted above, the most important feature of which was a demand for state administration of the workman's compensation law, with the object of securing greater benefits for the injured workman at less cost to the employers. A claim was made that these results had been accomplished in Ohio, and about twenty other states, where state administration had been tried.

The labor candidates were pledged to support the farmers program and the farmers were pledged to support the labor program.

### **DON'T FORGET THESE PLEDGES.**

The result of the elections showed that the organized farmers had elected 8 Senators and 24 Representatives, while the labor men had elected 5 Senators and 11 Representatives.

Most of the measures supported by the organized farm-

ers and labor men have been under discussion for many years.

The question of taxation—not exactly the exemption of farm improvements—but lower taxes on all improvements and personal property, with higher taxes on unimproved lots and lands—has been generally favored. A tonnage tax on iron ore has been urged for a dozen years or more.

State controlled hail insurance has been twice submitted to the people and approved each time by a majority of those voting on the question.

Initiative and Referendum, with provision for easier amendment of the constitution, another demand of the farmers and organized labor, has twice received a majority of four to one of those voting on the question, but like hail insurance, failed of adoption because of the difficulty of amending the constitution.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE SPEAKERSHIP.

After the election returns were in and it was known who the members of the new House would be, it looked as if the Speakership would go to some country member who was a dry, who had favored a tonnage tax and whose general record had been thoroly progressive. It seemed that no city man could secure the Speakership.

#### Nolan and His Qualifications.

On the other hand, W. I. Nolan of Minneapolis was especially fitted for Speaker. He is probably the best parliamentarian in the whole House. As chairman of the Rules Committee for two sessions he had shown himself thoroly familiar with procedure. He has a strong, clear voice, and perfect control of himself as a presiding officer. For several sessions he had been recognized as a leader of the progressive forces, favoring the dry program, equal suffrage, direct legislation by the people thru the Initiative, Referendum, Direct Primary, the Recall of unfaithful public servants, easier amendment of the constitution, so that the people could more easily influence and shape public policy thru legislation. Mr. Nolan had led the fight for publicity in the committees and on the floor of the house, at a time when this kind of activity meant ostracism and poor assignments. He had been a strong advocate of tax reform along the lines of lower taxes on buildings and improvements, enterprise and industry, with higher taxes on unoccupied and unimproved lands, but he had never voted for a tonnage tax on the output of iron ore, claiming that all bills heretofore had been defective and objectionable, principally because they had all taxed the labor involved in bringing the ore to the surface, whereas the true policy should be to tax the ore according to its natural value, and leave the labor of production untaxed.

Mr. Nolan claims that his only pledge was that he would be fair to all in the makeup of the committees.

Tho there were several names more or less prominently

mentioned as possible candidates, it soon became apparent that Nolan was considerably in the lead. Elmer Adams of Fergus Falls, who had been in the House for 4 sessions, called a conference of all the members elect to meet at the St. Francis Hotel early in December to settle, if possible, the question of the Speakership. At this conference Mr. Nolan was an easy winner. On motion of Mr. Adams, Nolan was supported by 94 votes, being more than a two-thirds majority of all the members of the House.

#### A N. P. League Candidate.

Many of the members who had been elected thru the influence of the Non-partisan League farmers, believing that they would gain more by having a candidate of their own, nominated and supported John A. Urness of Douglas county.

There was some question, even among the League members, whether this was the wisest course to pursue; while outside of League circles, it was thought to be a very unwise policy.

The line of argument was this:

The legislature is wholly non-partisan. Nolan is sure of election. Why not then all work together? Why draw party lines, where no party is supposed to exist?

To this the League men replied: "Burnquist wants Nolan. Burnquist is a reactionary. Burnquist wants to fight the League. Therefore we must oppose Burnquist and consequently we must oppose Nolan, and besides the people who elected us demand this."

Nolan was elected Speaker with 105 votes to 23 for Urness.

The question being taken on the election of the Speaker, And the roll being called, the members-elect voted for Mr. Nolan as follows:

Adams,	Fawcett,	Kingsley,	Oberg,
Baxter,	Frisch,	Lagersen,	Oren,
Bendixen,	Galewski,	Lang,	Parker,
Bernard,	Gill,	Lee,	Pattison,
Bouck,	Girling,	Lennon, A. L.,	Pedersen,
Boyd,	Gislason, J. B.,	Lennon, J. G.,	Perry,
Briggs,	Gleason,	Leonard,	Pittenger,
Brophey,	Goodspeed,	Levin,	Praxel,
Burrows,	Grant,	Long,	Prince,
Carlson,	Green, H. M.,	McGivern,	Putnam,
Chirhart,	Greene, T. J.,	McGrath,	Rako,
Christensen, A.,	Hale,	McLaughlin,	Rodenberg,
Christianson, T.,	Hammer,	McPartlin,	Ross,
Corning,	Harrison,	Manske,	Ryan,
Cullum,	Haugland,	Moen,	Schaleben,
Curtis,	Herried,	Murphy,	Scherf,
Darby,	Hinds,	Nelson, C. N.,	Serline,
DeLury,	Hitchcock,	Nett,	Shanks,
Dille,	Hompe,	Neuman,	Shirley,
Dorweiler,	Howard,	Nimocks,	Siegel,
Emmons,	Hulbert,	Nordgren,	Sliter,
Enger,	Jacobson,	Nordlin,	Smith,
Erickson,	Kelly,	Norton,	Solem,



Sortedahl,	Swensen, E.,	Warner,	Wilkinson,
Sudheimer,	Swenson, O.A.,	Waters,	
Swanson, J.,	Teigen,	West,	
Swanson, S. J.,	Trowbridge,	Wicker,	

The following members voted for Mr. Urness:

Anderson,	Enstrom,	Miner,	Stahlke,
Arens,	Flahaven,	Nelson, J. M.,	Strand,
Arneson,	Gislason, C.M.,	Olson,	Thorkelson,
Berve,	Holmquist,	Skaiem,	Welch,
Burdorf,	Iverson,	Sluke,	Wicklund,
Day,	Johnson,	Spelbrink,	

Neither candidate voted and Mr. Hodapp was absent on account of sickness. Nett and Scherf, elected as Non-partisan Leaguers, voted for Nolan, while Miner and Strand, endorsed by organized labor, gave their votes to Urness.

Oscar Arneson, as chief clerk, all the assistant clerks, and chaplain, were chosen without opposition.

C. E. Ryberg, with his strong, resonant voice, was a most capable and efficient reading clerk.

#### The Committees.

After being sure of the Speakership, Mr. Nolan wrote each member, asking him to indicate what committee appointments he preferred. He also took pains to learn the opinions of members on important questions, so that his appointments might be as satisfactory and effective as possible. There were very few disappointments.

There was some criticism because there was only one Non-partisan Leaguer on the Tax Committee and none at all on either Elections or Appropriations; but Mr. Nolan declares that only one Leaguer asked for a place on the Tax Committee and none on either of the others.

Many of the League members did not reply to Mr. Nolan's letter asking for their committee preferences; but such as did admit that they were well satisfied with their assignments.

It is probable that the action of the Leaguers in segregating themselves on the Speakership, tho it made no difference with the Speaker himself, in the matter of appointments, did cause some feeling of hostility on the part of some members, and to some extent did increase the prejudice against them.

Of course there were sharp conflicts, and some members showed themselves greatly lacking in ability to discuss differences with calmness and candor; but, as the work of the session went forward, this feeling in most cases wore off, and before the end there was pretty good team work.

Mr. Nolan made a most efficient speaker. He has a very powerful voice, his actions were quick, and his rulings were never questioned but once, and then the member raising the question had no one supporting him.

With such a fair and efficient speaker,—with such an able reading clerk, and with so many honest members, how does it happen that this legislature has been so severely criticised?

For no legislature in recent years has been so generally condemned.

The "roasts" have come from all quarters. They have been damned by the extreme reactionaries because they did not rip the primary to pieces and restore the party conventions; and on the other hand they have been damned because they wasted so much time trying to do it.

They have been damned because they tried to put over a program of extreme repression and militarism, and they have been damned because they did so little along that line.

Some have criticised because no important tax laws were passed, and others have lost sleep because some very good and correct tax laws came so near passing.

A careful study will show that about as much as usual was done along constructive lines; but not nearly so much as was expected. In fact, a vast amount was expected,—a moderate amount accomplished,—and most of the big things, good and bad, failed, largely because of the Senate.

If you read each chapter carefully it will help in placing responsibility.

At the close of the session all but two members united in presenting Mr. Nolan with a fine automobile as a mark of their appreciation and respect.

#### CHAPTER IV. CONTESTED SEATS.

There were two contests—one in the house and one in the senate.

First—Lauderdale against Swenson.

In the 35th Dist. (3rd and 10th wards of Minneapolis) Henry W. Lauderdale and Erling Swenson were candidates.

The official count showed that:

Swenson had 3226 votes

Lauderdale had 3160 votes.

Making a majority for Swenson of 66 votes.

After carefully examining the details of the vote Mr. Lauderdale believed that there must be errors in the count, especially in the 9th and 14th precincts of the 3rd ward, where he had expected to get large majorities but had failed.

He therefore started a contest and asked for a recount.

The recount showed errors in the original count, especially in the two precincts that had aroused Mr. Lauderdale's suspicion, and it was finally admitted that Lauderdale had really received a majority of 40 undisputed votes.

However, Swenson claimed that Lauderdale had violated the provisions of the corrupt practices act, in that he had paid five dollars to one man, and five to another with the promise of ten more if he were elected.

These men were to put up posters, distribute cards and urge their friends to support Lauderdale.

The House committee, after carefully examining the evidence and hearing the arguments, reported that in paying these men for their services, Mr. Lauderdale had not in any way violated the law, and was therefore entitled to the seat.

This report was signed by L. O. Teigen, J. O. Haugland, J. B. Pattison and N. T. Moen.

O. E. Hammer made a long minority report, claiming that Lauderdale HAD violated the corrupt practices act, and that there was reason to believe that the boxes had been opened and the ballots re-marked. He made a very passionate appeal that Lauderdale be denied his seat.

John B. Pattison of St. Cloud, one of the ablest lawyers in the House, briefly answered Hammer, and was followed by N. T. Moen of Fergus Falls and T. H. Girling of Hennepin, who showed that the seals were broken on many boxes from all parts of the city, due to the rain which easily tore apart the little paper seals. The boxes were guarded by two watchmen and two special detectives till after the recount; and the recount showed that both had made gains. Would that be possible if the boxes had been tampered with?

First Swenson was unseated 49 to 79, and then Lauderdale got 85 to 42 as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative for Lauderdale were:

Adams,	Dorweiler,	Kingsley,	Rako,
Anderson,	Emmons,	Lagersen,	Ross,
Arens,	Erickson,	Lee,	Schaleben,
Baxter,	Fawcett,	Lennon, J. G.,	Sertine,
Bendixen,	Gill,	Levin,	Shanks,
Bernard,	Girling,	McGivern,	Shirley,
Bouck,	Gislason, J. B.,	Moen,	Smith,
Boyd,	Goodspeed,	Murphy,	Solem,
Briggs,	Grant,	Nelson, C. N.,	Sortedahl,
Brophey,	Greene, T. J.,	Nett,	Sudheimer,
Burdorf,	Hale,	Neuman,	Swanson, J.,
Burrows,	Harrison,	Nimocks,	Swanson, S. J.,
Carlson,	Haugland,	Nordgren,	Swenson, O. A.,
Chirhart,	Herried,	Nordlin,	Teigen,
Christensen, A.,	Hinds,	Norton,	Trowbridge,
Christianson, T.,	Hitchcock,	Oren,	Warner,
Corning,	Holmquist,	Parker,	West,
Cullum,	Hompe,	Pattison,	Wilkinson,
Curtis,	Howard,	Pedersen,	Mr. Speaker.
Darby,	Hulbert,	Praxel,	
Day,	Jacobson,	Prince,	
DeLury,	Kelly,	Putnam,	

Those who voted in the negative against Lauderdale were:

Arneson,	Hammer,	Miner,	Sluke,
Berve,	Hodapp,	Nelson, J. M.,	Spelbrink,
Dilley,	Iverson,	Olson,	Stahlke,
Enger,	Johnson,	Perry,	Strand,
Enstrom,	Lennon, A. L.,	Pittenger,	Thorkelson,
Flahaven,	Leonard,	Rodenberg,	Urness,
Frisch,	Long,	Ryan,	Waters,
Galewski,	McGrath,	Scherf,	Weich,
Gislason, C. M.,	McLaughlin,	Siegel,	Wicklund,
Gleason,	McPartlin,	Skaiem,	
Green, H. M.,	Manske,	Sliter,	

Oberg and Wicker had been excused for the day; Lang

was excused from voting, as he was Swenson's colleague from the 35th District; and Swenson himself refrained from voting.

Anderson, Arens, Bouck, Day, McGivern, Neuman and West had just voted to let Swenson hold the seat; but having lost, now voted to seat Lauderdale.

Of the 42 who voted against Lauderdale on the final ballot 19 were Non-partisan League men, 8, like Swenson, had been elected by organized labor, 6 might be called advocates of strict construction of the corrupt practices act and the other nine were some of them just plain wets and some stood by Swenson out of personal friendship.

Of course any member had an undoubted constitutional right to vote either way for any reason or no reason.

#### **The Sullivan-Wilcox Contest.**

W. W. Wilcox was elected Senator from Washington county over Geo. H. Sullivan by a majority of 43 votes.

Sullivan contested and asked a recount.

The recount showed that Wilcox had a majority of 35 votes.

But Wilcox had charged Sullivan with being attorney for the Street Railway Co. and "accredited agent and attorney" for some 60 foreign corporations doing business in Minnesota.

Sullivan claimed that this statement was "false and defamatory," but he admitted on the witness stand, under cross examination, that he was "Attorney at law" for the Street Railway Co., and that he was "accredited agent and attorney-in-fact" for all the 60 other corporations. He denied ever having been "attorney-at-law" for any of the 60.

This looks to the layman very much like a quibble in words, and how it can be "false and defamatory" it would seem hard for the ordinary man to understand; and yet five grave senators, apparently eager for Sullivan's company for the rest of the term, found that Sullivan's charge was true.

But worse than all and more of it, some of Wilcox's circulars (which by the way did not contain the "false and defamatory" statement complained of) were found on election day in one of the polling places, on a chair 50 feet or such a matter from the booths, maybe less, but anyway they were there.

Of course it was contrary to law to have them there. Everybody admits that; but who put them there? Wilcox did not. No one knows. Perhaps no one will ever know. Affidavits were offered to show that Wilcox had directed that all circulars should be destroyed on the night before election so that none could get into the polling places the next day to violate the law. But they were there and the law was violated. So the five Senators solemnly assert that this precinct must be thrown out. This would elect Sullivan.

There was nothing in the evidence to show that any voter had been influenced by those circulars, and they admittedly contained no false statements.

This precinct of Woodbury had always been strongly against Sullivan.

In 1914 it gave him 12 votes and his opponent 126.  
In 1918 it gave him 26 votes and Wilcox 149.  
In the special election of Feb. 20th, 1919, Sullivan got 14 votes, Wilcox, 212.

It seems plain that this precinct did not want Sullivan.

#### And Yet?

Five members of the Senate committee on elections voted to deprive Wilcox of his seat and give it to Sullivan.

The five were Frank E. Putnam, Wm. F. Brooks, A. J. Rockne, John D. Sullivan and T. C. Blomgren.

#### The Opposing Report.

A minority report, declaring that Wilcox was entitled to retain his seat, was signed by Ole O. Sageng, P. A. Gandrud, Iver J. Lee and Adolph S. Larson.

The battle over these reports was waged Friday afternoon, Jan. 31st, and lasted six hours.

Putnam, John D. Sullivan, Rockne and Fowler argued long and zealously for seating Sullivan, laying special stress on the "false and defamatory" campaign literature of Wilcox that had charged Sullivan with being "the accredited agent and attorney" for 60 or more foreign corporations, instead of saying that he was "the accredited agent and attorney-in-fact" for them.

They all admitted that the latter statement would not have been "false and defamatory"; and they all knew that the circulars in the town hall at Woodbury did not contain the word "attorney" at all, but merely said that Sullivan was the "accredited agent."

#### The Defense of Wilcox.

Senators Sageng, Johnson, Gandrud, Lee, Gillam and Peterson supported the right of Wilcox to retain his seat.

Gandrud called attention to a very misleading circular issued by Sullivan, denying that he was "counsellor at law, lawyer, or attorney at law" for a single one of the 60 corporations; but not saying a word about being their "accredited agent." It was in reply to this deceiving circular of Sullivan's that Wilcox issued his final reply that had caused the trouble.

Senator Lee showed that Sullivan had voted on all questions just as Wilcox had charged. He quoted the bills and senate journals to prove his case. Lee also offered affidavits to prove that Wilcox had directed that all left-over circulars should be destroyed Monday night, so that none could possibly get into the polling places.

Senator Johnson declared that if Woodbury were thrown out because the Wilcox circulars were in the hall during the election, it would offer a premium to any scoundrel to plant his opponent's literature in polling places, and then contest the election.

Senator Peterson read from the Corrupt Practices act itself, Sec. 600, where it specifically provides that unintentional and immaterial violations shall not be construed to void an election. The legislature and the courts have invariably so held.

Senator Gillam called attention to a very recent decision of the district court, refusing to void an election for County Auditor in his district, tho there had been much more flagrant violation of the law than in the Wilcox case.

"We should not set aside the verdict of the people."

Regarding the Woodbury vote, Senator Sageng said:

"Woodbury township was the only one in Washington county where Mr. Sullivan got the full vote he normally would get after a campaign involving the issues before the people last year.

#### **Normal Vote Less**

"His normal vote would be the combined vote of the Republican and Democratic candidates for governor. In Woodbury township he got one more than this combined vote and nowhere else in Washington county did he run so well.

"In his home city of Stillwater he lacked 300 votes of equaling the vote cast for the Republican and Democratic candidates for governor. There is no possibility that Sullivan lost a single vote in Woodbury township because of the Wilcox circulars. Nothing happened in Woodbury to throw the shadow of a doubt on the integrity and accuracy of the returns. Sullivan is grasping at straws here to make out a case.

#### **Talk Is Travesty.**

"It is a travesty to talk here about the undue influence exerted by the Wilcox circulars in Woodbury township when we have seen the sort of undue influence brought to bear upon members of this senate during the last few days. Every wire that could be pulled has been pulled in order to throw out of this body the man honestly elected and to put Sullivan in his seat.

"Secret influences have been resorted to that would not have been used even in the good old days. The election in Woodbury township was a Sunday school picnic compared to what has been done to influence the vote of this senate.

#### **"Influences" Hit.**

"Even while senators are sitting here now they are getting messages from hundreds of miles away asking them to vote a certain way. It means that efforts are being made to have this contest settled favorably to certain influences."

Senator F. H. Peterson, attorney at Moorhead, waved a telegram he had just received before he arose to urge adoption of the report recommending that Senator Wilcox retain his seat.

"To give you some idea of what is going on here today," he said, "I have a telegram sent by a concern for which I do some business telling me to vote a certain way in this contest."

#### **Wire-Pulling Seen.**

"Other senators told privately how automobiles had come to places where they stay during Thursday night and of pleas made for them to stand by Sullivan. In one case a

leading St. Paul business man as well as a political wire-puller made the plea.

"Sullivan forces answered charges of wire-pulling and telegrams by saying senators were also getting letters asking them to vote for Wilcox.

"The facts about the telegrams and the letters amounted to this: That the letters were coming from the people, and the telegrams from special interests."

This is the most noted case of a contested election ever known in Minnesota.

During the entire discussion, Senator Sageng, just a plain farmer, showed himself more than a match for the four lawyers on the other side.

At the end of the six hours' debate, the vote was taken on the motion to retain Wilcox in his seat, and was lost by a tie, 31 to 31.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Bessette,	Gandrud,	Lee,	Peterson,
Boylan,	Gillam,	Lindsley,	Romberg,
Carley,	Guilford,	Loonam,	Sageng,
Cashel,	Hopp,	Millett,	Schmechel,
Conroy,	Jackson,	Naplin,	Stepan,
Cumming,	Johnson,	Nolan,	Turnham,
Devold,	Kuntz,	Orr,	Wold.
Erickson,	Larson,	Palmer,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Denegre,	Kingsbury,	Rockne,
Baldwin,	Dwyer,	McGarry,	Sullivan,
Benson,	Fowler,	Madigan,	Swanson,
Blomgren,	Gjerset,	Nord,	Van Hoven
Bonniwell,	Hall,	Putnam,	Vibert,
Brooks,	Hamer,	Rask,	Ward,
Callahan,	Handlan,	Reed,	Widell.
Cliff,	Hegnes,	Ribenack,	

But this vote did not unseat Wilcox.

Dwyer, Handlan and Swanson, elected with labor support voted against Wilcox. Watch for the reaction.

The next move in regular order would have been to vote upon the other report to seat Sullivan.

If every senator had stuck, there would have been another tie, and Wilcox would still have kept his seat; but at this juncture, Senator Guilford moved to amend the majority report, so as to declare the seat vacant and order a new election.

All but two of the Wilcox men, believing they would be beaten in the end, and regarding this as the next best thing, voted for this amendment.

Bessette and Millett, who had stood for Wilcox, refused to vote to unseat him; but Cliff, Dwyer, Hall, Hamer, Madigan and Swanson, who had voted against Wilcox on the first ballot, but were not for Sullivan, now voted for this new plan, making 35 to 27 for a new election.

There were only 25 who could be classed as Sullivan men, as follows:

Adams,	Denegre,	Nord,	Van Hoven,
Baldwin,	Fowler,	Putnam,	Vibert,
Benson,	Gjerset,	Rask,	Ward,
Blomgren,	Handlan,	Reed,	Widell.
Bonniwell,	Hegnes,	Ribenack,	
Brooks,	Kingsbury,	Rockne,	
Callahan,	McGarry,	Sullivan,	

The Senate now found itself with a report seating Sullivan, so amended as to seat neither. The situation was impossible.

The Guilford resolution was now reconsidered and revised, when it was passed 59 to none, declaring a vacancy and ordering a new election.

Handlan, Gjerset and Nord did not vote on this final ballot.

This decision of the Senate violates all legislative precedent, and also goes contrary to every decision of the Supreme Court of Minnesota.

In four contested cases in the house the decision has been in each case against unseating the member who had the most votes.

Three of these cases occurred in the session of 1917, and in two of them the violations were far more flagrant, and yet the house regarded them insufficient to warrant unseating the member who had received the most votes.

Furthermore, the Attorney General ruled in all these cases that, even if the sitting member were unseated it would not give the contestant the seat, but that there must be a new election.

And yet 25 senators were willing to vote to give this seat to Sullivan.

The primaries for the new election occurred on Feb. 13th and the election Feb. 20th.

In the primary Woodbury township give Sullivan 7 and Wilcox 190.

In the election this township gave Sullivan 14 and Wilcox 212.

Evidently the Wilcox circulars, in the November election did not influence voters of this precinct against Sullivan.

However, Sullivan made large gains in Stillwater and one or two villages and was elected by a majority of 284.

## CHAPTER V.

### "IMPROVING" ELECTION MACHINERY.

Yes, our election machinery needs to be improved.

It is very difficult, almost impossible, to amend the constitution.

It ought to be changed so that the people can amend their constitution with a reasonable degree of ease.

Several proposed amendments were introduced, all with this object in view.

Lauderdale proposed that if 60 per cent of those voting on an amendment should vote **yes** the amendment should carry.



Enstrom, Welch, Berve, Burdorf and Scherf introduced a complete Initiative and Referendum bill, similar to the best in use in other states. This proposed that a majority of those voting on any question should determine.

This is the principle that prevailed in the state from its birth till 1898. During all those years a majority could amend the constitution and no harm came to the state. The harm came when we changed the principle and departed from the majority rule.

Sageng introduced into the Senate a proposal that a majority of those voting on a question should determine, provided that at least 40 per cent of all electors voting at the election should vote **yes** on the proposed amendment.

All those bills were killed in committee.

Lauderdale's bill was too easy. A few people could amend the constitution provided that 60 per cent of the few voted **yes**.

The bill introduced by Enstrom, Welch and others was objected to on the same ground, only more so. It permitted one more than half of any small number who might vote on the question, to amend the constitution or enact a statute.

Sageng's bill was too conservative for the radicals and too radical for the extreme reactionaries who are well satisfied with things as they are.

So it fell out that nothing was done to make it easier for the people to rule.

### Back to the Convention

The state-wide primary was adopted at the special session of 1912 for the purpose of saving Eberhart and the reactionaries from defeat.

The plan worked. It saved Eberhart, who could never have controlled the Republican convention, but who was able to get more votes at the primary than any other one of the six Republican candidates; and having got the nomination, of course, he was elected.

But, in 1914 and 1916 the primary worked the other way and gave the nominations to the progressive element.

Since then the reactionaries have demanded its amendment or repeal.

Like most things, the primary is not altogether either good or bad.

Like all human inventions it is not perfect.

The man with plenty of money to advertise his campaign has an advantage; but he also had an advantage in the old time conventions.

### The Warner-Hompe Bill.

Warner and Hompe and their followers claimed that they could combine the merits of both systems by electing delegates at the primary who should meet in convention, carefully canvass the whole situation, put out a party platform and name candidates who would be held to a strict accountability.

They made a strong plea for party responsibility, and denounced the "chaotic and anarchistic" situation "where

every man puts himself forward and makes his own platform."

The chief objection to this Warner-Hompe plan was that it forces parties to hold conventions, make platforms and name candidates whether they wish to or not: and provides more or less detailed regulation for what have heretofore been regarded as voluntary organizations of citizens not in any way subject to statutory interference.

The opposition came largely from the Non-partisan League and Labor forces, both of which groups have held conventions to nominate candidates. Of course all these conventions were voluntary, while those proposed by the Warner-Hompe bill would be compulsory. Furthermore, at this stage of the session it was a virtue to oppose League and labor men.

Fred Wheaton, recent Democratic candidate for Governor, and Senator Knute Nelson had both written letters strongly favoring the bill, and Nelson had urged making the legislature and all county officers partisan. This was too much for even the strongest champions of party, so the bill limits party conventions to the nomination of candidates for United States Senators and state officers including judges of the Supreme Court.

It is said the Supreme Court judges asked to be included. This was one of the most objectionable features of the bill. All our courts are free from party politics, and it is difficult to see why they should not remain so.

Warner, Hompe, Hammer, Girling and Wilkinson spoke for the bill.

Representative Hompe, joint author of the bill with Mr. Warner, said the primary system is taking away from both Republican and Democratic party "leaders" the right to shape their own party principles.

"We find men with socialistic tendencies getting into our ranks," he said.

"Last summer there was a great danger of a new class movement engulfing the old Republican party. They had to come to the Democrats for help to save the old party principles and the Democrats responded nobly."

Mr. Warner is a Republican and Mr. Hompe a Democrat.

A similar bill has been defeated at every session of the legislature since the primary election law was passed at the special session of 1912.

Siegel, Boyd, Erickson, Berve and Iverson strongly opposed the measure.

They insisted that this bill will put the political bosses and special interests in control; but the very atmosphere seemed charged with a subtle force working for its passage.

The contest over this bill occurred on Feb. 26 and resulted in its passage 78 to 51.

J. G. Lennon and West had been excused.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Briggs,	Carlson,	Christianson, T.,
Baxter,	Brophey,	Chirhart,	Cullum,
Bouck,	Burrows,	Christensen, A.,	Curtis,

Dille,	Howard,	Nimocks,	Shanks,
Dorweiler,	Hulbert,	Nordgren,	Shirley,
Emmons,	Jacobson,	Norton,	Sliter,
Enger,	Kingsley,	Oberg,	Smith,
Frisch,	Lagersen,	Oren,	Solem,
Galewski,	Lang,	Parker,	Sortedahl,
Girling,	Lauderdale,	Pattison,	Swanson, J.,
Gislason, J. B.,	Lee,	Perry,	Swanson, S. J.,
Gleason,	Lennon, A. L.,	Pittenger,	Swenson, O. A.,
Green, H. M.,	Levin,	Praxel,	Teigen,
Greene, T. J.,	Long,	Prince,	Trowbridge,
Hammer,	McGivern,	Putnam,	Warner,
Harrison,	McPartlin,	Rako,	Wicker,
Haugland,	Moen,	Rodenberg,	Wilkinson,
Herreid,	Murphy,	Ross,	Mr. Speaker.
Hinds,	Nelson, C. N.,	Schaleben,	
Hompe,	Neuman,	Serline,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson,	Erickson,	Kelly,	Siegel,
Arens,	Fawcett,	Leonard,	Skaiem,
Arneson,	Flahaven,	McGrath,	Sluke,
Bendixen,	Gill,	McLaughlin,	Spelbrink,
Bernard,	Gislason, C. M.,	Manske,	Stahlke,
Berve,	Goodspeed,	Miner,	Strand,
Boyd,	Grant,	Nelson, J. M.,	Sudheimer,
Burdorf,	Hale,	Nett,	Thorkelson,
Corning,	Hitchcock,	Nordlin,	Urness,
Darby,	Hodapp,	Olson,	Waters,
Day,	Holmquist,	Pedersen,	Welch,
DeLury,	Iverson,	Ryan,	Wicklund,
Enstrom,	Johnson,	Scherf,	

Eighteen who voted for this bill opposed a similar bill two years ago. They were: Briggs; Christensen, Christianson, Green, Hulbert, Lange, Lennon, Levin, Moen, Neuman, Nimocks, Nordgren, Norton, Praxel, Putnam, Sliter, Solem, S. J. Swanson and Teigen.

### SENATOR LENROOT OF WISCONSIN OPPOSES REPEAL OF PRIMARY LAW.

Statement by Irvine L. Lenroot, United States senator from Wisconsin:

"The efforts now being made to repeal the direct primary laws in the different states should fail. It is said that the average ability of public officials is not as great as under the old convention system. Even if this be granted, it proves nothing. Better a man with ordinary ability serving the people, than a man of great ability serving special interests.

"One of the objections made to the direct primary is that it prevents men from assembling and consulting together, and there is no opportunity to develop party leadership. It is true that in some states pre-primary conferences or conventions have been considered to be in violation of the spirit of the primary law. This is an entirely mistaken theory. Conferences or conventions held by groups holding

the same views should be held for the purpose of making recommendations for action at the primary. But they should be nothing more than recommendations. After they are made the voters should decide by their primary ballots. This would strengthen the direct primary system. If the people value the right of real self-government, direct primary laws will not be repealed."

### IN THE SENATE.

When this bill reached the Senate, serious minded members began to question, and no one felt quite safe to urge its passage.

April 7, Gov. Burnquist sent a message to the Senate opposing the plan to elect delegates at the primaries, and give them power to make all nominations.

He urged that the law "require different parties to hold conventions prior to the last day for primary filing; for the purpose of drafting platforms and nominating candidates."

There is nothing now to prevent such action by any party or by any other group of citizens.

Such conventions and conferences have been held by Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Prohibitionists, Non-partisan Leaguers (see Chapter I) and by many other groups of citizens. They have suggested candidates, put forth platforms and laid plans to help elect.

All these have been voluntary, spontaneous gatherings, quite in harmony with the spirit of our free, democratic ideals.

Senator Rockne introduced a bill **permitting** conventions, but not **requiring** them, as the Governor had proposed.

### BUT

Rockne's bill would allow these names to head the ticket, not subject to the law requiring rotation of names on the ballot. This is a **privilege** that no candidate should enjoy over his competitors. The bill also allowed each name on the ballot to have printed after it the words "Endorsed by" ..... (whatever party or group had made the endorsement).

It is hard to find any objection to this last. Surely the voters should have all the information possible about those they are voting for.

About a week before the close of the session an attempt was made to get together, but nothing came of it.

The Republican leaders proposed:

I. To require each party to hold a convention, to draft a platform and recommend candidates.

II. Delegates to be chosen in each precinct for the county or district convention on the basis of the vote for Governor.

This would certainly be good for the faction in power, as it would be sure to give them a safe majority of the delegates.

Tuesday, April 22, the Senate acted. They took the Warner-Hompe bill, and cut off both the head and the body, sav-

ing only the number H. F. 170. Then they took the body of the Rockne bill and made a new body for H. F. 170. The head of the Rockne bill was then attached to the body again and now H. F. 170 was fearfully and wonderfully changed. It was a very successful surgical operation.

J. D. Sullivan called attention to the fact that the original Rockne bill would probably make all county and legislative officers partisan, and suggested that there did not seem to be any call for such a change. The bill was then amended so as to leave county officers and the legislators non-partisan, as they are now.

After voting down all attempts to permit Coleman or George Sullivan to do any surgical work, Sageng and Rockne convinced the Senate that they had done a good job and the bill passed 41 to 26 in spite of Carley's appeal to kill it.

Those who voted in the affirmative were :

Adams,	Denegre,	Larson,	Sullivan, G.H.,
Anderson,	Fowler,	McGarry,	Sullivan, J. D.,
Baldwin,	Gandrud,	Madigan,	Turnham,
Benson,	Gjerset,	Nolan,	Van Hoven,
Bessette,	Gooding,	Palmer,	Vibert,
Blomgren,	Guilford,	Peterson,	Ward,
Brooks,	Hall,	Putnam,	Widell,
Callahan,	Hamer,	Rask,	Wold,
Cliff,	Hegnes,	Reed,	
Coleman,	Hopp,	Rockne,	
Cosgrove,	Kingsbury,	Sageng,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bonniwell,	Dwyer,	Lee,	Ribenack,
Boylan,	Erickson,	Lindsley,	Romberg,
Carley,	Gillam,	Loonam,	Schmechel,
Cashel,	Handlan,	Millett,	Stepan,
Conroy,	Jackson,	Naplin,	Swanson,
Cumming,	Johnson,	Nord,	
Devold,	Kuntz,	Orr,	

Only 14 Senators voted for the Coleman plan.

Anderson,	Callahan,	Dwyer,	Turnham,
Baldwin,	Coleman,	Fowler,	Widell,
Blomgren,	Denegre,	Putnam,	
Brooks,	Devold,	Sullivan, G. H.,	

These may be set down as thick and thin convention men.

But the House couldn't seem to appreciate this remarkable piece of surgery. They refused to yield to the Senate and the bill died in the "wee sma' hours of the morning."

So the primary is just as "bad" and just as "good" as it has been. The menace of "Socialism" still confronts the tried and true.

Verily it is a "sad and sorrowful sight." So much good energy and gray matter wasted and nothing done.

## CHAPTER VI.

## EQUAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

Is America to be the very last of all the civilized or even "half civilized" nations of the world to recognize the right of her women to have a voice in making the laws which they must obey?

It is one thing to have a theory, but quite a different thing to stand by it to the end.

We boast of our democracy; we loudly proclaim ourselves the freest nation on earth; and then we lag behind in the great movement to restore to women their inherent rights, which our laws have so far denied them.

Women are now full-fledged citizens, with all the rights of men in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland and Finland; in England, New Zealand, Canada and Australia; in Germany, Hungary, Holland, Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Mexico, and the state of Czecho-Slovakia.

The question of Equal Suffrage came up in the Legislature of 1919 in three different forms.

**Memorializing the United States Senate.**

Very early in the session Theodore Christianson introduced a joint resolution urging the Senate of the United States to vote favorably on the pending amendment to the federal constitution granting suffrage to women.

On the morning of January 22, Mr. Christianson made an attempt to secure a special order for the next day.

This started something—all those who claim that the bottom will fall out of our civilization if women are permitted to vote began to make their protests.

After Girling had declared it to be useless to memorialize our Senators, both of whom had already voted for the bill, and Hammer had made an impassioned plea against deciding such a vital question until the soldiers who are now in France can be returned and have a chance to vote, after Berve, a Non-partisan Leaguer from Marshall county, had roasted Hammer for trying to postpone action, under the pretense of giving the soldiers a chance to be heard, and Harrison of Stillwater had called it cowardly—after Christianson, Iverson, Solem and others had urged immediate action—Adams moved to suspend the rules and pass the resolution immediately.

This idea took. The rules were suspended by 106 to 21, and then the resolution was passed 100 to 28.

Here are the 28 who opposed the resolution:

Bouck,	Greene, T. J.,	Murphy,	Prince,
Burrows,	Hammer,	Nett,	Rodenberg,
Chirhart,	Lang,	Neuman,	Scherf,
Christensen, A.,	Lennon, A. L.,	Nordlin,	Stalke,
Dilley,	Long,	Pattison,	Swenson, O. A.,
Girling,	McGrath,	Perry,	Welch,
Gleason,	McLaughlin,	Pittenger,	Wilkinson,

Nimocks, Oberg and Thorkelson had been excused and hence did not vote. Oberg and Thorkelson were known to favor equal suffrage. Nimocks has always heretofore opposed,

All others voted **yes**.

As soon as this vote was announced, Warner took advantage of the psychological moment to push through his bill for an amendment to the state constitution, giving full suffrage to women.

Hammer made another great speech, and McGrath took the very logical (?) position that the women are not now deprived of anything, because they never had it.

When the vote was taken the women had won again by 96 to 26. The following, who favor suffrage, voted against this bill, because many women think it hopeless to try to amend our state constitution, and prefer to rely on the federal amendment to enfranchise them: Adams, Baxter, Grant, Hompe, Hulbert, Prince, Shanks, Smith and Trowbridge.

There were only 17 who voted against both bills.

The next morning, January 23, on motion of Mr. Sageng, the Senate took up the concurrent resolution urging prompt action on the part of the United States Senate, and without any debate, passed it by 49 to 7.

Here are the seven:

Bonniwell,	Handlan,	Loonam,	Van Hoven,
Callahan,	Kuntz,	McGarry,	

These are all from wet districts, except McGarry.

Anderson, Cliff, Conroy, Gandrud, Gooding, Larson, Lindsley, Millett and J. D. Sullivan did not vote.

All except Sullivan favor suffrage. Lindsley and Gooding were absent on sick leave. The others were working in committees.

This leaves only 6 who can be called really anti-suffrage Senators, as Bonniwell has declared time and again that he would vote yes but for the fact that his district is opposed—and he must represent his constituents.

#### Suffrage Amendment.

On the morning of February 28, Senator Sageng of the Elections Committee brought in a report to indefinitely postpone the State Constitutional amendment for Equal Suffrage.

This action had been urged by the Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Association, Mrs. Clara Ueland president, for the following reasons:

First, Federal suffrage is just around the corner, as Senator Sageng put it, and is sure to succeed in less than two years.

Second, It is practically impossible to amend the Constitution of Minnesota, no matter how strenuous a campaign is made. This would entail a great expense in effort and money, with no likelihood of success.

Other suffrage associations favored this amendment, claiming that the campaign would be a great help to the cause even if it did fail.

Senators Madigan and Cliff made strong pleas for the amendment.

Sageng, Hamer and Gillam urged the uselessness of such action.

These are the 21 who voted for the amendment:

Adams,	Devold,	Jackson,	Ribenack,
Anderson,	Dwyer,	Johnson,	Schmechel,
Baldwin,	Erickson,	Madigan,	Vibert,
Bessette,	Guilford,	Naplin,	
Cashel,	Hall,	Nord,	
Cliff,	Hegnes,	Orr,	

These are the 40 who voted in the negative:

Benson,	Fowler,	Lee,	Romberg,
Blomgren,	Gandrud,	Lindsley,	Sageng,
Bonniwell,	Gillam,	McGarry,	Stepan,
Brooks,	Gjerset,	Nolan,	Sullivan, G. H.,
Callahan,	Hamer,	Palmer,	Sullivan, J. D.,
Carley,	Handlan,	Peterson,	Swanson,
Coleman,	Hopp,	Putnam,	Turnham,
Conroy,	Kingsbury,	Rask,	Van Hoven,
Cumming,	Kuntz,	Reed,	Widell,
Denegre,	Larson,	Rockne,	Wold,

#### Presidential Suffrage.

This amendment having failed, bills were introduced giving women the right to vote for presidential electors.

The Christianson bill to allow women to vote for presidential electors was passed in the House March 5th, 103 to 24.

These are the 24 who opposed Presidential Suffrage for women:

Adams,	Girling,	McGrath,	Nordlin,
Bouck,	Gleason,	McLaughlin,	Pattison,
Burrows,	Hammer,	Murphy,	Rodenberg,
Christensen, A.,	Lang,	Nett,	Scherf,
Dilley,	Lennon, A. L.,	Neuman,	Waters,
Flahaven,	Leonard,	Nimocks,	Welch,

Adams had tried to amend so as to exclude women who could not read, write and speak English.

All the others are from wet territory except Neuman, and Murphy. Four did not vote; Baxter and West were excused. Hinds and Perry had answered to roll call in the morning. All others voted **yes**.

#### In the Senate.

This bill was reported out favorably and was about to be reached for passage when Senator Handlan tried to send it to the Judiciary committee to determine its constitutionality. For this motion he secured only 13 votes.

The next day the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 49 to 11.

These are the 11 Senators who voted in the negative:

Bonniwell,	Handlan,	Rask,	Van Hoven,
Callahan,	Loonam,	Ribenack,	Ward,
Dwyer,	McGarry,	Rockne,	

Ward made an impassioned speech against the bill. No other Senator spoke on either side.

These Senators are all from wet districts, except McGarry, Ribenack and Ward. Dwyer, Rask, Ribenack, Rockne and Ward had voted to submit woman's suffrage to the voters of the state.



Rome G. Brown, attorney for the Anti-Suffragists, secured some delay in signing the bill, on grounds of unconstitutionality, but the Governor gave his approval on the last day.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CO-OPERATION AND MARKETING.

We all recognize that the individual man or woman has the right to produce wealth, to buy, to sell, to use and enjoy, and most people regard these as natural, inherent rights that neither governments nor other individuals have any right to curtail or interfere with.

If this is true of each and every individual, it must be equally true when two or more individuals unite in a co-partnership, joint stock company or cooperative association.

As an individual I have a right to sell anything I produce or own at such price as I can agree upon with the purchaser. As an individual you have the same rights. So has every other individual.

It therefore follows that you and I and any number of others have also these rights when we have associated ourselves together as a business firm or any other form of co-operative association.

In the nature of things it cannot be possible that we have lost any of our rights by such association.

Neither can it be possible that we have gained any privileges.

#### Anti-Trust Laws Faulty.

All anti-trust laws are faulty in this:

They start with things as they are.

They make no attempt to do away with existing, law-created privileges.

But, leaving the beneficiaries in full enjoyment of all these privileges, anti-trust laws forbid them taking advantage of the privileges.

No attempt is made to abolish the privileges enjoyed by the steel trust—privileges of mineral land monopoly, patents, and tariffs, railroad and steamship control.

The steel trust owns or controls the richest mines, it owns the railroads—at least two of them—that carry the ore to the lakes; and they have always charged the independent miners at least double the cost of carrying. Of course it makes no difference what they charge themselves. It is just taking money out of one pocket and putting it into the other. But it puts the independent operators at a cruel and disastrous disadvantage.

The only true way to destroy trusts is to first remove all their privileges. Put them on an equality of rights with all others, and they can do no harm.

Co-operative associations in Minnesota have not been permitted to enjoy all these inherent rights.

Co-operative creamery companies, for example, could not legally buy a carload of coal and sell it to its members. It could not legally sell the farm produce of its members, such as potatoes, eggs, poultry, beef, etc.

To correct this injustice and secure to these co-operative associations their inherent rights, Representative Wilkinson introduced H. F. 172, a bill for an act to amend Section 6487 of Chapter 58 of the General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Relating to the Formation and Validating the Acts of Co-operative Associations.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota: \* \* \* "It shall be lawful for such association or associations to sell its own products as well as the products of its members for them, either individually or collectively, and to negotiate the price at which such products may be sold either for itself or for its members, individually or collectively, as the case may be. Co-operative associations, heretofore formed under this act, and their action in relation to any of the things now, or by this amendment authorized, are hereby validated and declared lawful."

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

A few members, led by Solem and Gleason, feared that this amendment would legalize the so-called "Milk Trust" and enable it to increase the price of milk. T. J. Greene said we would pay 20 cents a quart for milk if the bill passed, and A. L. Lennon urged delay.

Wilkinson explained that the bill would not help the Twin City Milk Producers association.

"Milk has been high for two reasons: First the high price of feed and scarcity of milk cows; second, and most important, the enormous cost of distribution in the cities.

"It is not what the farmers get for their milk—less than half of what you city people pay—that makes milk high-priced.

"Solve the problem of distribution—cut out the waste there, and you will get milk at a reasonable price; and no association of real farmers can ever keep their price much above the actual cost of production."

Mr. Iverson spoke of the co-operative associations of Denmark, which have benefited both producers and consumers by cutting out useless middlemen and their excessive profits.

Mr. Christianson asked: "Do you believe in collective bargaining for laborers? How then can you deny the same right to farmers?"

Mr. Howard referred to the fruit growers of California, the onion growers of Texas, and the nut growers; and showed how they had solved their problems through their co-operative associations.

If the potato buyers could co-operate, the market would be more steady, there would be fewer and narrower fluctuations, the general average of prices to the producers would be higher and to consumers lower.

Mr. Girling said: "If this bill becomes a law the farmers will not organize an octopus. The farmers are not at fault for high prices in cities. It is the unnecessary middlemen."

On the roll call the bill passed 109 to 9.

Here are the nine who voted against the bill:

Brophey,	Greene, T. J.,	Lang,	Solem,
Dilley,	Kingsley,	Lennon, A. L.,	Swanson, J.,
Gleason,			

I have devoted considerable space to this bill because it involves an important principle, and because it gives an opportunity to explain what has been done, especially in Denmark through the development of co-operation.

Denmark is a very small country, not quite one-fifth as large as Minnesota, but with a population of about half a million more.

In Denmark the railroads are publicly owned and operated.

Everything in the way of needed warehouses, like cold storage plants, elevators for grain, stockyards for cattle, sheep and hogs—in short, all necessary depots for all kinds of freight, as well as passengers—are a part of the railway administration and are operated in connection therewith.

#### Stock Yards.

There are about 40 towns and cities in Denmark that have public stockyards, where any butcher can buy animals for meat.

In each of these towns is a co-operative abattoir where he can take his animals to be killed, at a small price. Hence no rich butcher, by owning the stockyards and the slaughter houses, can create and maintain a monopoly of the meat business, as is the case in this country, where privately owned stockyards, slaughter houses, cold storage plants, and refrigerator cars on privately owned railways, have created a gigantic packing monopoly, that fixes to some extent the price of animals on the one hand and the price of meat to the consumers on the other.

In Denmark most of the producers are organized into co-operative associations that handle butter, eggs, poultry, cattle, meat, fruits, fertilizers and all sorts of other things for the benefit of their members.

The producers get more, the consumers pay less, because the business of marketing is organized and the business of transportation is conducted by the government for service and not for exploitation.

March 19 this bill passed the Senate with only Devold, Dwyer and Guilford voting in the negative. They feared it would help the milk trust.

Saturday, March 29, the House passed the Markets committee co-operative bill, which codifies all the laws of the state relative to co-operative associations.

It is claimed that this bill gives to Minnesota as good a co-operative law as any state in the union.

Only Miner voted in the negative, and this vote was due to a fear that this act would enable these associations to violate the anti-trust laws.

## ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE GRAIN MARKET.

A big book could be written on this subject.

The entire system of grading, storing, marketing, transporting, milling and distributing the grain products of the farm has been built up around the system of privately owned and operated railroads, warehouses and elevators. It is very hard to solve the problem thru state legislation.

Denmark solved the marketing problem thru publicly owned and operated railroads, as was pointed out a few pages back. There the warehouses, coldstorage plants, elevators, stock yards, and all other necessary depots are operated as a part of the railway system.

Our own Federal Trade Commission have strongly recommended the same system here to break up the Packing Trust.

The state of Louisiana and the city of New Orleans jointly own and operate a grain elevator and a gigantic cotton warehouse.

The city of Seattle owns and operates a very extensive system of elevators and warehouses.

The Canadian Northwest has four great terminal elevators on the Pacific Coast, on Lake Superior and intermediate points, publicly owned and operated.

The states of Australia have long maintained publicly owned elevators in connection with publicly owned railroads.

The state of North Dakota has just passed laws providing for publicly owned grain elevators with flour mills attached.

In nearly every country in the world the railway and water systems are unified and operated by the respective governments at the lowest possible cost for service, not for exploitation as has been the case in this country.

In all these countries the farmer can store his grain or other produce, take his warehouse receipt, and use it as banking security to tide over till he can sell his produce to advantage.

In Minnesota and most parts of the United States the farmer has had less opportunity of this kind.

He has been forced to sell his grain as soon as threshed for two reasons:

First, he has had no place to store it while he waited for better prices.

Secondly, he must meet his financial obligations which are carefully planned to come due in the fall of the year.

The result has been that an excessive amount of grain has been thrown upon the market at harvest and threshing time, and prices have been forced down.

Of course, there have been men with money who could and did take advantage of the farmer's necessity to strike hard bargains and make big profits.

This was far more common years ago than now.

As the farmers have come to depend less on grain and more on diversified farming—as they have been able to build private and co-operative storage houses and have grad

ually become more and more financially independent, these evils have grown less and less.

But in the newer states the settlers will always be the victims of their own poverty and the lack of public warehouses and elevators, until such time as we shall adopt the plans that have so successfully solved the problems in the older countries.

It is doubtful if any other solution will ever be found.

Meddlesome and prohibitory laws interfering with the grain business will probably prove worse than useless.

More and more the people are coming to understand that the root of the evil lies deeper than the wheat pit and the "grain gamblers."

In fact, the wheat pit and the "grain gamblers" are probably only another legitimate product of the same root evils that have been the curse of the farmers all these years.

We shall have to solve these problems in the same way that other countries have, thru the public ownership of public utilities, and not thru drastic repressive laws aimed at fellow victims of a bad system.

Remove the cause and the evil will disappear as it did in Denmark, when they destroyed landlordism and private monopoly of the railroads, and made the farmer free and independent to co-operate with his fellow farmers in the solution of his marketing problems.

A few years ago the farmers trained their guns on the grain buyers, and all sorts of bills were drawn and introduced to tax and prohibit all sales for future delivery.

At this session only a comparatively weak attempt was made to solve the problem thru prohibiting selling on margin, and this attempt failed.

It is safe to tie to the general principle that evils will disappear when their causes are removed—not till then.

You can no more remove permanently an economic evil with drastic legislation than you can prevent typhoid fever with a club.

#### "Grain Gambling."

Gambling in grain—betting on what the price will be—this is a wholly different question, and will have to be approached from a different angle. It may slightly influence the market temporarily. Of course it is bad for the fool suckers who get caught. Where they have solved the marketing problem, this kind of gambling has disappeared.

#### THE BULK SALES BILL.

This was a bill to require merchants when selling out their entire stock in bulk, to first notify any creditors from whom, in whole or in part, the goods had been purchased.

This would protect the wholesalers who had sold the goods, but were yet unpaid.

J. D. Sullivan strongly opposed this bill and defeated it in the Senate.

### OLEOMARGARINE IN STATE INSTITUTIONS.

During the war butter went to a very high price, so oleomargarine and other substitutes were used to some extent in the state prison, insane hospitals and other state institutions.

Thousands of the poor and even well-to-do people were forced to use substitutes.

The manufacturers of oleomargarine advertised extensively the fact that the state of Minnesota—the prize butter state of the union—used their products.

Mr. Welch introduced a bill to prohibit such use in the state institutions.

This bill was passed in the House February 21 by a vote of 97 to 14, and in the Senate April 14, 40 to 19.

The opposition came principally from the cities, but a few representatives from country districts refused to vote for the bill on the ground that it was not fair to compel taxpayers to furnish better food to criminals and defectives than they could afford on their own tables. They also insisted that the Board of Control should be given a free hand.

Among these were Adams, Hale, Parker, Prince, Scherf, Shanks and Swenson in the House. In the Senate Gooding, Millett, Nolan, Peterson, Putnam and Reed opposed the bill, all from country districts.

The Governor vetoed this bill on the ground that the hands of the Board of Control should not be tied, and it failed to pass over the veto.

If the manufacturers of butter substitutes were wise they would refrain from such advertising. It would be good policy.

Mr. Welch also introduced the same bill that was defeated in 1917, intended to destroy the whole business of making and selling butter substitutes.

This bill put enormous license fees on all who manufactured or sold these substitutes.

The opposition to this bill would have been even stronger than two years before if it had been pushed; but it was allowed to die in committee.

This kind of legislation has met the universal condemnation of the great majority of the people both in country and city.

They insist that these butter substitutes are a wholesome food, and that any law that proposes to shut them out of the market is vicious class legislation and should not be tolerated.

All such things should be sold for what they really are. No deception should be permitted. Then they should have the same rights in the market as butter or any other wholesome food.

The right of the people to select their own food must not be interfered with. This is one of their reserved personal rights, with which governments must not meddle.

### TRADING STAMPS.

Neither should governments meddle with legitimate methods of advertising.

The trading stamp is just as proper a means of drawing custom and inducing people to pay cash as any other form of advertising.

The trading stamp also encourages thrift in children and adults as well.

I am writing by the light of a handsome desk lamp, purchased with trading stamps and presented as a Christmas gift.

Why should legislatures and laws try to step in and interfere in matters of this kind?

But every session bills are introduced to destroy and prohibit the trading stamp business.

In the old corrupt days such bills were put in for the purpose of graft, but now all such things as graft and "leg-pulling" are under the ban. Still there are enthusiasts that try to regulate and prohibit wherever they think they see an evil.

Boyd—H. F. 661—introduced the usual bill, fixing enormous license fees, but it got nowhere.

### CHAPTER VIII.

#### BANKING LAWS.

Shall the state banks of Minnesota be required to provide a fund to guarantee their depositors against loss?

Early in the session a bill to this effect was introduced by Mr. Welch.

The committee on Banking reported adversely and the bill was indefinitely postponed.

Friday morning, March 21, Mr. Welch moved that this vote be reconsidered.

There was no opposition except from Mr. Adams and a few others interested in banks.

So the bill was brought back to life and put on the calendar.

This was a great victory for Mr. Welch.

#### The Reason.

The reason for this right-about-face on the part of the House, was due to Senate File 600, by Mr. Nolan.

This bill had come over from the Senate and had passed the House, Wednesday, March 19.

It gave the State Securities Commission power to grant or refuse applications for the establishment of new banks.

It had passed the Senate March 7, with only ten negative votes—Boylan, Conroy, Erickson, Johnson, Lee, Naplin, Romberg, Schmechel, Stepan and Swanson.

When it came up in the House, March 19, there was pretty strong opposition to placing so much power in the Securities Commission; so Mr. Neuman offered the following amendment:

"In case of the denial of such application, the State Se-

curities Commission shall specify the grounds for such denial and the supreme court, upon petition of any person aggrieved, may review by certiorari any such order or determination of the Commission."

Which motion prevailed.

This greatly reduced the opposition and probably saved the bill from defeat; for even now on final passage the vote stood only 83 to 40. The amendment probably gained it more than 20 votes.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Girling,	Leonard,	Rako,
Baxter,	Gislason, J. B.,	Levin,	Rodenberg,
Bendixen,	Gleason,	Long,	Ross,
Bernard,	Goodspeed,	McGivern,	Schaleben,
Bouck,	Grant,	McLaughlin,	Serline,
Briggs,	Greene, T. J.,	McPartlin,	Shanks,
Brophey,	Hale,	Murphy,	Shirley,
Carlson,	Hammer,	Nelson, C. N.,	Siegel,
Christensen, A.,	Harrison,	Neuman,	Smith,
Christianson, T	Haugland,	Nimocks,	Solem,
Corning,	Herreid,	Nordgren,	Sortedahl,
Cullum,	Hinds,	Norton,	Swanson, J.,
Curtis,	Hitchcock,	Oren,	Swanson, S. J.,
Darby,	Hompe,	Parker,	Swanson, O.A.,
Dilley,	Howard,	Pattison,	Teigen,
Dorweiler,	Hulbert,	Pedersen,	Trowbridge,
Emmons,	Jacobson,	Perry,	West,
Enger,	Lagersen,	Pittenger,	Wicker,
Fawcett,	Lang,	Praxel,	Wilkinson,
Frisch,	Lauderdale,	Prince,	Mr. Speaker.
Galewski,	Lennon, J. G.,	Putnam,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson,	Erickson,	Lennon, A. L.	Skaiem,
Arens,	Flahaven,	Manske,	Sluke,
Arneson,	Gill,	Miner,	Spelbrink,
Berve,	Gislason, C.M.,	Moen,	Stahlke,
Boyd,	Green, H. M.,	Nelson, J. M.,	Strand,
Burdorf,	Hodapp,	Nordlin,	Thorkelson,
Chirhart,	Holmquist,	Oberg,	Urness,
Day,	Iverson,	Olson,	Warner,
DeLury,	Johnson,	Ryan,	Waters,
Enstrom,	Kelly,	Scherf,	Wicklund,

No sooner had this bill become a law than men planning new banks found themselves confronted with the intense opposition of the existing banks with which they would come into competition.

It began to appear that the Securities Commission could exercise the power of life or death over every new banking enterprise that should attempt to organize.

The plea was made that existing banks could handle all the business.

But suppose the people don't care to deal with existing banks, even tho they might be able to handle all the business?

What are we drifting into when governmental bureaus and commissions can permit or deny new enterprises to start?



Should not men be just as free to enter the banking business as they are to start groceries or shoe stores or to set up a carpenter shop or any other business, subject only to the provisions of general statutes?

What will be the end of this craze for governmental paternalism?

This bill having passed, sentiment began to grow in favor of requiring banks to guarantee their depositors. The failure of the 14 Schaffer banks greatly helped to create sentiment.

Hence the success of Mr. Welch in bringing his guarantee bill back to life.

Saturday, March 22, The St. Paul Daily News published the following:

### MINNESOTA BANKING

As It Looks to a Wide-Awake South Dakota Newspaper.

The following editorial, from the Watertown Public Opinion, has been called to our attention by one of the leading bankers of Watertown, D. W. Steele of the State Bank & Trust Co.:

Minnesota is now suffering from the failure of a string of 14 state banks. Fourteen communities will be unsettled and the whole state will be more or less disturbed because 14 small banks were allowed to fail. Nothing upsets a community like a bank failure.

Old and young are taught to be thrifty. Money in the bank is, in the minds of the people (and should be, in fact), as safe as a United States government bond.

That is just the way it is in South Dakota under our bank guaranty law.

In Minnesota, the statement came out, "Capital impaired;" next, "Capital wiped out;" then "Mysterious disappearance of funds," then suits and counter suits and injunctions, arrests, scandal, with the accompanying chorus of the banking department explaining how it happened, and why they were not to blame. Then comes hunting down the "goat," big headlines, with now and then a little information seeping through.

Then the camouflage of big prejudiced banks hurrying to the legislative body, now in session, asking for a bill prohibiting a line of (crooked) banks under one management, forgetting that 14 failed individual banks are just as bad on the depositors as 14 banks with group owned stock.

What Minnesota needs is a bank guarantee law, just like South Dakota.

Public Opinion fought for such nearly 10 years before seeing a law enacted. Some of the best and biggest bankers in the state fought the law. Now, after a fair test, there isn't a sizeable banker in all the state opposed to the guaranty law. Of course, nobody else would oppose it.

The first effect is to make all bankers more careful about the kind of banking neighbors they have. It is safe to say, at least 50 bankers in Minnesota knew from the day Schaffer launched into the banking field that he was

a "wild cat" banker. With a bank guaranty law, where they participate in the losses, Schaffer never would have gotten a start in banking. Under the bank guaranty law, banks are required to set aside each year a small amount to a guaranty fund, based on the deposits of the bank. The money stays in the bank unless called on to pay depositors in event of a failure.

When a bank fails, the examiner takes over the bank books and pays the amount to depositors just as fast as the books are balanced. The guaranty fund is drawn on proportionately to pay the depositors. The bank's business is speedily wound up and the salvage turned back to replace the guaranty fund.

The business in the community goes on as usual. Nearly always the bank doesn't fail, because the neighbor banks that always know of shaky banking methods step in before conditions get very bad.

Banking business is much better and deposits greater in South Dakota with depositors guaranteed. Failures are at an absolute minimum.

The Schaffer bank failures could not have happened in South Dakota under our present guaranty law.

Bank failures under the Minnesota conditions are fertile fields for expensive litigation. With an expensive set of officials winding up small banks, court costs and expenses usually all out of proportion to the size of the business, there is little hope for the depositor and usually none at all for the stockholder.

In the meantime, the thrifty man who has toiled during his life time to earn a competence for his wife and children can turn over in his grave and see his widow turned out of her home in her declining years, while the children, away to college, must hurry back to behold the wreck and share the grief which was no fault of theirs.

Newlyweds that have saved for a home can rent instead and damn the laws of their state and be good subjects for bolshevik propagandists.

Why? Because the good citizens of Minnesota failed to protect their own deserving people against being exploited by "wild cat" bankers.

The remedy? Now, this very session, while the iron is hot, pass a bank guaranty law protecting all depositors absolutely.

Do not be sidetracked by any substitute measure that merely shuts off "line banks." That isn't a remedy; that's camouflage.

Tuesday, April 8, the Welch bank guaranty bill passed the House by a vote of 79 to 30.

Welch, Boyd, McPartlin, Bendixen, Christianson and Wilkinson favored the bill, while the opposition was voiced by Briggs, Parker and Pedersen, the last of whom was willing, he said, to have the bill passed two years from now, but he wanted the "snide banks cut out first."

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Gislason, C.M.,	Manske,	Siegel,
Arens,	Gislason, J. B.,	Moen,	Skaiem,
Arneson,	Gleason,	Nelson, J. M.,	Stuke,
Baxter,	Green, H. M.,	Nett,	Solem,
Bendixen,	Haugland,	Neuman,	Sortedahl,
Berve,	Herreid,	Nimocks,	Spelbrink,
Bouck,	Hodapp,	Nordgren,	Stahlke,
Boyd,	Holmquist,	Nordlin,	Strand,
Burdorf,	Hompe,	Olson,	Sudheimer,
Chirhart,	Hulbert,	Oren,	Swenson, O.A.,
Christensen, A.,	Iverson,	Perry,	Teigen,
Christianson, T.	Johnson,	Putnam,	Thorkelson,
Darby,	Kelly,	Rako,	Warner,
Day,	Lagersen,	Rodenberg,	Waters,
DeLury,	Lauderdale,	Ross,	Welch,
Dilley,	Lennon, A. L.,	Ryan,	West,
Enger,	Levin,	Schaleben,	Wicker,
Enstrom,	McGivern,	Scherf,	Wicklund,
Flahaven,	McGrath,	Serline,	Wilkinson,
Girling,	McPartlin,	Shirley,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Fawcett,	Lang,	Pittenger,
Bernard,	Frisch,	Lee,	Prince,
Briggs,	Galewski,	Leonard,	Sliter,
Burrows,	Greene, T. J.,	McLaughlin,	Smith,
Cullum,	Hale,	Murphy,	Swanson, S. J.,
Curtis,	Hitchcock,	Parker,	Trowbridge,
Dorweiler,	Jacobson,	Pattison,	
Emmons,	Kingsley,	Pedersen,	

Brophey, Carlson, Gill, Hinds, Lennon, J. G., Swanson, J., and Urness were excused. 15 others did not vote.

This Bank Guaranty bill was killed in the Senate April 21, on motion of Mr. Nolan, chairman of the banking committee, to indefinitely postpone.

The 17 who voted to save the bill were:

Anderson,	Conroy,	Johnson,	Stepan,
Baldwin,	Devold,	Lee,	Turnham.
Bonniwell,	Dwyer,	Loonam,	
Boylan,	Erickson,	Naplin,	
Callahan,	Gandrud,	Romberg,	

The 49 who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Gillam,	Lindsley,	Rockne,
Benson,	Gjerset,	McGarry,	Sageng,
Bessette,	Gooding,	Madigan,	Schmechel,
Blomgren,	Guilford,	Millett,	Sullivan, G.H.,
Brooks,	Hall,	Nolan,	Sullivan, J.D.,
Carley,	Hamer,	Nord,	Van Hoven,
Cashel,	Handlan,	Orr,	Vibert,
Cliff,	Hegnes,	Palmer,	Ward,
Coleman,	Hopp,	Peterson,	Widell,
Cosgrove,	Jackson,	Putnam,	Wold,
Cumming,	Kingsbury,	Rask,	
Denegre,	Kuntz,	Reed,	
Fowler,	Larson,	Ribenack,	

Swanson did not vote.

### Bankers' Bills.

The House banking committee had a very ambitious and far-reaching scheme in the interest of banks and bankers, much of which failed.

One bill was killed by Mr. Parker, who declared he was willing the banks should have a monopoly of the banking business, but he was not willing to give them a monopoly of all the cream of the law business.

Another bill tried to limit the liability of a bank for non-payment of a check through error.

Another proposed to make it a gross misdemeanor to say or do anything derogatory to banks.

A third, practically made small banks impossible in outlying portions of large cities.

The hostility to these bills was so great that Mr. Briggs, chairman of the banking committee, moved to postpone indefinitely the first three—and the last was voted down—32 for, 61 against.

Here are the 32 who opposed small banks in suburban districts of the large cities:

Adams,	Galewski,	McGrath,	Shanks,
Bernard,	Gleason.	Murphy,	Shirley,
Bouck,	Greene, T. J.,	Parker,	Sudheimer,
Briggs,	Herreid,	Pedersen,	Swanson, S. J.,
Corning,	Hitchcock,	Perry,	Trowbridge,
Curtis,	Jacobson,	Pittenger,	West,
Dilley,	Kingsley,	Praxel,	Wicker,
Dorweiler,	Long,	Serline,	Mr. Speaker.

## CHAPTER IX.

### TAXATION.

Most people think that taxation is a very complex and incomprehensible subject.

It is, but it doesn't need to be.

Many people think that all taxes are and must be shifted to the **ultimate consumer**.

Most taxes now are, but **none** need be.

Some people think you can tax merchandise and make the store-keepers pay it.

You can't. Such taxes drive some merchants out of business, then prices go up and the final consumer must pay.

You get the same results when you tax the manufacturers.

Some people think they can tax the processes of production on the farm and not do harm.

It can't be done. At first the farmers will have to pay; then some farmers will be driven out of business; then prices will go up and the final consumer will again be stuck for the taxes.

There are a few people still alive who think they can make railroad, telegraph, telephone, electric, gas, street railway and other such corporations pay taxes.

They are mistaken. Such taxes are always paid by the

original producer or the ultimate consumer in the form of higher charges or increased prices.

There are some people still so far behind the times that they really believe they can pass laws that will force bankers and money lenders to pay mortgage registration fees and taxes.

This can't be done.

The more such fees and taxes you impose upon them, the higher the rates of interest will be, and all the laws you can pass won't stop it.

You can't compel a man or a bank to lend money unless he wants to, and he won't lend unless he can make a profit.

It has been demonstrated that banking and money lending can be conducted on a margin of 1 per cent or less, provided that no taxes or burdens are imposed upon the business.

All such taxes and burdens cost the people two or three times as much as they put into the public treasury.

### TWO KINDS OF TAXES.

In civilized society there are two kinds of values, either or both of which can be taxed.

Let us see.

Here is a farmer. He goes out into the woods or upon the prairies to make a farm.

He clears the ground, turns over the sod, puts in a crop, fences in his clearing, builds a house for his family, puts up barns and sheds to shelter his cattle, machinery and products.

All these things are the product of his labor. They are **useful and valuable**. He has **produced** them. Without his labor they could not exist. **They are his**.

Other farmers come and settle near him. They are all industrious, useful citizens. They are all producing good things that all people need and must have if they are to live and continue to produce.

These things have value, and some folks believe they ought to be taxed.

### Another Kind of Value.

But these farmers soon find that they have created another kind of value. They find that the vacant land all about them, which is owned by speculators, and which at first had almost no value at all, has been going up in value and price just as more and more farmers have come in and settled,—just as more and more homes have been built; just as more and more machinery and cattle have been purchased, and more crops raised,—just so have the vacant lands gone up in value and the holders have reaped a harvest—not on account of anything **they** have done, but because of what the settlers have done.

Every farmer can see that here is a value that is not produced directly by labor, as he has produced his crops, his machinery, his buildings. It is perfectly plain to him that this value is a **social product**. This value has come about because the people have settled here and built up their common interests.

In fact this value has been created by them as a **community**.

And just as each farmer should own the products of his own labor, to use or sell for his own benefit, so it is plain that the community can justly take this value for common purposes, because it is in very truth, **commonwealth**.

And so these farmers object to being taxed on all they have done in the way of improvements, stock, machinery, crops, household furniture, clothes, etc.; and insist that the speculator who is the owner of a vacant quarter shall pay just as much taxes for the privilege of holding it idle and preventing production, as they pay for making their lands useful and producing good things.

They have made all the values there are here, and they feel they own them, so they proceed, so far as the law will permit, to tax the speculators as much as they do themselves; and it will be pretty hard work to make them believe they are not right about it.

In Western Canada the owners of vacant land are taxed more than are the users.

#### **In the Cities and Towns the Same.**

It is the same in the cities and villages. Every home built, every store erected, every factory equipped, every school or church or hospital established causes an increase in the value of the lots that are vacant as well as those that are occupied.

The people of the village or the city, as a community—not as individual workers—are the producers of all the value of all the lots in the city.

Being the creators of this value, they are morally and justly the owners of it; and ought to so frame their laws that these community values would be taxed into the public treasury to meet their common needs.

There would then be no necessity to penalize people for having homes with furniture in them, or clothes to wear, or food to eat.

There would be no need to try to tax the goods or processes of production and exchange, with the inevitable result that the ultimate consumer will be crushed by indirect taxes in the form of high prices.

Our present system of taxation offers a premium to the forestaller and land grabber in country and city, while it fines the useful citizen who produces the needed good things that all must have if they are to live.

In western Canada, Australia and New Zealand no buildings or improvements are taxed at all; and no taxes are levied on tools, machinery, crops, stocks of merchandise, or manufactured products.

The system has worked well, and been a great stimulant to industry and home owning.

But the values of farm lands and city lots are not the only public values from which the people might obtain revenue.

The mines, forests, water power, and all other natural resources are a common heritage—a free gift of Nature to all

the people—and they should be so administered as to benefit all the people and not to create a few millionaire mine owners, timber barons and water power monopolists.

### Iron Ore Taxes.

For many years the people of Minnesota have had a vague but strong feeling that these heritage values, especially those of the iron mines, should yield a larger revenue to the public treasury.

To secure this result they have provided for taxing iron ore, both mined and unmined, at a much higher value than any other property; and in addition to this have demanded a special tonnage tax to be imposed when the ore is taken out.

Session after session, from 1907 to the present time, bills have been drawn, more or less defective, of course, for this purpose, but all have failed so far to become law.

Early in the session of 1919 two tonnage tax bills were introduced, one based on the **gross** value of the ore, and the other on the **net** value.

### The Tonnage Tax Contest.

Both bills were alike in two important particulars: Both proposed a **supertax** and defended it on the ground that minerals are unlike other crops. There never will be but one crop of iron ore. When that is gone, it is gone forever.

Farm land can be tilled for thousands of years, and be improved by the process. Its value, both to the owner and to the state, enhances with the progress of the state in civilization and wealth.

City lots will always be useful upon which to erect houses, stores and factories.

Water power will last as long as water runs.

Even forests grow new crops of trees for timber.

### When It's Gone, It's Gone.

Not so with mines—when they are exhausted their value, both for use and for taxation, is gone forever.

Hence it is fair and proper to get all we can while the opportunity lasts.

Both bills provided an *ad valorem* tax—a tax based on the value of the ore.

But right here is where the two bills differed in a most vital particular. One bill proposed a 2 per cent tax on the **gross** value of all ore at the mouth of the mine, while the other levies a tax of 10 per cent on the **net**, or **natural** value of the ore.

It is worth while making this difference clear.

Let us suppose two mines, each producing ore worth, at the mouth of the mine ready to ship, \$4.08 a ton. At one of the mines the cost of putting the ore onto the car for shipment may be about eight cents a ton, leaving a net value of four dollars on each ton.

Now the 2 per cent tax on the gross value here would be a trifle more than eight cents, a mere bagatelle, while the 10 per cent net tax would be 40 cents, still leaving a good sub-

stantial profit to the operator, in no way endangering his business, and hence giving him no excuse to try to pass the tax on to the ultimate consumer.

Indeed, if his ore goes into the world's market in competition with other ore, this tax will be only a part of the cost he must bear to put his ore into that market. It is just the same as with the farmer who sells grain or cattle. He must meet all items of expense, taxes and freight included, to put his product into the world's market.

Now let us take the other mine, whose ore is also worth \$4.08 when in the car ready to ship. It is entirely possible that this ore may cost every cent of its value to get it to the surface. There are plenty of mines that barely pay expenses, and some that are a losing proposition.

#### **Gross Tax Unfair.**

How would the tax on the gross value affect such mines? The 2 per cent tax would be 8 cents on each ton, and would only the sooner put the mine out of business. The 10 per cent on the net value would be little or no burden. If there were no net value, as in the losing proposition, there would be no tax. If little value, then little tax.

The net value tax of 10 per cent is far better for the low grade mine or the low profit mine or the no profit mine.

There is said to be one mine, now closed, that was operated at a loss for four years.

Water, quicksand and other unexpected difficulties swallowed up nearly half a million dollars.

The ore, when brought to the surface, was of high grade, but it cost more than it would bring in the market, so the mine was forced to suspend.

Under the 2 per cent gross tax this mine would the sooner have been put out of business.

Under the 10 per cent net plan there would have been no taxes at all.

The net value tax is much more fair and not at all likely to destroy the business.

The effect of the gross value tax would be to shut down the low grade and poor paying mines, and throw them into the lap of the steel trust.

#### **\$4,000,000 More for State.**

It has been estimated that the 10 per cent net would bring considerably more revenue to the state. It would surely be less likely to drive mines out of business.

A comparison of figures will show the difference in the two bills. In 1917 the gross value, according to the state tax commission, of all ore produced in Minnesota was \$140,239,195. There were 45,398,787 tons mined. The gross value of a ton was \$3.08. The Bendixen 2 per cent tax on this gross value would add \$2,804,781 to the state's revenues.

Under the Welch bill all costs of getting ore to market would be deducted from the gross value and 10 per cent of the net value remaining would be taken for the state. In 1917 the net value of the ore was about \$1.51 a ton. The 10 per cent tax thus would amount to 15 cents a ton. The total



tax on the 45,398,787 tons would be \$6,809,000, or about \$4,000,000 more than under the Bendixen bill.

Representatives of the mining interests were on hand to show how the poor stockholders would be impoverished if any such tax were imposed.

### BUT

Statistics from the office of the tax commission showed that in 1918 the common stock of the steel trust received 24.9 per cent dividends.

Now every one knows that at the time of the organization of the steel trust it was freely charged that every dollar of this common stock was "pure water." It did not represent a dollar of investment.

After considerable discussion, the sponsors for the gross value bill, decided to conform as nearly as practicable to the net value principle, but not to attempt to establish that principles in its logical completeness, because of the difficulty of getting the exact net value of the ore.

Things now began to look favorable for some speedy action.

The tax committee reported out the two "net" value bills as a special order for March 4.

As nearly 100 members of the House were expected to vote for a tonnage tax, and as these two bills were so nearly alike, it was thought that one or the other was sure to pass.

But just as the House was ready to consider these bills on their merits, Rep. Wilkinson moved that they both be referred back to the tax committee to report out **A** bill. At the same time Wilkinson announced that he intended to introduce a real tonnage tax bill—one that would stand the test of the courts," and denounced both the other bills as not tonnage tax bills at all, and not constitutional.

This threw the whole matter up into the air and caused great confusion.

When introduced the Wilkinson bill proved to be a 3 per cent gross value tax on the ore at the mouth of the mine. It however cleared up some questions as to constitutionality. But the 3 per cent gross tax would be far more likely to drive out the small men with low grade ore or low profit mines.

Monday, March 17, the tax committee spent the whole day considering the three bills and brought in reports recommending the Wilkinson and Bendixen bills for indefinite postponement and that the Welch bill be printed and placed on General Orders.

Six members of the committee signed a minority report favoring the Bendixen bill: Adams, Bendixen, Haugland, Shirley, Wicker and Wilkinson.

The next morning Bendixen tried to secure the adoption of this minority report but was defeated by the following vote:

Those who voted in the affirmative were 43:

Adams,	Carlson,	Dorweiler,	Frisch,
Baxter,	Christianson,	T Emmons,	Gislason, J. B.,
Bendixen,	Curtis,	Enger,	Goodspeed,

Grant,	Lagersen,	Nordgren,	Solem,
Green, H. M.,	Leonard,	Oberg,	Sortedahl,
Hale,	Levin,	Parker,	Swanson, S. J.,
Haugland,	McLaughlin,	Praxel,	Swenson, O. A.,
Hompe,	Manske,	Putnam,	Trowbridge,
Hulbert,	Moen,	Rodenberg,	Wicker,
Jacobson,	Nelson, C. N.,	Shanks,	Wilkinson,
Kelly,	Neuman,	Shirley,	

Those who voted in the negative were 82:

Anderson,	Fawcett,	Lennon, A. L.,	Schaleben,
Arens,	Flahaven,	Lennon, J. G.,	Scherf,
Arneson,	Galewski,	Long,	Serline,
Bernard,	Gill,	McGivern,	Siegel,
Berve,	Girling,	McGrath,	Skaitem.
Bouck,	Gislason, C. M.,	McPartlin,	Smith,
Boyd,	Gleason,	Miner,	Spelbrink,
Briggs,	Greene, T. J.,	Murphy,	Stahlke,
Brophey,	Hammer,	Nelson, J. M.,	Strand,
Burdorf,	Harrison,	Nimocks,	Sudheimer,
Burrows,	Herreid,	Nordlin,	Swanson, J.,
Chirhart,	Hinds,	Norton,	Teigen,
Christensen, A.,	Hitchcock,	Oren,	Thorkelson,
Corning,	Hodapp,	Pattison,	Urness,
Cullum,	Holmquist,	Pedersen,	Warner,
Darby,	Howard,	Perry,	Waters,
Day,	Iverson,	Pittenger,	Welch,
DeLury,	Johnson,	Prince,	West,
Dilley,	Kingsley,	Rako,	Wicklund,
Enstrom,	Lang,	Ross,	
Erickson,	Lauderdale,	Ryan,	

Nett, Olson, Sliter and Sluke had been excused. Lee and the Speaker did not vote.

The house then voted to indefinitely postpone both the Bendixen and Wilkinson bills.

Now came the committee report favoring the Welch bill—the bill introduced by the Non-partisan League members.

This report was signed by all but Haugland and Wicker.

By this time the House had developed considerable confusion, as a result of the long discussion over the Bendixen bill.

The supporters of the Welch bill had joined with Murphy and his followers who opposed all tonnage tax bills in order to indefinitely postpone the Bendixen bill.

Murphy now tried to secure the votes of the Bendixen supporters to kill the Welch bill, but failed most disastrously. He could muster only 16 votes, as follows:

Bernard,	Chirhart,	Erickson,	Hitchcock,
Bouck,	Cullum,	Fawcett,	Long,
Briggs,	Darby,	Gill,	Murphy,
Burrows,	Enger,	Harrison,	Pittenger,

Enger was the only Bendixen supporter who voted for Murphy's motion.

This left the Welch bill to be considered on its merits.

### The Time to Act.

Here was the psychological moment for the friends of a tonnage tax. Teigen, Christianson and Haugland tried to get Welch to move to suspend the rules and put the bill on its final passage, but Welch feared he would fail, and so gave notice that he would ask for a special order.

This was just what the mining interests wanted. They immediately became very busy and brought every influence they know so well how to employ.

### How They Did It.

The following extracts from the St. Paul Daily News, explains its view of the question:

#### Church Influence Used.

These are events leading up to what happened Tuesday. Last Thursday the drive to put a quietus on the Welch bill started.

Priests and pastors throughout the state were called upon to inform their parishioners and congregations that this bill must not pass. Through this source influence was brought to bear upon legislators from their districts.

Banks brought out notes and held them as clubs over legislators of influential constituents and threatened to collect or shut off credit if votes weren't cast against the Welch bill.

Legislators were called to Room 922 of the Saint Paul hotel, where Frank B. Thompson, erstwhile business man, political "fixer" and boxing commissioner, directed the "bringing of pressure."

This room was a busy place Monday night. Steerers were going in all directions and gathering in the legislators with pliable backbones. Taxicabs were doing a rushing business.

#### Lawyers Invited.

Lawyer House members were promised business enough to keep them going for years if they would vote against the Welch bill. Reps. George Nordlin and George L. Siegel, St. Paul, were members who turned down these propositions and voted for the bill in accordance with the pledges they gave the people of their districts last fall.

In certain districts influential men or special emissaries were put to work to get out petitions and club wavering legislators into line. Reps. A. Christensen, Owatonna, and W. H. McLaughlin, Faribault, both of whom voted for the tonnage tax two years ago and voted against it Tuesday, were among those receiving these petitions.

During Monday and on Tuesday morning members were called from the House chamber into committee rooms, and there, often with doors locked, pressure was brought to bear upon them.

#### Burnquist Machine Active.

Burnquist machine politicians summoned those from tonnage tax districts who had defeated Non-partisan League legislative candidates last November. Here is the argument made to them:

"This bill must be beaten. We cannot let the league get any credit out of this legislature. Last fall we helped you and kept your district loyal. It is up to you now to help us and defeat this bill. We will square it for you at home."

These are some of the methods used to reduce the tonnage tax strength in the house from 88 to 64 votes.

Another method was an alliance between the steel trust and St. Paul and Minneapolis labor men, elected to vote for a tonnage tax, by which St. Louis county representatives supported the bill recently passed by the house for state administration of workmen's compensation under agreement that labor men would break the pledge they made last fall and vote against the Welch bill.

### Labor Trading.

More trading was done by tonnage tax men in order to get votes for defeat of the Warner street car bill.

"We hate both the steel trust and the street car company," they say, "but we hate the street car company most and if we can't beat both of them we'll do what we can to trim the car company."

In this labor alliance are found Reps. Leo J. Gleason, Minneapolis; T. J. Greene, St. Paul; Fred Lang, Minneapolis; A. L. Lennon, Minneapolis; T. J. McGrath, St. Paul; George H. Rodenberg, St. Paul; P. J. Ryan, St. Paul; P. H. Waters, St. Paul, and Thomas E. West, Minneapolis.

Reps. Lennon and Waters have been attending Non-partisan league caucuses in the Endicott building, 4th and Robert streets. Mr. Lennon has been chosen caucus chairman at different times. They were at a caucus Monday night and as late as 11 o'clock said they were for the Welch bill. They have been at caucuses where the bill was discussed and assured those present they were for the bill.

Tuesday morning they were understood still to be supporters of the Welch bill, but when the roll was called all voted against it, along with others in the labor-steel combination."

On roll call the bill got only 64 votes and was lost.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Grant,	Miner,	Skaiem,
Arens,	Green, H M.,	Moen,	Sliter,
Arneson,	Hale,	Nelson, C. N.	Sluke,
Baxter,	Hammer,	Nelson, J. M.,	Sortedahl,
Bendixen,	Haugland,	Neuman,	Spelbrink,
Berve,	Hodapp,	Nordgren,	Stahlke,
Burdorf,	Holmquist,	Nordlin,	Swanson, S. J.
Carlson,	Hulbert,	Olson,	Swenson, O. A.
Christianson, T.,	Iverson,	Oren,	Teigen,
Day,	Jacobson,	Parker,	Thorkelson,
Dorweiler,	Johnson,	Praxel,	Throwbridge,
Emmons,	Kelly,	Scherf,	Urness,
Enstrom,	Lauderdale,	Serline,	Welch,
Flahaven,	Lee,	Shanks,	Wicker,
Gislason, S. M.	McGivern,	Shirley,	Wicklund,
Gislason, J. B.,	Manske,	Siegel,	Wilkinson,

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Galewski,	Leonard,	Rodenberg,
Bernard,	Gill,	Levin,	Ross,
Bouck,	Girling,	Long,	Ryan,
Briggs,	Gleason,	McGrath,	Schaleben,
Brophey	Goodspeed,	McLaughlin,	Smith,
Burrows,	Greene, T. J.,	McPartlin,	Solem,
Christensen,A.,	Harrison,	Murphy,	Strand,
Corning,	Herreid,	Nimocks,	Sudheimer,
Cullum,	Hinds,	Norton,	Swanson, J.,
Curtis,	Hitchcock,	Pattison,	Warner,
Darby,	Hompe,	Pedersen,	Waters,
DeLury,	Howard,	Perry,	West,
Dilley,	Kingsley,	Pittenger,	Mr. Speaker.
Enger,	Lang,	Prince,	
Erickson,	Lennon,A.L.,	Putnam,	
Fawcett,	Lennon,J.G.,	Rako,	

Six members did not vote.

Boyd, Chirhart, Frisch, Nett and Oberg were excused. Lagerson explains his absence by saying he was attending a livestock association where he was to make an address.

The following have always heretofore voted for tonnage tax bills: Adams, Hompe and Putnam of Ottertail County, Leonard of Wabasha, McLaughlin of Faribault, and Andrew Christensen of Owatonna.

T. J. Greene and Geo. W. Rodenberg of St. Paul and F. E. Nimocks of Minneapolis, voted for it two years ago.

The following new members come from strong tonnage tax districts. Curtis of Fairmont, Galewski of Winona, Goodspeed of Waseca, Rako of Bemidji, and Schaleben of Madelia.

### LABOR REPUDIATES ITS REPRESENTATIVES.

Below will be found the resolutions prepared by Wm. Mahoney, President St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, and adopted by the Assembly after a fierce contest. At the next meeting the Assembly approved the minutes and reiterated the condemnation.

Whereas, the broad purpose and the ultimate aim of the labor movement is to provide a free and equal opportunity for all to obtain a living; and to protect the workers in their just right to the full fruits of their toil; and,

Whereas, in order that these vital interests of the common people may be fostered and promoted, trades and labor unions are formed so that the workers may act with unity, vigor and intelligence in the establishment and maintenance of their fundamental rights; and,

Whereas, the economic power of the organized workers is an important factor in securing the rights of labor, experience has shown that full justice can not be obtained without the exercise of united political power, as the special privileges and advantages of the few enable them to despoil and oppress the many, and absorb the mass of the wealth of the world; and,

Whereas, in recognition of this momentous fact, organ-

ized labor in St. Paul, in harmony with a like movement all over the civilized world, took definite steps at the last election to exercise united and permanent political action in order that the interest of the common people would receive that consideration and protection to which it is entitled, and in accordance with these principles, the candidates put forward by labor were pledged to stand on the broad platform of the general welfare, as opposed to the special interests of big business; and,

Whereas, the public faith in these pledges was manifested by the large vote the candidates received and which contributed in a great measure to their election. Organized labor is, therefore, under obligations to redeem these pledges and make good on its promises to protect and promote the general welfare; and,

Whereas, the one legislative measure, above all others best designated to test the fidelity of labor and its representatives to the best interests of the general public, was a proposed law which would enable the people of Minnesota to retain a small part of the enormous riches the steel trust and other mining corporations are taking from the state; and,

Whereas, this measure, known as the tonnage tax, was so generally recognized as a just and necessary one for the people's interests that organized labor was logically and unavoidably committed to it; and its legislative representatives were necessarily pledged to its support; but,

Whereas, in spite of the facts herein stated, three of the men indorsed and supported by organized labor, Representatives McGrath, Waters and Ryan, voted against the bill to tax the mining companies, and by such actions failed to sustain the claims of organized labor as the champion of the people's interests and have thereby brought condemnation and discredit on it and weakened the people's confidence in its honesty and integrity. In view of these facts, be it

Resolved, by the Trades and Labor Assembly of St. Paul, that the actions of these representatives in voting against the tonnage tax be denounced as opposed to the best interests of the people and in violation of the express and implied pledges to safeguard the common welfare, and that their action be hereby absolutely repudiated as contrary to the desires and expectations of organized labor, and that responsibility for such men and such conduct is hereby publicly disavowed.

#### **\$14,000,000 Lost to the State.**

The defeat of this bill means a loss to the state of nearly \$14,000,000 in the next two years.

It will pay to read twice what the Daily News said about this defeat.

#### **TAXING MINING ROYALTIES.**

Tho the tonnage tax fared badly, the plan to tax mining royalties fared but little better.

When the Supreme Court rendered its decision that mining royalties could not be taxed as money and credits,

because they were an interest in land, several people began to think and act.

The present writer, who for many years has advocated the heavy taxation of mining royalties, drafted a bill "to define royalties, to determine their capitalized value, and provide for the assessment and taxation of the same."

This bill was introduced by Mr. Kelly of Wright County. With some changes and administrative provisions added, it was introduced by Enstrom, Burdorf, and others.

Both these bills provided for the taxation of royalties on the basis of their capitalized value, the same as all other property is assessed and taxed.

Your home, your store, your factory, your farm, all your personal property—these are all taxed on the basis of what they would sell for—not on the rent you could get for them.

Then why not tax these royalties on the same basis?

But legislatures are slow to take up new things, no matter how meritorious.

Mr. Parker, realizing all this, and wanting to make a start, fearing that the other bills were too far-reaching to pass at this session, introduced a bill to put only a 5 per cent tax on the royalty itself—not on its capitalized value. This bill was drawn by Mr. Lord of the Tax Commission.

Even this very mild and modest attempt aroused the hostility of the royalty collectors, who come down to several committee hearings and protested that their millions should not be taxed at all.

Think of it! About \$16,000,000 a year collected for permission to use the earth to take out iron ore, and not one cent of tax collected by the state from those who get the millions, and these people pleading that the exemption should continue,—that they should not even be taxed 5 per cent on the royalty itself.

Wouldn't you like to escape with a tax of 5 per cent on what your house would rent for?

Suppose it would rent for \$30 a month, \$360 a year, what are your taxes?

Probably about \$75 or perhaps more.

Five per cent on \$360 would be \$18.

Every home and farm and business place in the state is taxed from 15 per cent to 50 per cent of all it would rent for.

And in these homes and farms you have put a vast amount of your labor.

These royalties are all clear "velvet"—all unearned by those who get them. They do no work in exchange for them. They get values that nature and the people have created and produced.

The royalty collectors insisted that their lands are already taxed more than any other class of property, but they did not say that the operators pay all those taxes, leaving their royalties wholly untaxed.

Parker's bill is a very modest beginning of what ought to bring the state many millions a year; but in spite of that

Mr. Murphy, the leader of the iron interests, bitterly opposed it as an entering wedge that would finally tax all rents.

Yes, it is an entering wedge and some day it will be driven home, until those who collect rents and royalties for letting other people use the earth will be taxed at least as much as others are on the things they have produced by their labor of hand and brain.

Murphy was able to get 25 votes against this bill, about half of whom came from the iron country. There is some excuse for these, but what about men from labor districts who vote to allow this most dangerous class of landlords to go scot free from tax?

The vote stood 92 to 25.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Gislason, C.M.	McGrath,	Shirley,
Anderson,	Gislason, J.B.	McLaughlin,	Skaiem,
Arens,	Gleason,	Manske,	Sliter,
Arneson,	Goodspeed,	Miner,	Sluke,
Baxter,	Grant,	Moen,	Sortedahl,
Bendixen,	Green, H. M.,	Nelson, C. N.,	Spelbrink,
Berve,	Hale,	Nelson, J.M.,	Stahlke,
Boyd,	Hammer,	Neuman,	Strand,
Burdorf,	Haugland,	Nordgren,	Sudheimer,
Carlson,	Hinds,	Nordlin,	Swanson, J.,
Christensen, A.,	Hodapp,	Olson,	Swanson, S. J.,
Christianson, T.	Holmquist,	Oren,	Swenson, O. A.
Corning,	Hompe,	Parker,	Teigen,
Curtis,	Hulbert,	Pedersen,	Thorkelson,
Darby,	Iverson,	Praxel,	Trowbridge,
Day,	Jacobson,	Prince,	Urness,
DeLury,	Johnson,	Putnam,	Warner,
Emmons,	Kelly,	Rako,	Waters,
Enger,	Lagersen,	Ross,	Welch,
Enstrom,	Lauderdale,	Ryan,	Wicker,
Fawcett,	Lee,	Scherf,	Wicklund,
Flahaven,	Lennon, A. L.,	Serline,	Wilkinson,
Galewski,	Levin,	Shanks,	Mr. Speaker.

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bernard,	Gill,	Lang,	Rodenberg,
Bouck,	Greene, T. J.,	Lennon, J. G.,	Schaleben,
Burrows,	Harrison,	Long,	Smith,
Chirhart,	Herreid,	Murphy,	West.
Cullum,	Hitchcock,	Pattison,	
Dilley,	Howard,	Perry,	
Erickson,	Kingsley,	Pittenger,	

Fourteen did not vote.

When this bill reached the Senate tax committee, all those who enjoy the privilege of receiving royalties tax free, swarmed the capital again and asked for hearings.

Five hearings were granted by the committee. At each of these it was the same story,—the injustice of requiring them to pay taxes on their royalties.

The son-in-law of J. J. Hill, Mr. Lindley, was the chief objector. The Hill interests reported the distribution of over \$6,000,000 during three-fourths of the year 1918. This would



be over \$8,000,000 a year net profit for letting people use the earth and take out ore.

**And They Don't Want to Pay Any Taxes.**

Seven members of the committee voted to indefinitely postpone the bill and leave this easy money untaxed: Adams, Baldwin, Fowler, Hegnes, McGarry, Widell and Vibert.

Six members wanted to pass the bill: Anderson, Gillam, Gjerset, Hopp, Johnson and Nolan.

April 22 this bill came to a vote in the Senate.

Hopp, Gjerset, Nolan and Schmechel made strong pleas for the bill. The state needs the revenue. These royalty interests are not taxed at all and can't be, for there are no laws to tax them. This bill will do it. It is constitutional and fair. It taxes these interests at only the same rate as money and credits, only about a quarter as much as your homes.

Orr led the opposition; Adams and Geo. Sullivan followed, and Swanson closed. They insisted that the royalties were already taxed in the ad valorem taxes on the mineral land. The fact that all the ad valorem taxes are paid by the operators is not to be considered. If the operators did not pay these taxes they would have to pay more royalty.

They insisted that there is no difference between collecting royalty for the use of the earth which, as Schmechel declared, nature gives us free for the equal use of all, and collecting interest for the use of money or rent for houses and stores, which are the product of our labor.

Guilford objected to this tax on royalties unless all ground rents were included.

He conceded that all ground rents are unearned values and hence are especially fit subjects for taxation; but this bill taxes one class of ground rents—royalties—the principle is correct and can be extended. We are constantly finding new subjects for taxation, but he voted "no."

The debate lasted about three hours, and covered the entire field of taxation, constitutionality, and economic principles as related to the taxation of royalties.

The lobby had been active and efficient, and the bill was killed.

On two roll calls the vote was the same—33 to 34.

Those who voted in the affirmative for the bill:

Anderson,	Gillam,	Lindsley,	Romberg,
Benson,	Gjerset,	Loonam,	Sageng,
Blomgren,	Gooding,	Madigan,	Schmechel,
Bonniwell,	Hopp,	Millett,	Stepan,
Carley,	Jackson,	Naplin,	Ward,
Cashel,	Johnson,	Nolan,	Wold.
Cliff,	Kuntz,	Peterson,	
Cumming,	Larson,	Rask,	
Gandrud,	Lee,	Rockne,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Brooks,	Cosgrove,	Erickson,
Baldwin,	Callahan,	Denegre,	Fowler,
Besette,	Coleman,	Devold,	Guilford,
Boylan,	Conroy,	Dwyer,	Hall,

Hamer,	Nord,	Ribenack,	Van Hoven,
Handlan,	Orr,	Sullivan, G. H.,	Vibert,
Hegnes,	Palmer,	Sullivan, J. D.,	Widell,
Kingsbury,	Putnam,	Swanson,	
McGarry,	Reed,	Turnham,	

### THE NEUMAN-HINDS-ROSS-DORWEILER-SWENSON BILL.

In Minnesota—especially among the farmers—there has always been a strong feeling that buildings and other improvements, farm animals, machinery and crops, should not be taxed at all, or at any rate not so heavily as land.

They could not see why the owners of vacant lands should be let off easy, especially as they—the farmers—created all the values of both improved and vacant lands.

As a result of this, all through the farming districts, taxes have been kept low on farm buildings, machinery, crops and stock and high on the land.

The speculators have thus paid more taxes and the farmers less than they would if the letter of the law had been followed.

#### In the Cities.

In the cities there has been this same feeling that those who build homes and stores and factories and do useful work ought not to be fined and penalized while the vacant lot owners get off easy.

But in the cities the landed interests have been very powerful and, until recently, have usually controlled the assessors.

The people of both country and city have been sure that the whole system was wrong, so they amended the constitution in order that different classes of property might be taxed at different rates.

In 1913 a bill was passed with the avowed object of relieving this situation, but it was so poorly thought out that it increased the evil, especially in the cities, instead of correcting it.

Under this bill the taxes on homes were increased, while they were lowered on lots and vacant lands.

In 1919 a bill was introduced by Reps. Neuman, Hinds, Ross, Dorweiler and O. A. Swenson, greatly reducing taxes on all residences in country and city, on household goods of all kinds, on farm crops and machinery and on mechanics tools.

This bill was fully discussed in the House on Thursday, April 10.

The discussion mostly hinged around small objections rather than the principles underlying the bill. In fact every objector admitted the bill was correct in principle, but insisted that it would very greatly disturb present conditions and reduce total revenues in the small towns.

What the bill would really do would be to very considerably reduce taxes on all homes in both country and city, and spread the loss over the land and business buildings.

The roll call showed only 46 votes for the bill and 70

against. More than half of the opponents really wanted to vote for a bill that would relieve the homes of a part of the unjust burden now on them, but feared this bill went too far.

Neuman changed and voted No so that he could move to reconsider, but Christianson now tried to kill the bill beyond resurrection by moving to reconsider and asking that the motion be voted down.

This move aroused opposition from those who hoped to amend and pass the bill, so 67 voted to reconsider and the bill was left on the calendar to come up again. Tuesday morning, April 15, the friends of the bill amended it by raising the rate at which this class of property should be taxed from 10 per cent to 20 per cent of its full and true value.

The same objections were made as before, Christianson making a very strong effort to defeat the bill, though he admitted it was correct in principle.

The bill passed 73 to 45—13 not voting.

Those who voted in the affirmative were 73:

Anderson,	Erickson,	Leonard,	Siegel,
Arens,	Flahaven,	Levin,	Sliter,
Arneson,	Frisch,	McGivern,	Sluke,
Bendixen,	Gill,	McPartlin,	Solem,
Bernard,	Girling,	Miner,	Strand,
Berve,	Gislason, C.M.,	Moen,	Sudheimer,
Bouck,	Gleason,	Nelson, C. N.,	Swanson, J.,
Boyd,	Goodspeed,	Nelson, J. M.,	Swenson, O.A.,
Briggs,	Grant,	Nett,	Thorkelson,
Brophey,	Green, H. M.,	Neuman,	Urness,
Burdorf,	Greene, T. J.,	Nordlin,	Warner,
Corning,	Hammer,	Pedersen,	Waters,
Darby,	Hinds,	Perry,	Welch,
Day,	Hodapp,	Praxel,	Wicklund,
DeLury,	Iverson,	Rako,	Wilkinson,
Dilley,	Lang,	Rodenberg,	Mr. Speaker.
Dorweiler,	Lauderdale,	Ross,	
Enger,	Lee,	Serline,	
Enstrom,	Lennon, A. L.,	Shirley,	

Those who voted in the negative were 45:

Adams,	Haugland,	Manske,	Shanks,
Baxter,	Herreid,	Murphy,	Skaiem,
Burrows,	Hitchcock,	Norton,	Smith,
Carlson,	Holmquist,	Olson,	Sortedahl,
Chirhart,	Hompe,	Oren,	Spelbrink,
Christianson, T,	Howard,	Parker,	Swanson, S. J.,
Cullum,	Jacobson,	Pattison,	Teigen,
Curtis,	Johnson,	Pittenger,	Trowbridge,
Emmons,	Kelly,	Prince,	Wicker,
Galewski,	Kingsley,	Putnam,	
Hale,	Lagersen,	Schaleben,	
Harrison,	Long,	Scherf,	

Not voting, 13:

Christensen, A.,	Lennon, J. G.,	Nimocks,	Ryan,
Fawcett,	McGrath,	Nordgren,	Stahlke,
Gislason, J. B.,	McLaughlin,	Oberg,	West,
Hulbert,			

**TAXING GROSS EARNINGS.**

It can't be done.

It never has been done.

If you compel railroads to pay a part of their gross earnings in taxes, of course they must collect higher fares and freight rates.

You are only putting another tax on the farmer who sends his crops to market and on the consumers (who are all the people) on every necessity of life.

If you tax the gross earnings of telephone companies, they get rates high enough to cover the tax.

If you increase the taxes they have an added reason to go to the Railroad and Warehouse Commission and ask for higher rates, and the users of telephones must pay the bill.

And they will always get rates high enough to make a profit on these taxes.

The attorneys for the companies frankly admit this, and yet we go on taxing gross earnings, and trying to defend the system; when every thinking person knows that the net result is to add new burdens on the users of telephones, who are already taxed on everything they own.

If the telephones are in your homes, the tax stops there. You pay it. That ends it. You can't send it on.

If they are used in places of business, the taxes are added to the cost of doing business and are finally paid by the ultimate consumer. He is the end man.

Such taxation is sheer robbery of the helpless.

Then again, gross earnings taxes are unjust as between the different companies upon whom they are levied.

One railroad company may have a million dollars in gross earnings and not a cent of net profit.

Another company may have half the million in net profit.

Their taxes are the same.

Is that just? Is that honest? Is that good public policy?

By this method you drive corporations into bankruptcy.

If they are to live and continue in business, they must get rates enough higher to cover all these taxes with a profit.

Then you do not tax the corporations at all, but you do tax their patrons—the original producers and ultimate consumers.

The only merit ever claimed for gross earnings taxes is that they are easy to collect.

This is the way of the bank robber and the highway man. They get easy money.

**CHAPTER X.****PUBLIC UTILITIES.**

In the old days—a generation ago or more—the public service corporations pretty completely controlled the cities of the country.

They had everything their own way.

Then the people of the cities began to wake up. They

began to elect to city offices honest, intelligent and conscientious men whom the corporations could not control.

The corporations then started a new plan.

They organized a great, nation-wide movement to secure state public utility commissions, and thus escape from city control.

In several states the corporations were successful.

In some states, like Wisconsin and New Jersey, where there was no control of corporations at all, either state or local, the people established state utility commissions and gave them control of all public service corporations, both statewide and local.

The cities were deprived of control over their local affairs; and disastrous results have followed.

It is never safe to violate the principle of local home rule and self-government.

This movement met its Waterloo in the state of Minnesota in 1913, when all the power of the Governor and the corporations could secure only 30 votes for a state utility commission. Among these 30 were H. H. Harrison, J. G. Lennon, F. E. Nimocks and C. H. Warner.

Before the election of 1918 J. G. Lennon published the announcement that he had been converted to the principle of local control of local public utilities; but he did not seem to stay converted.

Bendixen, T. J. Greene, Bouck, Norton, Prince, Putnam, and O. A. Swenson, now members, voted against the bill. Bouck and Swenson changed in 1919.

This defeat in 1913 appeared to be the death of the entire movement for state regulation of local public utilities. Not until this winter of 1919 has there been any attempt in Minnesota, and no other state has passed such a law, so far as known.

But the increased cost of labor and material, due to the war, has caused the local utilities to again look to state regulation as a source of relief.

The Street Railway companies of Minneapolis and St. Paul were especially anxious to escape the terms of their contracts, and secure an increase of fares that would permit them to pay their usual dividends on their many millions of watered stock.

A bill was prepared, supposedly by the attorney of the Twin City Rapid Transit Company, and introduced by

**C. H. Warner.**

The following editorial from the St. Paul Daily News of March 22 is the most vivid portrayal of this bill that appeared during the controversy.

Is the editorial unfair and one sided? Read and judge for yourselves.

**HERE'S AN ACID TEST ON YOUR LEGISLATORS—  
WATCH THEM CLOSELY!**

The public utility corporations are out to make a big killing in Minnesota.

They can do it, too—

**IF YOUR LEGISLATURE HELPS THEM!**

Watch closely what the Minnesota legislature—both House and Senate—does with the **INFAMOUS WARNER BILL**.

This bill was introduced by a lawyer-banker from the little village of Aitkin. It was fathered and mothered and wet-nursed and nurtured in the private offices of the Twin City Rapid Transit Company.

It has a lot of assistant nurses representing the other public utility interests—the interests that control the electric light and power companies, the gas companies, the big telephone companies.

It is being actively lobbied for in the legislature. Powerful pressure is being brought to bear on members of the House to line them up with the big interests.

**The vote will be an acid test.**

This **WARNER BILL** is the second big step in the program of the public utility corporations to get a strangle hold on the natural resources and public highways of Minnesota.

Two years ago they took the first step when they sneaked through, under camouflage colors, the law which permitted the big competing telephone companies to split the state into two kingdoms—each company getting a perfect monopoly in its own kingdom so that it could raise rates, fight its workers and make the service as rotten as it wished. The division of the spoils has already taken place, and the Bell interests have acquired holdings in the Tri-State looking toward complete domination of its former rival. This big deal was O. K.'d by the **State Railroad and Warehouse Commission**.

Now comes the next move—the **WARNER BILL** to put all the electric railways of Minnesota under the same **State Railroad and Warehouse Commission**.

The big game is to take away from the people their control of their utilities, of whatever nature. It is being done step by step.

**FIRST** the telephones,

**NOW** the electric railways,

**NEXT**, the water power, electric light and gas concerns.

All for the benefit of the big New Jersey and other Eastern corporations, mostly capitalized and controlled in the East for the exploitation of the people of Minnesota.

The infamous **WARNER BILL** was sneaked through the House committee on general legislation this week—and reported favorably for passage in the house. Opponents were given scant opportunity to show its iniquity. It is such a **bare-faced grab**—so universally condemned when introduced—that it was believed to be dead. Now the gang has resurrected it.

This **WARNER BILL** will **tear up** the present franchises of the railway monopolies now operating in St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth. Those franchises are **contracts** between company and city. For many years they were very **profitable** contracts to the Twin City Rapid Transit Company. It made so much money on five-cent fares that it was able to soak up

ten million dollars of "water" originally carried on its books as representing franchises and good will. The profit on the nickels of the people has turned that "water" into tangible assets, besides paying good, regular dividends on the total stock of the company.

During the war the company had hard sledding. It couldn't pay its regular six per cent on its inflated capital.

It had taken the easy pickings, when times were good, and had refused to grant any reduction in fares. It had insisted upon the full letter of its contract.

Now it shows up as a short sport—with a **streak of yellow** as broad as the street car tracks on which it operates—on your streets.

It was pinched by the war (like all the rest of us), but it got a big idea from the war—the Hun idea that treaties—**CONTRACTS**—are "mere scraps of paper."

It wants to **tear up** those treaties—those contracts—with the cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, just as the kaiser tore up his contracts with Belgium.

This **WARNER BILL** will put the scheme over. It will permit any street car company, at any time, to go to the **State Railroad and Warehouse Commission**, tear up its franchise—its contract—with any city, and get in place of that contract practically a **perpetual permit** to monopolize the streets of any Minnesota city or town, or any country road.

It will absolutely hamstring and hogtie the cities.

It will rob the people of all power of control over **street car fares or service**.

It will place this power in the hands of the **state railroad and warehouse commission**, which Horace Lowry is satisfied will be good to him and his stockholders.

**Will that be good for you?**

Watch every play in this crooked poker game!

Watch your legislators!

**It's the acid test!**

The city councils of St. Paul, Duluth, Minneapolis and Winona passed resolutions of protest, as did also the St. Paul Association and Commercial Clubs from all parts of the state.

The bill came up Wednesday morning, March 26, for passage or defeat; and was ably defended by Warner, O. A. Swenson, Parker, Girling, Hammer, Harrison, Adams and Wilkinson.

Warner's first move was to postpone until Friday. **Why?**

For this motion he only got 43 votes.

After the bill had been thoroly discussed—after the opposition had been fully presented by Corning, Erickson, Bernard, and Norton—it was lost by a vote of 39 to 87.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Chirhart,	Hammer,	Lang,
Bouck,	Dilley,	Harrison,	Lennon, A. L.,
Boyd,	Enger,	Herried,	Lennon, J. G.,
Briggs,	Gill,	Hinds,	Leonard,
Brophey,	Girling,	Hitchcock,	Long,
Burrows,	Gleason,	Kingsley,	McGivern,

McLaughlin,	Neuman,	Pittenger,	Swenson, O.A.,
McPartlin,	Nimocks,	Praxel,	Warner,
Murphy,	Parker,	Rako,	Wilkinson.
Nett,	Perry,	Ross,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson,	Gislason, C. M.,	Manske,	Skaiem,
Arens,	Gislason, J. B.,	Miner,	Sliter,
Arneson,	Goodspeed,	Moen,	Sluke,
Baxter,	Grant,	Nelson, C. N.,	Smith,
Bendixen,	Green, H. M.,	Nelson, J. M.,	Sortedahl,
Bernard,	Greene, T. J.,	Nordgren,	Spelbrink,
Berve,	Hale,	Nordlin,	Stahlke,
Carlson,	Haugland,	Norton,	Strand,
Christensen, A.,	Hodapp,	Olson,	Sudheimer,
Christianson, T.,	Holmquist,	Oren,	Swanson, J.,
Corning,	Hompe,	Pattison,	Swanson, S. J.,
Cullum,	Howard,	Pedersen,	Teigen,
Curtis,	Hulbert,	Prince,	Thorkelson,
Darby,	Iverson,	Putnam,	Trowbridge,
Day,	Jacobson,	Rodenberg,	Urness,
DeLury,	Johnson,	Ryan,	Waters,
Emmons,	Kelly,	Schaleben,	Welch,
Enstrom,	Lagersen,	Scherf,	West,
Erickson,	Lauderdale,	Serline,	Wicker,
Fawcett,	Lee,	Shanks,	Wicklund,
Flahaven,	Levin,	Shirley,	Mr. Speaker.
Galewski,	McGrath,	Siegel,	

Dorweiler, Solem and Oberg were excused. Frisch was at home on account of sickness and Burdorf was unavoidably absent. All would have voted no.

Galewski and Rodenberg explained that they personally favored the bill, but voted against it because of the opposition of their constituents.

The discussion was very thoro. Warner and Wilkinson for the bill and Corning and Norton against it made speeches that were remarkable for clearness, logic and forcible delivery.

### THE RED WING BILL.

The city of Red Wing is supplied with electricity by a Wisconsin corporation.

The rates are excessive and the city has no power to lower them.

Bills were introduced by Senator Rockne and Representative Scherf to empower all cities of the fourth class to regulate rates for gas and electricity, but not to interfere with any existing contract. The Senate passed it unanimously.

St. Cloud, a city of the third class, has the same trouble with its electric rates, so the bill was amended to include third class cities.

But it had no such smooth sailing in the house on April 17, when it was up on special order.

### Adams Tries to Amend.

First Adams moved to amend by striking out the entire



bill and substituting a board of three to fix rates in case of disagreement between the city and the company.

This board of arbitration was to be composed as follows:

The city to choose one member;

The company to choose one;

These two to choose a third.

Pattison of St. Cloud objected. "This would put the whole question into the control of the corporations. They would appoint an able expert who is in their employ.

"All equally able experts are employed principally by public utility corporations. The city would have to appoint a man who would surely be biased.

"The third man, appointed by these two would surely be a corporation man.

"The city could not get a fair deal.

"You might as well kill the bill."

Harrison declared he had always been a company man, and he favored the amendment.

Hammer insisted the people would not be fair to the company.

Briggs defended the people and the city councils. They have been fair.

Wilkinson insisted the city councils would put rates too low inside the cities. Then the companies would be obliged to charge too high rates to their customers outside in order to make up the deficit.

Nordlin showed that the bill could not be unfair to the companies or to outside users, for the courts would finally settle all disputes in case the company were not satisfied with the rates fixed by the city council.

"As it is now the company has everything in its own hands. The users are powerless. They can't even appeal to the courts, nor could they under the Adams amendment.

Levin spoke for the Adams amendment.

This amendment was lost 40 yeas, 67 nays.

#### Wilkinson Amendment.

Wilkinson now tried to amend by turning the rate making power over the Railway and Warehouse Commission, in case ten outside users made complaint. The commission would then fix rates both for those outside the city and inside.

Pattison declared that this amendment would do for the smaller cities just what the Warner Street Railway bill tried to do for the large ones, completely deprive them of home rule.

Wilkinson made another strong plea for the people of the small villages and farmers outside the cities, who would surely suffer great injustice if the cities were permitted to fix rates inside their limits. They would surely put those rates too low

Pattison said: "Your amendment comes from the Northern States Power Company. How would it work? The company would get the ten outside users to raise the question, then the city would lose all control over its own business."

Wilkinson's amendment lost, 34 yeas, 72 nays.

Solem now tried to amend so as to let Minneapolis come

under the provisions of the law. She is just as bad off as Red Wing or St. Cloud. She has no control over electric rates.

Pattison objected. "There are other bills in here to help Minneapolis in her troubles."

Solem's amendment lost.

Leonard moved to amend so the bill would apply only to corporations chartered outside the state. That would take care of the Red Wing case.

Pattison objected again. "Our trouble at St. Cloud is with a domestic corporation."

Leonard's amendment lost.

Girling now made a very strong appeal against the bill. "The city councils will make too low rates. The companies will be robbed by the cities. They will then have to take it out on the rural districts and small villages. This bill is revolutionary—half-hatched. If it passes, no one will invest in public utility securities."

The bill then passed, 77 to 41.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Galewski,	McPartlin,	Sliter,
Arens,	Gill,	Moen,	Sluke,
Arneson,	Gislason, C. M.	Nelson, C. N.,	Smith,
Bendixen,	Gislason, J. B.,	Nelson, J. M.,	Solem.
Bernard,	Grant,	Nordgren,	Sortedahl,
Berve,	Green, H.M.,	Nordlin,	Spelbrink,
Briggs,	Haugland,	Norton,	Stahlke,
Burdorf,	Hodapp,	Olson,	Strand,
Carlson,	Holmquist,	Pattison,	Swanson, S. J.,
Christianson, T.,	Hompe,	Pittenger,	Swenson, O.A.,
Cullum,	Howard,	Prince,	Teigen,
Darby,	Iverson,	Putnam,	Thorkelson,
Day,	Jacobson,	Ross,	Urness,
DeLury,	Johnson,	Ryan,	Waters,
Emmons,	Kelly,	Scherf,	Welch,
Enstrom,	Lauderdale,	Serline,	Wicklund,
Erickson,	Lee,	Shanks,	Mr. Speaker.
Fawcett,	McGivern,	Shirley,	
Flahaven,	McGrath,	Siegel,	
Frisch,	McLaughlin,	Skaiem,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Hale,	Levin,	Rako,
Baxter,	Hammer,	Manske,	Rodenberg,
Bouck,	Harrison,	Murphy,	Schaleben,
Boyd,	Herreid,	Nett,	Sudheimer,
Burrows,	Hinds,	Neuman,	Trowbridge,
Chirhart,	Hitchcock,	Oberg,	Warner,
Curtis,	Hulbert,	Oren,	West,
Dilley,	Kingsley,	Parker,	Wilkinson.
Enger,	Lagersen,	Pedersen,	
Girling,	Lang,	Perry,	
Gleason,	Leonard,	Praxel,	

Thirteen not voting. Brophey, A. Christensen, Corning, Dorweiler, Goodspeed, T. J. Greene, A. L. Lennon, J. G. Lennon, Long, Miner, Nimocks, J. Swanson, Wicker.

Dorweiler, Grant, Prince and Wicker had voted for the Adams amendment.

Carlson and Goodspeed had voted for both amendments.

Pittenger and J. Swanson voted for the Wilkinson amendment.

Hinds did not vote on either amendment.

The following did not vote on any of the roll calls: Brophay, A. Christensen, T. J. Greene, A. L. Lennon, J. G. Lennon, Nimocks.

Nimocks and the two Lennons were excused.

This was one of the hardest battles of the session.

Many members regarded the Adams arbitration plan as fair, in spite of Pattison's explanation of its working.

The people of the cities have had some sad experiences with such plans.

Some country members don't believe the cities are capable of self-government, and don't seem to want to give them any chance to try.

Of course the people of the cities ought to have home rule.

Of course they must be fair. If they are not the courts will compel them.

They must learn by experience. There is no other way.

#### **PUBLIC UTILITIES AND SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS.**

Nearly all public service corporations in Minnesota are taxed on their gross earnings in lieu of all other taxes and assessments.

How the words "and assessments" got into the law no one seems to know, but the result is that these corporations have claimed exemption from paying for paving, sewers, sidewalks and all other street improvements that ordinary people must pay for in addition to their general taxes.

Of course public service corporations never really pay any taxes any way.

No matter how they are taxed or how much, they must charge enough for their services to cover all regular costs, ordinary taxes included.

All such taxes are finally paid by their patrons in higher prices than would otherwise prevail, with an added profit to the corporations for collecting the money.

But special assessments for street improvements are different. They are not "regular and usual" items of expense. They are like judgments in damage suits, irregular, unusual, occasional and cannot be charged up to regular running expenses.

And yet our courts insist that the wording of the law requires them to hold that these corporations are exempt from paying for these street improvements.

Two years ago a bill cutting out the words "and assessments" passed the House 94 to 14 but was lost in the Senate.

This year the bill passed with no opposition in either house.

The people must approve at the next election before it becomes a law.

CHAPTER XI.  
LABOR LEGISLATION.

Surely there must be something wrong when labor must come to legislature begging for crumbs of relief.

Labor, in its broadest sense, is the producer of every good thing that goes to make up our civilization.

Every ounce of food—every stitch of clothing—every brick and stone and piece of lumber—every slate and shingle and every gallon of paint—all the houses and shops—all the factories, stores and warehouses—all the furniture in our homes, goods in our stores, machinery in the factories—every railroad with all the cars and engines—every boat on canal or river and every steamship on the ocean—every dollar's worth of "capital" in all the world—every article of luxury, every bit of art, every book in our libraries—every service, from the most simple and lowly to the most exalted—all these are the result of labor.

AND YET,

All thru the ages, labor, bearing on its back the burden of the world, has come with bowed head and hat in hand to cringe and beg for a little here and a little there, for a little more pay—for a few moments more of rest—for some safety appliances about the machinery it has produced and is operating—for sheds to shelter it from the storm while it repairs engines and cars it has made, but which belong to some one else—for minimum wage laws, an eight-hour day and a few little comforts like stools behind counters, and rest rooms, and places to eat lunch.

Oh it is pitiful to see how weak have been labor's protests—how few and how futile her uprisings and revolts, how lacking in clear thinking and intelligent direction have been her plans for betterment.

Man is the only animal so stupid as to establish systems of monopoly and privilege for a few, and toil and deprivation, spoliation and degradation for the masses.

WHO ARE THE WORKERS—WHO THE  
EXPLOITERS?

Every person—man, woman or child—who performs some useful service, from the humblest laborer in field or factory, to the President of the United States—all such are workers.

Every person who makes money out of the value of the lands and mines and forests or any other natural resource—every person who secures advantage thru statute law that gives him more than he has to give in return—all these are the exploiters.

The farmer is mostly a worker. In the nature of things it is practically impossible for him to get more for his produce than it is worth. Nearly always he has been forced to take less. Nearly always he has been overburdened with taxes and excess charges for taking his produce to market, while everything he buys in exchange costs more than a

fair price because of taxes on goods in process of production and transportation, tariffs and, more than all else, too high prices for the raw land out of which he must make his farm. Very rarely the farmer makes anything out of the rise in land over and above the extra burdens he has borne.

The same is true of the great mass of the laborers in town and city. The taxes on their food, clothing and homes are always excessive, while their wages are lower than they should be because opportunities for self-employment are denied them by the high prices of lots and lands to which they might resort as independent producers if land were cheaper.

The great mass of business and professional men are mostly workers performing useful services, but they are in position to take advantage of bad laws and gain thru land speculation and other forms of exploitation.

### WHO ARE THE REAL EXPLOITERS?

The real exploiters—the great exploiters—are those who get possession of our mines and forests and water power, our oil wells and natural gas, our city lots and farm lands. All these are Nature's free gifts to all the people, and those who get them without giving an equivalent—these are they who become our great millionaires. These are they who are getting something for nothing; and whatever these get that they do not produce, others must produce and not get.

When we have found a way to prevent some from getting what they don't produce, we shall have found how to secure to each what he does produce.

### LABOR'S PROBLEM.

Labor's problem—the problem of all the producers—whether farmers or city workers—whether business or professional men—all who produce good things or perform useful service—all these have the same problem—the problem of so changing our laws that the workers will get their own, and the exploiters be given the pleasure of becoming workers.

Eight-hour laws, prohibition of child labor, minimum wages, workmen's compensation and all other statutory regulations are only salves and plasters on the wounds and bruises of the producers and can never bring a permanent cure.

But so long as the permanent solution is not reached, we shall probably continue to engage in the patchwork.

And some of the "patchwork" of the 1919 session was very important.

This is especially true of the bill creating an "Industrial Accident Compensation Board."

This bill created a state board to receive and administer the money paid by employers for the benefit of injured workmen, and was regarded as one of the most important of all measures before the legislature.

It was based on the Ohio law, which the workmen claim has been administered at a cost of about 3½ per cent, while in Minnesota, where the risks have been carried by the casu-

alty companies, the expense has heretofore been nearly 40 per cent.

When the legislature adjourned Saturday, March 8, to meet again Wednesday, March 12, so that members could go home to vote at the spring elections, the opponents of the bill got especially busy.

Eighty House members were pledged to vote for the bill. The following is from The Progress:

#### **Opponents Fight Hard.**

Opponents of the bill sent a special notice everywhere over the state, reading:

"SPECIAL NOTICE: The legislature will adjourn Saturday, March 8, until Wednesday, March 12. See or telegraph your legislator at home Sunday, Monday or Tuesday."

A circular was sent with this notice reading:

"Does Minnesota want state insurance, the first plank in the socialist platform of the Nonpartisan League?"

The insurance federation of Minnesota also sent out letters and telegrams urging that the bill be defeated.

Mass meetings were called in several towns and resolutions passed urging the legislators to vote against the bill.

Local merchants throughout the state have received letters and telegrams from insurance companies, insurance agents, the employers' association and others to work against the bill and urge their legislators to oppose the wishes of organized labor.

Petitions by the thousand came in against the bill, signed by clerks and other non-union employes of large business houses. On the other hand, organized labor flooded the members with thousands of petitions for it.

All this was expected to have a great influence with many country members and it was hoped that the bill had been defeated.

But after the discussion in the house had lasted for more than four hours—after McGrath, Gleason, Nordlin, A. L. Lennon and Asher Howard had fully explained and defended the bill, while Solem and Brophy had exhausted every reserve in opposition, the house passed it by a vote of 78 to 48, showing that practically no votes had been lost by the campaign against it.

#### **What Does the Bill Do?**

It simply puts the state in the place now occupied by the casualty companies. The employers for the present will pay the same premiums as they now do. It is contended that the state can save most of the expense that now goes to solicitors, general agents, for maintenance of thirty or forty expensive offices, and thus give the injured workmen much more in benefits.

Mr. Howard made the most telling argument for the bill.

"When the state established the principle of workman's compensation it went only half way.

"In the interest of both the employer and workman it

now proposes to adopt the other half and so administer the law that the employers will pay less and the injured workmen get more. Or if the employers continue to pay the same, then the workmen will get very much more.

"It is a proper state function. The insurance companies are not performing this function. They take as much as possible and give as little as possible.

"This is not putting the state into the insurance business. It is really taxation. The state collects the tax from the employers and administers it at the least possible expense for the benefit of the injured workmen.

### Not Socialism.

"This is not Socialism, any more than any other state function is socialism—any more than soldiers' insurance was socialism, any more than collecting taxes for any other purpose is socialism."

Mr. Howard asserted that Gompers and the Federation of Labor are solid for state administration of the workman's fund.

Mr. Solem denied this and quoted from a speech of Mr. Gompers to prove his contention; but Howard sent up and had the clerk read a personal letter from Mr. Gompers which set the matter at rest.

Every St. Paul member but one voted for the bill, all but two from St. Louis county, all but four from Hennepin, and every Non-partisan League farmer.

Most of the opposition came from the small towns and country districts.

At the beginning of the discussion, Colonel Wilkinson offered an amendment permitting the mutual casualty companies to compete with the state for the business. This removed some opposition and helped to pass the bill.

The 78 who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Gislason, C. M.	McLaughlin,	Skaiem,
Arens,	Gleason,	McPartlin,	Sluke,
Arenson,	Greene, T. J.	Miner,	Spelbrink,
Bendixen,	Haugland,	Murphy,	Stahlke,
Bernard,	Herreid,	Nelson, J. M.,	Strand,
Berve,	Hitchcock,	Nett,	Sudheimer,
Bouck,	Hodapp,	Neuman,	Swanson, J.,
Briggs,	Holmquist,	Nordlin,	Teigen,
Burdorf,	Howard,	Norton,	Thorkelson,
Burrows,	Hulbert,	Oberg,	Trowbridge,
Christianson, T.	Iverson,	Olson,	Urness,
Corning,	Johnson,	Pattison,	Waters,
Darby,	Kelly,	Perry,	Welch,
Day,	Kingsley,	Praxel,	West,
DeLury,	Lang,	Prince,	Wicker,
Enstrom,	Lauderdale,	Rako,	Wicklund,
Erickson,	Lennon, A. L.,	Rodenberg.	Wilkinson,
Fawcett,	Levin,	Ryan,	Mr. Speaker.
Flahaven,	Long,	Scherf,	
Gill,	McGrath,	Siegel,	

The 48 who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Galewski,	Lagersen,	Putnam,
Boyd,	Girling,	Leonard,	Ross,
Brophey,	Gislason, J. B.,	McGivern,	Schaleben,
Carlson,	Goodspeed,	Manske,	Serline,
Christensen, A.,	Grant,	Moen,	Shanks,
Cullum,	Green, H. M.,	Nelson, C. N.,	Shirley,
Curtis,	Hale,	Nimocks,	Smith,
Dilley,	Hammer,	Nordgren,	Solem,
Dorweiler,	Harrison,	Oren,	Sortedahl,
Emmons,	Hinds,	Parker,	Swanson, S. J.,
Enger,	Hompe,	Pedersen,	Swanson, O. A.,
Frisch,	Jacobson,	Pittenger,	Warner.

Baxter, J. G. Lennon, Lee, Sliter and Chirhart had been excused and were not present. Long did not vote.

#### In the Senate.

This bill was a special order in the Senate, Wednesday, afternoon, April 2 and Thursday morning, April 3.

The discussion lasted for nearly five hours.

Jackson, Callahan, Swanson, Carley, Sageng and Dwyer supported the bill; while Fowler, J. D. Sullivan, Cliff, Gillam, Rockne, Adams and Cosgrove opposed.

The biggest effort was made by Fowler who offered an amendment to permit the stock companies to compete with the state for the business of insuring the workmen against accident or death.

The real contest was over this amendment, and Fowler won 34 to 32.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Cosgrove,	Kingsbury,	Rockne,
Baldwin,	Denegre,	Kuntz,	Sullivan, G. H.
Benson,	Fowler,	Lindsley,	Sullivan, J. D.
Blomgren,	Gillam,	Madigan,	Turnham,
Bonniwell,	Gooding,	Nolan,	Van Hoven,
Brooks,	Guilford,	Palmer,	Ward,
Cashel,	Hall,	Peterson,	Widell,
Cliff,	Hamer,	Putnam,	
Coleman,	Hopp,	Reed,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Besette,	Erickson,	Lee,	Ribenack,
Boylan,	Gandrud,	Loonam,	Romberg,
Callahan,	Gjerset,	McGarry,	Sageng,
Carley,	Handlan,	Millett,	Schmechel,
Conroy,	Hegnes,	Naplin,	Stepan,
Cumming,	Jackson,	Nord,	Swanson,
Devold,	Johnson,	Orr,	Vibert,
Dwyer,	Larson,	Rask,	Wold,

Madigan had voted with the labor supporters until this ballot. If he had not changed sides the deadlock would have continued.

This amendment having been adopted, Jackson and the friends of the bill declared they preferred no bill at all and asked all to vote against it.



Only nine voted for the bill as amended:

Fowler,	Madigan,	Sullivan, G. H	Ward,
Gooding,	Nolan,	Turnham,	Widell,
Guilford,			

How many senators opposed this bill to punish labor men who voted against the tonnage tax in the house ?

Later Madigan gave the bill more careful study and says that he came to the conclusion that his vote for the Fowler amendment was a mistake. He declared he would support a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was lost, and would vote to cut out the Fowler amendment.

On Friday morning, April 10, the motion to reconsider was lost. Madigan and Reed voted with the labor men, but Gjerset, Hegnes, McGarry and Vibert now deserted the labor forces, so the motion was lost and the bill finally killed.

The labor men had lost the one big thing they had hoped to get, and the six members endorsed by labor who had voted against the tonnage tax were blamed for the defeat.

#### The Eight-Hour Day for State Employees.

Senator John D. Sullivan of St. Cloud has been a faithful and determined advocate of the eight-hour day in all state institutions.

In 1917 he lost by a tie vote, 32 to 32.

In 1919 he won by a vote of 58 to 2.

Baldwin and Ward were the only ones to vote against it. Baldwin had voted for it two years before.

Cliff, Hall and Ribenack had been excused.

In the House, on February 20, this bill did not have so easy sailing. Its passage was bitterly contested but finally carried 76 to 48 as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Fawcett,	Lee,	Pittenger,
Arens,	Flahaven,	Lennon, A.L.,	Prince,
Arneson,	Frisch,	Lennon, J.G.,	Rodenberg,
Bendixen,	Galewski,	Levin,	Ryan,
Bernard,	Gill,	Long,	Scherf,
Berve,	Girling,	McGivern,	Siegel,
Bouck,	Gislason, C.M.,	McGrath,	Skaiem,
Briggs,	Gleason,	McLaughlin,	Sluke,
Brophey,	Greene, T.J.,	McPartlin,	Smith,
Burdorf,	Hammer,	Miner,	Solem,
Burrows,	Hitchcock,	Murphy,	Spelbrink,
Chirhart,	Hodapp,	Nett,	Stahlke,
Cullum,	Holmquist,	Nimocks,	Strand,
Darby,	Howard,	Nordlin,	Swanson, J.,
Day,	Iverson,	Norton,	Thorkelson,
DeLury,	Johnson,	Olson,	Trowbridge,
Dilley,	Kingsley,	Pattison,	Waters,
Enstrom,	Lang,	Pedersen,	Welch,
Erickson,	Lauderdale,	Perry,	Wilkinson.

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Carlson,	Curtis,	Enger,
Baxter,	Christensen, A.,	Dorweiler,	Gislason, J.B.,
Boyd,	Christianson, T.,	Emmons,	Goodspeed,

Grant,	Kelly,	Oberg,	Shirley,
Green, H.M.,	Lagersen,	Oren,	Sliter,
Hale,	Leonard,	Parker,	Sortedahl,
Haugland,	Manske,	Putnam,	Swanson, S.J.,
Herreid,	Moen,	Rako,	Swenson, O.A.,
Hinds,	Nelson, C.N.,	Ross,	Teigen,
Hompe,	Nelson, J.M.,	Schaleben,	Urness,
Hulbert,	Neuman,	Serline,	Warner,
Jacobson,	Nordgren,	Shanks,	Wicklund,

After the passage by the House a large number of representatives from country districts began to fear it would lead later to eight-hour legislation for all occupations, farm labor included.

A bill was introduced by Dorweiler, Neuman, Ross, Shanks, Warner, Leonard, Jacobson, Baxter, Shirley, Rako, Serline, Gislason, J. B., Lagersen, Nelson, C. N., Carlson and Grant to repeal this act, but nothing came of it.

#### Eight Hour Constitutional Amendment.

Devold introduced into the Senate a resolution for a constitutional amendment to establish a compulsory eight-hour day in all industries, farming included.

This bill was defeated Thursday, April 3rd. Devold and Boylan spoke for the resolution. Magnus Johnson and Herman Schmechel, both Non-partisan League Senators, spoke against it.

The 20 who voted in the affirmative were:

Bessette,	Hall,	Naplin,	Ribenack,
Boylan,	Handlan,	Orr,	Stepan,
Devold,	Jackson,	Palmer,	Swanson,
Dwyer,	Madigan,	Rask,	Turnham,
Erickson,	Millett,	Reed,	Ward,

The 41 who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Cumming,	Johnson,	Rockne,
Baldwin,	Denegre,	Kingsbury,	Romberg,
Benson,	Fowler,	Kuntz,	Sageng,
Blomgren,	Gandrud,	Larson,	Schmechel,
Bonniwell,	Gillam,	Lee,	Sullivan, G.H.,
Brooks,	Gjerset,	Lindsley,	Sullivan, J.D.,
Carley,	Gooding,	McGarry,	Vibert,
Cashel,	Guilford,	Nolan,	Wold,
Cliff,	Hamer,	Nord,	
Coleman,	Hegnes,	Peterson,	
Cosgrove,	Hopp,	Putnam,	

#### SUMMARY.

Labor had an ambitious program, but lost what they regarded as the vital part of it through the shortsightedness or worse, of a few "labor" men in the House who voted against the tonnage tax bill, and through the vote of Dwyer and Callahan in the Senate against Wilcox.

If Wilcox had retained his seat, his vote would have passed the workman's insurance bill—the one big thing that "labor" wanted,—but he couldn't hold his seat when two "labor" men voted to oust him.

And so it turned out that all labor got out of the session

of 1919 was a few little increases in compensation for injury and for doctor's bills. These bills the employers had agreed not to oppose.

For years and years labor politicians have shown the same sort of short-sightedness.

They have spent much time and almost millions of money to secure some little special advantage, either over their employers or over their unorganized fellow-workers; and all the while they have been blind to the fact that it is PRIVILEGE and PRIVILEGE alone that is their enemy.

But labor is beginning to see where the trouble lies. Labor is rubbing its eyes and beginning to awake.

When once its eyes are wide open, the reign of PRIVILEGE will end.

## CHAPTER XII.

### MILITARY MATTERS.

In every war many people throw off the thin veneer of civilization and allow the savage to dominate.

This was quite apparent at the beginning of the session, but greatly diminished before the close.

The spirit of militarism showed itself in many ways, some sane and some hysterical, some wise and constructive, some very unwise and likely to do more harm than good.

Every possible opportunity should be provided for the returned soldiers to get back into the ordinary life of the state.

They need jobs, not charity, a chance to do useful work, not gratuities, medals, monuments, pensions or memorials.

Theodore Christianson and others introduced H. F. 187, a bill to establish a Provost Guard to aid needy soldiers and help secure employment. It did not come to a vote.

Several bills were introduced to give free tuition in the university and state schools to returned soldiers and sailors. One of these passed.

Another bill proposed to give each soldier \$100, regardless of the length of time he had served or whether he had ever been out of the country.

This would have cost the state about ten million dollars and would have been worse than wasted in many cases.

The committee finally recommended five dollars a month for actual time in service but not to exceed \$60 to any person. This failed to pass.

Near the close of the session Senator Johnson and Representatives Iverson and J. M. Nelson secured permission from the Governor to introduce a bill based on the North Dakota law which establishes a trust fund to give each soldier \$25 for each month he served, to assist in getting an education, or buying a farm or a home, the money to be paid monthly as he needs it and to be applied strictly to these purposes.

This looked like the best plan of all; but it came too near the end and could not be put through.

There were other very ambitious plans urged by the Governor and pushed by the militarists, including:

A Motor Corps,  
A Negro Battalion,

A complete revision of the military code greatly enlarging the power of the Adjutant General and Governor and putting all appointments of officers in their hands.

These three measures were vigorously opposed by the National Guard, and two were defeated, but they used up much valuable time that might have been better employed.

#### **The Motor Corps Bill.**

It is doubtful if any proposed measure has ever aroused more general hostility and condemnation among working men, than this bill to establish a motor corps as an additional military unit.

Such a unit was urged by the Governor in his message as a means of suppressing "red flag demonstrations, riots or disorder," as well as to serve in cases such as the Tyler tornado or the northern forest fires.

As originally drafted and introduced by Nimocks, Warner, Hammer and others, it was denounced by labor men, and other liberals as a piece of Prussianism, well calculated to produce the very results it was claimed to suppress.

The opposition was so strong and so determined that on the morning of February 13, the day it was to come up for final passage or defeat, the sponsors of the bill were willing to concede several vital changes.

An agreement was reached by which the most objectionable features were cut out, and its use limited strictly to relief work and transportation of the military forces of the state when such forces are called into service.

The Minneapolis Tribune, under the heading "Muffling," had this to say:

The Motor Corps can have no armament save "side arms" to be carried by its members.

The air squadron is entirely eliminated.

The corps shall consist of not more than two regiments.

Not less than 35 men of each company of 65 must be owners of passenger automobiles suitable for transporting not less than five persons each.

Members of the corps are prohibited from accepting any gifts or compensation except from the state.

As originally planned this was a very ambitious military machine, greater and more powerful than any in existence in any state of the Union. The Governor declared that no other state had anything like it.

But as finally amended and passed by the House it was professedly a comparatively harmless instrument for the more speedy and efficient transportation of the militia and relief service; and one not easily used for purposes of suppressing free speech and assemblage, unless the powers in control are determined to override the law.

The governor and sponsors for the bill had declared it was wanted to suppress "red socialism," which was interpreted by organized labor and the organized farmers to mean that it would be used to break up their meetings and suppress freedom of speech and discussion.

The debate on the bill February 13 lasted over four hours. After all the amendments agreed upon had been adopted without dissent,

#### Mr. Miner

offered an amendment striking out all of section 4, providing that the organization, armament and discipline should be the same as that of the regular army of the United States, "Subject, in times of peace, to such general exceptions as may be authorized by the Adjutant General of the state."

Over this amendment the debate waxed long and bitter.

Miner objected to any armament—even side arms.

Warner replied, "Our main motive is to put out professional agitators."

"They must be able to respond quickly when red socialism and black anarchy break out."

Miner replied: "It is not agitators, but armed guards that incite to riot. Socialism and anarchism are the product of injustice."

To prove this Mr. Miner quoted extensively from the report of the Industrial Commission, appointed by President Wilson and headed by Frank P. Walsh. He also made several quotations from Lincoln and Wilson to sustain his contention that there was no necessity for this military organization.

After much irrelevant oratory and indulgence in personalities by several members,

#### Mr. McGrath

took the floor and explained the bill as being fairly satisfactory to organized labor, but it was very plain that many still looked with great suspicion upon those features of the bill providing for side arms and military equipment.

Miner's amendment was lost 29 to 98.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Gislason, C. M.	Scherf,	Thorkelson,
Arens,	Hodapp,	Siegel,	Urness,
Arneson,	Johnson,	Skaiem,	Waters,
Berve,	Miner,	Sluke,	Welch,
Burdorf,	Nett,	Spelbrink,	Wicklund.
Day,	Nordlin,	Stahlke,	
Enstrom,	Olson,	Strand,	
Flahaven,	Ryan,	Swanson, J.,	

Boyd, Nelson, J. M., Sortedahl, Sudheimer did not vote. All others voted no.

#### Siegel's Amendment.

Mr. Siegel then tried to amend by specifically prohibiting the use of the motor corps "for service of any kind or nature involving strikes, lockouts, boycotts or labor disputes between an employer and employees or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or for the prevention or suppression of peaceable assemblages and public gatherings."

To this it was objected, that in case of riot in connection

with labor troubles, the Motor Corps could not be used to transport the militia.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Gislason, C. M.	Miner,	Spelbrink,
Arens,	Gislason, J. B.,	Nelson, C. N.,	Stahlke,
Arneson,	Goodspeed,	Nelson, J. M.,	Strand,
Bendixen,	Green, H. M.,	Nett,	Swanson, J.,
Berve,	Green, T. J.,	Nordlin,	Thorkelson,
Burdorf,	Haugland,	Olson,	Urness,
Day,	Hodapp,	Pedersen,	Welch,
DeLury,	Holmquist,	Ryan,	Wicklund.
Enstrom,	Iverson,	Scherf,	
Fawcett,	Johnson,	Siegel,	
Flahaven,	Manske,	Sluke,	

This amendment was lost 41 to 84.

Boyd, Moen, Nordgren, Shanks, Sortedahl and Sudheimer did not vote.

All others voted no.

#### The Moen and Teigen Amendment.

Moen and Teigen then offered to amend by striking out section 7 providing for extra compensation as prescribed by the military code.

This motion was lost, yeas 45, nays 78, as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Gislason, J. B.,	Nelson, C. N.,	Strand,
Arens,	Goodspeed,	Nelson, J. M.,	Swanson, J.,
Arneson,	Green, H. M.,	Nett,	Swanson, O. A.,
Bendixen,	Haugland,	Nordlin,	Teigen.
Berve,	Hodapp,	Olson,	Thorkelson,
Burdorf,	Holmquist,	Ryan,	Urness,
Day,	Iverson,	Scherf,	Waters,
Emmons,	Jacobson,	Siegel,	Welch,
Enstrom,	Johnson,	Skaiem,	Wicklund.
Fawcett,	Manske,	Sluke,	
Flahaven,	Miner,	Spelbrink,	
Gislason, C. M.	Moen,	Stahlke,	

Baxter, Bernard, Boyd, Brophy, Hale, McGrath, Sortedahl and Sudheimer did not vote.

All others voted no.

Mr. Siegel then attempted to amend by prohibiting the use of the Motor Corps in co-operation with other military units but did not succeed.

The bill was then passed 85 to 43.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Christensen, A.,	Enger,	Hammer,
Baxter,	Christianson, T.,	Erickson,	Harrison,
Bendixen,	Corning,	Frisch,	Herried,
Bernard,	Cullum,	Galewski,	Hinds,
Bouck,	Curtis,	Gill,	Hompe,
Briggs,	Darby,	Girling,	Howard,
Brophey,	DeLury,	Gislason, J. B.,	Hulbert,
Burrows,	Dilley,	Gleason,	Jacobson,
Carlson,	Dorweiler,	Grant,	Kelly,
Chirhart,	Emmons,	Hale,	Kingsley,

Lagersen,	Moen,	Praxel,	Swanson, S.J.
Lang,	Murphy,	Prince,	Swenson, O.A.
Lauderdale,	Neuman,	Putnam,	Teigen,
Lee,	Nimocks,	Rako,	Trowbridge,
Lennon, J. G.,	Nordgren,	Ross,	Warner,
Leonard,	Norton,	Schaleben,	West,
Levin,	Oberg,	Serline,	Wicker,
Long,	Oren,	Shanks,	Wilkinson,
McGivern,	Parker,	Shirley,	Mr. Speaker.
McGrath,	Pattison,	Sliter,	
McLaughlin,	Pedersen,	Smith,	
McPartlin,	Perry,	Solem,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson,	Green, H. M.,	Nelson, C. N.,	Sluke,
Arens,	Greene, T. J.,	Nelson, J. M.,	Spelbrink,
Arneson,	Haugland,	Nett,	Stahlke,
Berve,	Hitchcock,	Nordlin,	Strand,
Burdorf,	Hodapp,	Olson,	Swanson, J.,
Day,	Holmquist,	Pittenger,	Thorkelson,
Enstrom,	Iverson,	Rodenberg,	Urness,
Fawcett,	Johnson,	Ryan,	Waters,
Flahaven,	Lennon, A. L.,	Scherf,	Welch,
Gislason, C. M.	Manske,	Siegel,	Wicklund.
Goodspeed,	Miner,	Skaiem,	

Boyd, Sortedahl and Sudheimer did not vote.

From start to finish the opposition had been well organized and strong.

At the special public hearing the hostility was intense.

On Tuesday morning, when it was supposed the measure would come up for final passage, the capitol was crowded with at least 3,000 objectors, mostly members of organized labor. But they were not the only objectors. The organized farmers were a unit against the bill and many business and professional men looked upon it, especially in its original form, as a very dangerous machine of oppression and wholly contrary to the spirit of democracy.

It may safely be said that suppression never yet solved a problem. The Czar and the Kaiser tried it, long and efficiently, but failed completely.

Free speech, free press, free assembly are the safety valves established in our constitution by the forefathers, and we will do well to cherish and defend them. They are the only true antidote for political error.

If Socialism, anarchism or any other "ism" is right, then of course we all want to adopt it.

If it is wrong, then free and open discussion will soonest prove it wrong and dispel the error.

Persecution is the mother of converts, and error thrives on repression.

There is nothing like sunlight to dispel the miasma of the swamp; and the sunlight of truth will always cause error to slink away and disappear.

He who is afraid to submit his case to the arbitrament of free and open discussion is a coward and a tyrant, and

would not recognize **Democracy** is he should meet her on the open road in broad daylight.

### IN THE SENATE.

After it reached the Senate the Motor Corps bill steadily lost friends.

Senator Widell, for many years connected with the National Guard, strongly opposed it, as did all the officers and members of the National Guard.

### THE MILITARY CODE.

This bill was killed by the opposition of the National Guard.

Against it they brought the following objections:

I. It violated the rules of the House and Senate in that matter omitted from the present code was not printed in capitals, and new matter was not in italics, thus making it practically impossible to tell what changes in the present laws were proposed.

II. Instead of more closely conforming to the requirements of the federal statutes, as its title pretended, it really departed so far from those requirements as to endanger the federal aid.

III. It took the entire power of appointment of officers away from the guard itself and its officers, and created a great political machine in the hands of the Adjutant General and the Governor.

IV. It more than trebled the cost of maintaining the adjutant general's office and created a military autocracy.

As a result of this opposition the Senate indefinitely postponed the code bill and made some minor changes in the present statute to conform to the federal requirements.

The national guard also strongly opposed the plans for the motor corps and a Negro battalion because there were no armories to house them and because they would take money that the guard itself needed and ought to have.

### Orr Passes Negro Battalion Bill.

The last night of the session Senator Orr secured the passage of the House Bill permitting the organization of a Negro battalion.

The following senators voted against the bill: Boylan, Conroy, Devold, Johnson, Lee, Loonam, Romberg, Schmechel and Stephan.

Sixteen did not vote: Blomgren, Bonniwell, Calahan, Cashel, Erickson, Gandrud, Gjerset, Guilford, Larson, Naplen, Nord, Putnam, Ribenack, Rockne, Sageng, Swanson.

All others voted aye.

So out of a very ambitious military program this bill to permit the organization of a Negro battalion is all that came thru, and it is charged that this bill was "put over" on the Senate when they were napping, and that many did not know what they were voting on. It is the common custom the last day of the session to allow each senator to bring up some local bill, against which there is no objection. All



day the Senate had been working on this plan; and when Orr asked to suspend the rules and put H. L. 280 on its final passage, every one supposed it was some local bill. When they discovered they had passed the bill creating a Negro battalion, for which there is no room in the armories, nor any provision in the federal laws, several tried to undo what had been done, but it was too late. The law permits a Negro battalion to be organized but does not make it compulsory.

Why draw the color line at all?

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### THE SAFETY COMMISSION.

There was a very strong feeling all over the state against the Safety Commission, especially among the organized farmers and laborers.

One of the first bills introduced, H. F. No. 4, by Pittinger, proposed to abolish this Commission.

This bill was held in committee till after the middle of the session.

Pittinger then got it out and had it laid on the table.

Friday, April 11, Pittinger tried to suspend the rules so he could get a vote on his bill.

This would require 88 votes.

He could get only 65—43 against and 23 absent.

But on Monday, April 14, Gleason got the bill off the table and brought it to a vote with the following result. To abolish the Safety Commission, 107 to 12.

Anderson,	Gill,	Levin,	Scherf,
Arens,	Girling,	Long,	Serline,
Arneson,	Gislason, C. M.,	McGivern,	Shanks,
Baxter,	Gislason, J. B.,	McGrath,	Siegel,
Bendixen,	Gleason,	McLaughlin,	Skaiem,
Bernard,	Goodspeed,	McPartlin,	Sliter,
Berve,	Grant,	Manske,	Sluke,
Bouck,	Green, H. M.,	Miner,	Solem,
Boyd,	Hammer,	Moen,	Sortedahl,
Briggs,	Harrison,	Murphy,	Spelbrink,
Bürdorf,	Herreid,	Nelson, J. M.,	Stahlke,
Burrows,	Hinds,	Neuman,	Strand,
Carlson,	Hitchcock,	Nordgren,	Sudheimer,
Chirhart,	Hodapp,	Nordlin,	Swanson, J.,
Christensen, A.,	Holmquist,	Norton,	Swanson, S. J.,
Christianson, T.,	Hompe,	Olson,	Swenson, O. A.,
Corning,	Howard,	Oren,	Teigen,
Day,	Hulbert,	Pedersen,	Thorkelson,
Dilley,	Iverson,	Perry,	Trowbridge,
Dorweiler,	Jacobson,	Pittenger,	Urness,
Emmons,	Johnson,	Praxel,	Waters,
Enger,	Kingsley,	Prince,	West,
Enstrom,	Lagersen,	Putnam,	Wicker,
Erickson,	Lang,	Rako,	Wicklund,
Flahaven,	Lauderdale,	Rodenberg,	Wilkinson,
Frisch,	Lennon, A. L.,	Ross,	Mr. Speaker.
Galewski,	Leonard,	Ryan,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Darby,	Haugland,	Pattison,
Cullum,	Greene, T. J.,	Kelly,	Smith,
Curtis,	Hale,	Nelson, C. N.,	Warner.

Before passage the bill was so amended as to require the unexpended funds to be returned to the state treasury.

The argument for abolishing the Commission was this:  
The war is ended.

The work of the Commission is finished.

Why should it continue?

The money that is left can be used for better purposes.

It might come to life again after the end of this session.

The governor can revive it if he wishes under the statute creating the Commission.

#### In the Senate.

When the bill reached the Senate, Bessette moved to suspend the rules and put it on General Orders.

George Sullivan jumped to his feet and objected. He did not propose to see his pet scheme slaughtered if he could prevent it.

J. D. Sullivan moved to send the bill to the committee on Civil Administration.

The friends of the bill feared this would kill it, instead of providing for the funeral of the Safety Commission; but Carley, chairman, promised that his committee would report the bill back immediately and give plenty of time for the Senate to act.

The committee reported the House bill for indefinite postponement, with Carley, Bessette and Callahan objecting.

Saturday, April 19, this report came in and caused one of the hottest debates of the session.

George Sullivan made one of his most fiery speeches in defense of the Commission, practically branding as disloyal all who opposed him, the 107 House members included.

Other senators who defended the Commission were J. D. Sullivan, Benson, Nolan, Putnam and Gjerset.

Senator Carley said, "I voted with the minority in the committee, but I have now changed my mind. I am going to vote to keep the commission."

Senator Devold declared that labor wants this Commission abolished. "It has used its autocratic power against labor in defiance of the United States government. It stirred up trouble in both country and city. I can't help express my feelings when I see the State of Minnesota ruled by such a blackguard outfit."

The minority report to abolish the Commission was voted down, 13 yeas, 48 nays.

Six not voting. Cashel, Erickson, Fowler, Hamer, Johnson and Naplin.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson,	Conroy,	Lee,	Schmechel.
Bessette,	Devold,	Loonam,	
Boylan,	Dwyer,	Rask,	
Callahan,	Handlan,	Romberg,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Gandrud,	Lindsley,	Rockne,
Baldwin,	Gillam,	McGarry,	Sageng,
Benson,	Gjerset,	Madigan,	Stepan,
Blomgren,	Gooding,	Millett,	Sullivan, G.H.,
Bonniwell,	Guilford,	Nolan,	Sullivan, J. D.,
Brooks,	Hall,	Nord,	Swanson,
Carley,	Hegnes,	Orr,	Turnham,
Cliff,	Hopp,	Palmer,	Van Hoven,
Coleman,	Jackson,	Peterson,	Vibert,
Cosgrove,	Kingsbury,	Putnam,	Ward,
Cumming,	Kuntz,	Reed,	Widell,
Denegre,	Larson,	Ribenack,	Wold.

"Senator Rask of Blooming Prairie, where the Commission in closing saloons created a reign of terror thru its agents and special deputies, many of whom were charged with being drunk, when 150 or more innocent citizens were thrown into jail for not carrying draft cards—tho every person of draft age had his card—Senator Rask asked to be excused from voting on the final report in defense of the Commission. He had voted for the minority report to abolish."

#### A Study in Mass Psychology.

This bill furnished a good opportunity to study mass psychology.

In the House everything worked together for the repeal. No one defended the Safety Commission. No one gave it a brown roast. In fact, there was very little discussion. The general feeling was that the Commission had finished its work—some of it good and commendable—some of it the reverse. It should wind up its business and retire. In fact, it had been in a condition of almost "inocuous desuetude" ever since the legislature met, and it had made no report. Only 12 members voted to retain the Commission.

In the Senate the whole situation was just the opposite. George Sullivan made a fiery speech, roasting every opponent of the Commission as disloyal and a near traitor to his country. Putnam followed along the same line. J. D. Sullivan, Nolan, Gjerset and Benson tried to pour oil on the troubled water by insisting that the Commission had done much good, that it would wind up its affairs very soon anyway, and that to pass this bill now would be to slap the Commission in the face and encourage unrest and disloyalty.

Devold came back with an equally radical speech, denouncing the Commission as narrow, tyrannical and autocratic; that it had used its power to crush labor in defiance of the United States government; that it had stirred up trouble in both country and city; and that labor now demanded its abolition.

By this time the feeling was intense. Every factor in the situation was working to save the Commission, and only 13 senators voted to abolish it.

There were other occasions when the psychological atmosphere was just right. One was when the tonnage tax was defeated in the House. There is no doubt the bill would

have passed easily if it had been brought to a vote at the right moment—when Murphy and the iron interest could muster but fifteen votes for its indefinite postponement, but after the feeling against Murphy and the iron interests had cooled down, after the lobby had done its work on all who could be influenced, after a number of unpopular members had spoken for the bill, and some amendments had been voted down, the bill was defeated.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

#### REFORM or REPRESSION.

Shall we attempt to **crush** the rising tide of unrest when it stirs the common masses?

#### OR

Shall we try to search out the **causes** and remove them?

The Czar of Russia for several hundred years tried the policy of repression.

Where now is Russia and where is the Czar?

The Hohenzollerns of Prussia for sixty years studied to build up a system of autocracy that should enable Germany to conquer and rule the world.

But the Hohenzollerns and their junkers failed, and the end is not yet.

The house of Hapsburg applied the same principle to the conquered peoples who made up the Austro-Hungarian empire with equally disastrous results.

These are modern instances, but history is full of similar cases.

The French Revolution, the American Revolution, the revolt of the Spanish colonies of Central and South America, and every revolution that has racked those unhappy countries for the last hundred years—all were the result of repression and tyranny.

How slow are the people to learn!

With all the failures of the past to guide us, we still place our trust in repression.

We still imprison those who do not agree with us.

We still ostracise and crush those who do not conform.

We curse, condemn and try to suppress new ideas, rather than make the attempt to understand them.

We forget that every manifestation has its cause.

We neglect to study the causes and remove them, but try to kill off the effects with clubs and guns.

#### TWO THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT.

All thru the ages there have been two theories of government.

The one is repressive, tyrannical, autocratic, unlimited.

The other stands for equal political rights, equal industrial opportunities, no privileges, **FREEDOM**.

The one is based on the so-called divine right of kings, parliaments, congresses, legislatures and majorities.

The other is based on the **real divine** right of the people to be free, to have an equal chance and a square deal.

The one sees an evil and proposes to pass a law for-

bidding it, and enforce it with policeman's clubs, courts and prisons, armies, navies, submarines, guns and poison gas.

The other would remove the cause of the evil and let it die a natural death.

Every session sees many autocratic measures proposed and some of them pass.

### HOUSE FILE NO. 1—THE NIMOCKS RED FLAG BILL.

This bill as originally introduced by Mr. Nimocks is here printed in full, as an illustration of a number of things.

Only one member of the committee on military affairs, Mr. Nordlin, gave enough attention to the bill to realize what it would do if it became a law. All the others voted to recommend it for passage.

### STATE OF MINNESOTA.

Forty-First }  
Session }

H. F.

No. 1

Introduced by Frank E. Nimocks.

### SOUVENIR BILL

For an Act Prohibiting the Display of Certain Flags, Banners and Ensigns, and Providing Penalties for the Violation Thereof.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person to display within the State of Minnesota any flag, ensign, banner or standard except a flag of the United States, a standard, color or ensign of the United States or of the State of Minnesota, or of some State of the United States, or the flag of a friendly foreign nation, or of a dependency of a friendly foreign nation, a flag, pennant or banner of the Red Cross Society, or of any public school, any university, college, seminary of learning, college fraternity, church or religious organization.

Sec. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person to display within the State of Minnesota any red flag, or black flag, provided however, that the provisions of this act shall not prohibit the use of a red flag by any employee of a railroad company as a signal, or the display of a red flag on a public highway as a warning of obstruction.

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person to have in his possession, custody or control any red or black flag, or any picture, or facsimile thereof, whether printed, painted, stamped, carved or engraved on any card, paper or insignia, with intent to display the same in the State of Minnesota. The possession, or having of the same in possession or custody, of any such flag, or picture or

8 facsimile thereof, as above prohibited by any person, shall  
9 be deemed prima facie evidence of an intent on the part  
10 of the person so having the same in possession, custody  
11 or control to display the same within the State of Minne-  
12 sota.

Sec. 4. It shall be unlawful for any person to display  
2 any flag or banner, ensign or sign having upon it any in-  
3 scription antagonistic to the existing government of the  
4 United States, or the State of Minnesota.

Sec. 5. Any person violating the provisions of this act  
2 shall be guilty of a felony.

Now let us analyze this bill.

In section 1 it prohibits the display of **any** flag, ensign,  
banner or standard except certain ones.

As there are several "friendly foreign nations" whose  
flags are red, some of them plain red and some red with in-  
signia thereon, it seems that this section would not really  
prohibit the display of a red flag.

#### WHAT WOULD IT PROHIBIT?

It would prohibit "**any** flag, ensign, banner or standard"  
of **all fraternal societies** except "college fraternities."

It would prohibit **any** political party from carrying any  
transparencies or banners.

It would prohibit **any** temperance society from display-  
ing its banners or ensigns.

It would prohibit **any** town or county fair association  
from advertising with banners or standards.

It would prohibit **any** society of farmers or laborers from  
carrying in their parades any banners or standards whatever  
of the usual sort.

The reader may use his imagination to finish the list.

After this bill was reported out for passage, several  
members began to do some thinking.

Mr. Nimocks then decided to amend by cutting out all  
of section one, and also the words "prima facie" in section 3.

Sec. 2 (now Sec. 1) prohibits red flags **except** as a danger  
signal on a railroad or public highway and all "black flags."

What about auctioneers?

Must they change their flags or go to prison?

Sec. 3 (now Sec. 2) is also interesting.

What about people who have dictionaries in their homes  
or encyclopedias, or copies of the National Geographic Maga-  
zine for October, 1917?

All these contain colored plates of "red flags," "black  
flags" and all other flags, ensigns, banners, standards," pen-  
nants, etc.

Must we purge our homes and libraries of all these  
literary productions?

And what about Sec. 4 of the bill (now Sec. 3.)?

What does it mean?

Must we all carefully refrain from any attempt at criti-  
cism of the government?

Shall we dare carry banners advocating equal suffrage, initiative, referendum, recall, or any other change in the laws?

Surely no one will ever dare suggest amending the constitution, for that would certainly be "antagonistic to the existing government."

Only four men in the House voted against this amended bill, Enstrom, Miner, Pittenger and Strand.

Not a single senator voted against it, tho several did not vote.

What is the answer? What is the meaning?

Let each one find his own answer.

The act, even as amended, is probably unconstitutional.

Worst of all, it can easily be used by evil-minded persons or tyrannical officials to cause much trouble for ignorant or innocent persons.

Find some innocent Russian with a red flag in his possession; arrest him and send him to prison.

Charge your enemy with having "a picture or facsimile" of the red flag in a dictionary or encyclopedia.

Further comment is unnecessary.

The way this bill was jammed thru both houses was enough to shock any thoughtful friend of freedom.

Nimocks in the House and George Sullivan in the Senate, with an outburst of denunciation for any who were not "patriots" demanded that all who were "Americans" should vote for the bill, and nearly all obeyed.

Just where the Americanism of this bill comes in it is hard to see.

Perhaps many regarded it as a piece of harmless bombast; but statutes like this are never harmless. When used at all, they are used to oppress and to do grave injustice.

Another interesting bill of this kind reads as follows:

#### ANOTHER SAMPLE.

"Section 1. Any person who shall wilfully and maliciously make, circulate or transmit to another or others any statement, written, printed or by word of mouth, which is directly or by inference derogatory to the financial condition or affects the solvency or financial standing of any bank, savings bank, banking institution or trust company doing business in this State, or who shall counsel, aid, procure, or induce another to start, transmit or circulate any such statement, shall be guilty of a gross misdemeanor."

Each reader may study and make his own comment.

When this bill came up for passage the opposition was so intense that Mr. Briggs, chairman of the Banking Committee, moved to indefinitely postpone, and the House responded with a tremendous shout of approval."

Shortly before this the 14 Shafer banks had exploded.

Would any person have been a criminal who had hinted at the possible shakiness of any of these 14 banks if this law had been in force?

**PROTECTING PERSONAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.**

In strong contrast to these measures was the bill introduced by Mr. Siegel to protect the constitutional rights of citizens as guaranteed in the "Bill of Rights" of our state and national constitutions.

This bill was drawn by the eminent lawyer and statesman, Frank P. Walsh, joint chairman with Wm. H. Taft of the War Labor Board, and provided penalties for those who, thru mob violence or otherwise, deny, encroach upon, or interfere with, the reserved rights of the citizen.

It was impossible to get this bill out of the Judiciary Committee until very near the close of the session, and it could not be reached for final passage.

It is 143 years since the Declaration of Independence.

Are we forgetting that **Democracy** and **Americanism** stand for personal rights, and that governments have only such duties as are conferred upon them by the people?

Are we forgetting that "governments are instituted among men" to protect these personal rights?

**CHAPTER XV.****THE PROGRAM OF THE PROHIBITIONISTS.**

As explained in Chapter I there were two great organizations in Minnesota, each asking the same pledges from candidates and each doing all possible to arouse the people to vote for state-wide prohibition.

One of these organizations was the Anti-Saloon League, whose superintendent and leader in Minnesota is Rev. Geo. B. Safford.

The other was composed of practically all other temperance societies in the state and was known as the Minnesota Dry Federation.

Ex-Governor S. R. Van Sant was president of this Dry Federation and Ex-Senator Richard Jones was superintendent and general manager.

The temperance forces secured a large majority in both branches of the legislature, but failed to carry the prohibition amendment to the state constitution—not that they couldn't secure a majority of those who voted on this questions; (they had a majority of more than 16,000) but because to amend the constitution it requires that a clear majority of all the electors voting at the election on all candidates shall vote "yes" on the amendment.

Every person so stupid, so careless, so ignorant, so neglectful that he does not vote at all on an amendment is carefully counted as voting "No"—counted just the same as the most intelligent voter in the state who takes special pains to educate himself on the scope and meaning of the amendment, and then carefully marks his ballot to register his mature judgment.

Do you wonder how the constitution of the state ever got tied up in this way?

It was done by the liquor interests twenty-two years



ago when they controlled the legislature about as completely as they do not control it now.

One of the earliest measures of the session was a joint resolution for the ratification of the "federal dry amendment" introduced into the House by J. O. Haugland of Montevideo.

Tuesday, January 16, the temperance committee of the Senate brought in a joint resolution ratifying this amendment and Mr. Peterson moved to suspend the rules and put the resolution on its final passage.

Only eight senators voted against suspending the rules and one of these voted later to pass the resolution.

There was no debate, and on roll call the Senate voted 48 to 11 to pass the resolution and ratify the federal amendment.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Fowler,	Larson,	Reed,
Anderson,	Gandrud,	Lee,	Ribenack,
Baldwin,	Gillam,	McGarry,	Rockne,
Benson,	Gjerset,	Madigan,	Sageng,
Bessette,	Guilford,	Millett,	Schmechel,
Blomgren,	Hall,	Naplin,	Stepan,
Carley,	Hamer,	Nolan,	Swanson,
Cashel,	Hegnes,	Nord,	Vibert,
Cliff,	Hopp,	Orr,	Ward,
Cumming,	Jackson,	Peterson,	Widell,
Denegre,	Johnson,	Putnam,	Wilcox,
Erickson,	Kingsbury,	Rask,	Wold,

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bonniwell,	Devold,	Kuntz,	Sullivan,
Brooks,	Dwyer,	Loonam,	Van Hoven.
Callahan,	Handlan,	Romberg,	

Senators Weis and Wallace had died since the opening of the session. Senators Gooding and Lindsley were absent on sick leave; and the following did not vote: Boylan, Conroy, Palmer and Turnham. Boylan says he would have voted "No." All the others were supposed to favor the resolution.

The House was in session and ready to pass the resolution, but it was delayed and the House adjourned, there being no more business at the Speakers' desk.

This was a great disappointment to the temperance people who had hoped that Minnesota would ratify soon enough to be one of the necessary 36 to make the amendment effective.

Before the next morning 39 states had ratified, making Minnesota the fortieth to declare for national prohibition.

When this resolution came up in the House January 17th there was very little discussion. The representatives of the liquor interests were very few in number, most of those voting against the resolution coming from wet districts and thus representing their constituents.

The resolution was passed 92 to 36, as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Baxter,	Berve,	Brophey,
Anderson,	Bendixen,	Boyd,	Burrows,
Arneson,	Bernard,	Briggs,	Carlson,

Christianson, T.,	Harrison,	Murphy,	Sluke,
Corning,	Haugland,	Nelson, C. N.,	Smith,
Cullum,	Herried,	Nelson, J. M.,	Solem,
Curtis,	Hinds,	Neuman,	Sortedahl,
Darby,	Hitchcock,	Nordgren,	Strand,
Day,	Hodapp,	Norton,	Sudheimer,
Dorweiler,	Holmquist,	Oberg,	Swanson, J.,
Emmons,	Hompe,	Olson,	Swanson, S. J.,
Enger,	Howard,	Oren,	Swenson, O. A.,
Enstrom,	Hulbert,	Parker,	Teigen,
Erickson,	Iverson,	Pedersen,	Thorkelson,
Fawcett,	Jacobson,	Prince,	Trowbridge,
Frisch,	Johnson,	Putnam,	Urness,
Galewski,	Kelly,	Rako,	Warner,
Gill,	Kingsley,	Ross,	Wicker,
Gislason, C. M.,	Lagersen,	Schaleben,	Wicklund,
Gislason, J. B.,	Lee,	Serline,	Wilkinson,
Goodspeed,	Lenoard,	Shanks,	Mr. Speaker.
Grant,	McGrath,	Shirley,	
Green, H. M.,	McPartlin,	Skaiem,	
Hale,	Moen,	Sliter,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Arens,	Greene, T. J.,	Miner,	Scherf,
Bouck,	Hammer,	Nett,	Seigel,
Burdorf,	Lang,	Nordlin,	Spelbrink,
Chirhart,	Lennon, A. L.,	Pattison,	Stahlke,
Christensen, A.,	Lennon, J. G.,	Perry,	Swensen, E.,
Dilley,	Long,	Pittenger,	Waters,
Flahaven,	McGivern,	Praxel,	Welch,
Girling,	McLaughlin,	Rodenberg,	West.
Gleason,	Manske,	Ryan,	

DeLury, Levin and Nimocks had been excused. Nimocks is wet, the other two dry.

Mr. Johnson voted "no" by mistake, and was later given permission to have the records show that he intended to vote "yes."

There were a few surprises.

Many Minneapolis drys claimed that John G. Lennon had promised to vote for ratification.

### THE DRY ZONE BILL.

Red Lake county voted wet under county option. It was the only wet territory in all northwestern Minnesota.

It became the Mecca of all the thirsty from many miles around and was, as a consequence, a breeding place for crimes and accidents and all iniquities.

During the war the sale of liquor had been prohibited there by the Safety Commission; but after the armistice was signed and the legislature had met, the Safety Commission rescinded that prohibitive order along with many others and turned the whole matter over to the law makers.

Senator Cumming of Polk, Naplin of Pennington and Peterson of Clay tried to secure the passage of a bill cre-

ating a dry zone of fifty miles around any Indian reservation, the object being to prevent the sale of liquor in Red Lake county, which is within fifty miles of the Red Lake Indian Reservation.

The following members of the temperance committee signed the report for indefinite postponement: J. C. Blomgren, Fred D. Vibert, E. R. Bibenack, Frank L. Romberg and Peter Van Hoven.

Iver J. Lee and F. H. Peterson brought in a minority report favoring passage.

After considerable discussion in which J. D. Sullivan, Putnam and others spoke at length against the bill and Peterson, Cumming, Sageng, Hamer and Swanson for it, the bill was defeated, 23 for, 40 against.

Those who voted for the bill were:

Benson,	Hall,	Larson,	Peterson,
Cliff,	Hamer,	Lee,	Sageng,
Coleman,	Hegnes,	Madigan,	Swanson,
Cumming,	Jackson,	Naplin,	Turnham,
Gandrud,	Johnson,	Nolan,	Wold.
Guilford,	Kingsbury,	Palmer,	

Those who voted against the bill were:

Adams,	Cashel,	Hopp,	Ribenack,
Anderson,	Conroy,	Kuntz,	Rockne,
Baldwin,	Cosgrove,	Loonam,	Romberg,
Bessette,	Denegre,	McGarry,	Schmechel,
Blomgren,	Devold,	Millett,	Stepan,
Bonniwell,	Erickson,	Nord,	Sullivan, G.H.,
Boylan,	Fowler,	Orr,	Sullivan, J.D.,
Brooks,	Gillam,	Putnam,	Van Hoven,
Callahan,	Gjerset,	Rask,	Vibert,
Carley,	Handlan,	Reed,	Widell.

The following were absent and not voting: Dwyer, Gooding, Lindsley and Ward. Ward and Gooding were sick.

## TO ENFORCE THE FEDERAL DRY AMENDMENT.

Representatives Putnam and Moen introduced a bill to make the federal dry amendment effective.

This bill prohibited all beverages above one-half of one per cent alcohol.

When the bill came up for final passage in the House March 14th, Pattison of St. Cloud and Briggs of Pipestone offered an amendment allowing beverages of not more than two per cent of alcohol by weight at 60 degrees Fahrenheit.

This amendment was debated for nearly three hours.

Pattison contended that Canada permits the sale of two per cent beer, Norway 2½ per cent, Sweden 3 per cent, Denmark 2¼ per cent, and declared that if people cannot get drinks like this they will brew heavier drinks at home.

Then, in order to suppress such drinking, the authorities would have to raid our homes; and no American community would tolerate inquisition into their home affairs.

Corning opposed the amendment. "It simply means the resurrection of John Barleycorn. A person can get just as

drunk on 2 per cent beer as on 4 per cent or more. All he needs to do is to drink more of it."

Parker declared this bill with its one-half of one per cent limitation is in the interest of the young. The old toper would have hard work to get drunk on 2 per cent beer, but not so the boy.

Léonard pleaded for a market for the farmers' barley and Teigen replied by saying that he could make more by feeding the barley to his hogs and cattle.

A unique defense for 2 per cent beer was made by Representative O. E. Hammer, Stewartville, veteran wet.

He asserted he would vote for the amendment on "broad, moral grounds for the uplift of humanity."

Bone-dry prohibition encourages illicit manufactures of intoxicating liquors, and would increase the number of moonshiners, bootleggers and other lawbreakers," he said. "No woman or child can get intoxicated on the 2 per cent alcohol beverage."

Serline showed that 2 per cent by weight meant considerably more than 2 per cent by volume as alcohol is lighter than water.

Christianson raised another objection.

"Enforcement is the heart of this question. You find people who are drunk—you must then find where they got their liquor. If you legalize the sale of 2 per cent beer it will be impossible to enforce the law."

Moen answered Hammer by saying that the past had proved that it is harder to enforce laws regulating the traffic; and if you permit the sale of 2 per cent beer you will have the saloons and you must regulate them.

"The national government draws the line at one-half of one per cent. Let us conform. Perhaps the gentleman from Olmstead could not get drunk on 2 per cent beer, but our boys could.

Neuman declared that the people would vote for 2 per cent beer.

A. L. Lennon made a plea in behalf of the laborers who will be thrown out of their jobs if we close all the breweries. They oppose prohibition. They favor this amendment:

McPartlin made a long and eloquent speech in favor of the amendment, recounting his experience as a prosecuting officer trying to clean out blind pigs in dry territory. Don't leave it to the home brewers. They generate a more dangerous poison. Two per cent beer is safe in Canada; why not here?

Putnam raised a laugh by his brief but pointed speech.

"I am a farmer. I raise barley. I also raise hogs and cattle. I have raised some boys. I feed barley to the hogs and cattle, and give the boys better food than can be made from barley. I am proud of my hogs and cattle and I am also proud of my boys. The Dairy and Food department tells us that all near beer now sold contains less than one-half of one per cent alcohol."

Iverson demanded the previous question but was voted down, 50 to 49.

Norton then took the floor and made a thoro summary of the whole argument against the amendment to let in 2 per cent beer. He declared this would throw the door wide open again all over the state, re-establish the saloon, and bring back all the evils of brewers and liquor sellers in politics.

When the vote was taken the amendment was lost, 55 to 72.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Arens,	Gleason,	McLaughlin,	Rodenberg,
Bouck,	Greene, T. J.,	McPartlin,	Ross,
Boyd,	Hammer,	Miner,	Ryan,
Briggs,	Hinds,	Murphy,	Schaleben,
Burdorf,	Hitchcock,	Nett,	Scherf,
Burrows,	Hodapp,	Neuman,	Siegel,
Chirhart,	Johnson,	Nimocks,	Spebrink,
Christensen, A.,	Lang,	Nordlin,	Stahlke,
Dilley,	Lennon, A. L.,	Pattison,	Swenson, O. A.,
Flahaven,	Lennon, J. G.,	Perry,	Warner,
Frisch,	Leonard,	Pittenger,	Waters,
Galewski,	Long,	Praxel,	Welch,
Gill,	McGivern,	Prince,	West.
Girling,	McGrath,	Rako,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Enstrom,	Kelly,	Shanks,
Anderson,	Erickson,	Kingsley,	Shirley,
Arneson,	Fawcett,	Lagersen,	Skaiem,
Baxter,	Gislason, C. M.,	Lauderdale,	Sluke,
Bendixen,	Gislason, J. B.,	Levin,	Smith,
Bernard,	Goodspeed,	Manske,	Solem,
Berve,	Grant,	Moen,	Sortedahl,
Brophey,	Green, H. M.,	Nelson, C. N.,	Strand,
Carlson,	Hale,	Nelson, J. M.,	Sudheimer,
Christianson, T.,	Harrison,	Nordgren,	Swanson, J.,
Corning,	Haugland,	Norton,	Swanson, S. J.,
Curtis,	Herreid,	Oberg,	Teigen,
Darby,	Holmquist,	Olson,	Thorkelson,
Day,	Hompe,	Oren,	Trowbridge,
DeLury,	Howard,	Parker,	Urnss,
Dorweiler,	Hulbert,	Pedersen,	Wicker,
Emmons,	Iverson,	Putnam,	Wicklund,
Enger,	Jacobson,	Serline,	Wilkinson.

Cullum, Lee and Sliter did not vote; excused.

Girling tried to amend so that the law should not go into force if the United States Supreme Court declared the federal dry amendment invalid, but failed, 50 to 72.

Dilley wanted to refer the bill and all proposed amendments to the Judiciary committee but lost 49 to 71.

Scherf tried to amend so as to exempt flavoring extracts, soda water flavors, perfumes, toilet preparations and patent medicines, but was voted down by a large majority, viva voce.

The bill was then passed, 83 to 44.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Gill,	Lauderdale,	Shirley,
Anderson,	Gislason, J. B.,	Levin,	Skaiem,
Arneson,	Goodspeed,	McGivern,	Sluke,
Baxter,	Grant,	Manske,	Smith,
Bendixen,	Green, H. M.,	Moen,	Solem,
Bernard,	Hale,	Nelson, C. N.,	Sortedahl,
Berve,	Harrison,	Nelson, J. M.,	Strand,
Brophey,	Haugland,	Nordgren,	Sudheimer,
Carlson,	Herreid,	Norton,	Swanson, J.,
Christianson, T.,	Hinds,	Oberg,	Swanson, S. J.,
Corning,	Hitchcock,	Olson,	Swenson, O. A.,
Curtis,	Hodapp,	Oren,	Teigen,
Darby,	Holmquist,	Parker,	Thorkelson,
Day,	Hompe,	Pedersen,	Trowbridge,
DeLury,	Howard,	Prince,	Urness,
Dorweiler,	Hulbert,	Putnam,	Warner,
Emmons,	Iverson,	Rako,	Wicker,
Enger,	Jacobson,	Ross,	Wicklund,
Enstrom,	Kelly,	Schaleben,	Wilkinson,
Erickson,	Kingsley,	Serline,	Mr. Speaker.
Fawcett,	Lagersen,	Shanks,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Arens,	Girling,	McGrath,	Pittenger,
Bouck,	Gislason, C. M.,	McLaughlin,	Raxel,
Briggs,	Gleason,	McPartlin,	Rodenberg,
Burdorf,	Greene, T. J.,	Miner,	Ryan,
Burrows,	Hammer,	Murphy,	Scherf,
Chirhart,	Johnson,	Nett,	Siegel,
Christensen, A.,	Lang,	Neuman,	Spelbrink,
Dilley,	Lennon, A. L.,	Nimocks,	Stahlke,
Flahaven,	Lennon, J. G.,	Nordlin,	Waters,
Frisch,	Leonard,	Pattison,	Welch,
Galewski,	Long,	Perry,	West.

Cullum, Lee and Sliter were absent, excused; and Boyd did not vote.

The temperance committee of the Senate amended this bill so as to protect the makers of extracts, liniments, etc., and then voted 5 to 3 to permit the sale of beer containing 2 per cent of alcohol by weight, 2.54 per cent by bulk, at wholesale and at retail by hotels and restaurants.

Ribenack, Romberg, Van Hoven, Vibert and Ward favored the 2 per cent beer. Blomgren, Gooding, Lee and Peterson opposed.

The whole matter came to an end Wednesday, April 4.

First Carley moved to amend the 2 per cent beer provision so as to prohibit all sales by either wholesalers or retailers, leaving only the manufacturers who would be permitted to sell in amounts not less than two gallons, and not to be drunk on the premises.

Carley explained that his object was to cut out all possibility of blind pigs.

The wets promptly accepted Carley's amendment.

John D. Sullivan then made a long appeal to the Senate

to be fair and permit those who wanted beer in their homes to be able to get it.

He insisted that 2 per cent beer was not intoxicating, and read many opinions from experts to prove his contention.

Adams and Hall declared that this would allow the brewers to establish agencies in every town and village; that they would violate the law and sell heavier drinks, and it would be impossible to convict.

Peterson answered Sullivan by reading expert opinions that this beer would be intoxicating. Forty-five of the 48 states have ratified the federal amendment. Only three small states remain in the wet column, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Jersey. This is more than a protest against the saloon. The people are determined to get rid of the entire evil.

Palmer and Hamer made brief telling speeches against 2 per cent. Palmer was proud of the state of his birth—Michigan—where the people by a majority of 90,000 had voted bone-dry—no alcohol at all.

Guilford: "I am opposed to this amendment. It is an attempt to open up a question that has been settled. Congress says  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. In Alaska no alcohol at all. In District of Columbia not more than 1 per cent. The people of Minnesota, by more than 16,000 majority, voted dry, and that vote didn't mean 2 per cent beer which contains almost as much alcohol as what has been sold for the past two years.

Sageng closed the debate. He insisted that small breweries would start up everywhere to make and sell to consumers at wholesale. The people have spoken. Let the verdict remain. Don't open the back door and let in an evil almost as bad as the saloon. Two per cent beer will create an appetite. The beer now sold, which the country has voted out is only 2.75 per cent bulk. This so-called 2 per cent beer by weight is 2.54 per cent by bulk. What a small difference.

Schmechel offered an amendment that would permit any priest, pastor, or minister of any church to purchase wine for sacramental purposes from outside the state. He wanted them to be able to get the "pure stuff." This was agreed to by all parties. Two per cent was killed by a vote of 27 for, 39 against, as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Baldwin,	Conroy,	Loonam,	Rockne,
Bessette,	Devold,	McGarry,	Romberg,
Bonniwell,	Dwyer,	Millett,	Stepan,
Boylan,	Fowler,	Nord,	Sullivan, J.D.,
Brooks,	Handlan,	Rask,	Van Hoven,
Callahan,	Kingsbury,	Reed,	Vibert.
Carley,	Kuntz,	Ribenack,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Cliff,	Denegre,	Gjerset,
Benson,	Coleman,	Erickson,	Gooding,
Blomgren,	Cosgrove,	Gandrud,	Guilford,
Cashel,	Cumming,	Gillam,	Hall,

Hamer,	Lee,	Palmer,	Swanson,
Hegnes,	Lindsley,	Peterson,	Turnham,
Hopp,	Madigan,	Putnam,	Ward,
Jackson,	Naplin,	Sageng,	Widell,
Johnson,	Nolan,	Schmechel,	Wold.
Larson,	Orr,	Sullivan,G.H.,	

Senator Anderson had been excused on account of sickness.

Ward had voted in committee for 2 per cent beer but voted against it on this roll call.

George H. Sullivan, for 12 years wet leader, voted **no**. His county voted dry last November.

The House bill then passed with only eleven votes against it. Bessette, Bonniwell, Boyland, Callahan, Conroy, Dwyer, Kingsbury, Kuntz, Loonam, Sullivan, J. D., Van Hoven.

This ends the contest of many years for a dry state.

No, the contest is not ended.

The law is passed.

The legalized saloon and the liquor traffic are outlawed. That is all. Enforcement is now the problem.

### ANOTHER CONTEST.

Another great contest is yet unfinished—the educational contest—the contest to teach the people how to so live that they shall be free from the craving for stimulants.

Getting rid of the saloon with its ever-present temptation to the young and thoughtless will do much; but merely prohibiting an evil never yet cured it.

Not until children are well born, with pure blood and strong constitutions,—not until they are reared thru infancy, childhood and youth with clean, strong bodies, clear-thinking minds and high ideals—not until people learn the importance of plain, wholesome food, pure air to breathe, clear water to drink,—not until the fathers and mothers and their medical and spiritual advisers learn to cast out stimulants, narcotics, drugs and appetizers of every sort and kind, and rely on plain, simple living, will the day of real temperance dawn in the world.

### Evils That Lead to Craving.

Tea and coffee and highly spiced foods are frequently given to young children.

Cheap candies and soda fountain slop extend and intensify the craving among school children, whose lives are pitched to a key of intense excitement. Then tobacco comes in to help.

Our entire civilization, with its unnatural conditions of poverty and luxury, of grinding drudgery and luxurious idleness, all based on privilege for a few and lack of opportunity for the many,—all these make the prospect for real intelligent sobriety look dark and doubtful.

But education has done much and intelligent study will do the rest.

The doctors must be educated away from their drugs



and dope, the ministers and priests from their fermented wine, and the ignorant from their patent medicines.

No, the day of real sobriety is not here yet, but it is coming rapidly, and the forces that have done so much to rid the world of the drink evil ought to be powerful agents for the new education.

## CHAPTER XVI. MEDICAL MATTERS.

### The Chiropractors.

For many years the Chiropractors have been asking to be permitted to practice their profession on the same terms as other schools of healing.

It is hard for a new idea to gain recognition from government.

Governments are naturally very conservative; and, tho they are based on the idea of equal rights to all, it is pretty hard for new methods to get the necessary legislative action to let them in on the same terms with those that are already in.

For a long time the Allopaths were the only doctors who had the legal right to practice.

Then, after a most bitter contest, the Homeopaths were permitted to use their knowledge **legally** in ministering to the sick.

But Osteopaths and Chiropractors were still outside the pale and were persecuted, arrested and imprisoned for the "crime" of healing the sick "without license."

Later the Osteopaths proved that their methods cured far more patients than the regulars did, and the door was opened to them.

About this time the courts began to rule that the Chiropractors, Christian Scientists and others were not "**practicing medicine**" in that they did not "**administer drugs**"; so the persecution mostly ceased, tho within a year or two, a few have been arrested here and there.

Very many people testify to the good results from treatment by these healers who do not give drugs, but who get results.

And now the Chiropractors have gained full legal rights. They are no longer "criminals" when they heal the sick and cure the halt and lame.

Thursday, March 6th, their bill passed the Senate with only two votes against it—Coleman and Widell.

The bill had passed the House February 10, with only Dilley against it.

### County Boards of Health.

In strong contrast to this liberal measure was the bill "for an act to establish County Board of Health" to authorize them to appoint county physicians and county dentists and to levy taxes for the support thereof.

This bill aroused intense and widespread opposition.

The Christian Scientists, the Homeopaths, the Osteopaths

and all others outside the regulars, filled the House chamber and the galleries at a public hearing to enter their protest.

First, they claimed that the bill would result in the appointment of only Allopaths to these positions and objected especially to the provision that all these county physicians and dentists must be approved by the state board of health, before they could enter upon their duties.

Second, they contended that the powers granted were too sweeping and autocratic.

Third, that their powers of taxation—1 mill on the dollar of valuation—would give them, in some counties at least, an enormous fund, far in excess of any possible needs, in Hennepin county more than \$200,000.

Henry Deutsch, representing the Christian Scientists, was the first speaker, and before he had gone more than about half way thru the bill, its sponsors, Warner in the House and Swanson in the Senate, offered to withdraw the bill, saying they had not drawn it, and had given it only cursory study. They did not realize its objectionable features and would not vote for it.

Thus ended the attempt of what was called "the inner ring of the American Medical Association" to foist its "iron-clad monopoly" on the people of Minnesota.

As one opponent put it. "The people must be constantly on the alert against the attempts of that ring of medical politicians to establish a tyrannical medical autocracy as bad as anything the Kaiser had ever put over."

"What the people really need at the head of their health departments is a class of men or women, who are students of the laws of health—not givers of drugs and serums.

"Teach the people hygiene, dietetics, the importance of fresh air and exercise, and the conservation of their vital forces, and the drug givers and operators will then have very little business."

A new bill with all the objectionable features amended out was introduced into the Senate but was killed in committee.

### **Curbing the Medics.**

Later came a measure "to prohibit compulsory medical examinations and treatment, including dental and surgical," without personal consent or "the consent of parents or guardians, and prescribing remedies against and penalties for, violation thereof."

This bill, introduced into the House by Mr. Rodenberg, was given a public hearing Thursday evening, March 27, and the capitol was packed almost to suffocation with men and women from all over the state who had come to urge its passage.

Tuesday morning, April 1, it came up for final passage, and a most vigorous attempt was made to kill it.

Corning declared that he believed in medical freedom and all other freedom that does not interfere with public welfare.

**BUT**

"This bill takes all power away from the health authorities over contagious and infectious diseases."

Adams thought it would relieve all children from school attendance.

Rodenberg and Hompe explained that all the bill was intended to do was to recognize the personal rights of adults and the rights of parents to their children.

The state must conform its health regulations to these principles.

First of all, the child belongs to its parents, and men and women belong to themselves.

Rodenberg quoted the Declaration of Independence to show that governments are established to protect these personal rights, and whenever they fail to do so it is not democracy but Prussianism and tyranny.

As finally amended and passed, its sponsors claimed that it would in no way unduly hamper the work of school nurses or health officers in the performance of their proper duties; but it would protect personal rights.

Harrison insisted that it would curb, and ought to curb, "the tyrannical usurpations of the state health department under Dr. Bracken."

Levin declared that all the bill proposed to do was to permit people to choose their own doctors for themselves and their children.

Hammer insisted that the child had no power to decide for itself. "Shall we allow the parents to decide or the regularly constituted authorities?" He pleaded for the same governmental control as in war. "The same principle should apply as in the draft."

Eighty-one voted for the bill.

Anderson,	Gleason,	Miner,	Solem,
Arens,	Green, H. M.,	Murphy,	Sortedahl,
Arneson,	Harrison,	Nelson, J. M.,	Spelbrink,
Bendixen,	Herreid,	Neuman,	Stahlke,
Bernard,	Hodapp,	Nimocks,	Strand,
Bouck,	Hompe,	Nordgren,	Sudheimer,
Boyd,	Howard,	Nordlin,	Swanson, J.,
Briggs,	Hulbert,	Norton,	Swanson, S. J.,
Brophey,	Johnson,	Oren,	Teigen,
Burdorf,	Kelly,	Pedersen,	Thorkelson,
Burrows,	Kingsley,	Perry,	Trowbridge,
Cullum,	Lang,	Pittinger,	Warner,
Curtis,	Lauderdale,	Praxel,	Waters,
Day,	Lennon, A. L.,	Rodenberg,	Welch,
Dilley,	Leonard,	Ross,	West,
Enger,	Levin,	Ryan,	Wicklund,
Enstrom,	Long,	Scherf,	Wilkinson,
Fawcett,	McGrath,	Serline,	Mr. Speaker.
Flahaven,	McLaughlin,	Siegel,	
Frisch,	McPartlin,	Skaiem,	
Girling,	Manske,	Sliter,	

The forty-five who voted in the negative were:

Adams,	Erickson,	Jacobson,	Rako,
Baxter,	Gill,	Lee,	Schaleben,
Berve,	Gislason, C. M.,	McGivern,	Shanks,
Carlson,	Gislason, J. B.,	Moen,	Shirley,
Chirhart,	Goodspeed,	Nelson, C. N.,	Sluke,
Christensen, A.,	Grant,	Nett,	Smith,
Christianson, T.,	Hale,	Oberg,	Swenson, O. A.,
Corning,	Hammer,	Olson,	Urness,
Darby,	Haugland,	Parker,	Wicker.
DeLury,	Hinds,	Pattison,	
Dorweiler,	Hitchcock,	Prince,	
Emmons,	Holmquist,	Putnam,	

Galewski, Iverson and J. G. Lennon were absent, excused, and T. J. Greene did not vote.

Several of those voting in the negative feared the act would interfere with legitimate school work.

The bill died on the Senate calendar.

## DO GERMS CAUSE DISEASE?

### DR. FRAZER'S CHALLENGE.

As illustrating the trend of thought along lines relating to disease, its cause and prevention, the following extracts from an article denying that germs cause disease, from the pen of Dr. John B. Frazer, M. D., C. M., of Toronto, is worth considering:

The first experiment made was taking fifty thousand diphtheria germs in water, and after a few days suspense and no sign of the disease it was considered that the danger had passed.

In the second experiment one hundred and fifty thousand diphtheria germs were used in milk, and again no signs of diphtheria appeared.

In the third experiment over one million diphtheria germs were used in food without producing any sign of the disease.

In the fourth experiment millions of diphtheria germs were swabbed over the tonsils and soft palate, under the tongue, and in the nostrils, and still no evidence of the disease was discernible. As these results were very satisfactory it was decided to test out some other kind of germs. A series of tests were made with pneumonia germs in which millions of germs were used in milk, water, bread, potatoes, meat, etc., and although persistent efforts were made to coax them to develop absolutely no sign of the disease appeared.

Another series of painstaking experiments was carried out with typhoid germs, especial care being taken to infect distilled water, natural milk (not pasteurized), bread, meat, fish, potatoes, etc., etc., with millions of the most vigorous germs that could be incubated, and but for the knowledge that they had been taken, one would have known nothing about it.

Another series of tests were made with the dreaded meningitis germs, and as the germs are believed to develop

mainly in the mucus membranes of the nostrils, especial pains were taken to swab millions of the germs over the floor and sides of the nostrils, into the turbinated sinuses, over the tonsils, under the tongue, and back of the throat. In addition to these tests other tests were made in food and drink—millions of germs in each case, and yet no trace of the disease appeared.

The experiments with tuberculosis germs were carried out in a different way—more time was given between the experiments so as to allow the germs to develop; for clinical evidence has shown that this disease may remain latent, or imperfectly developed for months. Consequently it meant months of watching and waiting before one could be positive that the germs would not develop.

Here again millions of germs were used in water, milk, and food of various kinds; every facility was given for the germs to develop as far as time and virility, numbers, and variety of food and drink was concerned; and as almost five years has elapsed since the experiment with T. B. began and no evidence of the disease has appeared I think we are justified in the belief that the germs are harmless. In addition to those experiments combinations of germs were used, such as typhoid and pneumonia, meningitis and typhoid, pneumonia and diphtheria, etc., etc., but no evidence of disease followed.

During the years 1914-15-16-17-18 over one hundred and fifty experiments were carried out carefully and scientifically and yet absolutely no signs of disease followed. Bearing in mind these undoubted facts the question has been asked, "What effect would it have on the health, comfort and pocket of our citizens, if the germ theory was discarded today?"

Now in view of the indisputable fact that germs can be taken with impunity, and the comfort and health of the public is at stake, we offer the following:

### OPEN CHALLENGE

We hereby challenge any State Board of Health in the United States, or Provincial Board of Health in Canada, to test out the danger of typhoid, diphtheria, tuberculosis, meningitis or pneumonia germs in air, food, water or milk; but ask for two provisos, viz., that the germs be fresh, vigorous and true to name; and the tests be open to the public.

### CHAPTER XVII.

#### THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

If the early settlers of Minnesota had been as wise as are the people of today, what a wonderful heritage they might have saved for their children and others of a later generation!

Instead of protecting the timber forests and conserving them for the use of the people for all coming generations, they permitted them to be exploited for the benefit of a few lumbermen, who cut out the best of the pine and left the

slashings to furnish fuel for forest fires that destroyed millions upon millions of dollars' worth of growing timber.

In many cases the lumbermen did not even pay the small taxes imposed by the state; but, having stripped the land of its timber, they allowed it to revert to the state for unpaid taxes.

### **IRON ORE.**

No one thought in those early days, that northern Minnesota contained any iron, much less that here were the richest mines in the world; so no provision was made for securing these mineral rights for the state and the people.

The minerals went with the land and the timber and the people lost their heritage.

No provision even was made for retaining title to such lands as had reverted to the state for non-payment of taxes; so that, when iron was found, the title owners came back and paid up just so much of their delinquent taxes as would protect their ownership, and thus became the owners of the iron ore deposited there by Nature in the making of the world.

Surely our early settlers took little thought for those who were to come after them.

How much better is hindsight than foresight!

### **WHAT IS LEFT?**

The folly of the fathers should be the wisdom of the sons.

There is no use in wasting time weeping over their mistakes.

There is much that may yet be done.

### **THE FORESTS.**

Whatever forests still belong to the state should be carefully conserved.

The land should not be sold; and only such timber should be cut as will grow less valuable with time.

The principles of forestry that are so successfully applied in the older countries should be studied and adapted to our needs.

Much privately owned timber land has reverted to the state for failure to pay taxes. All such land should become the permanent property of the state, to be added to the state forests. This would require some changes in the laws relating to redemption from tax sales.

It would be wise for the state to condemn and take over such of the privately owned lands as are only fit for reforestation.

### **FIRE PROTECTION.**

In connection with forestry a better system of fire protection should be established.

All who cut timber should be required to burn their slashings at a time when it will not endanger the surrounding forest.

All engines hauling trains thru the forests should be required to use spark arresters, and should not be permitted to drop cinders where they can start fires.

An acreage tax should be levied on all lands protected to meet the expense of maintaining the fire service.

The settlers would be glad to pay this tax and the speculators should be forced to pay. Of course the state should pay the same per acre for protection of its lands.

#### PEAT LANDS.

No peat lands that belong to the state should be sold. They may be worth millions in time if they are kept for the benefit of all instead of being sold for little or nothing to private speculators.

#### SWAMP LANDS.

The great stretches of swamp lands should not be drained until needed for use.

They are very valuable as reservoirs to hold back the waters and let them out slowly for the benefit of water power and navigation.

#### MINERAL RIGHTS.

It is now the policy of the state to reserve all mineral rights.

But this is not enough.

Private owners of large tracts of timber and other lands are selling the surface to settlers and reserving all mineral rights. Then in many cases, when the state taxes these reserved rights, the taxes are not paid. The rights revert to the state, but the state does not really get them. If any minerals are discovered, the delinquents then come in, pay up what they must, and again become the owners. A slight change in the laws could provide that the state shall become the owner of these mineral rights, in one or two years after failure to pay taxes.

This would be much better for the settler who owns the surface rights than under the present system.

The vital thing is that the minerals should become the permanent property of the people of the state.

#### Naplin and Day Introduce Bills.

Senator Naplin and Representative Day introduced bills providing for forfeiture to the state of these reserved mineral rights, after taxes had been delinquent for three years. The bill did not pass.

The time should be made shorter yet, and the bill enacted into law.

#### WATER POWER.

There is vast water power still held by the state, and it is the policy not to sell.

This policy should be continued and extended thru proper plans for drainage and flood control.

In this way vast additions could be made to the available

water power of the state and utilized to furnish cheap light and power.

### **DRAINAGE AND FLOOD CONTROL.**

Northern Minnesota is perhaps the most wonderful land of lakes and streams, of swamps and peat beds to be found anywhere in the world.

How vitally important it is that these resources be conserved and developed—not wasted!

Millions of acres in northern Minnesota act as a great sponge, absorbing and holding the waters and letting them flow out gradually, rather than in disastrous floods.

One of the greatest problems in statesmanship is involved in the question: "How to handle drainage and flood control so as to secure the following results":

First, to drain such lands, and only such, as can be utilized for immediate settlement.

Second, to leave the swamps and peat beds to retain the waters and act as natural reservoirs.

Third, to so manage natural basins and watersheds as to make each one a drainage unit.

Within each of these drainage basins the following objects should be sought:

1. An outlet must be provided, wide and deep enough for whatever amount of water must be carried away. This will often make it necessary to deepen and straighten the lower reaches of the stream.

2. The upper waters must be impounded and prevented from coming down in floods to overflow the lower lands. This will require dams and reservoirs in many cases to hold back the upper waters.

3. Valuable peat deposits should not be drained, unless they are a part of a system that must be treated as a whole. Otherwise they are likely to be burned out, not only with great loss in the destruction of peat, but with great damage to surrounding forests or settlements.

4. The entire drainage basin must be handled as a unit, not only as an engineering project, but also as a financial enterprise. The lands that are benefited must be assessed to pay for the damages and costs.

If this policy can be carried out intelligently, it will not only be self-supporting, but will be a very valuable investment.

The dams erected to impound the waters will provide considerable water power, that can be used to generate electricity to furnish cheap light, heat and power for the people of the drainage basin and perhaps more. The reservoirs can be used as breeding places for vast quantities of food fish.

And, finally, the impounded waters can be allowed to flow out in such a way as to maintain navigation on the larger streams lower down.

Such a plan, carried out effectively, will mean millions to the people of Minnesota in addition to covering the entire cost of the projects.



### ONE CENTRAL HEAD.

To accomplish these results there should be one central head, a commissioner of drainage, to advise and unify the various systems. He should be a man of broad vision, good common sense, and absolute honesty. He need not be given very great legal powers.

In the case of each drainage district, the initiative should come from the resident land owners. Non-residents should have no legal voice in the matter except to pay their share of the expenses.

Any profits arising from the sale of fish, water power, etc., should go to the state, as the direct benefits to the land owners are sure to be equal to, or perhaps far in excess of, all the costs.

There is another and very important reason why there should be a central head for our drainage system.

The northern part of Minnesota is really the great roof of North America. Here is the watershed separating the streams that go south to the Gulf of Mexico, north to Hudson's Bay and east down the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence to the Atlantic Ocean.

Here on this "roof of the world" is the greater part of the vast sponge composed of swamps and peat beds whose waters, slowly oozing away, serve to keep up navigation during the dry season.

The drainage and conservation of the waters of this "roof of the world" must be managed as a whole and not by townships, or counties, or judicial districts.

In 1917 Representative Green and Mr. Cliff, then not a Senator, devoted much time trying to solve these problems, but that legislature failed to do much.

At the election of 1918 Cliff was elected to the Senate and his ideas were embodied in the House Drainage Committee bill, and was championed by Mr. Neuman, chairman of that committee.

Like all first attempts, this bill conferred too much power on the central authority to meet the approval of the majority of the House and was defeated April 4th by a considerable majority.

The House then passed with only five opposing votes the bill offered by Christianson, Swenson and J. B. Gislason, which merely authorizes investigation, study and recommendation to the legislature as to the projects for drainage and flood control that should be undertaken.

This bill and the Cliff bill were later merged into a bill that passed both houses.

The drainage commissioner is to have a general advisory supervision over local drainage projects.

The beneficial possibilities to the people of a comprehensive plan of drainage and flood control covering the entire state are almost beyond comprehension.

Millions of acres of rich lands can be drained and fitted for settlement.

Dams should be built to hold back the waters and avert spring floods and create an enormous water power.

The floods of the Minnesota and Red Rivers can be prevented, thus saving millions of dollars of damages every year.

Every home and store, every shop and factory, every school and church and public hall, could be heated and lighted, and power could be generated for use in every way needed by the manifold activities of man; and all this at a cost so small as to appear a mere bagatelle compared to the present expense.

The benefited lands should pay the costs, but great care must be taken to make the awards for benefits and damages fair and in harmony with the legal principle that the assessments must not exceed the benefits.

### **GAME AND FISH.**

With her wealth of forests, waters, lakes and streams, Minnesota is one of the richest states in the union in her wild game and fish.

Millions of pounds of fish are caught each year by the commercial fishermen and sold both in and out of the state.

Prices to consumers have usually ranged fairly low, but of late have been increasing.

During the war, Carlos Avery, Game and Fish Commissioner, engaged quite extensively in taking fish principally from Red Lake. These fish were sold to the people thru selected dealers who were restricted to a very small profit. The surplus was shipped and sold wherever a market could be found.

The commercial fish companies strongly objected to this, claiming that it was establishing a bad precedent for the state to compete with private business.

Just why the state ought not to find a market for its surplus fish they did not explain.

A bill to authorize Mr. Avery to continue these fishing operations passed both houses unanimously in spite of the opposition of the commercial fishermen.

The game and fish laws of the state were also amended, improved and codified.

### **GOOD ROADS.**

Without roads civilization is impossible. Among the lowest savages some sort of roads are found necessary. Indeed, even the lower animals have always had their common paths leading to their drinking places, to their salt licks, connecting one part of the jungle with another, radiating from their dens into the wilderness, where they go to seek their prey, or from one pasture to another.

Necessity has always been the mother of invention, and when a thing is really needed, its production is never long delayed.

So the roads of the world have improved just as the needs of the people have grown.

The invention and general use of the automobile has made it very important that all parts of the country be connected with hard surfaced highways.

To meet this demand State Highway Commissioner Babcock devised a general plan of state highways, reaching all county seats and connecting every part of the state with every other part.

The entire plan, in all its details, must be submitted to the people at the next election in the form of a constitutional amendment, and in order to carry and become effective, it must receive a clear majority of all the votes polled at the election—not a majority of those voting on the question—but a majority of all those who vote at the election at all for any candidates or any amendments.

This is a hard thing to do, and once adopted, it would be equally hard to amend.

#### **McGarry Fathers the Bill.**

The bill was introduced into the Senate by Mr. McGarry, who pushed it with his characteristic energy and determination, until it was safely thru both houses.

#### **Financing the Plan.**

It is proposed to meet the entire cost of this system of main hard surfaced highways by taxes on automobiles.

At first bonds are to be issued to get the money to pay for the roads. Then the bonds, principal and interest, are to be paid off thru these automobile taxes.

Not more than \$10,000,000 in bonds can be issued in any one year, and not more than \$75,000,000 may be outstanding at any one time. As soon as the bonds reach this limit, no more can be issued until the total amount falls below the limit of \$75,000,000.

#### **What Will Be the Results.**

First, the direct result will be a complete network of main state roads, built in the shortest possible time.

Second, it will encourage the building of county and township roads to connect the remotest county districts with these trunk highways.

Third, there will be several indirect results.

#### **Over 3,000,000 Acres of State Owned Lands.**

Ex-Senator O'Neil says that these roads will double the price of land in every part of the state reached by them; and yet it is proposed to meet the entire cost of paying the bonds, principal and interest, by taxing automobiles.

Shouldn't these benefited lands be assessed for at least a part of the cost?

If the automobiles are used for business purposes, then the tax will be put over onto the consumer, who is already paying more than his share of the expenses of government.

Of course, some of the owners of these benefited lands will also be the owners of automobiles, and will thus pay a part of the benefit they receive; but much of the benefited lands are owned by non-residents and other speculators and they will get the benefit without being directly taxed a cent to build the roads that will double the value of their lands. However, these lands having been doubled in value or more, will be placed on the assessment rolls at the higher valuation.

If now, the buildings, improvements, crops, stock, machinery, etc., of the actual farmers and producers should be exempt from taxation and the land values alone assessed, as is the case in the Canadian northwest, then the taxes would be more fair on all, and the non-resident speculator would pay more nearly what they ought.

Again, with the main roads paid for by the automobile tax, more money will be available from the land taxes to build the local roads.

So far as the automobile owners themselves are concerned, they, too, will be substantially benefited, for it is quite certain that they will save more in wear and tear and in cost of repairs than the taxes on their machines.

But after all, the land speculators will get away with the big end of the profit, as they always will till we recognize that all socially created land value belongs to all the people.

This Amendment was passed by the Senate, February 13th, after having been amended so as to add many more routes, with only Senators Lee, Loonam and Naplin voting in the negative.

The next day the House passed the bill with only seven negative votes—Burdorf, Enstrom, Flahaven, Gislason, C. M., Skaiem, Thorkelson, Urness.

Good roads are one of the best investments that any people can make.

Whether they advance the cause of democracy and equal opportunity or not will depend on the wisdom with which we solve the questions of taxation, public utilities, marketing, education, and other things that make up our civilization. It is entirely possible to have a very high degree of civilization of a certain sort without having democracy or justice, but such civilizations never last. Any lasting and permanent civilization must be built on freedom, equal political rights and equal industrial opportunity.

Other important road bills were passed. The one that aroused the most opposition permits the County Commissioners, by unanimous vote, to bond the county for the \$250,000 to improve state roads without submitting the question to the people.

This bill passed the House March 13, 84 to 35.

The 35 who voted in the negative were:

Anderson,	Green, H. M.,	Manske,	Sluke,
Arneson,	Hale,	Miner,	Spelbrink,
Baxter,	Haugland,	Moen,	Stahlke,
Burdorf,	Hodapp,	Nelson, J. M.,	Teigen,
Christianson, T.,	Holmquist,	Nordlin,	Thorkelson,
Darby,	Hompe,	Olson,	Urness,
Day,	Iverson,	Prince,	Welch,
Flahaven,	Kelly,	Putnam,	Wilkinson.
Gislason, C. M.	Lagersen,	Skaiem,	

There were 12 who did not vote: Berve, Brophy, Lee, J. G. Lennon, McGrath, Norton, Oren, Rodenberg, Sliter, S. J. Swanson, Sudheimer and Wicklund. All others voted Yes.

The Senate amended so that four-fifths of the County

Commissioners could bond for \$125,000 without a vote of the people. It passed the Senate April 4, 43 to 14.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Devold,	Kuntz,	Reed,
Baldwin,	Erickson,	Lindsley,	Ribenack,
Bessette,	Fowler,	McGarry,	Stepan,
Boylan,	Gandrud,	Madigan,	Sullivan, G. H.,
Brooks,	Gooding,	Millett,	Sullivan, J. D.,
Carley,	Guilford,	Nolan,	Swanson,
Cliff,	Hall,	Nord,	Turnham,
Coleman,	Hamer,	Orr,	Van Hoven,
Cosgrove,	Handlan,	Palmer,	Vibert,
Cumming,	Hegnes,	Putnam,	Ward.
Denegre,	Kingsbury,	Rask,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Blomgren,	Gjerset,	Loonam,	Sageng,
Bonniwell,	Hopp,	Peterson,	Schmechel.
Cashel,	Johnson,	Rockne,	
Gillam,	Lee,	Romberg,	

The objection to this bill is that it permits bonds to be issued without a vote of the people.

When it came back from the Senate so amended, it was very hard to get the necessary 66 votes to concur in the Senate amendments, but finally 67 votes were secured with 48 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams,	Galewski,	McLaughlin,	Scherf,
Bernard,	Gill,	McPartlin,	Serline,
Bouck,	Girling,	Murphy,	Siegel,
Boyd,	Gleason,	Nelson, C. N.,	Shanks,
Briggs,	Grant,	Neuman,	Sliter,
Burrows,	Greene, T. J.,	Nordgren,	Smith,
Chirhart,	Hammer,	Parker,	Solem,
Christensen, A.,	Herreid,	Pattison,	Sortedahl,
Corning,	Hinds,	Pedersen,	Strand,
Curtis,	Hitchcock,	Perry,	Sudheimer,
DeLury,	Howard,	Pittenger,	Swanson, J.,
Dilley,	Hulbert,	Praxel,	Swenson, O. A.,
Dorweiler,	Kingsley,	Rako,	Trowbridge,
Enger,	Lang,	Rodenberg,	Warner,
Erickson,	Lauderdale,	Ross,	Waters,
Fawcett,	Leonard,	Ryan,	West.
Frisch,	Levin,	Shaleben,	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson,	Flahaven,	Kelly,	Skaiem,
Arens,	Gislason, C. M.,	Lagersen,	Sluke,
Arneson,	Gislason, J. B.,	Lee,	Spelbrink,
Baxter,	Green, H. M.,	Manske,	Stahlke,
Bendixen,	Hale,	Moen,	Swanson, S. J.,
Berve,	Haugland,	Nelson, J. M.,	Teigen,
Burdorf,	Hodapp,	Nett,	Thorkelson,
Carlson,	Holmquist,	Nordlin,	Urness,
Christianson, T.,	Hompe,	Olson,	Welch,
Day,	Iverson,	Prince,	Wicker,
Emmons,	Jacobson,	Putnam,	Wicklund,
Enstrom,	Johnson,	Shirley,	Wilkinson,





SENATORS	To Seat Wilcox	Federal Dry Amendment	2 Per Cent Beer	Pres. Suffrage for Women	Equal Suffrage Memorial	Tax on Ore	Royalties	Fowler Amendment to State Workman's Insurance Bill	Reckne Convention Bill	J. D. Sullivan's Amendment to Corrupt Practice Act	Welch Bank Guaranty Bill	To Abolish Safety Commission	Negro Battalion	Welch Oleo Bill
Adams	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Anderson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Baldwin	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Benson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Bessette	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Blomgren	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Bonniwell	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Boylan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Brooks	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Callahan	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Carley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cashel	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Cliff	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Coleman	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Conroy	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Cosgrove	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Cumming	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Denegre	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Devold	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Dwyer	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Erickson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Fowler	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Gandrud	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Gillam	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Gjerset	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Gooding	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Guilford	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Hall	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Hamer	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Handlan	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hegnes	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Hopp	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Jackson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Johnson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Kingsbury	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Kuntz	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Larson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Lee	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Lindsley	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Loonam	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
McGarry	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Madigan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Millet	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Naplin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Nord	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Orr	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Palmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Peterson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Putnam	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Rask	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Reed	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Ribenack	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Rockne	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Romberg	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Sageng	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Schmechel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stepan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Sullivan, G. H.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Sullivan, J. D.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Swanson	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Turnham	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Van Hoven	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
Vibert	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Ward	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Widell	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Wold	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y