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The Minnesota Legislature of 1917

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STATE OF MINNESOTA

C. J. BUELL

Author of

"The Minnesota Legislature of 1913"

"The Minnesota Legislature of 1915"

"The Currency Question"

"Industrial Depressions, their Cause and Cure"

"Monopolies and Trusts"

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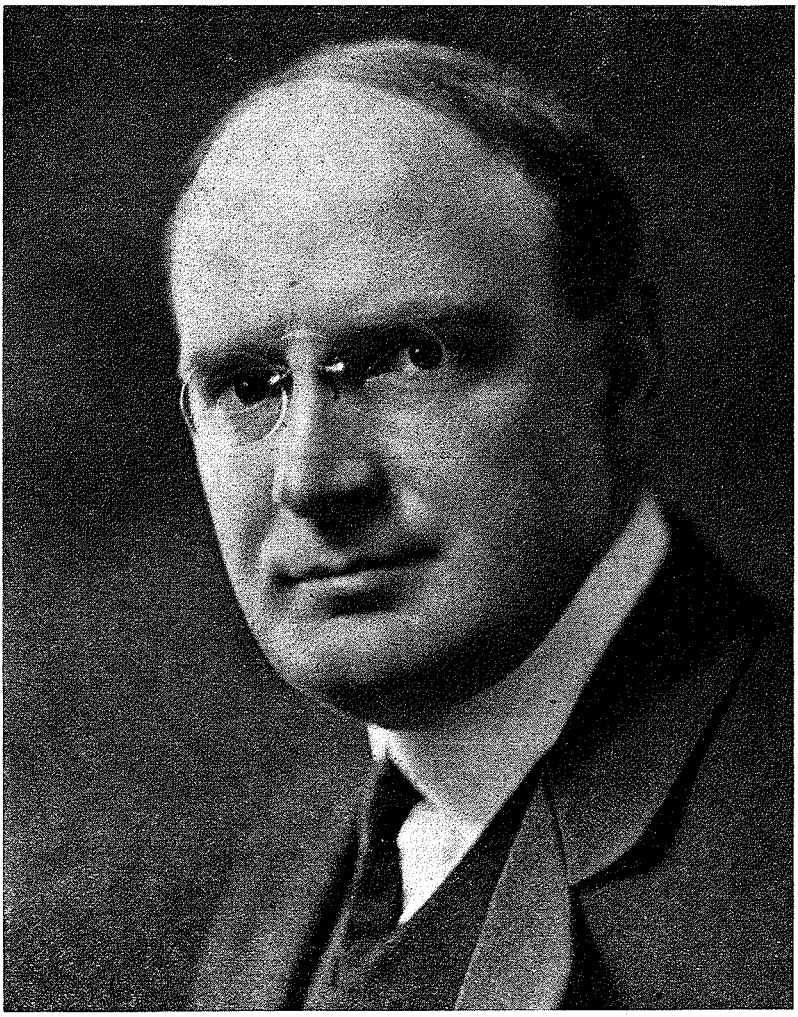

GOVERNOR BURNQUIST

FOREWORD

This is the fifth time a brief analysis of the work of the Legislature of Minnesota has been offered to the public.

It must be plain that a work like this cannot be self-supporting.

It is true that these books are very widely circulated; but many of them are given away and most of them are sold in large orders at a price that leaves no profit after paying for printing and postage.

When this work was started, about ten years ago, a number of public spirited citizens furnished the means to enable Mr. Lynn Haines to devote his time and get out "The Minnesota Legislature of 1909."

This book created a sensation in the state. It opened wide the door and enabled the people to see the inside workings at the capitol.

The voters did the rest.

In the election of 1910 over fifty objectionable members of the 1909 legislature were left at home, and, in most cases, better men were sent in their places.

In 1912 the voters did more of the same kind of housecleaning, and they have been keeping it up at each election since.

When Mr. Haines went to Washington in 1912 to become Secretary to the National Voters' League and publish "The Searchlight on Congress," the present writer was urged to take up the work here that Mr. Haines was forced to drop.

He realized that the place was one of great responsibility and small compensation; but decided to try it, as he then had no family obligations and believed the work ought to be done.

These books are possible only because of the public spirited citizens who help to meet the expense.

If you are one of them, then the thanks of the author and the public are due to you for the help you have given.

It is the hope of the author that this book will meet the approval of its financial supporters, the members of the legislature, and the reading public; but his first duty is to tell the truth as he sees it, and let the results be what they may.

It is my firm belief that the great improvement in the legislature, personally and collectively, is partly due to the work of Mr. Haines, partly—even largely—due to the great advance of the temperance movement here and thruout the world, and partly due to the almost universal study and discussion of public questions on the part of the people.

If the author of this book has had any little influence in this progressive work, he is well paid for his efforts.

C. J. BUELL,
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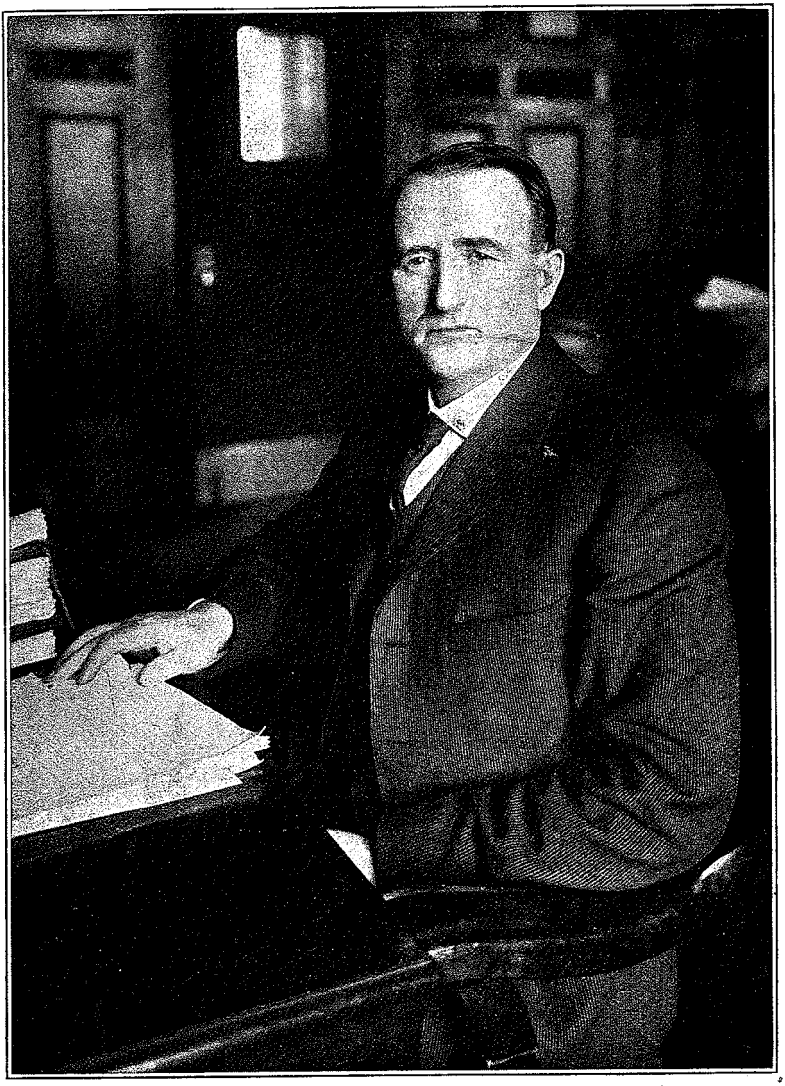
St. Paul, Minn.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR THOS. FRANKSON

Photo by Nelson Bros., 187 E. 7th St., St. Paul



RALPH J. PARKER, Speaker of House, 1917

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CHAPTER XIV.—MEMBERS' RECORD

The Minnesota Legislature of 1917

CHAPTER I.

THE CONTEST FOR THE HOUSE.

It is hard to keep the "wet" and "dry" question out of election contests.

So long as the liquor traffic is permitted the special privilege of being licensed and legalized, those who benefit by such privilege will be forced to take an active part in politics. In the very nature of the case they will be obliged to organize to retain their privilege. They will be forced to resort to every possible means, legal or illegal, moral or immoral, to "protect their interests."

This is not a question of good and bad men.

It is a question of a bad business and a bad habit—a business and a habit that no one likes to defend; but which are defended, and will continue to be defended, just so long as there is money in it: and there will be money in it—big money in it—so long as the license system can be used to make the business a monopoly and give it legal standing.

Under the County Option Law of 1915, local option and the Indian treaty, more than three-fourths of the area of the state had been freed from the legalized liquor traffic.

It was plain that the next move of the opponents of the license system would be to submit to the voters of the state, an amendment to the constitution cutting out all licenses to manufacture or sell within the state.

The brewery interests were alert. They early declared they would do nothing to repeal the County Option law, but they urged that it should be tried out for two years more, under a sort of armistice—or agreement for a cessation of hostilities—during the period of trial. Several well-known temperance men took the same position. Magnus Martinson, who, as agent of the Anti-Saloon League, had done more than almost any other to put the County Option Law on the statute books made a strong plea for delay and inactivity.

Where Martinson made his mistake was that he did not resign his position with the Anti-Saloon League before he began opposing their policy. The program of the League was decided upon and printed in circular form, and he must have known it.

As it was, the officers of the League were finally forced to dispense with Mr. Martinson's services.

Altho the liquor interests were declaring they would be good—that they did not want to repeal the County Option Law—they became very active, even before the primaries, putting men in the field to visit all doubtful districts and see to it that the strongest wet men possible were induced to stand as candidates for the House.

It was generally believed that Thomas H. Girling of Robbinsdale would be the candidate of the wets for Speaker, if they could elect a majority of the House. Mr. Girling de-

voted much time to visiting doubtful districts, and in fixing up the fences for wet victories.

After the primaries they picked the candidates they thought would be least objectionable and did all they could to elect them, in many cases supporting a mild dry man in order to defeat a radical dry.

I am not writing this to cast blame on the wets.

They have just the same legal right to be active in the campaign as the drys have, and they were probably no more so.

What I want to do is to hammer down the fact that we are bound to have these evil influences in politics, just so long as we retain the system of licensing.

If it is right, it needs no license.

If it is wrong, it should have none.

The voters elected about seventy pronounced drys; about forty-five reliably wet, and a twilight zone of ten or so, who could not be classed as very pronounced either way, tho several had made pledges that they would vote to submit a constitutional amendment to the people and let them settle the question. Among these were a few from wet districts who took the ground that the people ought to be given a chance to vote on any great public question, and therefore they would not vote against submission, tho they might even oppose the amendment at the polls. This is certainly the true democratic spirit. Let the people decide. It is their right.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPEAKERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION.

Shortly after the election, numerous candidates for the Speakership "threw their hats into the ring." Among these were Ralph J. Parker of the first Congressional district; Claude Southwick and C. M. Bendixen of the second; Knute Knutson, Theodore Christianson and Magnus Johnson of the seventh; Oscar Swenson of the third; W. I. Nolan of the fifth; John B. Hompe of the ninth; and a little later C. H. Warner of the sixth. All these, excepting Mr. Warner, had voted two years ago to submit state-wide prohibition to the people.

Perhaps Mr. Nolan should also be left out. He was not a member two years ago, but was known to be strongly in favor of submission.

Mr. Warner had not only opposed submission two years ago, but was quite outspoken in opposition to submission at this session; explaining that he based his opposition on his belief that the time was not yet ripe. In this respect he was in harmony with Mr. Martinson and in opposition to the policy of the Anti-Saloon League.

It was the contention of the Anti-Saloon League that the County Option Law had done a great work in driving the legalized liquor traffic out of forty-three counties. Add to this six counties wholly dry under the Indian treaty and eight more dry by local option, and we have fifty-seven counties legally dry, besides a large part of Beltrami, St. Louis and Red Lake dry under the Indian treaty, and also considerable parts of the twenty-nine wet counties which were dry under

local option. The further fact that no saloons could be licensed outside of the corporate limits of villages and cities, gave the opponents of the license system great reason for thinking that the time was ripe for a final battle. An added reason for this conclusion was the fact that there would surely be many County Option contests during the summer of 1918, and they felt that it would be better to have the whole question threshed out at one time.

The dry forces would not have objected to Bendixen, Knutson or Johnson, but did not think any of them could muster as much support as could Parker, Southwick, Nolan, Christianson, or Hompe.

The Committee of Ten.

With the object of learning which of these five men was the strongest, and with a pledge to unite upon the one who should receive the most support, a committee of ten dry men was agreed upon who were to consult together and decide which one of the five candidates should be supported.

This committee was made up as follows:

Thomas Tollefson	1st District
Geo. Sutherland	2nd District
Oscar Seebach	3rd District
Leavitt Corning	4th District
W. I. Norton	5th District
Edw. Indrehus	6th District
P. H. Frye	7th District
Wm. L. Bernard	8th District
Nels T. Moen	9th District
Adolph Larson	10th District

This committee of ten, after a thoro and careful canvass of the whole situation, reached the conclusion that Ralph J. Parker was the strongest man for Speaker. They and the four other candidates then undertook to secure Mr. Parker's election.

The opposition to Mr. Parker centered around Mr. Warner, and for several days the contest was very spirited. Mr. Warner's supporters charged Parker with being a Chamber of Commerce man, and he replied by saying that he would allow the farmers to select the Grain and Warehouse Committee. Mr. Parker claims that this is the only promise he made as to committees, except that he would organize all the committees favorably to temperance and progressive legislation.

About Friday before the Legislature was to meet the next Tuesday, it became plain that Parker had more than enough support to elect, and then the supporters of Mr. Warner gave up the contest and agreed to make the election of Mr. Parker unanimous.

This could not be done, however, for the two Socialists, Devold and Strand, refused to vote for Parker and went through the form of nominating and voting for Devold for Speaker.

It is probable that this action weakened their influence for good during the session; for tho they were known to be Socialists, they were not elected as such. They were elected, just like all the other members as non-partizans.

There was no more good reason for this action on their part, than there would have been for the twenty-five or thirty Democrats to have insisted on having a Democratic candidate for Speaker.

In a non-partizan lgislature, there should be no place for party politics of any kind. Men and measures should be considered on their merits regardless of party.

The Committees.

When Mr. Parker came to make up his committees, it was quite plain that he was honestly trying to keep his pledge to be fair all around. Of course there was some criticism—some disappointed ones—but this is inevitable.

Mr. Howard, a director of the Chamber of Commerce, was put on the Grain and Warehouse Committee; but, true to his promise, Mr. Parker had allowed the farmers to name the committee and they had given Mr. Howard the place.

The Rules Committee with Mr. Nolan as chairman could not well be improved. This made Mr. Nolan floor leader of the House, a position he had filled with great satisfaction in the Legislature of 1913.

The appointment of Mr. Warner as chairman of the Committee on Reorganization of State Government, and Mr. Flowers, one of Mr. Warner's strongest supporters, as chairman of the Tax Committee, showed a commendable generosity.

Mr. Pratt as chairman of the Judiciary, and Mr. Christianson for Appropriations, were especially good selections.

Patronage.

It would be a great blessing if the question of patronage could be gotten rid of.

It is a curse to the Speaker and to the members.

There are usually three or four times as many candidates as there are jobs. The successful ones simply think they have got no more than belongs to them, and the unsuccessful go away to curse the Speaker or the member who failed to secure them the coveted place.

There is an almost inevitable pressure to appoint more clerks, stenographers, pages, doorkeepers, etc., than there is any use for, and very little chance to secure the most competent help.

Every clerk should be a stenographer as well. This would effect a great saving in expense and would make for efficiency.

If some simple system of civil service could be adopted for determining fitness, the members would be relieved of the nuisance of job seekers and the service greatly improved.

Here is another evil that ought to be cut out.

Members should not be permitted to use the official stenographers for their private business.

It is common talk that lawyers, real estate men and others use the official stenographers paid by the state to conduct their private correspondence, at times even taking them away from the Capitol building, to their offices or hotels.

Mr. Parker made a very good speaker. His rulings were fair, he showed a thoro knowledge of parliamentary procedure; and the business of the House was pushed along with vigor and intelligence.

CHAPTER III.

CONTESTED SEATS.

The seats of five members were contested.

I. Murray County.

The seat of F. F. Norwood was contested by P. H. Harrington on the claim of illegal votes.

Norwood was elected by a majority of two votes.

After a full investigation the committee reported that the evidence was not sufficient to unseat Norwood.

Mr. Harrington withdrew the contest.

II. Hennepin County, 5th and 6th Wards.

The seat of Frank E. Reed was contested by Dr. Henry Wuerzinger on the ground that Mr. Reed was an officer in the National Guard and hence ineligible.

Wuerzinger failed to serve any notice on Reed, and the committee threw out the contest.

The three other contestants all charged violation of the Corrupt Practices Act and all involved the same general principles.

The Attorney General ruled that if any member was unseated, under this act, it would not seat the contestant.

This would leave the district without a representative for the rest of the term, as a special election could not be called in time to do any good.

Furthermore, in each case the violations of the law were slight—not very serious—and the law itself specifically provides that slight, technical, or unintentional violations of the statute shall not deprive a man of his seat.

These three cases follow:

I. Chippewa County.

Jas. R. Burnip charged A. F. Teigen with violating the statute in that he circulated false and defamatory statements against the said Burnip.

Mr. Teigen had circulated a handbill, charging Burnip with false statements, and Teigen had not signed the handbill with his name and address, as the law provided; but Teigen's name was across the top of the bill in large letters. Furthermore Burnip accepted Teigen's challenge to joint debate, attended the meeting, joined in the debate and admitted on the witness stand that he believed he gained votes by the operation.

The testimony showed that Burnip had misrepresented Teigen, though he did not intend to do so.

The committee reported for Teigen and he retained his seat.

II. Wadena County.

This was the most difficult case of all. Chas. S. Wilkins contested the seat of E. E. Orr. It was proved, and Mr. Orr

admitted, that he had given cigars and soft drinks on several occasions, but denied that he intended to influence votes.

The committee submitted two reports. The majority of the committee held to the liberal interpretation, and recommended that Mr. Orr retain his seat.

This report was signed by the following members: L. O. Teigen, George Nordlin, G. B. Pattison, G. W. Grant, Wm. L. Bernard, Ludwig O. Solem, James Cumming, A. Olien and C. W. Hale.

The minority report demanding that the law be strictly interpreted and that Mr. Orr be denied his seat, was signed by O. E. Hammer and A. C. Welch.

The House considered the two reports on Special Order Feb. 7th.

Mr. Hammer made an impassioned speech, pleading for purity in elections and demanding that an example be made of Mr. Orr.

Mr. Solem replied that if the statute was to be interpreted as strictly as Mr. Hammer demanded, hardly a member of the House would be safe in his seat.

This brought out strong declarations from Mr. Corning and others that they had never, in the slightest degree, been guilty of any violation of the Corrupt Practices Act.

Mr. Searls then read from Sec. 600 of the Statutes, showing that it was not the intention of the Act to deprive men of their election for slight and unintentional violations, but that the Act was for the purpose of putting an end to the exorbitant expenditure of money and the deliberate corruption of the voters by false charges, direct and indirect purchase of votes by giving cigars and drinks, holding beer parties, and other means so well known to have been almost universally employed by the saloon and brewery interests and others who were looking for special favors from the legislature.

The contest was not wholly between the strict "puritans" and the liberals.

Mr. Orr was a "dry" man—Mr. Hammer was the most pronounced champion of the "wets" in the House, and so the division was, to a considerable extent, along wet and dry lines.

Many members thought it a little ridiculous that those who defended the methods of the brewers and saloons, should be so strenuous in their demands for purity in politics.

Mr. Pattison, of Stearns Co., himself an opponent of Prohibition, stated the case very clearly. This is not really an election contest—it is a protest. The law itself directs us to consider whether violations are material. There were violations. That is admitted; but they were not important. They were not gross violations, such as the law contemplates shall deprive a man of his seat.

After much oratory the House voted down the minority report, 36 for to 81 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Carmichael	Gill	McGrath	Peterson, A. M.
Corning	Girling	Madigan	Rodenberg
Danielson	Gleason	Malmberg	Siegel
Devold	Greene, T. J.	Moeller, G. H.	Slitter

Dwyer	Hammer	Mueller, A. W.	Steen
Erickson	Harrison, H. H.	Neitzel	Swanson, S. J.
Flowers	Knutson	Novak	Thornton
Frisch	Kuntz	Papke	Tollefson
Gerlich	Leonard	Pendergast	Welch

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Green, H. M.	Nett	Seebach
Baldwin	Gullickson	Neuman	Shipstead
Bendixen	Hale	Nolan	Solem
Bernard	Harrison, J. M.	Nordgren	Southwick
Bessette	Holmes	Nordlin	Stenvick
Birkhofer	Hompe	Norton	Stevens
Bjorge	Howard	Norwood	Stone
Bjorklund	Hulbert	Odland	Strand
Borgen	Indrehus	Olien	Sudheimer
Briggs	Johnson	Pattison	Sutherland
Brown	Konzen	Peterson, A.	Swanson, H. A.
Child	Lang	Peterson, O. M.	Swenson
Crane	Larson	Pikop	Teigen, A. F.
Cumming	Lee	Pittenger	Teigen, L. O.
Dare	Levin	Pratt	Warner
Davies, J.	McNiven	Praxel	Washburn
Davis, T.	Marschalk	Putnam	Winter
Dealand	Marwin	Reed	Mr. Speaker
Donovan	Miner	Ross	
Flikkie	Moen	Ryberg	
Frye	Murphy	Searls	

Twelve who had stood for prohibition voted to unseat Orr. The other twenty-four were all wets. Sixteen who had voted against prohibition were for Orr. The other 65 were drys.

The vote was then taken on the majority report, recommending that Mr. Orr retain his seat, and resulted in 91 for Orr and 27 against. The following changed their votes to Orr: Carmichael, Frisch, Gleason, T. J. Green, Kuntz, McGrath, Mueller, Pendergast and Thornton.

Bessette changed the other way and now voted against Orr.

III. Norman and Mahnomen Counties.

A. L. Thompson charged J. J. Flikkie with circulating false reports and with giving out cigars to voters.

Thompson brought action in the district court, and the judge pronounced Flikkie guilty, tho he at the same time declared that his court had really no jurisdiction.

Anyway, the Legislature is the sole judge of the qualifications and election of its own members.

The committee decided 9 to 1 that Flikkie had not violated the statute, when Section 600, quoted above, is considered, and reported that he should retain his seat.

The vote was 84 to 10, as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Erickson	McNiven	Pratt
Baldwin	Frisch	Marschalk	Praxel
Bendixen	Frye	Miner	Putnam
Bernard	Gill	Moen	Rodenberg
Bessette	Grant	Mossman	Ross
Birkhofer	Green, H. M.	Nett	Ryberg

Bjorge	Gullickson	Neuman	Searls
Bjorklund	Hale	Nimocks	Shipstead
Boock, J. W.	Harrison, H. H.	Nolan	Siegel
Borgen	Hicken	Nordgren	Solem
Briggs	Holmes	Nordlin	Southwick
Brown	Hompe	Norwood	Steen
Burrows	Howard	Odland	Stone
Child	Hulbert	Olien	Strand
Christanson, A.	Indrehus	Orr	Sutherland
Christianson T.	Johnson	Papke	Swanson, H. A.
Crane	Lang	Pattison	Teigen, L. O.
Cumming	Larson	Peterson, A.	Tollefson
Danielson	Lee	Peterson, O. M.	Warner
Davies, J.	Lennon	Pikop	Welch
Dealand	Levin	Pittenger	Winter

Those who voted in the negative were:

Corning	Knutson	Marwin	Sliter
Flowers	Madigan	Mueller, A. W.	
Hammer	Malmberg	Novak	

Mr. Stevens and Mr. Sudheimer were excused from voting, leaving 34 others not voting.

In this contest, as in that of Wilkins against Orr, Mr. Hammer, the leader of the wets, came forward as the champion of purity of election and strict enforcement of statute that made specific provision in its own wording for liberal interpretation.

Mr. Flikkie is a pronounced dry, but of the ten who opposed giving him his seat only four had voted against the prohibition amendment.

Of the 34 who were absent, 19 were wets and 15 drys.

Mr. Hammer and some others demanded the strict enforcement of the Corrupt Practices Act or its repeal; but it seems to me the act is about right as it is.

It is quite sufficient to prohibit the gross violations heretofore resorted to by liquor and other special and corrupt interests and leaves the legislature free to act on its best judgment after mature deliberation.

One of its best features is the very latitude that Mr. Hammer complains of. The very soul and spirit of all law is that it shall not be harsh and arbitrary.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNMENT.

There are two theories of government.

The one is repressive, tyrranical, autocratic, unlimited.

The other stands for equal rights, equal 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 forbidding it and enforce it with policemen's clubs, courts and prisons, armies and guns.

The other would remove the cause of the evil and let it die a natural death.

The one is tied to the doctrine that **might** makes **right.** It is equally tyrannical whether wielded by the church, the army, or the I. W. W.

The other believes that **right** will be established by peaceful methods; and that **might** is useful only in self-defence, and in the restoration of equality of opportunity and freedom to enjoy.

The one honestly believes in unlimited power **somewhere,** perhaps only in the **majority.**

The other knows that—

The Scope of Government Is Limited.

When we speak of "government by the people"—when we use the expression "majority rule"—we always do so with more or less reservation.

No one seriously contends that the majority may make laws on **all** subjects.

All agree that the scope of government is limited—that many of the affairs of men are personal and private—and that government must not meddle in matters of this personal and private kind.

It is true, we often hear people declaring that the government may do anything the majority want, but they very soon back down when it is proposed to apply the test to **them,** and make **them** the subjects of regulation. They are willing to regulate the other fellow, but they are not willing the other fellow should regulate them.

Herbert Spencer has aptly stated this principle in his "Law of Equal Freedom."

"All men may do whatsoever they please so long as they do not encroach on the **equal right of others to do as they please."**

Our federal constitution and all state constitutions recognize this principle.

They all contain what is called

A Bill of Right.

This is an enumeration of the personal and private rights of the individual which government must let alone.

In every country the struggle for freedom has been a struggle to establish these rights—to overthrow tyranny and oppression and restore to the people their natural, inherent rights.

Magna Charta, trial by jury, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and excessive bail or punishment; liberty of conscience, thought, speech and the press; prohibition of unreasonable search, of ex post facto laws, of imprisonment for debt, of confiscation of private property, and of standing armies in time of peace; the right to peaceably gather and discuss grievances;—all these are landmarks in the progress of man from arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible government toward the ideal of liberty for the citizen and limitation of government.

I say **toward** the ideal, for we haven't reached it yet even here in Minnesota; and we cannot reach it so long as half the people have no voice nor vote in making the laws they must obey.

And there is a constant and almost irresistible tendency on the part of those who make laws and administer government to ignore the Bill of Rights, to ignore these limitations and to encroach on the reserved rights of the people.

"Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty."

For governments always tend to become tyrannical.

Many a time the police power overrules the constitution.

Many a time the government commits crime instead of preventing it.

Every session of the legislature sees innumerable laws proposed which would violate every principle of personal liberty, and some of them generally get on the statute books.

In 1917 many such bills were introduced but very few were passed.

Perhaps the most glaring illustrations of this sort of legislation are to be found in the bills of Senators Geo. M. Peterson and F. A. Duxbury discussed in the section of this chapter on "Personal Liberty and Repressive Laws," but these were by no means all.

The attempts to amend the "Transient Merchant Law" introduced by Senators Peterson and Swenson are nearly as bad. The bill to establish compulsory military training in the schools, introduced by Southwick and others in the House and by Knopp and G. H. Sullivan in the Senate furnishes another illustration of the same principle.

Senator Westlake's bill to compel everyone to stand whenever "The Star Spangled Banner" should be played in his presence, looks like a piece of legislative stupidity, well calculated to make that beautiful and inspiring song hated by every thoughtful citizen.

Every liberty-loving man and woman holds in high reverence the principles of freedom, equality,, justice and brotherhood that the American flag symbolizes; but the best way to destroy that reverence and to plant in its place a feeling of disgust and hatred, is to compel by statute and policeman's club the formal expression of that emotion.

Respect and reverence for anything can never be created by statute and compulsion. They must always be the free, spontaneous expression of an inner emotion.

Personal Liberty or Repressive Laws.

It is, and always has been the highest boast of the American people that "All men are created equal;" that we stand for "equal rights for all and no special privileges;" that "all should have an equal chance to make good;" that "all should be equal before the law." We believe in a "square deal."

Perhaps if we had spent more time in careful study of the art of making our laws conform to these ideals, instead of wasting so much breath over bombastic Fourth of July orations, we should now be nearer the goal pointed out by the framers of the Declaration of Independence.

That there are great wrongs in our statutes and our institutions no one denies.

A social and political system that creates millionaires at one extreme and child labor, unemployment, pauperism,

prostitution, crime, unnecessary disease, and insanity, at the other, certainly needs mending; and it must be mended not by myriads of repressive and restrictive statutes, each aimed to suppress some symptom of the disease that afflicts the body politic, but by an intelligent readjustment of our institutions so that they shall really and truly establish and maintain the **ideals** of the fathers.

They made no mistake when they gave to the world that declaration; but they did make many and sad mistakes when they failed to make their **statutes** conform to their **ideals**; and all thru the years of the century and one-half of our national existence we have made the same mistakes.

Nature Is Not at Fault.

She has furnished us her unbounded natural resources, but we have given away the titles to our forests and mines, and those natural resources, instead of benefiting and enriching all, have made millionaires of their proprietors and paupers of their laborers.

Nature gave us the most extensive and richest farm lands in the world, and the best locations for cities to become the centers of manufacture and the marts of trade; but we have adopted a system of taxation that penalizes those who would use the agricultural lands to make farms and the city lots on which to build stores and factories and homes. We encourage, with low taxes, those who hold farm lands and city lots idle, and then we wonder why men are out of work and wages are low. If all the land were held idle for a rise in value, then all the workers must necessarily be idle and all the people starve.

Instead of using the socially-created values that attach to land as population increases and civilization advances, to meet the expenses of government, to build and equip the needed highways in country and city and join our great centers of population one to another,—instead of using these **public** values to build railways and telegraph lines, canals and harbors, street railway systems, gas and electric works, we farm out these great public utilities to private corporations who get their pay by exorbitant charges for service, which add to the cost of everything the people buy to consume. Heretofore we have let the public service corporations charge double and treble for the services they have rendered, and in many cases they are doing it still and will so continue until we reduce their charges to a fair compensation for the services rendered and cease to impose gross earnings taxes which are always passed on to the consumers or back to the producers with a good big profit added.

No, Nature Is Not at Fault.

We are at fault. We must reverse the system.

We must stop penalizing industry while we create monopoly.

We must take for public use what the public creates, and thus destroy land speculation in country and city.

Our great natural resources in mine and forest and water power must be conserved for the use of the people and administered for the equal benefit.

"The earth is the Lord's," saith the ancient writ, "but its use he hath given to the children of men."

The principle of this Scripture must be realized.

It will not be easy; but it is possible.

It is only a question of getting started in the right direction and then keeping on.

Repression Has Failed.

Let us trust freedom.

We don't need more restrictive and coercive laws, but we do need to repeal many that now curse and destroy us.

Make it easy, instead of hard, to use the earth and produce wealth.

Make it hard, instead of easy, to hold land idle.

Labor will be employed. Its products will multiply. Wages will be high and all but the forestallers will be benefited.

Those who work will be rich—not those who forestall.

The Fathers Were Not Mistaken.

The Declaration of Independence is not a beautiful dream impossible of realization.

It is a practical aim to be striven for and reached.

Some Sample Gems.

But these ideals have no place in the minds of certain Senators.

The following editorial from the Duluth Labor World speaks for itself:

IMPORTING RUSSIA INTO MINNESOTA.

Shall we import Russia into America? Shall every poor man be presumed to be guilty until he proves himself innocent? Shall we empower every sheriff to order anyone he pleases to leave town inside of twenty-four hours on penalty of being sent to prison, "unless he satisfactorily accounts for himself."

Bills aiming to do this have been introduced in the legislature by Senator George M. Peterson of Duluth. We can hardly believe that Senator Peterson himself knows the contents of the bills he introduced into the senate Thursday morning of last week.

One of these bills does just what the above questions imply. It empowers the sheriff of any county as follows:

"The sheriff of any county may require vagrants or disorderly persons to leave the county within twenty-four hours after notice so to do."

If they do not obey he hales them before a court and compels them to give a satisfactory account of themselves.

And his other bill is a gem in defining who are vagrants and disorderly persons.

If these bills should become laws no person would be safe. The sheriff would be made dictator with almost unlimited arbitrary powers. His will would be the law. His prejudices or desires would be substituted for constitutional rights.

The working men and all good citizens of the West End of Duluth should sit up and take notice. Either Senator Peterson should come down or he should be called down."

But even Russia is now better than Peterson would make Minnesota.

Peterson had his bills "returned to the author" and it is said they found a resting place in the waste basket.

Here is another editorial from the same paper:

TWO VICIOUS BILLS.

If the bills introduced in the state senate by George M. Peterson of Duluth and F. A. Duxbury of Caledonia are part of the program outlined by the people who are trying to eliminate the activities of the Industrial Workers of the World, then we can only say that those in charge of the program are poorer politicians than they ordinarily get credit for.

Be it remembered that Senator Peterson's bill would give the sheriff of any county the power to order any person to leave the county on 24 hours' notice. Failing to leave, he could be thrown into jail for vagrancy. The person arrested must then give satisfactory proof that he is not a vagrant. In other words, the well established rule of presumptive innocence is reversed and the alleged offender must give proof to the judge of the municipal court that he is free from guilt. Otherwise he goes to jail.

Now comes Senator Duxbury with a bill, which if adopted, would absolutely prohibit peaceful picketing. It is the most drastic measure of its kind we have ever seen. "Any person who goes near to, or loiters about the premises," etc., shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. The full text of the bill is printed in this week's issue of The Labor World. It charitably permits persons to solicit trade or business for a competitive business. This provision was inserted in the bill for the evident purpose of pleasing somebody besides the labor interests.

The Duxbury bill would prevent the distribution of circulars or notices in any form concerning the existence of a boycott. No "unfair lists" would be tolerated. The right of the striking workingmen to call the attention of the public to the fact that a strike exists, or that a boycott is in force against an employer, would not be allowed.

In other words, if the Duxbury bill passes, the rights that labor has obtained after years of fighting in Minnesota would be wiped out by a stroke of the legislative pen.

Perhaps the Duxbury and Peterson bills are introduced for the purpose of reaching the Industrial Workers of the World. But they would operate to abridge the rights of every workingman in Minnesota.

Recently the Federal Court of Appeals in the case of the striking employes in East St. Louis laid down the law with respect to peaceful picketing and injunctions. The Labor World some time ago called attention to the decision of that court. It held that employes had the right to picket, and that this right could not be taken from them; that they also had the right to call attention to the fact that the employer would not deal with labor organizations. The court, in unmistakable language, upheld the right to boycott and to picket.

We would recommend to Senator Duxbury that he dig up the decision in this case and read it carefully and well. It contains the gist of the law on the subject of picketing, and indicates just how the courts are looking at this question in the year 1917.

Of course, organized labor will fight the Duxbury and Peterson bills. And the fight should be a determined one. However, The Labor World does not think for one moment that the Minnesota legislature, in the light of recent court decisions and the attitude of legislative bodies generally, will even consider these two bills seriously.

But the authors of the bills should be made to understand in no uncertain terms what the attitude of labor is towards public officials who stand sponsors for legislation of this nature.

Text of Bill.

The text of the bill follows:

"Any person who goes near to, or loiters about the premises or place of business of any other person, firm or corporation engaged in a lawful business or occupation, for the purpose of influencing or inducing or who shall influence or induce or attempt to influence or induce, others not to trade with, buy from, sell to or have business dealings with such person, firm or corporation, or who pickets the works or place of business of such other person, firm or corporation for the purpose of interfering with or injuring any lawful business or enterprise, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor; but nothing herein shall prevent any person or persons from soliciting trade or business for a competitive business.

"Any person who prints or circulates any notice of boycott, whether in form of cards, stickers, dodgers, banners, transparencies, unfair lists or otherwise, publishing or declaring that a boycott or ban exists, has existed or is contemplated against any person, firm or corporation doing a lawful business, or publishing or declaring that such person, firm or corporation is unfair, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

"The adoption of the Duxbury bill," said a prominent labor union man today, "would rob us of the rights we have acquired after many years of struggle. Labor men will not give up these rights without a bitter struggle. The introduction of this bill by Mr. Duxbury, following so closely on the heels of the two bills introduced by Senator George M. Peterson, which evidently have the same object in view, looks suspicious. Evidently there is a well laid program on the part of somebody. We know, of course, that the interests who wish this kind of legislation are powerful: We do not underestimate the power of our foes, and we shall get right on the job to prevent the robbery of rights we have acquired, and which the people of this state are satisfied we are entitled to retain."

The Transient Merchant Law.

There was a time in Minnesota when no man could sell the produce of his own labor grown upon his own land in any city or village of this state without a license; and the commission merchants and storekeepers usually took good care that the license fee was put high enough so that producers would not be able to pay it and make a profit.

Is a man the owner of his own brain and bone and muscle?

Then doesn't he own what his brain and bone and muscle have produced?

And if the produce is his, by what right may any one, or any number of persons interfere to tax him or make him pay a license fee before he can sell it to another?

Oh, yes, we have heard the plea many a time that the home merchant pays taxes, and therefore must be protected from the competition of these outsiders who pay no taxes.

But the outsider has paid taxes where he produced his goods that he brings in to sell.

And does the home commission man or storekeeper really pay the taxes that are levied on his store and his goods?

No, he passes them on to the consumer. If he can't do this it is only a little while till he will be forced out of business.

In this respect the storekeeper and the peddler are on the same level. They both must pass their taxes on to the consumer or quit.

But why not consider the consumer in these cases? All are consumers—only a few are peddlers and storekeepers.

Shall our laws be framed in the interest of the few or of all?

And wouldn't it be more just to take all taxes and license fees off all merchants, storekeepers and peddlers and thus save the consumers from this unjust burden that falls upon them on top of all the taxes they have paid on their homes and their furniture—on all they have?

The Constitution Is Amended.

But after a while the farmers and gardeners demanded and secured an amendment to the constitution that would free them from this license fee and permit them to sell their own produce without a license.

Of course this applied to all producers—those who live outside the state as well as those who live inside.

For

"The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states."—Article IV., Sec. 2, Constitution of the United States.

But in spite of this provision of the federal constitution the commission merchants and grocery men came to the legislature clamoring for an amendment to the Transient Merchants Law that would shut out produce coming in from outside the state, and Senator Swenson of Albert Lea introduced their bill.

For behold! apples and potatoes and other good and useful things were brought into the state by their producers, and were sold to the hungry people without letting the aforesaid commission merchants and grocers get a profit out of them.

On Friday, February 9th, this bill came up on final passage.

It was defended by Swenson, Geo. M. Peterson and Ward who made a most vigorous speech demanding that the principle of protectionism be applied against the measely and pauper apples and potatoes that are coming into our state from outside greatly to the injury of our own commission merchants and dealers in food products.

Rockne, Buckler, Gillam, Holmberg and Jackson made pleas for the poor people who thus got cheaper food.

The bill was defeated 22 for, 28 against, but Ward changed his vote and moved the bill be reconsidered.

Why should such a bill as this get any consideration at all? Why should not all such matters be looked at from the point of view of the consumer?

Ward's motion to reconsider was laid on the table and there the bill died.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Benson	Duxbury	Nelson	Swenson
Campbell, A. S.	Gardner	Orr	Van Hoven
Campbell, W. A.	Glotzbach	Peterson, E. P.	Weis
Denegre	Handlan	Peterson, G. M.	Westlake
Dunn, R. C.	Healy	Rustad	
Dunn, W. W.	Hegnes	Sullivan, G. H.	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Grose	Palmer	Rystrom
Blomgren	Hanson	Peterson, F. H.	Sageng
Bonniwell	Holmberg	Potter	Steffen
Buckler	Jackson	Putnam	Sullivan, J. D.
Carley	Jones	Rask	Vermilya
Gillam	Knopp	Ries	Wallace
Gjerset	Millett	Rockne	Ward

Ward is recorded as voting against the bill. In reality he favored it and voted "no" so he could move to reconsider and save the bill from defeat.

Wm. A. Campbell was out of the chamber when the bill was discussed and voted on, and later explained that he voted for it under a misapprehension. He was really against it and wished to be so reported.

The following seventeen did not vote: Adams, Andrew, Baldwin, Calahan, Dwinnell, Gandrud, Griggs, Hilbert, Johnston, Lende, Lobeck, McGarry, Nord, O'deil, Pauly, Turnham, and Vebert.

Dwinnell, Gandrud, Pauly, Adams, Andrews, Hilbert, Lende, Lobeck, Baldwin and Johnston had been excused.

A Contrast.

In strong contrast to this were two bills introduced into the House.

First, Mr. Steen introduced a bill that would let into the city of Winona any produce from outside to be sold without a license, no matter who raised it.

This bill in the interest of the great mass of consumers should be made general and passed.

Second, Mr. Warner introduced a general bill permitting any one to sell without a license any produce raised by himself and his neighbors.

This is a much better bill than Steen's and aroused the protests of the Commission men, who didn't want any one cutting into their little monopoly of the produce market.

Mr. Loye of Minneapolis came before the committee and pleaded for the commission men.

What do the consumers of Minneapolis think of such tactics? They must pay the bills.

Should laws be made for all or for the few?

Loye thought they should be made for the few—himself and a few others.

Steen and Warner would have them made for all.

Both bills failed to pass.

Three other bills introduced into the Senate by Geo. M. Peterson, all lean in the direction of unwarranted interference with private rights.

One is very aptly scored in the following editorial from the Duluth Labor World:

ANOTHER OF GEORGE M. PETERSON'S GEMS.

George is not satisfied to shut out peddlers and producers of goods who sell direct to consumers. He also wants to shut out all agents and others who take orders and deliver the goods later.

Oh, no, he doesn't want to shut out the agent of the grocer or butcher who comes around and takes orders in the morning, and then delivers the goods later. These are not "transient merchants." They have a permanent place of business near by. They "pay taxes"—which, of course, they pass on to the consumer with a profit to cover the cost of collection.

Let us see just what the law would do.

Here is an elderly widow at Alexandria—poor, honest, and industrious. She is very skillful at knitting. For many years she has taken orders in advance for good, warm, yarn mittens, getting the size and colors wanted. Then she knits the mittens and delivers them to her customers.

This is the way she makes her living.

She is a "transient merchant" within the meaning of this bill of Senator Peterson.

She would be put out of business, deprived of her means of making a living, to satisfy the narrow greed of certain commission merchants and retail dealers who want the produce market all to themselves.

Every summer vacation hundreds of college students canvass for books, photographs, and other useful things, which they deliver to their customers afterwards.

The Peterson bill would make their work unlawful. They would be subjected to arrest and fine or imprisonment for trying to earn an honest living.

Is Senator Peterson fully aware what this bill contains? If so, does he still persist in advocating its passage? Does he believe he is representing his constituents fairly?

The second of Mr. Peterson's bills permitted these agents to sell to "dealers" but not to consumers. This bill is supposed to have been offered as an amendment to the one described in the above editorial.

But how would it help this poor woman and these students to permit them to sell to "dealers"?

Surely Peterson has a tender spot in his heart for the "dealers."

Peterson's Peddlers' Bill Passes.

The bill was voted on in the Senate April 13th and secured just the necessary 34 votes to pass it.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Gardner	McGarry	Sullivan, G. H.
Andrews	Glotzbach	Millett	Swenson
Baldwin	Griggs	Nelson	Turnham

Buckler	Grose	O'Neill	Van Hoven
Carley	Handlan	Orr	Vibert
Dunn, R. C.	Healy	Pauly	Ward
Dunn, W. W.	Hegnes	Peterson, G.M.	Weis
Duxbury	Hilbert	Rustad	
Dwinnell	Knopp	Rystrom	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Gillam	Jones	Sageng
Blomgren	Hanson	Lende	Steffen
Bonniwell	Holmberg	Lobeck	Vermilya
Campbell, W.A.	Jackson	Peterson, E.P.	
Gandrud	Johnston	Peterson, F.H.	

This leaves 15 Senators not voting.

The bill failed in the House.

The third of Mr. Peterson's meddlesome bills was one to establish a so-called

Trade Commission.

This same bill was introduced into the house by Rep. J. I. Levin and strenuously urged for passage. It was carefully examined by a committee of the St. Paul Association. The following synopsis, from the Official Bulletin of Feb. 17, 1917, gives a very correct idea of the bill and ought to be sufficient to condemn it:

State Trade Commission.

Far reaching regulation of private business in Minnesota is proposed in a bill recently introduced in both houses of the Legislature.

This act (H. F. No. 2, S. F. No. 60) provides for a trade commission to have supervision over "any corporation, person or persons engaged in commerce, excepting banks, insurance companies and common carriers subject to the control of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission"

The powers of the commission are to be fourfold:

1. To prevent any concern under its jurisdiction "from using unfair methods of commerce." Just what these "unfair methods" are, the bill does not prescribe. Presumably they will be determined by the commission.

2. To require reports "annual or special, or both annual and special" * * * "as to the organization, business, conduct, practices, management and relation to other corporation, person or persons."

3. To investigate conditions of trade in the state, supply and demand of commodities, "and to determine what should be the maximum selling price of such commodities in various parts of the state as a whole or by districts to be determined by said commission." The commission has no authority to enforce these prices, but it may report them to the Legislature or the Governor and may publish them in newspapers.

4. To have "full access to * * * and the right to copy any documentary evidence of any corporation, person or persons being investigated" and also "to make public * * * such portions of the information obtained * * * except trade secrets and names of customers, as it shall deem expedient. * * *"

Much of the bill is devoted to a description of procedure, especially relating to court review—it being provided that courts on appeal may review the law, but that the commission's findings on facts are to be binding. Several provisions are made for penalties.

The commission is to consist of three men appointed by the Governor at salaries of $4,500 per annum, and a secretary appointed by the commission at $3,000. The bill carries an appropriation of $50,000.

This bill. if it becomes a law, will be unique in American legislation, as there is no such law in force in any of our states.

Several Association members have expressed an opinion that the bill is too drastic and far-reaching. It should receive the careful attention of all business men, as the scope of its operation would include all commercial activities except those already being regulated."

The entire principle of the bill is absolutely wrong. Purely private business needs no governmental regulation and should not be forced to submit to any such system of espionage. Private competitive business is, at all times, subject to the law of supply and demand—a much better regulator of prices than any statute can be.

Trading Stamps.

Another bill to cut out competition was by Mr. Novak and would prohibit the use of trading stamps.

This bill brought a host of protests from those who use such stamps for advertising purposes and as a discount to those who pay cash.

It is hard to see why the legislature should meddle with matters of this kind.

Isn't the giving of trading stamps a proper method of attracting trade?

Isn't it good policy to encourage habits of buying for cash rather than running accounts?

And here, again, have not the consuming public a right to be heard?

They want the stamps. They are attracted to the stores that offer them as inducements to pay cash. They should be considered. It is their right. The members of the Legislature are their representatives, not of the few dealers who either give or do not give stamps.

Later Senator Pauly introduced a bill to require any merchant using trading stamps to pay a license fee of $6,000.

This same bill was introduced into the House by Moeller and Lennon.

Such a law would probably be unconstitutional. If not it ought to be.

All these bills were defeated, but at the expense of much time and cost to people whose business is just as legitimate and proper as is the business of the farmer or mechanic or any other enterprise.

Destroying the Oleomargarine Business.

Another bill of this same character was the Welch bill

to destroy the business of making and selling oleomargarine.

This bill fixed a license tax of $1,000 a year on all manufacturers of oleomargarine, $500 a year on all wholesale dealers, and $100 a year on all retail dealers.

Now, oleomargarine is a wholesome food. The courts have so decided.

Thousands of people use it, and they have an undoubted right to do so, and they have a right to get it at as low a price as possible.

The effects of this bill if it became a law would be:

I. To drive out of the business most of the small grocers whose profits on their sales of this product would be less than the license fee.

II. To concentrate the entire business into the hands of a few large manufacturers and dealers—and thus create a monopoly—who could easily control the price and hand on to the consumer the entire tax several times over and a good big profit for collecting it.

III. To deprive consumers of their right to get this food at the lowest price possible.

Such laws are vicious class legislation, meddlesome and paternalistic and in violation of every principle of democracy and equal rights.

This bill was opposed by the Housewives' League of the cities, by the retail grocers, and by the consuming public generally.

The Oleo Bill was amended by reducing the license fees; but the principle was still just as bad.

The House seemed to think so when on April 9th it killed the bill. 29 for, 50 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Green, H. M.	Marschalk	Swanson, S. J.
Bjorge	Hammer	Neuman	Swenson
Burrows	Hinds	Norwood	Tollefson
Dealand	Johnson	Papke	Warner
Donovan	Larson	Peterson. A.	Welch
Flikkie	Leonard	Pikop	
Frisch	McLaughlin	Stenvick	
Frye	Madigan	Stevens	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Boock, J. W.	Hompe	Nolan	Siegel
Borgen	Howard	Nordlin	Sliter
Briggs	Indrehus	Norton	Solem
Carmichael	Konzen	Novak	Steen
Child	Lang	Odland	Stone
Christianson,T.	Lee	Pattison	Sudheimer
Corning	Lennon	Peterson,O.M.	Swanson, H. A.
Davis, T.	Levin	Pittenger	Teigen, A. F.
Dwyer	McNiven	Pratt	
Gleason	Malmberg	Putnam	
Grant	Marwin	Rodenberg	
Hale	Miner	Ryberg	
Harrison, J.M.	Moen	Searls	
Holmes	Murphy	Shipstead	

This left forty-one members not voting.

Home Rule—Local Self-Government.

"There ain't no such animal."

At least that is what anyone would suppose who should spend some time studying the bills that each session consume a very large part of the time of the legislature.

Most of the cities of the state are governing themselves under home rule charters, so there is little excuse for spending any time in the legislature with the local affairs of these cities.

St. Paul and Duluth are especially favored in this respect. Their charters are comprehensive and contain provisions whereby the people can propose and enact amendments whenever they so desire. And yet every session certain zealous members introduce bills into the legislature to make laws for the people of these cities.

One such bill provided for the issuing of $800,000 of St. Paul bonds to build sewers, and the people of St. Paul were not even given a chance to vote on the question.

Some Duluth members tried to bond that city for $200,000. The people of Duluth had previously voted down this bond issue.

In 1915 certain Ramsey County members asked the legislature to repeal the St. Paul Civil Service. Of course they failed. The people afterward voted on this question and defeated it.

Minneapolis and the Legislature.

Perhaps the most unfortunate thing at each session of the legislature is the fact that the City of Minneapolis is not under a home rule charter.

Many times home rule charters have been drafted and submitted to the people of that city for ratification, only to meet the opposition of the Street Railway Company and other special interests and go down to defeat.

Organized labor has usually helped to defeat these charters, because they have believed that labor's interests have been sacrificed.

The result is that a large part of the time of the legislature is used up in considering matters that are purely local and should be determined by the city council and the people of that city.

It would be a great blessing to Minneapolis and the state, if some bill could be passed amending the present charter of that city in such a way as to give them the needed power to manage their local affairs thereafter without going to the legislature.

Minneapolis Civil Service.

In 1915 and again in 1917 the question of the Minneapolis Civil Service was one of the most disturbing elements in the whole session.

All sorts of trades were made to get votes to repeal the Minneapolis Civil Service System.

In 1915 these efforts were successful in the House by a vote of 72 to 40 but failed in the Senate where the repealers only secured 26 votes.

On March 7, 1917, the question of repeal was a special order in the House and consumed nearly all day.

The Minneapolis members stood 11 to 5 against repeal. In 1915 it was 10 to 6 in favor of repeal. Of these ten six had been defeated for reelection, and one had changed sides. Two of the defeated men had been replaced by others who also favored repeal. Four had been defeated by others opposing repeal.

The discussion lasted about three hours.

Dwyer, Gleason, Lang, Devold and Lennon spoke at length and one would almost have thought that the salvation of the city depended upon the restoration of the spoils system.

Harrison, Marwin, Washburn, Norton, Howard, Ryberg, Solem and Child all spoke against repeal, and favored amending the law so as to get rid of acknowledged evils.

The repealers refused to listen to amendments. They wanted to wipe out the entire civil service and go back to the ancient system.

When the vote was taken the repealers lost. 59 for repeal; 67 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Bessette	Girling	Madigan	Pikop
Birkhofer	Gleason	Malmberg	Pratt
Boock, J. W.	Greene, T. J.	Marschalk	Praxel
Bouck, C. W.	Hammer	Miner	Rodenberg
Borgen	Harrison, H. H.	Moeller, G. H.	Ross
Brown	Hinds	Mueller, A. W.	Siegel
Carmichael	Knutson	Neitzel	Steen
Davis, T.	Konzen	Nett	Strand
Devold	Kuntz	Neuman	Swenson
Donovan	Lang	Nordlin	Teigen, A. F.
Dwyer	Lee	Novak	Thornton
Flowers	Lennon	Papke	Warner
Frye	Leonard	Pattison	Welch
Gerlich	McGrath	Pendergast	Winter
Gill	McLaughlin	Peterson, O.M.	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Flikkie	Marwin	Ryberg
Baldwin	Frisch	Moen	Searls
Bernard	Grant	Mossman	Seebach
Bjorge	Green, H. M.	Murphy	Shipstead
Bjorklund	Gullickson	Nimocks	Sliter
Briggs	Hale	Nolan	Solem
Burrows	Harrison, J. M	Nordgren	Southwick
Child	Hicken	Norton	Stenvick
Christianson,T	Holmes	Norwood	Stevens
Corning	Hompe	Odland	Stone
Crane	Howard	Olien	Sutherland
Cumming	Hulbert	Orr	Swanson, H. A.
Danielson	Indrehus	Peterson, A.	Swanson, S. J.
Dare	Johnson	Peterson, A. M.	Teigen, L. O.
Davies, J.	Larson	Pittenger	Tollefson
Dealand	Levin	Putnam	Washburn
Erickson	McNiven	Reed	

Four members did not vote.

Bendixen had been called to the School of Agriculture by a sick daughter.

Andrew Christanson and Sudheimer did not vote tho they had both answered the call of the House a short time before.

The Speaker is not recorded as voting. This is a common occurrence in the haste of legislation.

Of the 72 who voted to repeal in 1915, 26 did not return—4, Baldwin, Nimocks, Stenvick and Stevens changed and voted against repeal and Sudheimer did not vote.

Mueller and Pratt voted against repeal in 1915 and for it in 1917.

Dare, Nordgren, A. M. Peterson, Sliter, Southwick and L. O. Teigen did not vote in 1915, but were all against repeal in 1917.

Parker did not vote either time.

Amendments.

Having prevented repeal the friends of Civil Service now brought forward a number of amendments to the Senate bill, passed some time before, which had removed most of the objections to the law. These amendments were adopted without opposition, and the Senate bill was passed 104 to 9.

These 9 were Bessette, Carmichael, Donovan, T. J. Green, Lang, Lennon, Nett, Rodenberg and Winter.

Thus was ended a contest that for two sessions was perhaps the most demoralizing influence of all, unless possibly the so called boxing bill of 1915. Friends of these measures were ready to trade votes for anything and everything if they could only make gains for their side.

CHAPTER V.

PARTIZAN OR NON-PARTIZAN.

Shall we keep our Primary Election Law just as it is, or go back wholly or partly to the convention system?

Shall we retain the non-partizan legislature, or return to the party system?

These two questions are in the minds of the people. The **Old Guard,** reactionary politicians are weeping floods of tears over the loss of party control and predicting the ruin of the state unless we restore to **them—the said politicians—**the direction of our public affairs.

The Minneapolis Journal and Tribune have been tireless in their denunciation of the primary and non-partizan legislature, and their efforts have been more or less endorsed by some of the other city dailies and part of the country press.

Ex-Senator Canfield of Luverne summed this all up in a long address to the Senate February 1st.

In the following paragraphs the Minneapolis Journal gives what it called

"The Meat of the Indictment."

"The law has robbed the voters of the right to take the initiative in the selection of officers of their own choice.

"It has practically deprived the people of the right to

assemble and formulate principles which they may deem of vital interest to the public."

How and in What Way?

Isn't it just as possible as ever for any group of people to "assemble and formulate principles which they may deem of vital interest to the public?"

And haven't the people assembled time and again in just this way, formulated their principles and made their demands? What about the meetings of the Anti-Saloon League, the Northern Minnesota Development League, the All Minnesota Development League, the Statewide Tax Conference, The Federation of Labor, and the numberless conventions of grocers, butchers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, teachers, barbers, hardware dealers, agricultural implement men, commercial travelers and editors, all of whom have "formulated their principles," made their demands relating to public affairs, endorsed candidates and appointed committees to draft bills and urge their passage?

Is there anything in the law that in any way hampers such action?

Some More of the Indictment.

"It has made the selfish interests of the chronic and professional office seekers paramount to the rights and interests of the people."

Well, so far as the legislature is concerned the "chronic and professional office seekers" appear to be rapidly diminishing. They are very conspicuous by their absence. Hence those tears.

The Essence of the Indictment.

"It tends to destroy political parties and party responsibility to the people, which results in chaos and confusion which is reflected in crude and half digested legislation."

Yes, it does tend to destroy political parties—political machines—and the people are very glad. No longer can political bosses dictate policies and bulldoze members of the legislature. No longer do the brewery crowd and the political machine dictate nominations, taking precious good care that their Republican henchmen are nominated in Republican districts and their Democratic henchmen are put forward in Democratic districts.

The special interests have lost control—completely lost control.

The party whip is no longer feared and has lost its power.

The party boss finds his occupation gone.

The candidates are responsible to no one but the people who elect them.

They are chosen for their personal character and for the policies they stand for.

All this stimulates the people to study public questions, to take an interest, heretofore unknown, in the affairs of state and in the acts of their public servants.

Legislation is far less likely to be **"crude and half digested,"** for each member feels a greater degree of personal responsibility.

The indications of **"chaos and confusion"** are confined to the old guard politicians who are out of a job.

Nor is there anything to prevent the assembling of conventions of any political party or any other group of people to formulate their policies and put forward their candidates.

The Democratic party has had two such conventions, in one of which they nominated Mr. Hammond for governor, and the people elected him.

The Republican party had one convention—**the famous conference of elimination**—and put forward their candidate, and he was nominated by the Republican voters, though he failed of election.

Is it wise to attempt to regulate party conventions by statute and force them to be held?

Is it wise to dictate to the people how they shall, or shall not, come together to consult as to the affairs of the state?

Is it not far better to leave them free to take the initiative themselves and gather, or not gather in conference or convention as their needs may require?

Independence in Politics.

There has certainly been a great gain in the direction of independence, not only in the men who have been sent to the legislature, but also among the voters themselves. They have discovered that they can get along without party bosses to do their thinking for them and they rather like it. Really, it isn't such a hard job to think for yourself after you get a little used to it. It may make your head ache at first, but you get over that in time.

Independence in politics is a mighty good thing for all except would-be leaders and party bosses; and even they will finally cease to let out their lamentations.

The Primary or Something Better.

The primary has been a great improvement over the old party conventions. It has enabled the people to select and nominate the men they want. If those who offer themselves as candidates are not fairly satisfactory to the voters, it is easy for them to consult together and bring out men who are. This has been done many times since the primary was adopted, and it is likely to become more common in the future.

But there are objections to the primary system. It is expensive. It requires the candidate to make two campaigns; and under our present law the voter has only one choice.

The Colorado System.

In many of the cities of Colorado, in Spokane, Wash., in Ashtabula, Ohio, and other places they have adopted a system less expensive and more efficient.

There is only one election.

The candidates are nominated by petition.

The names are all on one ticket.

The voter marks his first choice under column 1, and his second choice under 2.

If there are any others on the ticket that he does not object to, he puts a cross opposite these names in column 3.

If there were a dozen candidates for Mayor, the voter

would look down the list, find his first choice, and mark him in column 1.

If he wishes to do so, he stops here and does not vote for anyone else.

If he finds a name on the ticket who is his second choice, he marks him in column 2.

Now, there may be three or four others, any one of whom he has no real objection to; so he will give each one of them a vote in column 3.

There will probably be one or more on the ticket that he does **not** want.

Well, he doesn't vote for any of them.

The Result.

Under this system no man can be elected who is not fairly satisfactory to a majority of the voters.

Possibly some man will have enough first choice votes to elect. This was the case at the first election in Spokane under this plan; so there was no need of counting the second or other choices. On the contrary, at the first election at Grand Junction, Colorado, all the choices had to be counted. Of course the man elected had a majority of all the votes cast.

The great merit of this system lies in the chance to vote for all of the candidates that you do not seriously object to; just as in a convention, if you can't get your first choice, you keep on balloting till some one is nominated.

This system combines all the advantages of both the primary and the convention.

It is simple and inexpensive to candidates and has given general satisfaction wherever it has been adopted.

Improving (?) the System.

No less than five different bills were introduced to "improve" the present system.

1. Senator Rustad proposed to elect delegates at the spring elections, who should meet before the primaries and nominate candidates for Senator in Congress and for all state officers.

This bill did not interfere with the present non-partizan legislature nor with county, city or village officers.

The candidates nominated by these party conventions were to have after their names on the official ballot the words, "Endorsed by the————party," using the word Republican, Democratic, Prohibition, Progressive, Socialist, etc., as the case might be.

Of course, other candidates might file.

This plan practically forces political parties to hold conventions, whether there is any call for it or not, and fixes rules and regulations for their conduct.

This bill would make it more expensive for candidates, for they would have the added burden of a campaign for delegates to this early convention.

In the house Odland, Shipstead and Indrehus had introduced a bill of very similar nature.

When the Rustad bill came up in the Senate on Special Order March 20th, Geo. H. Sullivan attempted to amend the bill so as to make it the Odland House Bill.

Mr. Rustad moved to postpone the whole matter until Tuesday, March 27th. This was a move to gain time in the hope of saving the bill. The House was to vote on the Odland bill Friday, March 23rd. If the bill passed the House it would give it prestige for the contest on March 27th in the Senate.

This motion was lost, 31 to 32.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Gandrud	McGarry	Sageng
Baldwin	Gjerset	O'Neill	Sullivan, G. H.
Benson	Healy	Orr	Swenson
Blomgren	Hegnes	Peterson, F. H.	Turnham
Campbell, A. S.	Hilbert	Putnam	Vibert
Denegre	Holmberg	Rockne	Wallace
Dunn, W. W.	Johnston	Rustad	Westlake
Dwinnell	Lende	Rystrom	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Gillam	Lobeck	Rask
Andrews	Glotzbach	Millett	Ries
Bonniwell	Grose	Nelson	Steffen
Buckler	Handlan	Nord	Sullivan, J. D.
Callahan	Hanson	Palmer	Van Hoven
Campbell, W. A.	Jackson	Pauly	Vermilya
Carley	Jones	Peterson, E. P.	Ward
Dunn, R. C.	Knopp	Potter	Weis

The 32 who voted against postponing may safely be regarded as against the bill. They probably wanted to kill it on the spot and prevent any tampering with the primary system.

The other 31 may, or may not, have favored the bill. They were at least willing to give it another chance.

After some discussion, Rockne moved to postpone action till **Wednesday, March 28th,** and gained the support of R. C. Dunn, Grose, Handlan, Nord, Palmer, Pauly, E. P. Peterson, Rask.

Callahan and Potter did not vote this time.

The Odland Bill in the House.

The Odland Bill came up in the House on schedule time March 23rd, and was badly defeated.

The House was in no mood to tamper with the primary law.

Odland, Shipstead, Indrehus, Swenson and Girling did their best to save the bill, but in vain.

Tom Davis, Theo. Christianson, Erickson, Corning, Malmberg, A. F. Teigen, and H. A. Swanson assaulted the bill vigorously, declaring that it would restore the party machines, that it would make it harder still for a poor man to be a candidate, that the system had failed where it had been tried, and that there was no demand for it from the plain people—only from the politicians who can no longer control elections and are now out of a job.

"This bill is only the first step. It is intended to go on and restore the partisan system all down thru the list to legislative, county and city officers," was Corning's claim.

Odland, Shipstead and Indrehus—all good, clean, pro-

gressive men—among the best in the House—but honestly mistaken—went down to defeat, 44 to 76.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Baldwin	Gleason	Madigan	Rodenberg
Birkhofer	Hammer	Marschalk	Ross
Bouck, C. W.	Harrison, J. M.	Mossman	Seebach
Borgen	Hicken	Murphy	Shipstead
Brown	Hinds	Nolan	Southwick
Burrows	Hompe	Odland	Stenvick
Davies, J.	Indrehus	Orr	Stevens
Devold	Knutson	Peterson, A.	Strand
Flowers	Konzen	Pikop	Swenson
Frisch	Larson	Pittenger	Warner
Girling	McNiven	Pratt	Mr. Speaker

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Erickson	McLaughlin	Praxel
Bendixen	Flikkie	Malmberg	Putnam
Bernard	Frye	Marwin	Reed
Bessette	Gerlich	Miner	Searls
Bjorge	Gill	Moeller, G. H.	Siegel
Bjorklund	Grant	Moen	Sliter
Boock, J. W.	Green, H. M.	Neitzel	Solem
Briggs	Gullickson	Nett	Steen
Carmichael	Hale	Neuman	Stone
Child	Holmes	Nimocks	Sudheimer
Christanson, A	Hulbert	Nordgren	Sutherland
Christianson, T	Johnson	Nordlin	Swanson, H. A.
Corning	Kuntz	Norton	Swanson, S. J.
Crane	Lang	Norwood	Teigen, A. F.
Cumming	Lee	Novak	Teigen, L. O.
Davis, T.	Lennon	Olien	Tollefson
Dealand	Leonard	Papke	Washburn
Donovan	Levin	Peterson, A M.	Welch
Dwyer	McGrath	Peterson, O. M.	Winter

Ten members did not vote: Danielson, Dare, T. J. Green, H. H. Harrison, Howard, A. W. Mueller, Pattison, Pendergast, Ryberg, Thornton.

Danielson, Howard, A. W. Mueller and Thornton had answered to roll call a short time before. The other six seem to have been absent, though all had answered roll call in the morning.

Of the forty-four only four are known to be Democrats; three "dry," one "wet."

The Socialists are always partizan, of course.

The Harrison Bill.

This bill, introduced by J. M. Harrison of Minneapolis, attempted two things:

1. To abolish the non-partizan legislature and return to the party system.

2. To provide for the election, at the June primaries, of delegates who should meet in party conventions and make nominations to all places on the ticket where no candidate at the primaries had received as much as 40 per cent of the total party vote polled.

The provision abolishing the non-partizan legislature was very unpopular except among the party bosses and the special

interest newspapers, who had been very loud in their demands.

The second provision was not particularly more or less objectionable than the Odland bill.

Harrison's bill was on the same special order and came up immediately after the defeat of the Odland bill.

As soon as Mr. Harrison had a chance to look about and view the scattered remains of the Odland bill, he amended his own bill by cutting out the part that abolished the non-partizan legislature.

Too late! The die was cast. The house was in no mood to tamper with the primary; and, with almost no discussion, Harrison's bill was thrown into the scrap heap along with the fragments of the Odland bill.

And thus was another good, clean, high-minded statesman made to realize the danger of meddling with the buzz saw of popular opinion.

The bill was defeated 20 to 87.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Davies, J.	Hicken	Nolan	Searls
Flowers	Konzen	Pittenger	Seebach
Girling	McNiven	Pratt	Southwick
Hammer	Marschalk	Reed	Thornton
Harrison, J. M.	Mossman	Ross	Warner

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Dwyer	Lennon	Praxel
Baldwin	Erickson	Leonard	Putnam
Bendixen	Flikkie	Levin	Rodenberg
Bernard	Frisch	McGrath	Siegel
Bessette	Frye	McLaughlin	Sliter
Birkhofer	Gerlich	Madigan	Solem
Bjorge	Gill	Malmberg	Steen
Bjorklund	Grant	Marwin	Stenvick
Boock, J. W.	Green, H. M.	Neitzel	Stevens
Bouck, C. W.	Gullickson	Neuman	Stone
Briggs	Hale	Nordgren	Strand
Brown	Hinds	Nordlin	Sudheimer
Carmichael	Holmes	Norton	Sutherland
Child	Hompe	Norwood	Swanson, H. A.
Christanson, A	Howard	Novak	Swanson, S. J.
Christianson, T	Hulbert	Olien	Teigen, A. F.
Corning	Indrehus	Orr	Teigen, L. O.
Crane	Johnson	Papke	Tollefson
Cumming	Kuntz	Peterson, A.	Washburn
Davis, T.	Lang	Peterson, A. M.	Welch
Dealand	Larson	Peterson, O. M.	Winter
Donovan	Lee	Pikop	

Twenty-three did not vote: Borgen, Burrows, Danielson, Dare, Devold, Gleason, T. J. Green, H. H. Harrison, Knutson, Miner, A. W. Mueller, G. H. Moeller, Moen, Murphy, Nett, Nimocks, Odland, Pattison, Pendergast, Ryberg, Shipstead, Swenson, Speaker.

Swenson had been excused since the last roll call.

Every member had answered to roll call in the morning.

The Minneapolis Tribune and Journal for more than two years have waged increasing war on the non-partizan legislature and the state-wide primary.

The old reactionaries of the party machines have worked overtime and violated the eight-hour law in their zeal to recover lost ground.

Magnus Martinson "has devoted his brilliant talents and his untiring energy to this cause" for nearly a year.

All these efforts were of no avail.

The people are satisfied, and the reactionaries will have to be.

Killing the Rustad Bill.

On March 30th the Rustad bill, and Sullivan's attempt to substitute the Odland bill came up in the Senate on special order. The Odland bill was very dead in the House, so Sullivan withdrew his amendment.

Rustad and Duxbury made strong pleas for its passage. Wm. A. Campbell was the principal speaker against it.

Jackson tried to amend so as not to permit the choice of conventions to have that fact endorsed on the ballot. He had no objection to regulating party conventions, but was not willing that their candidates should have any advantage on the ballot.

His amendment was defeated by a tie, 31 to 31.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Alley	Glotzbach	Nelson	Steffen
Bonniwell	Grose	Nord	Sullivan, J. D.
Buckler	Hilbert	Orr	Turnham
Callahan	Jackson	Palmer	Van Hoven
Campbell, W. A.	Jones	Pauly	Vermilya
Carley	Knopp	Peterson, E. P.	Ward
Gardner	Lobeck	Potter	Weis
Gillam	Millett	Sageng	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Dunn, W. W.	Johnston	Rustad
Andrews	Duxbury	Lende	Rystrom
Baldwin	Dwinnell	O'Neill	Sullivan, G. H.
Benson	Gandrud	Peterson, F. H.	Swenson
Blomgren	Gjerset	Peterson, G. M.	Vibert
Campbell, A. S.	Griggs	Putnam	Wallace
Denegre	Hanson	Rask	Westlake
Dunn, R. C.	Holmberg	Rockne	

Five did not vote: Handlan, Healy, Hegnes, McGarry and Ries.

The bill was then killed, 29 for, 34 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Duxbury	O'Neill	Sullivan, G. H.
Andrews	Dwinnell	Palmer	Swenson
Benson	Gjerset	Peterson, F. H.	Vibert
Blomgren	Griggs	Peterson, G. M.	Wallace
Campbell, A. S.	Holmberg	Putnam	Westlake
Denegre	Johnston	Rockne	
Dunn, R. C.	Lende	Rustad	
Dunn, W. W.	McGarry	Rystrom	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Gillam	Millett	Steffen
Baldwin	Glotzbach	Nelson	Sullivan, J. D.
Bonniwell	Grose	Nord	Turnham
Buckler	Hanson	Orr	Van Hoven

Callahan	Hilbert	Pauly	Vermilya
Campbell, W.A.	Jackson	Peterson, E. P.	Ward
Carley	Jones	Potter	Weis
Gandrud	Knopp	Rask	
Gardner	Lobeck	Sageng	

Four did not vote: Handlan, Healy, Hegnes and Ries.

The Dwinnell Bill.

The fifth and last attempt to "improve" the system met its fate in the Senate April 4th.

This was the Dwinnell bill to abolish the non-partisan legislature and return to the party system.

Dwinnell, Holmberg and O'Neill spoke in favor of the bill, using the same arguments that were so freely used by ex-Senator Canfield and the Republican party press, with the added claim that the Brewery crowd had put this non-partizan-legislature over onto the people and every dry man should vote to go back to the party system.

They were answered by Wm. A. Campbell, Gillam, Glotzbach and Lobeck, who denied that the breweries had anything to do with it; and anyway, if they did do it, they were very sorry now, for it was a decided boomerang. The "wets" have got the worst of it.

The vote was a surprise to both sides, for only 23 could be mustered for the repeal.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Dwinnell	Johnston	Rustad
Blomgren	Gjerset	Lende	Rystrom
Campbell, A. S.	Griggs	McGarry	Swenson
Dunn, R. C.	Healy	O'Neill	Wallace
Dunn, W. W.	Hegnes	Peterson, G. M.	Westlake
Duxbury	Holmberg	Putnam	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Gardner	Millett	Sageng
Andrews	Gillam	Nelson	Steffen
Baldwin	Glotzbach	Nord	Sullivan, G. H.
Benson	Grose	Orr	Sullivan, J. D.
Bonniwell	Handlan	Pauly	Turnham
Buckler	Hanson	Peterson, E. P.	Van Hoven
Callahan	Hilbert	Peterson, F. H.	Vermilya
Campbell, W.A.	Jackson	Potter	Vibert
Carley	Jones	Rask	Ward
Denegre	Knopp	Ries	Weis
Gandrud	Lobeck	Rockne	

Palmer was absent—excused.

The Presidential Preference Primary.

This law has been tried once in Minnesota and had few friends in the legislature, most of whom are Republicans. They denounced it as expensive, farcical and devoid of results.

The House voted its repeal, 88 to 28.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Baldwin	Gerlich	Madigan	Praxel
Bendixen	Gill	Marschalk	Reed
Bessette	Girling	Marwin	Rodenberg
Birkhofer	Gleason	Miner	Ross

Bjorge	Grant	Moen	Searls
Bjorklund	Hammer	Mossman	Seebach
Boock, J. W.	Harrison, J. M.	Murphy	Shipstead
Borgen	Hicken	Nett	Sliter
Briggs	Hinds	Neuman	Solem
Brown	Howard	Nimocks	Southwick
Burrows	Indrehus	Nolan	Stenvick
Carmichael	Knutson	Nordgren	Stevens
Child	Konzen	Nordlin	Stone
Christanson, A	Kuntz	Novak	Sudheimer
Christianson, T	Lang	Odland	Sutherland
Crane	Larson	Olien	Swanson, S. J.
Cumming	Lee	Orr	Thornton
Davies, J.	Lennon	Papke	Tollefson
Dealand	Leonard	Peterson, A.	Warner
Dwyer	McGrath	Peterson, O. M.	Washburn
Flowers	McLaughlin	Pittenger	Winter
Frisch	McNiven	Pratt	Mr. Speaker

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Flikkie	Hulbert	Putnam
Bernard	Frye	Johnson	Steen
Bouck, C. W.	Green, H. M.	Levin	Strand
Corning	Gullickson	Neitzel	Swanson, H. A.
Davis, T.	Hale	Norwood	Teigen, A. F.
Donovan	Holmes	Peterson, A. M.	Teigen, L. O.
Erickson	Hompe	Pikop	Welch

Fourteen did not vote: Danielson, Dare, Devold, T. J. Green, H. H. Harrison, Malmberg, A. W. Mueller, Geo. H. Moeller, Norton, Pattison, Pendergast, Ryberg, Siegel, Swenson.

Mr. Swenson is the only member who appears to have been excused.

The House bill was passed in the Senate March 28th, 36 to 17.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Dunn, W. W.	Johnston	Putnam
Alley	Duxbury	Knopp	Rystrom
Andrews	Dwinnell	Lende	Sullivan, G. H.
Benson	Gandrud	McGarry	Sullivan, J. D.
Blomgren	Gjerset	Millett	Turnham
Callahan	Griggs	O'Neill	Van Hoven
Campbell, A, S,	Grose	Palmer	Vermilya
Denegre	Hanson	Peterson, E. P.	Vibert
Dunn, R. C.	Hegnes	Peterson, G. M.	Westlake

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bonniwell	Glotzbach	Orr	Ward
Buckler	Hilbert	Potter	Weis
Campbell, W.A.	Holmberg	Rask	
Carley	Jackson	Ries	
Gillam	Nelson	Steffen	

Fourteen did not vote: Baldwin, Gardner, Handlan, Healy, Jones, Lobeck, Nord, Pauly, F. H. Peterson, Rockne, Rustad Sageng, Swenson, Wallace.

Sageng, Rustad and F. H. Peterson had been excused for the day.

Thus it appears that the net result of all this gigantic campaign against the primary and the non-partizan system, is the repeal of the Presidential preference primary, and it is a question if even this will not prove to be a great mistake. Time alone will tell.

CHAPTER VI.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

We claim to believe in democracy.

We prate about "equal rights for all and special privileges to none."

We declare that governments derive all their just power from the consent of the governed.

We quote approvingly the phrase: "A government of the people, by the people, for the people."

And then,

In more than half of the states, women are denied even the right to vote.

Are not women **people**? Are they not **governed**?

How slow we are to correct evils.

It is easier to do nothing than to move forward.

If we believe in **equal rights**, why not act and remove the restriction that denies **equal rights** to women?

If we believe in government **by the people**, why should we confine it to half the people?

To do this the constitution of Minnesota must be amended.

It is difficult to amend the constitution of Minnesota—very difficult.

In the early days it was easy, but in the legislature of 1897, W. W. Dunn, then a House member, now in the Senate, but all this while attorney for the Hamm Brewing Co., put thru a bill to change the plan and require a majority of all those who go to the polls and vote for any candidate, to vote yes on a constitutional amendment in order to carry it.

Before that it only required a majority of those voting on the question.

Mr. Dunn admitted that this was to forever prevent a prohibition amendment from passing.

Because it is so difficult to amend the constitution many equal suffragists opposed at this time the submission of such an amendment.

They claimed it would subject them to an expensive and tiresome campaign with little chance to win.

This was the position of the Minnesota Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Andreas Ueland, President.

They did, however, urge the legislature to grant them presidential suffrage, at that time enjoyed by the women of Illinois, and since granted to the women of Ohio, Indiana, Arkansas, North Dakota, Michigan, Nebraska and Rhode Island.

On the other hand the Equal Franchise League, Miss Theresa Peyton, President, asked for the submission of the constitutional amendment.

This position was also supported by many other suffragists, and seemed to have the support of the Legislature.

The bill to amend the constitution was introduced by

A. M. Peterson of Itasca Co., and was made a special order for Feb. 21, in the House.

This was the question:

"Shall the Legislature submit to the men of the state whether women shall be given the full right to vote, just the same as the men?"

The discussion was comparatively tame.

Mr. Peterson led off with a clear and concise statement of the reasons in favor of the bill, and was followed by Bernard, Corning, Stenvick, Southwick, Bendixen, Johnson and Holmes.

Mr. Holmes expressed his disgust with the rich women with servants and leisure, who come down here from their elegant homes and urge us to deny the ballot to their poorer sisters who must battle with the world and earn their own living unprotected by wealth, influence or privilege.

Mr. Konzen declared himself an anti-suffragist, but urged the passage of the bill on the ground that it is a great and important public question and should be submitted to the voters for their decision.

Mr. Girling opposed the bill because he didn't want to drag women into the dirty pool of politics, and the great expense it would be to the state.

Mr. Nordlin was afraid that we would get away from the representative form of government founded by our forefathers.

After about three hours of debate the vote was taken and the bill passed, 85 to 41.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Gill	Marwin	Seebach
Baldwin	Grant	Moeller, G. H.	Shipstead
Bendixen	Green, H. M.	Moen	Sliter
Bernard	Greene, T. J.	Mossman	Solem
Bjorge	Gullickson	Nolan	Southwick
Bjorklund	Hale	Nordgren	Stenvick
Burrows	Harrison, H.H.	Norton	Stevens
Child	Harrison, J.M.	Norwood	Stone
Christianson,T.	Hicken	Odland	Strand
Corning	Hinds	Olien	Sudheimer
Crane	Holmes	Orr	Sutherland
Cumming	Hompe	Pendergast	Swanson, H. A.
Danielson	Howard	Peterson, A.	Swanson, S. J.
Dare	Hulbert	Peterson, A.M.	Teigen, A. F.
Davies, J.	Indrehus	Peterson, O.M.	Teigen, L. O.
Davis, T.	Johnson	Pikop	Tollefson
Dealand	Knutson	Pratt	Warner
Devold	Konzen	Putnam	Washburn
Erickson	Lee	Reed	Mr. Speaker
Flikkie	Levin	Ross	
Frisch	Madigan	Ryberg	
Frye	Marschalk	Searls	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bessette	Flowers	Malmberg	Pittenger
Birkhofer	Gerlich	Miner	Praxel
Boock, J. W.	Girling	Mueller, A. W.	Rodenberg
Bouck, C. W.	Gleason	Neitzel	Siegel
Borgen	Hammer	Nett	Steen
Briggs	Kuntz	Neuman	Swenson
Brown	Lang	Nimocks	Welch

Carmichael	Lennon	Nordlin	Winter
Christanson,A.	Leonard	Novak	
Donovan	McGrath	Papke	
Dwyer	McLaughlin	Pattison	

Briggs, McGrath and Mueller at first voted yes, but changed to no before the vote was announced.

McNiven, Murphy and Thornton were absent.

Mr. Larson, a suffrage leader, was excused on account of sickness.

Of the 41 who voted against suffrage all but five, Briggs, Neitzel, Neuman, Novak, and Praxel, had voted against prohibition, while Frisch, T. J. Green, Geo. H. Moeller, Pendergast, O. M. Peterson, and Reed were for suffrage and against prohibition.

Both questions involved the same principle—submitting an important question to the people.

THE NEXT CHAPTER.

When this bill reached the Senate the same controversy arose.

Many wanted presidential suffrage first, disliking the labor and expense of a campaign to amend the constitution.

Some thought a suffrage amendment would endanger the **Prohibition Amendment** if both were on the ballot in 1918.

The anti-suffrage women were out in full force, talking much and saying nothing.

They begged and pleaded that the awful burden of putting a little piece of paper into the ballot box once in a while be not imposed on them.

Well, there was nothing in the law to compel them to vote if they did not want to.

Women of wealth and leisure, clad in silks and furs, brilliant in diamonds and hand-painted, besieging the legislature and begging the members to refuse the ballot to their less favored sisters who greatly need it, and modestly ask it!

What an illustration of narrow selfishness!

What a dog in the manger policy!

They don't want it themselves and they won't let anyone else have it.

An Oratorical Deluge.

On the afternoon of March 29th, four hours' time was given over to oratory on this question.

Putnam, Andrews, F. H. Peterson, Sageng, O'Neil and Jones spoke for equal suffrage and urged that women be permited to vote for President.

Geo. Sullivan made two long and very eloquent speeches, pleading for the American home, which would surely be destroyed if women were compelled to vote.

Duxbury was sure that the ballot for women would inevitably lead to government by women. The men could never resist their blandishments, and thus all the offices would finally be filled by women. Disaster and ruin would overtake the nation. Let woman stay in her proper sphere. Let her be attached to some man who will vote for her and represent her in public affairs. Moreover, it is only the unattached women who are howling for the vote, and they are so unattractive they cannot get men to marry them. Just how these ugly

sirens would proceed to get possession of all the offices Mr. Duxbury did not explain.

A. S. Campbell declared that he represented the people of his district and the state. The women backing this bill couldn't earn an honest living in any other occupation. His voice was not very clear and he found it difficult to make himself understood.

But for many years back Mr. Campbell's district has sent advocates of equal suffrage to both House and Senate. Possibly Mr. Campbell does not represent his district on this question. Time will tell.

Senator Jones quoted the platforms of all five national political parties, all demanding equal suffrage, and asked why the Senators were afraid to stand on their national party platforms.

31 Senators voted for suffrage, 35 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Alley	Gillam	Nelson	Rustad
Andrews	Gjerset	O'Neill	Rystrom
Benson	Hanson	Orr	Sageng
Buckler	Holmberg	Palmer	Turnham
Campbell, W.A.	Jackson	Peterson, E. P.	Vermilya
Denegre	Jones	Peterson, F.H.	Vibert
Gandrud	Lende	Potter	Wallace
Gardner	Lobeck	Putnam	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Duxbury	Knopp	Steffen
Baldwin	Dwinnell	McGarry	Sullivan, J. D.
Blomgren	Glotzbach	Millett	Sullivan, G. H.
Bonniwell	Griggs	Nord	Swenson
Callahan	Grose	Pauly	Van Hoven
Campbell, A.S.	Handlan	Peterson, G.M.	Ward
Carley	Hegnes	Rask	Weis
Dunn, R. C.	Hilbert	Ries	Westlake
Dunn, W. W.	Johnston	Rockne	

Senator Healey was not present.

Senators Dwinnell, R. C. Dunn and Ward pledged themselves to vote for a constitutional amendment giving women full suffrage.

Blomgren, Carley, R. C. Dunn, Dwinnell, and Griggs, of the opponents, had voted two years ago for the constitutional amendment.

Buckler, Jackson and Nelson changed to suffrage since two years ago.

The End.

The final act in the suffrage drama occurred on Monday afternoon, April 9th, when the Senate Elections Committee reported the woman's suffrage constitutional amendment out for indefinite postponement.

Of course this action was partly due to the women who did not want the trouble and expense of a probably fruitless campaign, and partly due to the fear that this amendment on the ballot would endanger the prohibition amendment.

O'Neill tried to save the bill but could only muster 14 votes.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Buckler	Jones	Palmer	Turnham
Campbell, W.A.	Lobeck	Potter	Ward
Carley	O'Neill	Rask	
Dunn, R. C.	Orr	Steffen	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Gardner	Lende	Sageng
Alley	Gillam	McGarry	Sullivan, G. H.
Andrews	Gjerset	Millett	Sullivan, J. D.
Baldwin	Glotzbach	Nelson	Swenson
Benson	Griggs	Nord	Van Hoven
Blomgren	Grose	Pauly	Vermilya
Bonniwell	Handlan	Peterson, E.P.	Vibert
Callahan	Hanson	Peterson, F.H.	Wallace
Campbell, A.S.	Healy	Peterson, G.M.	Weis
Denegre	Hegnes	Putnam	Westlake
Dunn, W. W.	Hilbert	Ries	
Duxbury	Jackson	Rockne	
Dwinnell	Knopp	Rustad	

The fourteen seemed determined to vote their convictions anyway.

Of the other 49, twenty had voted for suffrage at the last session.

Four did not vote: Gandrud, Holmberg, Johnston, Rystrom.

CHAPTER VII.

TAXATION.

Should a man earn his own living by his labor of hand and brain, or would it be just as well if he begged or stole it?

By the same token how should a community get its taxes (the community living) ? out of the values itself has created, or by forcibly taking them from men and women who have honestly earned all they possess?

Yes, we all know that every community produces values. All the enormous value of land in city and country, in mine and forest, and water power, in oil and gas wells, in sites for wharves and docks and railroad terminals—all these are values that are produced by the public—by the community as a whole—by society in its organized capacity. These values are due to the presence of the people, to their intelligence, their industry, their civilization.

Everything that goes to make a community a desirable place to live adds to the value of the land on which that community is located.

Now since the community has produced the value of land—since the natural resources are the common property of all the people—where is the right or justice in a system of taxation that allows these publicly-created values to become the private property of the few who own the titles to our mines and forests and oil wells, our city lots and water power, and other natural resources?

Where is the justice of taxing people for having homes and farms and shops and stores, or on the food they raise,

the tools and implements of their industry, the clothes they wear, and the furniture they have in their houses?

In short where is the justice of a system that robs the producer under the guise of taxation, and leaves the great socially created values to make and maintain millionaires?

Is All Property Alike?

But someone replies, "Shouldn't all property be compelled to pay taxes?"

Property does not pay taxes. Men and women pay taxes, and they must either pay them out of the values their labor has produced or out of the value of land which has come to them because they own the title to some part of Nature's gift to all.

And now I hear someone ask, "Hasn't a man the right to be protected in the ownership of what he has bought and paid for?"

Well, that depends.

In the first place, he can't get any better title than the seller had to give. All concede this.

If he buys a stolen horse, he gets no title at all.

If he buys a piece of land, he knows, or ought to know, that he gets only the right of peaceable and continuous possession, and that only so long as he pays his taxes.

He knows, or ought to know, that the people have a right to change their tax laws.

He also knows, or ought to know, that his title deed carries with it no right to this community-created value. It gives him only the right to possess and use.

Many careless thinkers get the notion that their title deeds also guarantee the right to possess and own the community-created value of the land.

Unfortunately for them, the courts hold otherwise. They hold that the people can change their tax system so as to take for public use "any part or all" of this publicly-created value—to quote from the U. S. Supreme Court.

If, for a time, the people retain a tax system that permits these public values to remain in the pockets of the title owners, those fortunate people should be very thankful for the special favor.

The people may not always be so foolish. Some day they may decide to take their own; and then the farmers, and home owners, the laborers and business men, will pay less taxes than now, and we won't have so many millionaires; made such by the private absorption of public values.

The Change Is Coming.

That the people are getting ready to change their tax system in the direction above indicated, may be seen from the great interest they are taking in the subject and especially from the great number of favorable comments in the press upon the so-called "Jones bills," and the letters and petitions to the legislature asking for their passage.

The "Jones bills" were introduced into the Senate by Jones, Bonniwell, Turnham, Gillam, Buckler, E. P. Peterson, Wm. A. Campbell, Sageng, Lobeck and Rask; and into

the House by Indrehus, Shipstead, A. Peterson, Odland, Holmes, Marwin, Ryberg and Nolan.

The one vital thing in these bills is that they propose to tax most labor products less and land values more.

Taxes would be lower on all household goods, furniture, wearing apparel and everything that goes to making the home more comfortable and fit to live in; on all dwelling houses and their out buildings, wells, windmills, drains, fences and all other improvements about the city or country dwelling; on all farm animals, crops and implements; on all materials, machinery, tools and finished products of manufacture; and finally on all merchandise and fixtures in all kinds of stores and shops.

Effects.

First, it would cost less in taxes to have a home—hence more homes; more men needed to build and equip homes, fewer people idle, better wages, more people able to have homes.

Second, it would cost less in taxes to build and operate factories, shops and stores; hence more of them; again more demand for labor, more people employed, better wages, more purchasing power, more demand for food, clothing, homes and all the comforts of life.

Third, it would cost less in taxes to hold and develop farms: more farms opened up and improved, more demand for materials and labor, more productive industry, less idleness and poverty.

Fourth, it would cost more to hold city lots or farming lands idle. Unused lands and lots would be offered on the market at lower prices: more lots put to use, more farms improved, more men needed to do the work, more employment, better wages, a higher level of comfort and civilization.

Fifth, the lots in the city and lands in the country would be used more regularly, and consecutively so far as the city should spread or the country be settled. It would cost proportionately less to build city streets, sewers, water main, street car lines, telephone service, and every other service that now has to be built thru and beyond all the vast vacant tracts, held idle because of low taxes.

Seventh, in the country, settlement would be more compact—less expense for building roads, better roads at less cost, better schools nearer to the homes of the pupils, easier to maintain civic centers, more opportunity for exchange of views, for lecture courses, for a higher and better country life.

Ex-Governor Lind Endorses.

The following is from the Duluth Labor World:

St. Paul, Minn., March 1.—Friday afternoon, before a large audience in the house chamber, the tax committee held a public hearing on the bills introduced into the senate by Senator Richard Jones and several others, and into the house by Representative Edward Indrehus and about a dozen more.

These bills materially reduce taxes on all farm crops, machinery, cattle and household goods; all merchandise and fixtures; all manufacturing material, machinery and finished products; and on all buildings, structures and improvements

in and upon land, including the value of clearing, drainage, and fertilizing.

Former Governor John Lind made a very vigorous speech in favor of the general principle involved in the bills and strongly urged legislation in this direction.

He showed how the present system penalizes the working farmer, and encourages the speculator in farm lands; how the city business man and home owner is fined by taxation while the owner of vacant lots is encouraged by low taxation.

These bills, Governor Lind insisted, would relieve the situation.

The entire hearing was very interesting, and Governor Lind rose to a high level of eloquence and earnestness when he declared that we must look at all such questions in the broad light of the general good.

All Benefited.

"All will be benefited, some more than others, it is true, but all who labor and produce; all who build up and improve, all who engage in useful service, these will be benefited. Only the land monopolists will be injured, and they have no claim to consideration. They are employing no labor, but are preventing employment by holding lots and lands at a prohibitive price. They are producing no wealth, but are preventing others from producing.

"They are building no homes, opening no farms, starting no industries, but are hindering and preventing all these by forestalling the land and holding it out of use."

Land Called Monopoly.

"Land in its very nature is a monopoly," said Mr. Lind, "and the policy of the legislature should be to make it unprofitable to monopolize that which is necessary for all human beings to enjoy life.

"We should deprive the land speculator of his graft by making him bear the taxation burden of society. I believe in exempting, or partially exempting, from taxes the improvements on real estate.

Would Lower Living Cost.

"The high cost of living must in part be solved by cheapening the expense of production and distribution and eliminating the expense of the middleman. One way to do that is not to burden the tools of production by any taxes at all.

"The day we do that will be one of the greatest in our history. To the producers of the world Minnesota then will be saying, come to St. Paul and Minneapolis, build your factories and warehouses and there will be no leg-pulling assessor to bother you."

Mr. Armson and Mr. Lord of the tax commission strongly favored the principle of the bills; but pointed out certain practical objections that in their opinion could easily be overcome.

Senator William A. Campbell of Minneapolis told the story of how he was fined by a tax of more than $60 per year because he built a bungalow, while the four vacant lots lying next to his home, that in summer were covered with weeds and unsightly rubbish, in winter were left with the sidewalks covered two feet deep with snow, were taxed only $10 each.

"Now isn't this a good way to encourage home-owning?" said Senator Campbell.

Would Employ Labor.

Mr. Marwin of the committee urged the favorable consideration of the bills for the reason that they would employ labor and help the workingman.

"A vacant lot employs no workingmen but when we force the owner to improve he must hire workingmen," said Mr. Marwin. "Higher taxes on vacant lots will force them into use, set labor at work, increase the number of homes and raise the general level of prosperity."

Mr. Indrehus of the committee strongly favored the bills because, he said, they would make it easier for those who take up land in the country, fit it for permanent usefulness, and raise food for the people.

"No country can long endure whose rural population are renters," said he. "No country can long endure where landlordism flourishes. And the bulwark of landlordism is low taxes on land values and high taxes on industry."

The house committee reported out, subject to amendment, a bill that embodied all the desirable features of the so-called "Jones bills," but it died on general orders.

What North Dakota Did.

The first and most important demand of the Farmers' Non-Partizan League of North Dakota is for a sweeping reform in taxation along the lines of the so-called "Jones Bills" and they secured the passage of such an act in the session of 1917.

This law classifies property for purposes of taxation and reads as follows:

SENATE BILL NO. 49.

Class 1. All land, town and city lots, railroads, bank stock, express and telegraph property, shall constitute Class One (1) and shall be valued and assessed at thirty (30) per cent of the full and true value thereof.

Class 2. All live stock, agricultural and other tools and machinery, gas and other engines and boilers, threshing machines and outfits used therewith, automobiles, motor trucks, and other power-driven cars, vehicles of all kinds, boats and all water craft, harness, saddlery and robes, flour mills, elevator and warehouses and storehouses of all kinds, buildings and all improvements upon railroad right of way and leased sites, stocks of merchandise, all fixtures and equipment, franchise, patents, royalties, electric light and gas plants, telephone lines, water works systems, including pipe lines, structures and improvements upon town and city lots, and all property not herein specifically mentioned, shall constitute Class Two (2) and shall be valued and assessed at twenty (20)per cent of the full and true value. Provided, however, the city commission, city council or board of trustees may, by resolution at a regular or stated meeting fix a different percentage of value upon structures and improvements on town and city lots, which rate shall not be less than five (5) per cent of the true and full value.

Class 3. All household goods, house equipment and wearing apparel, structures and improvements upon farm land, stocks other than banks, bonds, money and credits, provided that such stocks, bonds, money and credits are not otherwise assessed under a mill or flat rate law, shall constitute Class Three (3) and shall be valued and assessed at five (5) per cent of the full and true value.

This is a fairly logical classification.

The most striking feature is that practically all products of labor and enterprise are taxed much lower than land values; and especially homes and their furniture are listed at only one-sixth as high a per cent as land values.

Minnesota can well take a lesson from North Dakota.

OUR IRON MINES AND THE TONNAGE TAX.

How can the State of Minnesota save for herself more of the enormous wealth of her iron mines?

That more ought to be saved to the state no one denies.

The real question is how can it be done most justly to all concerned.

Very few would disagree, if we had to start anew, that the title to our mineral resources should never be granted away.

The title ought to forever remain in the people to be administered for the benefit of all, instead of being allowed to fall into private hands to create great millionaire mine owners.

This is the plan the Federal Government has adopted for the management of our mineral resources, our forests, oil deposits, nitrate beds, water power, and other natural resources of like character.

It is entirely proper and reasonable that the title to farm lands and town and city lots should be held in private ownership, and that the values that ought to belong to all should be secured to the public treasury of state or county, town or city through the power of taxation.

But this principle cannot be applied to timber lands and mineral deposits. There is no simple and practical method of taxing such resources so as to get for the people what belongs to all.

In the case of timber, the original crop will be cut so soon that the public will get little or no taxes till the land will be stripped and the forest destroyed, and it will take so long to grow the next crop that private enterprise will not undertake it. The forests are destroyed for the profit; the land no longer holds back the waters; great floods and drouths result; the soil is carried away; and the country becomes a desert. This is the history of western Asia and northern Africa—once fertile and productive—now barren and deserted.

All forward-looking nations now treat their forests as public property. Minnesota ought to do the same.

There is still more reason why all mineral resources should be held as public property. Here there is only one crop. There never will be another. This crop is Nature's gift to all the people; and when it has been taken out and carried away there is nothing left but a barren desert unfit for any possible use.

But it is not a beautiful theory that confronts it. It is a very practical and prosaic problem. OUR MINES ARE IN PRIVATE HANDS, and all that the people retain is the power of taxation.

If the state had retained the title, all the royalties would belong to the people. We would be collecting from the mine operators what they now pay the few owners. This would range from a few cents a ton for the poorest mines to more than a dollar a ton for the best ones. What a magnificent revenue the state might have, if it only owned the title! There would be no need to tax the operators at all, if we could only get the royalties.

If there were some way to reach these royalties—this tribute that the **mining industry** now pays to the **mine owners**—we might tax that tribute 100% and absorb it all and it would not increase the price of iron one cent nor would it be a burden, even to the extent of a feather weight upon labor, production or industry.

You can levy a tax that will absorb the entire annual value of land, and the only effect will be to force the land into use, make more opportunities for labor and capital to be employed, raise wages, increase production, and lower prices to the consumer.

This is the opinion of every political economist from Adam Smith to the present time, and it is

JUST PLAIN COMMON SENSE.

Ever since our mines began to yield their enormous fortunes—making their owners into millionaires in the short space of a few years, the people have felt that some way ought to be found, by which more of this vast wealth could be kept for the state and less be permitted to swell the fortunes of the title owners, the mining magnates, the steel trust.

A Tonnage Tax.

And it is not strange that they should think to do this by means of a tonnage tax. And a tonnage tax will do it, and do it right if the tax is framed on right lines and made to hit the right place.

A way back in the early days we had a tonnage tax—only a few cents a ton, paid into the state treasury, only so long as the mines were worked and ore produced.

By this law the owners of the mines were wholly exempt from all taxes for town or village, county or city, schools or roads or public works of any kind.

Whenever the owners saw fit to stop getting out ore, all revenue ceased to come to the state, all workers were discharged, all industry on the ranges was ended, the people must move away or starve.

Evidently this was a bad system of taxation.

In 1897 the legislature abolished this system, and left mining property to be taxed the same as farm lands or city lots. The mine owners howled and swore, but the law was repealed in spite of them.

It now cost too much to keep the mines closed and unused. The owners got busy. Prosperity returned to the ranges. Labor was employed and the hum of industry was

heard again. The towns and cities began to revive,—roads were built to connect the growing towns, the cities were paved and lighted, water works and electric lights were installed; magnificent schools and libraries were established; and the desert was made to bloom and bear the fruits of civilization.

All this was paid for by taxing the mine owners, and this was right. They held the natural resources. They had possession of the common wealth and they ought to pay the bills.

LABOR AND ITS PRODUCTS SHOULD NEVER BE TAXED.

Of course the state got its share out of all these taxes; but the people were not satisfied. They felt that here was a kind of property that ought to pay a larger share than other property, and they were right in feeling so.

Here were untold millions of wealth—a free gift from the hand of Nature, plainly intended for all. Shall a few be permitted to reap this rich gift and leave the rest of the state without any share?

In 1906, the people amended the constitution so that different kinds of property might be taxed differently, and then they began to demand a tonnage tax.

These first attempts were not perfect. They interfered with local taxes. The people of the ranges were in a panic lest the hungry days of the old tonnage system should return to curse them again, and they blindly fought against any change.

The legislature of 1909 passed a tonnage tax bill, only to have it vetoed by Governor Johnson.

Henry O. Bjorge of Becker County has from the first been the leader in the fight, and an able and fearless leader he has proved himself to be.

Session after session—1907-11-13—he came forward with his bill to meet the united opposition of the steel trust and the other special interests and go down to defeat, only to come back again the next session more determined than ever.

In 1915 no bill was introduced, but in 1917 he prepared and presented to the House

The Least Objectionable Bill Yet.

This bill in no way interfered with existing state and local taxes. The people of the ranges need have no fear that they would lose their local revenue. In many other ways it was much simpler and less objectionable than any previous bill.

It merely provided for a sur tax of 2% on the value of merchantable ore at the mouth of the mine.

Of course this tax would fall directly on the operator and not on the owner. This was one objection; but, as the operator is also the owner in most of the mines, the objection was more apparent than real.

As it placed the tax on the gross value of the one at the mouth of the mine, it was a tax on the labor value as well as on the original ore value.

The opponents of the bill made the most of this fact, and denounced it in unmeasured terms as a tax on labor.

It would have been more nearly perfect, if it had placed even a much larger tax on the value of the ore in the mine

before any labor had been added to it; but, even so, was it any worse than any other tax on labor or its products? Was it any worse than a tax on wheat or lumber—on merchandise or houses, on food or furniture, on cattle or crops or on any of the other myriad things that labor has produced?

All are wrong, do you say? Yes, let us admit it; but isn't the tax on iron ore at the mouth of the mine about the least wrong of all?

In 1908 the state of Oklahoma placed such a tax on ore at the mouth of the mine, and the courts have sustained the law so there can be little doubt about its constitutionality.

The Ideal Tonnage Tax.

The ideal tonnage tax would be placed on the ore as it lies in its natural bed, before labor has touched it, and this tax ought to be sufficient to absorb nearly the entire value.

It should also be made a lien upon the royalty paid by the operator to the mine owner, so that it would not be an added burden upon the industry of mining and marketing ore.

Of course where the operator was also the owner it would make no difference. It would tax him as owner—not as operator.

Now the constitution of Minnesota permits property to be classified for purposes of taxation. One class may be taxed at a very high rate and another low.

It would be wiser and more just if we could exempt labor products entirely.

Perhaps we shall amend the constitution some day and do this, as do the people of western Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

This bill was fiercely criticised as being double taxation and unconstitutional. Behold, we tax the ore in the mines at a certain per cent of its value; and then we tax the labor-produced ore again at the mouth of the mine, also at a certain per cent of its value.

But the ore in the mines is land and is taxed as such. The ore at the mouth of the mine is personal property and this bill taxes it as such.

We tax the farmer's land on which he grows wheat. Then we tax the wheat as personal property. Is this double taxation? Is it unconstitutional?

If Mr. Hammer, Mr. Murphy and others who oppose this bill want to exempt all personal property from taxation, let them say so; but don't get so excited about this little tax on this peculiar kind of personal property—iron ore.

Who is better able to pay such a tax than the Steel Trust? Mr. Harrison replies, "There is no Steel Trust. The United States won't permit it to exist."

Well, there's not much in a name. A stink weed by any other name would smell just as bad.

The Steel Trust Lobby.

As soon as this bill was introduced by Bjorge, Bendixen, Warner and Davis, the Steel Trust and other mine owners got busy. Their emissaries filled the hotels and buttonholed members in the corridor and on the floor of the House and Senate as soon as adjournment took place. They wined and

dined and took the members to theatres, and left no stone unturned to gain votes to kill the bill.

But All In Vain.

The great encounter took place in the House in the afternoon of February 20th and was most bitterly contested.

Mr. Bjorge briefly explained his bill and was ably supported by Warner, Bendixen, Davis, Shipstead, Holmes and others.

The opposition was presented by Swanson of Brainerd, Anton Peterson, Barrison of Stillwater, Southwick, Bernard, Murphy, Hammer, Nolan and McGrath, the last of whom made an eloquent plea for **"labor."**

Did the Steel Trust ever pay any higher wages than it was forced to?

How ridiculous to see so-called labor leaders defending monopolies and trusts on the plea that labor will be hurt if we compel the monopolies to relinquish their ill-gotten gains or cease their plunder of the people!

Doesn't every thinking man know that labor and all other consumers would be better off if every monopoly and trust were destroyed—if all their power to oppress and rob the people were taken away, and they were forced to stand on the same footing with ordinary competitive lines of business!

The Steel Trust owns the earth where God put the ore. It owns the railroads and charges its competitors two or three prices for carrying their produce to market. It owns the steamships on the lakes, and it owns the furnaces and the mills where the ore is smelted and the iron made into the finished products.

It sells its goods in all parts of the world in open and free competition with all other producers, and then it goes whining to congress for a protective tariff to shut its defeated foreign competitors out of our home market, so it can sell to us at a higher price than it freely sells abroad. And to cap the whole climax it comes to the state legislature in the name of labor and declares it can't pay wages, if it has to give up the one two hundredths part of its net profits in additional taxes to the State of Minnesota.

The battle raged fierce and fiery all the afternoon and when the votes were counted the bill was passed, 69 to 61 as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Frye	Malmberg	Seebach
Baldwin	Gerlich	Moen	Shipstead
Bendixen	Grant	Neitzel	Siegel
Bjorge	Green, H. M.	Nett	Sliter
Boock, J. W.	Greene, T. J.	Neuman	Steen
Burrows	Gullickson	Nimocks	Stenvick
Carmichael	Hale	Nordlin	Stevens
Christanson, A.	Holmes	Norwood	Swanson, S. J.
Christianson, T.	Hompe	Novak	Swenson
Crane	Hulbert	Odland	Teigen, A. F.
Cumming	Indrehus	Olien	Teigen, L. O.
Davis, T.	Johnson	Papke	Tollefson
Dealand	Knutson	Peterson, O. M.	Warner
Devold	Kuntz	Pikop	Welch

Dwyer	Lee	Praxel	Mr. Speaker
Flikkie	Leonard	Putnam	
Flowers	McLaughlin	Rodenberg	
Frisch	Madigan	Ryberg	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bernard	Girling	Marwin	Reed
Bessette	Gleason	Miner	Ross
Birkhofer	Hammer	Moeller, G. H.	Searls
Bjorklund	Harrison, H. H.	Mueller, A. W.	Solem
Bouck, C. W.	Harrison, J. M.	Mossman	Southwick
Borgen	Hicken	Murphy	Stone
Briggs	Hinds	Nolan	Strand
Brown	Howard	Nordgren	Sudheimer
Child	Konzen	Norton	Sutherland
Corning	Lang	Orr	Swanson, H. A.
Danielson	Larson	Pattison	Thornton
Dare	Lennon	Pendergast	Washburn
Davies, J.	Levin	Peterson, A.	Winter
Donovan	McGrath	Peterson, A. M.	
Erickson	McNiven	Pittenger	
Gill	Marschalk	Pratt	

Of the 69 affirmative votes only nine came from the large cities. All the rest except Steen of Winona represent farming districts.

Of the 61 opponents no less than 41 are from northeastern Minnesota or from the Twin Cities.

It was freely charged that Mr. Warner's zeal for the tonnage tax was due to the fact that the St. Louis delegation had solidly supported Parker for Speaker; but I have in my possession a letter from Mr. Warner, dated May 23, 1916, in which he favors a tonnage tax as one of the important measures that ought to be passed by the 1917 session. Perhaps this is a better explanation of the opposition of the St. Louis County delegation to Mr. Warner as Speaker. Or perhaps the cause of the hostility lies still farther back.

Furthermore Mr. Parker voted for the tonnage tax.

In the Senate.

After this bill had passed the house, the lobby got more busy than ever, and it was soon reported that several Senators who were presumed to favor the tonnage tax were getting shaky.

Most of the noise in opposition was made by the lobby from the Cuyuna Range; and it was proclaimed that the Steel Trust was not interested.

Then why was Superintendent Godfrey, the head of the Steel Trust in Minnesota, spending his time in St. Paul?

Why was this formidable list of lobbyists from Duluth in the city of St. Paul in opposition to this bill?

Frank D. Adams, General Solicitor of the Oliver Iron Mining Company, which is the operating company in the State of Minnesota of the U. S. Steel Corporation.

George W. Morgan, First Assistant to Mr. Adams.

John A. Ames, Secretary to Mr. Adams.

L. B. Arnold, Land Commissioner of the Duluth and Iron Range Ry. Co., owned and operated by the U. S. Steel Corporation.

Geo. A. Flinn, connected with the Legal Department of the U. S. Steel Corporation.
Mr. Bailey of the law firm of Washburn, Bailey and Mitchell, said to be retained by the Steel Corporation.
Ray M. Hughes, attorney of the U. S. Steel Corporation.
J. K. Lewis, attorney said to be retained by the Steel Corporation.
Odin Halden, County Auditor of St. Louis County.
Lee M. Wilcutts, former Collector of Customs at Duluth and for years a political manipulator in state politics.
Stillman H. Bingham, of the Duluth Herald, for several sessions legislative lobbyist of the U. S. Steel Corporation.
Col. H. V. Eva, connected with the Duluth Commercial Club.
A. C. Weiss of the Duluth Herald.
G. G. Hartley, millionaire iron baron of Duluth.
Milie Bunnell, owner of the Duluth News Tribune.
Chas. S. Mitchell of the Duluth News Tribune.
Geo. D. McCarthy of the Duluth Commercial Club.
D. M. Gunn, former Senator from Itasca County.
Carl Zapfe, for 12 years representative of the Northern Pacific and Hill ore interests on the Cuyuna Range.

In the Senate.

On March 15th, the bill came up in the Senate and was debated all the afternoon. The only new point raised against the bill was made by F. H. Peterson of Moorhead. The bill did not provide for making this tax the basis for a fund to be held and administered for the benefit of the state when the ore should all be gone and could no longer be taxed.

Why did not Mr. Peterson offer to amend the bill?

Carley, Gillam and O'Neil defended the bill in most vigorous speeches.

With equal vigor it was opposed by Adams, Griggs, Andrews, Dwinnell, F. H. Peterson, Gardner, Geo. Sullivan, A. S. Campbell and Putnam.

The bill was defeated 40 to 27.

Those who voted for the bill were:

Alley	Carley	Knopp	Rask
Baldwin	Dunn, R. C.	Lobeck	Rockne
Benson	Gandrud	Millett	Steffen
Blomgren	Gillam	Nelson	Vermilya
Bonniwell	Gjerset	O'Neill	Ward
Buckler	Hilbert	Peterson, E. P.	Weis
Campbell, W. A.	Johnston	Potter	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Griggs	McGarry	Rystrom
Andrews	Grose	Nord	Sageng
Callahan	Handlan	Orr	Sullivan, G. H.
Campbell, A. S.	Hanson	Palmer	Sullivan, J. D.
Denegre	Healy	Pauly	Swenson
Dunn, W. W.	Hegnes	Peterson, F. H.	Turnham
Duxbury	Holmberg	Peterson, G. M.	Van Hoven
Dwinnell	Jackson	Putnam	Vibert
Gardner	Jones	Ries	Wallace
Glotzbach	Lende	Rustad	Westlake

This vote shows eleven dry senators from southern and western Minnesota voting against the bill. Glotzbach and

Ries are the only wets from the same section voting against the bill. Glotzbach had previously voted for it.

Five wet Senators voted for the bill—all from country districts.

Wm. A. Campbell was the only man from either city to vote for the bill.

GROSS EARNINGS TAXES.

Some people think this is a good way to tax railroads and other public service corporations.

It does not tax them at all.

It makes them tax collectors, and they are paid well for it.

Every farmer who ships grain or other produce to market pays a higher charge because of gross earnings taxes. He can't add that charge to the price of his produce, for he is selling in a competitive market.

Every passenger who buys a ticket helps pay this gross earnings tax.

Every person who uses a telephone, or receives an express package, or sleeps in a Pullman, or gets any service of any sort from a corporation that is subjected to a gross earnings tax, helps pay that tax.

If he is engaged in a business where he can pass that tax on to the consumer he does so; and the poor consumer has to stand it. He can't pass it on. There is no one for him to pass it to; and, on top of all this, every man who has handled that tax has collected a profit that the consumer has to pay.

While a part of the gross earnings taxes are pushed back onto the producer, the rest are sent forward to the ultimate consumer; and each pays a profit to the corporation that we **think** we have been taxing.

Some Illustrations.

St. Paul collects a 5% gross earnings tax from the gas company—5 cents on each dollar that they collect from the users of gas—but the company is permitted, by the same contract, to collect from gas users 5 cents on each thousand feet of gas. As the price of gas is 75 cents to 85 cents per thousand, it is plain that there is a nice little profit on this deal. The gas company really pays no taxes at all, and gets big pay for collecting from the consumer and turning over to the city. If these gas consumers are engaged in business where they can pass this tax on, of course they do so, and in higher prices, the burden finally falls on the **ultimate consumer**—the end man—who can't send it any further. This **end** man is the home owner, the farmer, the laborer—anyone who is so situated that he can't pass the tax on any further.

The attorney for a great telephone company said to me the other day: "Of course we don't pay the gross earnings taxes, and we get good pay for collecting them from the telephone users."

Do you say that the rates are fixed by the Railway and Warehouse Commission? Of course, but the taxes are always considered in fixing such rates.

Do you reply that some charges are fixed by the statute? Yes, but they are fixed higher because of these taxes.

You can't get away from it. Gross earnings taxes are **not** paid by the corporations. Part of them fall back on the **original** producer and part go forward to the **ultimate** consumer; and always with a profit to the corporation so taxed.

Unfair to Weak Companies.

Some companies—small telephone companies especially—have no net earnings. Some have very small net earnings.

But these companies must pay the same rate on their gross earnings as the strong large companies.

This is plainly unfair to the small, weak companies, tends to force them out of business, and plays into the hands of the big concerns, who become monopolies and trusts and proceed to skin the people going and coming. They also do a flourishing business in packing caucuses and conventions wherever possible, nominating candidates, corrupting elections and influencing city councils, legislatures and congresses.

Look at it how you will, the gross earnings system is bad. It has only one redeeming feature. It is easy to collect. But even here it is a constant temptation to the taxed corporations to doctor their books and defraud the public. And they have done it.

Another gross injustice of this system is that these corporations are wholly exempt from assessments for all street improvements in cities and villages. These assessments they could not shift onto the consumer, for they are not a part of their regular expenses. They are payments for special services rendered and the corporations always get a greater value than they have to pay.

Bills relating to these special assessments are discussed in the chapter on Public Service Corporations.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC UTILITIES.

While governments should meddle in private matters only so far as to protect all in their equal rights to use the resources of the earth, to possess and enjoy the product of their labor, to freely exchange with others, to buy and sell in a free and open market, and to enjoy the greatest possible freedom in all things consistent with the equal freedom of all others, it is generally conceded that government should have full and complete control and regulation of all **public utilities.**

Railways, canals, pipelines, wharves and docks, public warehouses, telegraphs and telephones, water, gas, electric light and power in cities; and all matters pertaining to the making and maintaining of all public highways in country or city are proper subjects for governmental regulation:

National as to interstate utilities and commerce.

State as to state-wide public utilities.

Local as to public utilities in cities and villages.

In each of these three fields the scope of government is easily and clearly defined, and there is little chance for conflict of authority.

In the state of Minnesota the principles relating to the regulation of public service corporations have been

pretty well worked out, so that there was not much left for the legislature of 1917 to do to complete the work.

Two-Cent Railway Fare.

We have had two-cent railway fare for several years, but an ambiguous wording of the statute which attempted to permit the railways to charge three cents a mile for short rides of five miles or less, was seized upon by the railway companies to charge three cents a mile for the first five miles of each ride—short or long.

This was contrary to the spirit of the statute and caused a great deal of complaint.

Bendixen and Davis in the House and Gjerset and Lende in the Senate introduced bills to end this little graft and establish a straight two-cent fare.

In both houses this bill was passed unanimously.

Westlake and the Railways.

Westlake has a soft spot in his heart for the corporations. For two sessions he has tried to get bills thru to increase passenger fares in Minnesota. Of course his bills received no serious consideration, but he has shown his good will to help the railroads at the expense of the people.

Public Utilities and Special Assessments.

Nearly all public utility corporations in Minnesota are taxed by the gross earnings system.

When translated into simple English this means that these corporations are permitted to collect from the people considerably more than their services are worth, and then pay over part of this surplus in so called **gross earnings taxes.**

In reality the state employs these corporations to collect taxes from the people, and pays them a good big price for the job.

And, further, these taxes are collected from producers and consumers who have already paid direct taxes on all their property.

This is double taxation of producers and consumers and no taxes at all on the corporations.

But Worse Still and More Of It.

Taking advantage of a peculiar wording in the statutes, these corporations have claimed that they were also exempt from **special** assessments for street improvements, such as sewers, water mains, paving, sidewalks, etc., along their property in cities and villages.

Now these corporations use these street improvements in front of their property just the same as other people do, and they get the same benefit, but they have objected to paying for them and the courts have upheld the objection.

Such assessments are not regular, but occasional.

They are not a usual and ordinary part of the expense of operation.

They cannot therefore justly be added in and made a part of their rates.

Such assessments are the same as any other occasional charge, like a judgment for damages; but they are different in this—they are payments for services rendered by the cities and villages to these corporations.

The cities and villages, furnish them with sewers, sidewalks, pavements, etc., which increase the value of their property and enable them to handle their business more efficiently at less cost.

General Taxes and Special Assessments.

Everybody pays general taxes **and** special assessments.

These corporations pay gross earnings taxes in lieu of general property taxes.

They ought to pay their special assessments the same as other people do.

These special assessments are the only so called taxes that they **cannot** shift onto the producers and consumers.

Four Bills.

In 1917 four bills were introduced in the House to correct this injustice and compel these corporations to pay for their street improvements the same as others do.

I. H. F. No. 950 by Mr. Stevens relating to the railways.

II. H. F. No. 807 by Mr. Bjorkland relating to Express companies.

III. H. F. No. 818 by Mr. Bjorkland relating to Sleeping Car companies.

IV. H. F. No. 806 by Mr. Bjorkland relating to Telephone companies.

All these bills came up in the house on special order, April 11th, and all passed; but there were some interesting and peculiar incidents. Davies and Dealand were sure such taxes would finally be paid by the people the same as all the gross earnings taxes are.

This contention was fully answered by Tom Davis, Pattison, Searls, Pittenger, Malmberg, Washburn, Corning and Bernard.

H. A. Swanson attempted to amend the bill by adding a five mill general property tax to the railroads in addition in cities and villages. This failed.

Rodenberg thought the express companies are now paying enough, wholly ignoring the fact that these special assessments are not really **taxes** at all, but are just like coal bills or any other occasional expense.

But the worst mistake was made by a large number or representatives from rural districts who feared that farmers' telephone companies would get hit.

Of course such companies would have to pay special assessments if they owned any property where sewers, etc., were built, and they ought to pay just like other property owners; but there are few such cases in the state, almost none.

The real reason for the large vote against the Telephone bill was a sort of vague, indefinable feeling that in some way this bill would open the door to unjust taxes and assessments against the co-operative companies that

have little or no net earnings. This fear had no real foundation but was just as effective so far as votes were concerned.

I doubt if there was a single vote against any of these bills that was not honest and conscientious.

None of the bills had been studied as carefully as their importance would warrant.

Below will be found the roll call on each of the four bills.

The railroad bill 94 to 14.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Frisch	Miner	Searls
Baldwin	Gleason	Moeller, G. H.	Seebach
Bendixen	Grant	Mueller, A. W.	Siegel
Bernard	Green, H. M.	Moen	Sliter
Bessette	Greene, T. J.	Mossman	Solem
Birkhofer	Harrison, H. H.	Murphy	Steen
Bjorge	Hicken	Neitzel	Stenvick
Bjorkland	Holmes	Nett	Stevens
Boock, J. W.	Howard	Nolan	Stone
Bouck, C. W.	Indrehus	Nordgren	Strand
Borgen	Johnson	Nordlin	Sudheimer
Brown	Konzen	Norton	Sutherland
Burrows	Kuntz	Norwood	Swanson, H. A.
Christanson, A.	Lang	Novak	Swanson, S. J.
Christianson, T.	Larson	Odland	Swenson
	Lee,	Olien	Teigen, L. O.
Corning	Leonard	Papke	Warner
Crane	Levin	Pattison	Washburn
Davis, T.	McGrath	Peterson, A.	Welch
Devold	McLaughlin	Peterson, A. M.	Winter
Donovan,	McNiven	Peterson, O. M.	
Dwyer	Madigan	Pittenger	
Erickson	Malmberg	Praxel	
Flikkie	Marschalk	Ross	
Flowers	Marwin	Ryberg	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Cumming	Frye	Harrison, J. M.	Shipstead
Danielson	Gill	Hompe	Tollefson
Davies	Gullickson	Knutson	
Dealand	Hale	Putnam	

22 did not vote.

The Express Co. bill—89 to 4, the four against the bill were Birkhofer, Briggs, Brown, and Rodenberg.

The Sleeping Car Co. bill had no votes against it.

The Telephone Co. bill—69 to 33.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Davis, T.	Marwin	Putnam
Baldwin	Dealand	Moeller, G. H.	Ross
Bendixen	Devold	Mueller, A. W.	Ryberg
Bernard	Erickson	Moen	Searls
Birkhofer	Flikkie	Nett	Seebach
Bjorge	Grant	Nolan	Shipstead
Bjorklund	Gullickson	Nordlin	Siegel
Boock, J. W.	Hale	Norton	Solem
Borgen	Harrison,	Norwood	Steen

Carmichael	J. M.	Novak	Stevens
Child	Hicken	Olien	Sutherland
Christanson, A.	Holmes	Pattison	Swanson, H. A.
Christianson, T.	Indrehus	Pendergast	Teigen, L. O.
	Lang	Peterson, A.	Tollefson
Corning	Levin	Peterson, A. M.	Welch
Crane	McGrath	Peterson, O. M.	Winter
Cumming	Madigan	Pikop	Mr. Speaker
Danielson	Malmberg	Pittenger	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bessette	Gerlich	McLaughlin	Rodenberg
Bouck, C. W.	Gleason	McNiven	Southwick
Briggs	Green, H. M.	Marschalk	Stone
Brown	Harrison, H. H.	Miner	Swanson, S. J.
Davies, J.	Hompe	Mossman	Swenson
Donovan	Hulbert	Murphy	Warner
Dwyer	Johnson	Neitzel	Washburn
Flowers	Knutson	Orr	
Frisch	Konzen	Papke	
Frye	Lee	Praxel	

28 did not vote.

When the Stevens railroad bill reached the Senate, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Senator Putnam, had it recommended for indefinite postponement, urging that it might destroy the gross earnings system.

This seems hardly probable, for the gross earnings law has been amended without destroying the system.

But suppose it should, wouldn't that be a blessing?

The gross earnings system is one of the biggest swindles in the state, and the people wouldn't weep much over its abolition.

All four bills failed in the Senate.

Let the People Take a Hand.

Here is a matter of vital concern to the people of every city and village in the state.

By the existing system the railways and other public service corporations escape payment for hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of street improvements every year that are a direct benefit to them—that enable them more easily and efficiently to transact their business.

Because these assessments would come irregularly, and would always be for benefits received, they could not be added in as their gross earnings taxes are and made a part of freight and passenger rates.

Special assessment for street improvements are no more taxes than your grocery bill or the cost of a suit of clothes.

The Christianson Bills.

Mr. Christianson brought in four bills, each one aimed to correct some evil in connection with public service corporations.

I. H. F. No. 110. A bill to restore the common law principle of full liability of common carriers, and prohibiting them from limiting their liability by contract or otherwise.

If a common carrier accepts and undertakes to carry and deliver any article or thing, and fails to do so, it should be liable for the full amount of damage sustained by the owner.

This bill was strongly opposed by the attorneys for the railroads, but was passed with only 7 votes against it: Bjorklund, Davies, J., Dwyer, Lennon, Levin, Malmberg and Searls.

H. F. No. 452. A number of years ago the legislature passed laws fixing freight and passenger rates.

The railroads refused to obey the laws, and got out injunctions restraining their enforcement.

After several years' fight in the courts, the railways were beaten, and had to refund to shippers and passengers the full amount of the overcharges they had collected.

This bill proposed to give those who had paid the overcharges the usual six years in which to bring their action to recover, counting from the time when the cases were finally decided defeating the railways and fixing their liability to refund.

The railways contended that the six years should commence to run from the term the shipment was made.

This looks like an ordinary corporation bluff.

The railways are still in possession of about $2,000,000 of overcharges that they have no moral nor even legal right to.

This is a sure thing, that no one can deny.

Still the question is not all one sided.

It is equally certain that it will be utterly impossible ever to find the people who really paid that extra, unlawful and unjust charge to the railways. In many cases they were the final consumer of goods on which the excessive rates had been charged. These charges had been passed on to the final consumers. They have no means of knowing either how much the charges were, nor of collecting their claim if they could know.

And again, many of these claims have been bought up by claim agents at much less than their face value—a sort of a gamble—and now they hope to get the full amount.

So you see what a difficult problem you are up against, if you must vote on this question.

The railways have the money.

It doesn't belong to them.

In many cases the people it really belongs to can never hope to get it.

In many cases those who do hope to get it took a gambler's chance, paying little for the claims.

Mr. Steen tried to amend the bill so as to require those who actually get the money to pay it over to those who paid the freight rates, etc., with a reasonable reduction for collection.

This is about as two-sided as the main question and lost 30 to 70.

Southwick then tried to amend so that only those who had actually sustained loss by paying the excessive rates could come in and sue to collect.

This is also a question on which men may honestly differ. He lost 50 to 57.

The bill then passed 77 to 27.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Davis, T.	Mueller, A. W.	Putnam
Baldwin	Devold	Moen	Reed
Bendixen	Donovan	Neitzel	Ryberg
Bessette	Erickson	Nett	Seebach
Birkhofer	Flikkie	Neuman	Shipstead
Bjorge	Frye	Nordgren	Solem
Bjorklund	Grant	Nordlin	Stenvick
Boock, J. W.	Green, H. M.	Norwood	Stevens
Burrows	Gullickson	Odland	Sutherland
Carmichael	Hale	Olien	Swanson, H. A.
Child	Holmes	Orr	Swanson, S. J.
Christanson, A.	Hulbert	Pattison	Swenson
	Indrehus	Pendergast	Teigen, A. F.
Christianson, T.	Larson	Peterson, A.	Teigen, L. O.
	Lee	Peterson, A. M.	Tollefson
Corning	Leonard	Peterson, O. M.	Warner
Crane	McLaughlin	Pikop	Washburn
Cumming	Malmberg	Pittenger	Welch
Danielson	Marschalk	Pratt	Winter
Davies, J.	Miner	Praxel	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bernard	Gleason	Levin	Rodenberg
Bouck, C. W.	Greene, T. J.	McGrath	Southwick
Borgen	Harrison, H. H.	McNiven	Steen
Briggs		Madigan	Sudheimer
Brown	Hicken	Moeller, G. H.	
Dwyer	Hompe	Mossman	
Flowers	Howard	Murphy	
Gill	Lang	Nimocks	

26 did not vote.

Would the law do justice?

To some people, yes. Those who actually paid the money and still own the claims.

This whole question will illustrate the evils of permitting the federal courts to temporarily nullify state laws.

III. H. F. No. 975 placing the burden of proof on the corporation to show the reasonableness of any rate or charge proposed by them whenever they should ask for an increase.

One would think this would be a matter of course; but, of course, the corporations opposed it.

The bill died at the close of the session.

IV. H. F. No. 1064, to provide for a special assistant in the office of the Attorney General who should watch for rate changes made by the corporations, investigate and bring action whenever such changes looked unfair.

This bill also failed to reach a vote.

CHAPTER IX.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

The legislature of 1917 passed nearly everything the temperance people wanted, and killed every attempt of the wets to secure any advantages.

Mr. Berkhofer tried to pass a bill permitting brewers to sell in the county where they are located after the county had voted dry, but could get no consideration at all for his bill. It looks a little strange that outside brewers can ship beer into dry counties, but the home brewer cannot have the same privilege; but the remedy is to cut them all out.

Mr. Nimocks failed just as completely when he tried to legalize the sale of liquor at the downtown clubs.

The only thing the drys really failed on was their attempt to pass a very severe law against blind pigs. All the wets and several drys claimed this bill was too drastic and that it would punish innocent people, so they refused it a special order. This bill could very probably have been passed if it could have come squarely to a vote on its merits.

Prohibition by Constitutional Amendment.

The bill as introduced by Adolph Larson of Pine County, proposed to submit to the people a "bone dry" amendment. It prohibited the manufacture, sale, gift and transportation of all intoxicating liquors after June 1st, 1920.

This is the amendment that has been advocated by the W. C. T. U. and the Prohibition Party for many years.

The Temperance committee of the House cut out the word **transportation,** thinking the people would be more likely to adopt the amendment if it permitted individuals to import liquors for personal use.

Every "dry" man on the committee voted for this amendment, and every "wet" voted against it.

The "wets" were against it because they too felt that it would be more sure to pass; and they did not want it to pass.

But now the people began to be heard from. The temperance people of the state didn't want any "pipe lines" from outside brewers into Minnesota cellars; and the wets and Minnesota brewers insisted it would be unfair to cut them out and let outsiders ship liquor in for personal and family use.

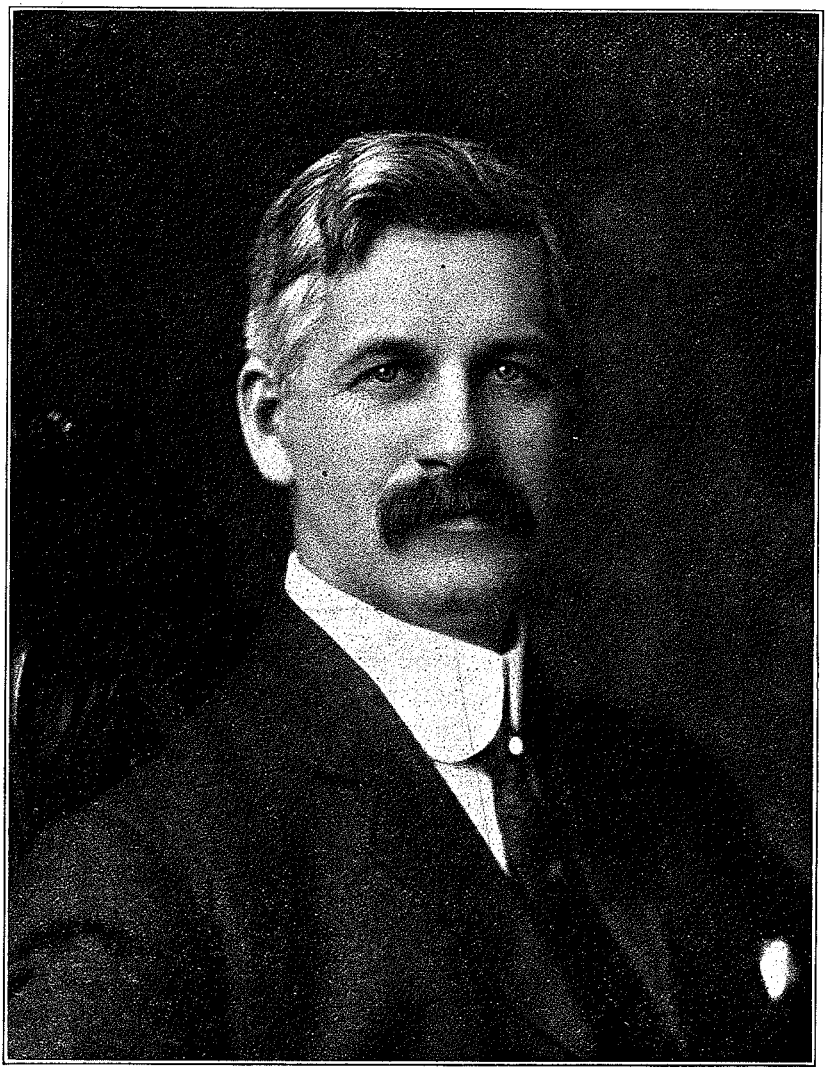
Then the Temperance Committee changed front. The "dry" members decided that they would put the "bone dry" amendment back, and the wets, changing front also, declared they would oppose it.

When the bill came up in the House on special order Jan. 31st, the "drys" moved to amend by inserting the "bone dry" clause prohibiting importation as well as manufacture, sale and gift.

The fight was on.

Norton offered the amendment, and Tom Davis seconded. It was vigorously supported by Corning, Christianson, Holmes and Nolan.

Moeller, Girling and McGrath as vigorously opposed the "bone dry" amendment.



GEO. B. SAFFORD

Superintendent of the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League, the Organization that won in the Legislature of 1915 and 1917

When the votes were counted the result was 80 to 49 for the amendment, as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Frye	Madigan	Ryberg
Baldwin	Gill	Marschalk	Searls
Bendixen	Grant	Marwin	Seebach
Bernard	Green, H. M.	Moen	Shipstead
Bjorge	Gullickson	Mossman	Sliter
Bjorklund	Hale	Neuman	Solem
Burrows	Harrison, J. M.	Nolan	Southwick
Child	Hicken	Nordgren	Stenvick
Christianson,T.	Hinds	Norton	Stevens
Corning	Holmes	Norwood	Stone
Crane	Hompe	Novak	Strand
Cumming	Howard	Odland	Sutherland
Danielson	Hulbert	Olien	Swanson, H. A.
Dare	Indrehus	Orr	Swanson, S. J.
Davies, J.	Johnson	Peterson, A.	Teigen, A. F.
Davis, T.	Knutson	Peterson, A. M.	Teigen, L. O.
Dealand	Konzen	Pikop	Tollefson
Devold	Larson	Pratt	Warner
Erickson	Lee	Putnam	Washburn
Flikkie	Levin	Ross	Mr. Speaker

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bessette	Gerlich	Miner	Praxel
Birkhofer	Girling	Moeller, G. H.	Reed
Boock, J. W.	Gleason	Mueller, A. W.	Rodenberg
Bouck, C. W.	Greene, T. J.	Murphy	Siegel
Borgen	Hammer	Neitzel	Steen
Briggs	Harrison, H. H.	Nett	Sudheimer
Brown	Kuntz	Nimocks	Swenson
Carmichael	Lang	Nordlin	Thornton
Christanson,A.	Lennon	Papke	Welch
Donovan	Leonard	Pattison	Winter
Dwyer	McGrath	Pendergast	
Flowers	McLaughlin	Peterson, O.M.	
Frisch	McNiven	Pittenger	

Mr. Malmberg couldn't reach the capital from his home at Forest Lake, on account of the great snow storm.

It is supposed he would have voted with the "wets."

Mr. McGrath then tried to save light wine and beer by the following amendment:

Amend H. F. No. 17 by striking out the words and figures "first day of January, 1920" where they occur in the 8th line of Section 1 of the printed bill and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"December 31st, 1920, except, that beer and light wines may be manufactured and by the manufacturer thereof sold only at the place of manufacture in the state and transported from such place of manufacture direct to the consumer in quantities of not less than three (3) gallons, in original packages or containers, not to be drunk upon the premises of the manufacturer."

This amendment aroused another hot debate.

McGrath, Carmichael, Novak, Lennon, Dwyer and Malmberg all offered pleas for the people who wanted their beer and light wine; while Girling made a plea for the brewers

who had over $50,000,000 invested in their business under the sanction of law.

Dwyer, Girling and Malmberg all declared themselves total abstainers, but they did not wish to deprive their neighbors of their beer if they wanted it.

Nolan declared this amendment would fix this privilege in the constitution. "We have tolerated the liquor traffic. We ought not to give it a constitutional guaranty."

Christianson showed that this amendment would wipe out all existing liquor laws. It would destroy the County Option, local option, and all laws against blind pigs, and make all liquor laws impossible of enforcement.

Pratt vigorously opposed this amendment on the ground that it would permit the brewers to establish agencies everywhere. And on the further ground that the brewers needed no sympathy. They had carefully invested their profits where this law could not reach them.

Moen declared this amendment would establish a constitutional pipe line from every brewery into every community.

Southwick, "Don't submit a hybrid bill. Don't give the young a chance to build up an appetite."

Mr. Hammer made a long speech in favor of personal liberty. "We must resist temptation. It makes us strong."

Southerland wanted to make it "bone dry" all around. Let the people decide.

Hale urged also for a clean cut bone dry measure. Remove temptation. We will be stronger.

Girling plead for fair play to the liquor dealers and Ryberg showed the saloons and brewers had never been fair. They colonized voters to prevent County Option in Hennepin. Out of 7,500 letters which he sent out to supposed voters in his district—to men who had voted in the County Option contest—over 1,000 had been returned marked "No such address."

After Shipstead had made a plea for submission of the "bone dry" amendment to the people Norton showed that the legal effect of this amendment would be to establish a brewery in every dry county, in every village, and throw the doors wide open, and we would have no legal power to close them.

All the forty-nine except Reed who had voted against the "bone dry" amendments, were for this one.

Malmberg had now reached the House and voted for it, and it secured the votes of Devold, Novak and Warner, making 52 for and 78 against.

Mr. McGrath now tried to give the liquor manufacturers and dealers another year in which to close up their business, and secured for it 64 votes, the following 14 of whom had voted with the "drys" on the first amendment: Bendixen, Bjorge, Dare, Devold, Erickson, Harrison, J. M., Hinds, Indrehus, Levin, Marwin, Mossman, Novak, Solem and Warner.

Later Mr. Gleason offered the same amendment in a slightly different form but lost Devold, Erickson, Praxel and Solem.

Girling tried to queer the bill by inserting a provision to prohibit anyone from having in his possession liquor for

personal use, and gained for it the votes of Tom Davis, Hinds, Konzen, Lee, Marschalk Neuman, Novak, Solem, in addition to the regular wets.

McGrath seems to have been very unfortunate in the wording of his amendment to let in beer and light wines. He was putting this privilege into the constitution, where it would destroy every vestige of temperance legislation now on our statute books, and make any further legislation against beer and light wines impossible.

If he had so worded his amendment as to confine constitutional prohibition to all liquors above a certain per cent of alcoholic strength, as 2%, he would not have aroused so much opposition. All our present statutes—County Option, Local Option, Roadhouse law, and all others—would have remained in full force and effect, and the legislature would have been free at any time to establish complete prohibition. He chose the hardest way, or perhaps he did not choose at all. Probably he did not see the easier way to save beer and light wines.

After all these amendments had been killed the bill was passed 86 to 44 as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Gill	Marwin	Ryberg
Baldwin	Grant	Miner	Searls
Bendixen	Green, H. M.	Moen	Seebach
Bernard	Gullickson	Mossman	Shipstead
Bjorge	Hale	Neitzel	Sliter
Bjorklund	Harrison, H.H.	Neuman	Solem
Briggs	Harrison, J. M.	Nolan	Southwick
Burrows	Hicken	Nordgren	Stenvick
Child	Hinds	Norton	Stevens
Christianson,T.	Holmes	Norwood	Stone
Corning	Hompe	Novak	Strand
Crane	Howard	Odland	Sudheimer
Cumming	Hulbert	Olien	Sutherland
Danielson	Indrehus	Orr	Swanson, H. A.
Dare	Johnson	Peterson, A.	Swanson, S. J.
Davies, J.	Knutson	Peterson, A. M.	Teigen, A. F.
Davis, T.	Konzen	Pikop	Teigen, L. O.
Dealand	Larson	Pratt	Tollefson
Devold	Lee	Praxel	Warner
Erickson	Levin	Putnam	Washburn
Flikkie	Madigan	Ross	Mr. Speaker
Frye	Marschalk		

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bessette	Frisch	McLaughlin	Pendergast
Birkhofer	Gerlich	McNiven	Peterson, O. M.
Boock, J. W.	Girling	Malmberg	Pittenger
Bouck, C. W.	Gleason	Moeller, G. H.	Reed
Borgen	Greene, T. J.	Mueller, A. W.	Rodenberg
Brown	Hammer	Murphy	Siegel
Carmichael	Kuntz	Nett	Steen
Christanson,A.	Lang	Nimocks	Swenson
Donovan	Lennon	Nordlin	Thornton
Dwyer	Leonard	Papke	Welch
Flowers	McGrath	Pattison	Winter

This was a gain of the following **wet** votes: Briggs, H. H. Harrison, Miner, Neitzel, Novak, Praxel and Sudheimer. Of these Miner, Neitzel and Sudheimer are from dry districts.

There are good reasons for claiming that all men ought to be willing to submit any great public question like this to the people and let them settle it. This was the view taken by Novak and Indrehus whose districts are decidedly **wet** and by very many whose districts are **dry**; but most of the men from **wet** districts felt they must represent the wishes of their constituents, rather than the great principle that the people should have a right to vote on this important question.

Mr. Devold based his support of the bill on the Socialist platform which stands for the referendum.

Perhaps the most surprising thing in the entire proceeding is the vote of O. M. Peterson of Albert Lea. His district is **dry** by a large majority. He was therefore neither representing his people, nor was he standing for the great democratic principle that the people are the final source of all political power.

He was misrepresenting his district and also he was denying to the people a fundamental right.

He claims, however, that he defeated a very dry man on his pledge to vote wet.

In the Senate.

When this bill came up in the Senate Feb. 15th, on Special Order, the "wets" and "drys" had reached a compromise to extend for six months the time before Prohibition should take effect.

As a result there was no contest.

All the speeches that had been prepared for and against the bill remained undelivered; and the large crowd that had gathered to witness the contest was doomed to a certain degree to disappointment. But to most of them it was a joyous disappointment, for when the vote was taken, without a speech having been made, the drys won by 49 to 16.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Gandrud	Lobeck	Rockne
Alley	Gardner	Millet	Rustad
Andrews	Gillam	Nelson	Rystrom
Baldwin	Gjerset	Nord	Sageng
Benson	Griggs	O'Neill	Swenson
Blomgren	Grose	Orr	Turnham
Buckler	Hanson	Palmer	Vermilya
Campbell, A. S.	Hegnes	Peterson, E. P.	Vibert
Campbell, W. A.	Holmberg	Peterson, F. H.	Wallace
Carley	Jackson	Peterson, G. M.	Ward
Denegre	Johnston	Potter	
Dunn, R. C.	Jones	Putnam	
Duxbury	Lende	Rask	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bonniwell	Handlan	McGarry	Sullivan, J. D.
Callahan	Healy	Pauly	Van Hoven
Dunn, W. W.	Hilbert	Ries	Weis
Glotzbach	Knopp	Steffen	Westlake

Senators Dwinnell and Geo. H. Sullivan were excused and absent. Dwinnell was for the bill and Sullivan against it.

When this bill came up in the house for repassage as amended, it gained the following 10 votes: Bessette, Boock, Bouck, Frisch, McNiven, Malmberg, Murphy, Pendergast, O. M. Peterson and Winter.

H. M. Green was not willing to give the liquor men the extension of time and voted no.

And so the state wide—Bone dry—amendment to the constitution has passed the ordeal of the Legislature by two to one in the House and three to one in the Senate.

What Next.

Let no one suppose the battle is won. The hardest of the contest is yet to come.

At the election of 1918 the people must decide.

But the cards are stacked against the drys.

The stacking was done just twenty years ago this winter, when the brewery controlled legislature of 1897 openly, boldly, and avowedly proposed the amendment to the state constitution that makes it necessary to secure a majority of all who vote at the polls, to vote yes in order to amend the constitution.

Every voter who is too stupid, too careless, too ignorant, too undecided to vote at all is carefully counted just as if he had intelligently voted **No.**

The brewers and saloons did it, and they did it with the avowed intent of making it practically impossible even to pass a prohibition amendment.

It is up to the people in 1918 to reverse the action of twenty years ago, and redeem the state from the debauching and corrupting influence of the brewery and the open saloon.

But What Then?

But let no real temperance man or woman think that the work is done when the state has been voted dry.

A great step will have been taken. A great evil and a great temptation will have been removed; but the work of education will remain. It will be necessary to teach the children the necessity of

SIMPLE HEALTHFUL LIVING.

Parents must be made to understand the evils of giving their children highly spiced foods.

The children must be made to see that such foods are not wholesome and that they lead to a craving which is hard to satisfy and harder still to get rid of.

Many a foolish and short sighted mother has laid the foundation for an appetite for drink by encouraging her child to taste and like coffee, pickles, rich preserves, cakes and candy. The next step is the miserable slush sold at the soda fountain and from that on to beer, wine and stronger drinks is an easy road to travel.

Lead your children in the path of the simple wholesome diet, if you would keep them pure and strong and free from the temptation.

Patent Medicines.

Every drug store is full of patent medicines that are worse than beer or wine. They contain more alcohol and often have among their ingredients habit forming drugs.

These should be prohibited equally with other intoxicants.

And the notion that alcohol in any form is a useful medicine for the sick is a fallacy which the human race will some day outgrow, and we shall wonder how we could have been so stupid as to believe that sick people need irritants and poisons.

Man is the only animal who doesn't know enough, when he is sick, to keep still and not stuff.

All other animals lie down gently and eat nothing until the sickness is gone. And they recover much sooner than we do who drug and dose and stuff with food.

And the Churches.

They too ought to learn that it cannot possibly be following the great teacher, to use fermented wine in honor of Him who warned His followers not to look on the wine when it is red, not to be found among wine bobbers.

No, my good temperance friend, your work is not ended. It is only begun. And your help will be needed to restore to the people such industrial and economic conditions as will remove the strain and pressure—the speed up, the hurry and worry that are now such a fruitful cause of the craving for stimulants.

Better pay, shorter hours, less fierce competition among the unprivileged masses. All these will make for temperance and sobriety, intelligence and honesty.

No, the millenium is not here yet. There is much to do—get busy.

Statutory Prohibition.

In spite of the fact that a state-wide prohibition amendment to the constitution had been submitted to the people, many strong temperance men urged the legislature to pass a statute making the state dry Jan. 1st, 1918.

Of course the wets fought this bitterly.

Many dry men seemed to fear that such a statute would endanger the success of the constitutional amendment.

It is hard to understand the logic of this position.

First, if statutory prohibition should carry, the whole state would be legally dry for ten months before the people would vote on the constitutional change.

Second, the saloons, which are the great recruiting stations for the wets, would be out of business. This would give the drys complete possession of the field, and possession is said to be "nine points of the law."

Third, if the wets should attempt to discredit prohibition by encouraging "blind pigs" and other violations of the law, such action would be very sure to react in favor of the drys, and increase the determination of the people to clinch the whole matter by fixing it in the constitution.

Fourth, there would be no danger of statutory prohibition producing apathy in the minds of the people; for a great campaign is sure to be waged anyway. The people will be at the polls, the ballot containing the constitutional amend-

ment will be put into their hands and they will be pretty sure to mark and deposit it.

For these reasons I feel sure that statutory prohibition would be a considerable help, and Dr. Safford of the Anti-Saloon League strongly endorsed this position before the temperance committee.

March 7th, that committee recommended statutory prohibition for passage and asked for a special order.

Mr. Girling moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed, and carried the house 80 to 48.

Those who voted to kill the bill were:

Baldwin	Flowers	Levin	Pattison
Bendixen	Frisch	McGrath	Pendergast
Bessette	Gerlich	McLaughlin	Peterson, A. M.
Birkhofer	Gill	McNiven	Peterson, O. M.
Bjorge	Girling	Malmberg	Pittenger
Boock, J. W.	Gleason	Marschalk	Praxel
Bouck, C. W.	Green, H. M.	Marwin	Rodenberg
Borgen	Greene, T. J.	Miner	Ross
Briggs	Hammer	Moeller, G. H.	Seebach
Brown	Harrison, H. H.	Mueller, A. W.	Siegel
Burrows	Harrison, J. M.	Mossman	Sliter
Carmichael	Hicken	Murphy	Steen
Child	Hinds	Neitzel	Sudheimer
Christanson, A.	Howard	Nett	Swenson
Dare	Indrehus	Neuman	Teigen, A. F.
Davis, T.	Konzen	Nimocks	Thornton
Devold	Kuntz	Nordlin	Warner
Donovan	Lang	Norwood	Washburn
Dwyer	Lennon	Novak	Welch
Erickson	Leonard	Papke	Winter

Those who voted against killing the bill were:

Anderson	Grant	Nolan	Shipstead
Bernard	Gullickson	Nordgren	Solem
Bjorklund	Hale	Norton	Southwick
Christianson, T.	Holmes	Odland	Stenvick
Corning	Hompe	Olien	Stevens
Crane	Hulbert	Orr	Stone
Cumming	Johnson	Peterson, A.	Sutherland
Danielson	Knutson	Pikop	Swanson, H. A.
Davies, J.	Larson	Pratt	Swanson, S. J.
Dealand	Lee	Putnam	Teigen, L. O.
Flikkie	Madigan	Ryberg	Tollefson
Frye	Moen	Searls	Mr. Speaker.

Every member from the Duluth district but Strand, Bernard and Searles voted to kill the bill but Strand was absent and lost his vote.

Holmes, Orr and H. A. Swanson were the only members from the Sixth Cong. Dist. to support the bill.

Girling was the only one from the rural portion of the tenth to vote against the bill.

Nolan and Solem, Norton and Ryberg were the only Minneapolis men for the bill. Corning and Bjorklund the only St. Paul men.

Hale, Tollefson and Parker were the only ones from the First Cong. Dist.

Anderson the only one from the 3rd Dist.

The Second District gave the bill 6 out of 15, the 7th 8 out of 13, the 9th, 9 out of 14.

It was freely rumored that dry men from the mining country voted against this bill, in order to secure wet votes in the Senate against the tonnage tax. It was also rumored that the men from the mining district had threatened to put over statutory prohibition if wet senators voted for tonnage tax.

7x9 Pine Board Shanties as Wholesale Houses.

After a large number of counties had voted dry under the County Option law, there began to spring up just over the line in the wet counties what were known as pine board shack wholesale houses. These were small buildings where liquor was sold in quantities of three gallons or more not to be drunk on the premises.

Such places also were established just outside the Indian country and were a constant source of annoyance in the enforcement of the laws in such territory.

It is reported that more than a hundred such seven by nine wholesale houses have sprung up in the past two years, and are as bad as the old kind of road houses that were made illegal by the legislature of 1915.

The bill to prohibit these places came up in the House on the morning of Feb. 21.

An effort was made by Mueller, Leonard, Welch, Swenson and Girling to give these places 90 days in which to close up business.

This move was opposed by L. O. Teigen, Grant, Southerland and H. A. Swanson and was defeated by 46 to 65.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Baldwin	Frisch	McGrath	Pikop
Bessette	Gerlich	McLaughlin	Pittenger
Birkhofer	Girling	Malmberg	Praxel
Boock, J. W.	Gleason	Miner	Reed
Bouck, C. W.	Greene, T. J.	Mueller, A. W.	Rodenberg
Borgen	Harrison, H.H.	Neitzel	Siegel
Briggs	Harrison, J. M.	Nett	Steen
Brown	Indrehus	Nimocks	Swenson
Christanson, A.	Kuntz	Nordlin	Welch
Donovan	Lang	Papke	Winter
Dwyer	Lennon	Pattison	
Flowers	Leonard	Pendergast	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Grant	Moen	Solem
Bendixen	Green, H. M.	Mossman	Southwick
Bernard	Gullickson	Nolan	Stenvick
Bjorklund	Hale	Nordgren	Stevens
Child	Hicken	Norton	Stone
Christianson, T.	Hinds	Odland	Strand
Corning	Holmes	Olien	Sutherland
Crane	Hompe	Orr	Swanson, H. A.
Cumming	Howard	Peterson, A.	Swanson, S. J.
Danielson	Hulbert	Peterson, O.M.	Teigen, A. F.
Dare	Johnson	Pratt	Teigen, L. O.
Davies, J.	Knutson	Putnam	Tollefson
Davis, T.	Larson	Ryberg	Warner

Dealand	Lee	Searls	Washburn
Flikkie	Levin	Seebach	
Frye	Madigan	Shipstead	
Gill	Marwin	Sliter	

So the amendment was lost.

The bill was then passed 100 to 10.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Flikkie	Madigan	Reed
Baldwin	Frisch	Malmberg	Rodenberg
Bendixen	Frye	Marschalk	Ross
Bernard	Gill	Marwin	Ryberg
Bessette	Grant	Miner	Searls
Birkhofer	Green, H. M.	Moen	Seebach
Bjorge	Greene, T. J.	Mossman	Shipstead
Bjorklund	Gullickson	Neitzel	Siegel
Boock, J. W.	Hale	Nimocks	Sliter
Briggs	Harrison, J.M.	Neuman	Solem
Brown	Hicken	Nolan	Southwick
Burrows	Hinds	Nordgren	Steen
Child	Holmes	Norton	Stenvick
Christanson,A.	Hompe	Norwood	Stevens
Christianson,T.	Howard	Odland	Strand
Corning	Hulbert	Olien	Sudheimer
Crane	Indrehus	Orr	Swanson, H. A.
Cumming	Johnson	Pattison	Swanson, S. J.
Danielson	Knutson	Pendergast	Swenson
Dare	Konzen	Peterson, A.	Teigen, A. F.
Davies, J.	Larson	Peterson, O.M.	Teigen, L. O.
Davis, T.	Lee	Pikop	Tollefson
Dealand	Levin	Pratt	Warner
Donovan	McGrath	Praxel	Washburn
Erickson	McLaughlin	Putnam	Winter

Those who voted in the negative were:

Dwyer	Gleason	Lennon	Welch
Flowers	Harrison, H.H.	Leonard	
Girling	Lang	Mueller, A. W.	

Abating Blind Pig Nuisances.

Late in the session, Mr. Cumming introduced a bill that was intended to make it easy to put an end to blind pigs by the injunction and abatement route.

This bill aroused great opposition among the wets who declared it was far too drastic and would leave no family safe who used any kind of liquor at all.

Several dry men also took this view.

The dry leaders defended the bill as being just the thing needed to get the violators of the law and in no wise a danger to innocent people.

Mr. Cumming tried to get a special order for his bill, but failed to get votes enough.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Gill	Moen	Shipstead
Bendixen	Grant	Mossman	Sliter
Bernard	Green, H. M.	Nolan	Solem
Bjorge	Gullickson	Nordgren	Southwick
Bjorklund	Hale	Norton	Stenvick
Burrows	Holmes	Norwood	Stevens

Child	Hompe	Odland	Stone
Christianson,T.	Howard	Olien	Sutherland
Corning	Hulbert	Orr	Swanson, H. A.
Crane	Indrehus	Peterson, A.	Swanson, S. J.
Cumming	Johnson	Pikop	Teigen, A. F.
Danielson	Knutson	Pratt	Teigen, L. O.
Davies, J.	Larson	Putnam	Tollefson
Dealand	Lee	Ross	Mr. Speaker
Erickson	Levin	Ryberg	
Flikkie	Madigan	Searls	
Frye	Marwin	Seebach	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Birkhofer	Greene, T. J.	Marschalk	Peterson, O. M.
Bouck, C. W.	Hammer	Miner	Pittenger
Borgen	Harrison, H.H.	Moeller, G. H.	Praxel
Briggs	Harrison, J.M.	Mueller, A. W.	Rodenberg
Brown	Hinds	Murphy	Siegel
Carmichael	Konzen	Neitzel	Steen
Christanson, A.	Kuntz	Nett	Strand
Davis, T.	Lang	Neuman	Sudheimer
Donovan	Lennon	Nordlin	Swenson
Dwyer	Leonard	Novak	Thornton
Flowers	McGrath	Papke	Warner
Frisch	McLaughlin	Pattison	Welch
Gerlich	McNiven	Pendergast	Winter
Gleason	Malmberg	Peterson, A.M.	

The following were absent and not voting: Baldwin. Bessette, Boock, Dare, Devold, Girling, Hicken, Nimocks, Reed, Washburn.

Only one vote was needed to make the special order, and the bill would have been amended and passed.

Submitting Federal Amendments to the People.

On first thought it always looks good that any important matter should be submitted to the people.

This is a very safe theory.

But we sometimes are up against a condition instead of a theory.

That is the case in Minnesota.

It is very nearly impossible to amend our constitution or carry any measure by vote of the people.

The liquor interests fixed this condition when the people were not looking.

Suppose the federal government should submit prohibition or equal suffrage to the states?

As it is now the legislature can ratify such amendments.

BUT

Suppose they had to be voted on by the people of the state before they could be ratified?

They would be almost certain to fail.

A Wet Scheme.

The wets are shrewd—very shrewd.

Sudheimer and Pittenger introduced H. F. 990 providing that Federal Amendments must be ratified by vote of the people and not by vote of the legislature.

Mr. Stevens secured an amendment providing that if the notice of a Federal Amendment were received by the state while the legislature was in session, or would be in session before the next election, then the matter need not be referred to the people, but might be acted on by the legislature immediately, or when it should convene.

The wets voted almost to a man for this bill and a few drys were caught in the trap, but it only got 45 votes to 52 against.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Bessette	Flowers	Malmberg	Rodenberg
Birkhofer	Frye	Miner	Ross
Bjorge	Gerlich	Murphy	Seebach
Bouck, C. W.	Gleason	Neitzel	Siegel
Borgen	Green, H. M.	Nett	Sliter
Briggs	Hammer	Neuman	Solem
Carmichael	Lang	Nordlin	Stevens
Christanson, A.	Lee	Novak	Sudheimer
Crane	Lennon	Papke	Welch
Davis, T.	Leonard	Pattison	
Donovan	McLaughlin	Pittenger	
Erickson	McNiven	Praxel	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Anderson	Gill	Moen	Shipstead
Bendixen	Grant	Nolan	Steen
Bernard	Hale	Norton	Stenvick
Bjorklund	Holmes	Norwood	Stone
Brown	Hompe	Olien	Strand
Child	Howard	Orr	Sutherland
Christianson, T.	Johnson	Peterson, A.	Swanson, H. A.
Corning	Kuntz	Pikop	Swanson, S. J.
Cumming	Larson	Pratt	Swenson
Danielson	McGrath	Putnam	Teigen, L. O.
Davies, J.	Madigan	Reed	Tollefson
Flikkie	Marschalk	Ryberg	Warner
Frisch	Marwin	Searls	Washburn

Thirty-three did not vote, mostly drys.

Captions for Constitutional Amendments.

Many people do not vote on constitutional amendments.

Perhaps there will be eight or ten amendments on the ballot.

The election officers are supposed to offer one of these ballots to each voter.

Why, then, don't the voters use them?

Largely because there is no heading over each amendment to tell what it is about.

The voter must therefore read several lines of fine print, before he can know what the amendment means.

This takes time and confuses many voters, so they neglect to mark the ballots, and thus good amendments fail.

To overcome this difficulty and make it as easy as possible for the voter, Mr. Stevens introduced a bill to require the Secretary of State to prepare a brief caption to be printed over each amendment on the ballot.

This would be a great help to all voters and would result

in many more votes for most amendments; for usually these amendments are much needed and ought to be adopted.

BUT

This would surely help the Prohibition amendment, as it would also help all other amendments.

So the wets voted almost solidly against it, and a few drys helped. The bill failed to get 66 votes. 36 were absent, mostly drys.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Gullickson	Marwin	Sliter
Bendixen	Hale	Miner	Solem
Bjorge	Hicken	Moen	Southwick
Bjorklund	Hinds	Murphy	Stenvick
Burrows	Holmes	Nolan	Stevens
Child	Hompe	Norwood	Stone
Corning	Hulbert	Orr	Strand
Cumming	Indrehus	Peterson, A.M.	Sutherland
Danielson	Johnson	Pratt	Swanson, H. A.
Dealand	Konzen	Putnam	Swenson
Flikkie	Larson	Ryberg	Teigen, A. F.
Frye	Levin	Searls	Teigen, L. O.
Grant	Madigan	Seebach	Tollefson
Green, H. M.	Marschalk	Shipstead	Mr. Speaker

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bessette	Donovan	Lee	Peterson, O. M.
Boock, J. W.	Dwyer	McLaughlin	Praxel
Bouck, C. W.	Flowers	McNiven	Ross
Borgen	Frisch	Mossman	Steen
Briggs	Gerlich	Neitzel	Sudheimer
Brown	Girling	Nett	Thornton
Carmichael	Greene, T. J.	Nordlin	Washburn
Christanson,A.	Hammer	Novak	Winter
Crane	Harrison, H.H.	Olien	
Davies, J.	Kuntz	Pattison	

Mr. Davies recorded his vote in the negative so he could move to reconsider. In this way the bill was saved from final defeat.

Mr. Olien misunderstood Mr. Stevens' explanation of the bill.

Crane was another dry man who did not get the full meaning of the bill.

Washburn, Ross, Lee, and Mossman were the only other drys voting against the bill.

The Drys Too Were Selfish.

There was much fear on the part of the drys that many amendments on the ballot would confuse the voters and injure the prospects of the prohibition amendment.

Some wanted no other amendment on the ballot, and so worked and voted against all other amendments, especially the one granting suffrage to women.

But the Stevens bill would have solved all such problems. It would make little difference how many amendments there were on the ballot. The voters would not be confused.

CHAPTER X.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

I don't like to write on this subject.

I am not willing to waste your time and mine in a useless discussion of all the stupid laws that are proposed to solve the labor problem.

The only possible solution—real solution—of the labor problem is to open the door of opportunity and

LET THE PEOPLE USE THE EARTH.

Stop penalizing industry with burdensome taxes.

Stop offering a premium to those who hold city lots and rural lands idle to get rich off the unearned increment.

Tax out the land speculators and see how quickly the door will open—how quickly labor will be employed earning good wages.

THE EARTH IS BIG ENOUGH.

There are plenty of lots in the city and plenty of land in the country to give every man a job. Yes, two jobs—plenty of stone and timber, plenty of ore and oil and other products for labor to work up into useful things.

What will become of strikes and lockouts, unemployment and low wages?

Where will be the need of eight-hour laws—minimum wage laws, child labor laws, workman's compensation laws, charity organizations, bread lines, soup kitchens and municipal lodging houses, when there are two jobs looking for every laborer; and there will be two jobs just as soon as we tax out the land grabbers and make it easy to open up and use farms in the country and lots in the city.

If you tax land low enough and labor and industry high enough, the earth will be held idle for speculation, industry will be crushed and destroyed, labor will be idle, poverty, crime and starvation will fill the land and blight your civilization.

If you tax the value of land high enough, the vacant lots and lands will be put to use; labor will be employed; industry will flourish; food, clothing, houses, and every comfort of life will be abundant; poverty and crime will disappear; comfort and plenty will be everywhere; and we can cease to worry over

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

When the cause is removed, the problem is solved.

There is no other way.

Repressive and meddlesome legislation has failed—disastrously failed.

Reverse the engine.

Repeal the bad laws.

Abolish oppressive taxation on the homes, farms, and industries of the people, and

Let the People Use the Earth.

No, I don't like to write on labor legislation.

BUT

There were some bills introduced in 1917 in the name of labor that were really good to see.

The Anti Injunction Bill.

McGrath and Gleason introduced a bill to limit the courts of Minnesota in the matter of labor injunctions, to the same degree that the Clayton anti-trust law limits the federal courts.

This bill was almost an exact wording of the federal statute, passed in the early part of Mr Wilson's first term, and regarded as one of his greatest achievements in statesmanship.

This bill ought to have passed without a single negative vote, and such would likely have been the case but for certain not very good reasons.

First, McGrath and Gleason are both from wet districts, and hence several dry men were prejudiced against the authors and their bill.

Secondly, Tom Davis made a most forcible and eloquent speech in its favor. This fact increased the prejudice in the minds of some members.

Thirdly, Mr. McGrath has an unfortunate place in the house, where it is very difficult to speak and be heard on account of the echoes. His voice was not very clear and he spoke at great length.

Fourth, Mr. Gleason's speech for the bill, tho a very clear, concise, and scholarly presentation of its merits, was given after the members were tired of the discussion and they gave rather poor attention.

In addition to all this, many country members are filled with fear of I. W. W.'s, and in some unaccountable way felt that this bill would help those despised and unfortunate people.

For all these reasons—none of them very logical—there were 39 votes cast against the bill and 77 for it.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Erickson	Madigan	Putnam
Bendixen	Flikkie	Marschalk	Ross
Bernard	Frye	Marwin	Ryberg
Bessette	Girling	Miner	Seebach
Birkhofer	Gleason	Moeller, G. H.	Shipstead
Bjorge	Greene, T. J.	Moen	Siegel
Bjorklund	Hammer	Mossman	Solem
Bouck, C. W.	Hinds	Murphy	Steen
Borgen	Holmes	Neitzel	Stenvick
Briggs	Indrehus	Neuman	Stevens
Brown	Johnson	Nolan	Strand
Burrows	Konzen	Nordlin	Sudheimer
Carmichael	Lang	Norton	Swanson, H. A.
Child	Larson	Novak	Teigen, A. F.
Christianson,T.	Lee	Odland	Thornton
Cumming	Lennon	Olien	Warner
Davis, T.	Levin	Pattison	Welch
Devold	McGrath	Pendergast	
Donovan	McLaughlin	Peterson, A.M.	
Dwyer	McNiven	Pittenger	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Boock, J. W.	Green, H. M.	Malmberg	Southwick
Corning	Gullickson	Nett	Stone
Crane	Hale	Norwood	Sutherland
Danielson	Harrison, J.M.	Orr	Swanson, S. J.
Davies, J.	Hicken	Papke	Swenson
Dealand	Hompe	Peterson, O.M.	Teigen, L. O.
Flowers	Hulbert	Pratt	Tollefson
Frisch	Knutson	Praxel	Washburn
Gerlich	Kuntz	Searls	Winter
Grant	Leonard	Sliter	

14 did not vote: Baldwin, A. Christanson, Dare, Gill, H. H. Harrison, Howard, Mueller, Nimocks, Nordgren, A. Peterson, Pikop, Reed, Rodenberg, Mr. Speaker. Corning, J. M. Harrison and Washburn were the only city members to vote against this bill.

When this bill reached the Senate it went to the Judiciary Committee and was reported back for indefinite postponement.

Mr. Gardner moved to print and place on General Orders, and the Senate sustained him, 35 to 27.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Alley	Gillam	Lobeck	Peterson, F. H.
Andrews	Glotzbach	Millett	Rask
Blomgren	Griggs	Nord	Rockne
Bonniwell	Handlan	O'Neill	Sageng
Buckler	Healy	Orr	Steffen
Callahan	Hegnes	Palmer	Sullivan, J. D.
Campbell, W.A.	Jackson	Pauly	Turnham
Carley	Jones	Peterson, E.P.	Van Hoven
Gardner	Knopp		Vibert

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Dwinnell	Nelson	Swenson
Baldwin	Gjerset	Peterson, G.M.	Vermilya
Benson	Grose	Potter	Wallace
Campbell, A.S.	Hanson	Putnam	Ward
Denegre	Hilbert	Ries	Weis
Dunn, R. C.	Lende	Rustad	Westlake
Duxbury	McGarry	Sullivan, G. H.	

Five did not vote: W. W. Dunn, Gandrud, Holmberg, Johnston, Rystrom.

But the bill was not yet passed, and the big interests got very busy to kill it. The Employers' Association was especially active.

Jones to the Rescue.

On the last night of the session, at nearly eleven o'clock, Senator Jones moved to suspend the rules and pass the bill. This was a pretty difficult task, as it requires 45 votes to suspend the rules.

George Sullivan made a fierce attack on the bill, using every art he knows so well to becloud the issue, and prevent its passage.

Duxbury and A. S. Campbell did what they could to help him.

Jones made a strong plea for fair play and a chance to have a vote squarely on the merits of the bill. He pointed out how workingmen had been persecuted in the federal courts until the Clayton amendments to the Anti-Trust laws

had been crowded thru Congress by President Wilson, and showed that this bill put the state courts on exactly the same basis as to labor injunctions, where Wilson had put the federal courts.

Jones was supported by O'Neill, Wm. A. Campbell, Jackson, R. C. Dunn, Callahan, Nord, and J. D. Sullivan, and secured the needed votes to suspend the rules.

Without further debate the vote was taken on the bill and resulted in its passage, 36 to 25.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Bonniwell	Glotzbach	Knopp	Pauly
Buckler	Griggs	Lende	Peterson, E. P.
Callahan	Grose	Lobeck	Peterson, F. H.
Campbell, W.A.	Handlan	McGarry	Peterson, G. M.
Carley	Hanson	Nelson	Rustad
Dunn, R. C.	Healy	Nord	Sageng
Gandrud	Hegnes	O'Neill	Steffen
Gardner	Jackson	Orr	Sullivan, J. D.
Gillam	Jones	Palmer	Van Hoven

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Dwinnell	Rask	Wallace
Alley	Gjerset	Ries	Ward
Andrews	Hilbert	Rystrom	Weis
Baldwin	Holmberg	Sullivan, G. H.	Westlake
Campbell, A.S.	Johnston	Swenson	
Dunn, W. W.	Potter	Turnham	
Duxbury	Putnam	Vermilya	

Here are the nine who helped suspend the rules, but voted against the bill, or did not vote: Alley, Andrews, Blomgren, Hilbert, Potter, Turnham, Vermilya, Vibert and Weis.

Benson and Denegre voted against suspending the rules, but did not vote either way on final passage.

Blomgren and Vibert voted to suspend, but did not vote on final passage.

Millett and Rockne did not vote either time.

No More Non-negotiable Time Checks.

Large employers of labor have been in the habit of paying off workmen in time checks, payable only at certain places, certain times, or under certain conditions.

The workingmen must wait, often go many miles to the place appointed, or discount their checks to scalpers.

This was not only very annoying but expensive and unjust.

An act was passed putting an end to this practice and prohibiting payment in anything but money or checks that can be cashed anywhere.

Amending the Compensation Law.

The workmen's compensation law was amended in two important particulars:

I. The waiting period was reduced from two weeks to one.

II. The percentage of compensation was increased from 50% to 60%.

Westlake made a bitter fight against any increase to in-

jured workmen, but only secured the votes of Baldwin, Denegre, and Dwinnell.

The bill finally passed with no votes against it.

Killing State Industrial Insurance.

For many years organized labor has favored State Industrial Insurance, similar to the systems in force in the states of Ohio and Washington, rather than the workmen's compensation plan that we have in Minnesota; but they have never been able to get votes enough in the legislature to effect the change and pass their bill.

Senate File 92 introduced by Pauly, Jackson and Gandrud, proposed to establish the Ohio system considerably modified to meet the needs of Minnesota.

April 4th the Senate defeated the bill, 21 for, 42 against, 4 not voting: Carley, R. C. Dunn, Hilbert, G. M. Peterson.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Buckler	Gjerset	Knopp	Peterson, F. H.
Callahan	Glotzbach	Nord	Steffen
Campbell, W.A.	Handlan	O'Neill	Van Hoven
Dunn, W. W.	Holmberg	Orr	
Gandrud	Jackson	Pauly	
Gardner	Jones	Peterson, E. P.	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Gillam	Nelson	Sullivan, J. D.
Alley	Griggs	Palmer	Swenson
Andrews	Grose	Potter	Turnham
Baldwin	Hanson	Putnam	Vermilya
Benson	Healy	Rask	Vibert
Blomgren	Hegnes	Ries	Wallace
Bonniwell	Johnston	Rockne	Ward
Campbell, A.S.	Lende	Rustad	Weis
Denegre	Lobeck	Rystrom	Westlake
Duxbury	McGarry	Sageng	
Dwinnell	Millett	Sullivan, G. H.	

I do not wish to express any opinion as to the respective merits of the two systems of trying to make up to labor a small fraction of what it is entitled to.

Labor is entitled to what it has actually produced—no more, no less.

Unwise laws rob labor and leave it a beggar at the doors of legislatures, asking a pittance in the form of shorter hours, minimum wages, old age pensions and compensation for injuries.

Repeal the unwise laws.

Labor will come into its own and will be perfectly capable of taking care of itself.

But labor hasn't yet learned what the unwise laws are.

When it does learn it has the votes to repeal them.

And this applies just as much to the farmers in the country as to workers in the city.

They are all laborers; and the same unwise laws rob them all alike.

All who perform useful service to their fellows belong together in this struggle of the people against privilege.

Privilege must be destroyed, root and branch.

Labor, industry and all useful service will then come into their own, and enjoy the results of their efforts of hand and brain.

LABOR TROUBLES AND INVESTIGATIONS.

Shortly before the legislature met, labor troubles arose in some of the lumber camps of Northern Minnesota.

In a number of camps in Beltrami and Koochiching Counties the laborers quit work and demanded more wages, better food, more sanitary bunk houses and bedding.

A good many workers were arrested, but none convicted.

Some of the newspapers pictured the situation in lurid colors, and made it appear that a reign of terror had taken possession of the northern country.

A number of timber and mill owners appeared before the Senate Committee and asked for an appropriation to pay deputy sheriffs to maintain order and enable their business to proceed.

This request was vigorously opposed by the representatives of the workers and also by the officers of the American Federation of Labor who contended that if proper food and good working conditions were provided and fair wages paid, there would be no trouble.

The impression got abroad that the Governor favored this plan, and the committee prepared and the Senate passed a bill appropriating $50,000 a year for two years to enable the Governor to pay special deputies.

This bill passed the Senate with only two votes against it. Senators Rockne and Andrews took the stand that there was no good reason why those northern counties, enormously rich in natural resources, should call on the rest of the state to help them take care of their local matters.

Senator Rockne insisted that if the workers were treated fairly, there would be no strike and no trouble.

Senators Jones, Bonniwell and others favored a commission to fully investigate industrial conditions in the north and report to the next legislature.

They voted for this appropriation, thinking it would help them to get their commission.

Senator Nelson and many others considered the appropriation of doubtful merit, but didn't wish to oppose the Governor.

In the House.

When this bill reached the House, the matter of the appropriation was referred to the Finance Committee and the substance of the bill to the Labor Committee.

It began to be whispered about among House members, especially those from labor districts, that this bill, with its appropriation for state paid deputies was to be an entering wedge for the establishment of a State Constabulary.

Now a State Constabulary has long been demanded by those newspapers that have the reputation of being the organs of the Steel Trust and the other special interests, and has been bitterly opposed by labor and all those who see no good to the state in monopoly and special interest domination.

The Washburn Resolution.

Just at this time Rep. W. D. Washburn surprised many people by introducing a resolution demanding that the Labor Committee make a thoro examination into labor conditions in the mines and lumber camps of the North and report their findings to the House.

Things now began to happen.

Many representatives of both the workers and the employers were subpoenaed to testify before the committee, and the facts began to come out.

Little by little, as the investigation proceeded, it began to appear that the workers were more sinned against than sinning.

One Duluth attorney testified that he had defended 140 arrested workers and not one convicted. Everywhere arrests had been made but no convictions. Sheriffs, deputies and special police admitted under cross-examination that they had broken up peaceable meetings, and arrested and jailed labor leaders without warrant, who were afterward released without any charges having been brought against them.

Joseph Ettor, as advisor and counselor for the workers, showed himself to be a keen, shrewd, good natured and intelligent gentleman, when compared with the attorneys for the big interests, one of whom became so abusive at one of the hearings, that he was forced by the Committee to apologize before he would be permitted to continue in his capacity as attorney.

He did apologize most humbly, and after that was more gentlemanly in his conduct.

The big interests brought scores of witnesses to testify against the workers.

They admitted openly that all these witnesses were paid for their time, that their hotel bills and transportation expenses were also paid; but they did not seem to realize that such witnesses could hardly be classed as unbiased.

The witnesses for the workers, on the other hand, had to pay their hotel bills out of the meager fees allowed by law, and, of course, they got no pay for their time.

The sheriffs and representatives of the mining interests all testified that they had no need for special deputies paid by the state.

Some of the lumber interests, however, insisted that such deputies were needed, but offered little evidence to prove their contention.

The Senate Bill an Orphan.

Long before the investigation was over, most careful observers were satisfied that there was no need whatever for any appropriation for special deputies.

It appeared that the mining companies had voluntarily raised wages and improved conditions quite equal to the demands of the workers at the time of the strike, and that now all was moving along peacefully.

One prominent lumberman admitted on the witness stand that conditions were not what they ought to be, and that they expected to establish reforms.

It became evident that the Senate bill had few friends in the House; and to complete the work of burial the Gov-

ernor came out in a published interview in which he declared that he was not willing to father responsibility for the appropriation.

The evidence taken by the labor committee would fill many volumes, but the above statements give a pretty fair idea of the situation.

The committee also found that the mining and lumber interests refused to treat or bargain with their men collectively, and that this was the basic cause of the trouble.

Mr. Ryberg made a special minority report, emphasizing this point and urging a commission to fully investigate labor conditions and report to the next legislature.

The Remedy.

I do not believe the remedy is to be found in repression or persecution of the workers.

Working men everywhere have everything to lose and nothing to gain by resorting to violence and disorder; but it is just as sure as the rotation of the earth that there will be violence and disorder unless better working conditions are established, better wages paid, and collective bargaining agreed to by the big interests.

Practically everywhere in Northern Minnesota there is but one employer, or at best but few.

If working men are to be employed at all, they must work for these few employers, who have complete possession of the entire industrial field, and can make and enforce any terms they see fit.

The obvious remedy then is more jobs outside of Northern Minnesota, so that the men can find employment and living wages elsewhere. Then they will refuse to go into the mines and lumber camps unless conditions and wages are satisfactory.

The earth is fruitful and big enough to employ all who wish to work; but much of it is held by those who will not use—who will not employ—so men are idle, wages are low, conditions are bad, and labor troubles are common.

Tax out the speculators—pry them loose—the resources of the earth will then be used. Labor will be set to work and wages will be good. Everybody will be better off.

CHAPTER XI.

TRYING TO IMPROVE THE GRAIN MARKET.

There has always been friction between grain growers and grain buyers.

The growers want the highest possible price. The buyers want to pay the lowest. This is natural, so why worry?

But the cards have been stacked. The big elevator companies have had an advantage over the individual grain raisers. Big business always has an advantage. They could make better terms with the railroads. They could overbid the small buyers, the farmers' elevator companies, the individual shippers, till they drove them out of the field. Then they could take advantage of their monopoly and put prices down, thus robbing the farmers.

This was a common practice in the early days, but probably amounts to but little now.

Many farmers regard the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce as their worst enemy; but, like the death of Mark Twain, this is probably somewhat exaggerated.

The Equity Co-operative Exchange has been organized to compete with the Chamber in the buying of grain, and their business has grown rapidly.

The kernel of the whole business is this:

If the Equity can offer better prices, they will get the grain.

If the Chamber offer better prices, they will get it.

The thing for the legislature to do is to see fair play and no favors to either.

It is one thing to be sure there are evils.

It is a very different thing to correct them by legislation.

Often the proposed legislation will not correct, but will increase the evils.

Every session sees much of this kind of legislation proposed, but little enacted.

Some of it relates to the grain business.

Track or Cupola Scales.

Most of the elevators are now equipped with cupola scales. More grain can be weighed in the same time.

Are they as safe?

Their champions claim they are. They weigh accurately, record the weight automatically, and are practically fool proof and swindle proof.

The only chance for loss is in the system of carrying the grain from the pits, when it is dumped out of the cars, to the cupolas where it is weighed; and the chance for loss or fraud here is very slight indeed.

The house seemed to think so, when they defeated, 82 to 41, a bill by Mr. Welch to require all grain to be weighed on track scales.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Donovan	Levin	Shipstead
Baldwin	Flikkie	McGrath	Siegel
Bendixen	Frye	Madigan	Stenvick
Bjorge	Gerlich	Malmberg	Swanson, S. J.
Boock, J. W.	Green, H. M.	Marschalk	Teigen, A. F.
Burrows	Hammer	Mueller, A. W.	Teigen, L. O.
Carmichael	Holmes	Moen	Warner
Christianson,T.	Hompe	Neitzel	Welch
Crane	Johnson	Nordgren	
Davis, T.	Kuntz	Olien	
Dealand	Leonard	Pikop	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bernard	Girling	Mossman	Rodenberg
Bessette	Gleason	Murphy	Ross
Birkhofer	Gullickson	Nett	Ryberg
Bjorklund	Hale	Neuman	Searls
Bouck, C. W.	Harrison, H.H.	Nimocks	Seebach
Borgen	Harrison, J. M.	Nolan	Solem
Briggs	Hicken	Nordlin	Southwick
Brown	Hinds	Norton	Steen
Child	Howard	Norwood	Stevens
Christanson,A.	Indrehus	Novak	Stone

Corning	Knutson	Odland	Strand
Cumming	Konzen	Orr	Sudheimer
Danielson	Lang	Papke	Sutherland
Dare	Larson	Pattison	Swanson, H. A.
Davies, J.	Lee	Peterson, A.	Swenson
Devold	Lennon	Peterson, A.M.	Thornton
Dwyer	McLaughlin	Peterson, O.M.	Tollefson
Erickson	McNiven	Pittenger	Washburn
Flowers	Marwin	Pratt	Winter
Frisch	Miner	Praxel	
Gill	Moeller, G. H.	Putnam	

Nearly all for the bill represent farming districts but quite as many from such districts were against it. 7 did not vote: Reed, Sliter, Grant, Hulbert, Pendergast, T. J. Green, Mr. Speaker.

Selling for Future Delivery.

Have you a right to enter into a contract to sell and deliver to another a thing you do not now possess, but which you expect to possess by or before the time for delivery shall arrive?

Suppose you are in the business of raising wheat. Have you and another a right to agree that you will sell and he will buy, at a certain price, your wheat crop when it is grown and harvested?

Would an orchard man have a right to sell apples that he expected to raise?

Would the directors of a creamery have a right to make a contract in the spring for the sale of the season's output of butter?

Would you have a right to make an agreement to sell to me stocks, or bonds, or farm produce, or lumber, or bricks, or grain, or anything, in fact, which you do not now have in your possession, but which you expect to be able to get and deliver to me at the time agreed upon?

Would we have a right to agree that if you did not deliver on the day fixed that you must forfeit a certain amount as damages; or if I did not pay when you offered to deliver, then I must forfeit damages?

What is your answer to these questions?

If you answer "yes" to them all, then what will you say to an attempt to make such agreements illegal or impose a penalty upon them?

If agreements of this sort are proper and right, does it make any difference where the people are when they make them?

Would it matter whether they were in the house, or barn, or on the road or in an office, or on the trading floor of a grain exchange, stock exchange, lumber exchange, cotton exchange, dairy produce exchange, or anywhere else?

BUT YOU SAY

People use the grain exchanges, stock exchanges, cotton exchanges and other exchanges for the purpose of buying when they never expect to receive and selling when they never expect to deliver.

You say this is gambling, and gambling ought to be stopped.

Well, you can't get up a quarrel with me on that question. I never gamble. It is very risky, and one or the other is sure to lose. I just use **foresight** in buying real estate, and it always goes up in value. This is a sure thing game.

The loser is the fellow who comes along bye and bye and is forced to pay me an increase in price before he can get one of my lots to build a house on, or some of my acres to make a farm of.

Or perhaps the loser is the community that has created the increase in value which I get.

In any case I have got a pretty sure thing, I am pretty sure to win, and it is more respectable to win.

Yes, gambling is a bad business, especially the coarse and vulgar kind, like shooting craps or playing poker.

Gambling Ought To Be Stopped.

Now there are two ways of trying to stop gambling.

You can pass a law, prescribe fines and penalties, put men in jail,

OR

You can try to educate people above the gambling level, remove the causes that lead to gambling, and establish a moral atmosphere that frowns upon all schemes for getting something for nothing, whether it be bucking the tiger, buying and selling puts and calls, or speculating in real estate.

I suspect the last does the most harm, all things considered.

But, in any case, if you are going to stop these evils by statute, you are in duty bound to see to it that your statutes in no way obstruct or penalize proper and rightful business. This is imperative, lest in your zeal to suppress evil you do more evil.

A very wise teacher of old once said, "Overcome evil with good." Remove the cause and the evil will disappear.

That is what we are trying to do when we educate people to let booze alone and refuse to license the liquor traffic.

Two Bills.

Two bills were introduced into the House in 1917, both of which were aimed at real or supposed evils that have grown up around the business of handling grain and stocks.

The Teigen Bill.

Mr. A. F. Teigen introduced H. F. 214, "A bill for an Act to Prohibit Sales of Grain or Other Commodities or Corporate Stocks on Margins or Options for Future Delivery in Certain Cases."

This bill declared all contracts for the sale of grain or shares of corporate stock of any corporation to be **gambling contracts,** "unless the contract is in writing, and unless at the time of making the same, the seller owns or has in his possession at a place to be designated in the contract of sale, the grain or corporate stock which is the subject of the contract."

This is a pretty drastic act.

Mr. Teigen spoke for nearly two hours in defense of his bill, and showed a large number of petitions demanding its enactment.

Mr. Howard spoke briefly against the bill, showing that it would prohibit a farmer from selling his crop before it was harvested; that it would cut out all hedging which all concede to be right and proper; that it would force every country elevator to speculate in grain, by denying the right to hedge, and thus compel them to take a larger margin and reduce the price of grain to the farmers; and if the law were effective, it would force the business of grain buying and selling out of Minnesota and into other states where hedging and buying and selling for future delivery were permitted.

On motion of Mr. Bendixen, the bill was then amended so as to permit such sales where the seller "intends to deliver the grain or corporate stocks."

How are you going to find out what a man **intends?** Of course every seller **intends** to deliver if he has to, or pay the penalty of his failure.

On motion of Mr. S. J. Swanson green corn and canned corn were declared not to be **grain** within the meaning of this act.

This let out the canning factories and those who raise corn to sell to them.

The vote was then taken and resulted 73 to 54 against the bill.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Devold	Larson	Ross
Baldwin	Donovan	McLaughlin	Shipstead
Bendixen	Dwyer	Madigan	Stenvick
Boock, J. W.	Frye	Malmberg	Stone
Carmichael	Green, H. M.	Marschalk	Strand
Child	Hammer	Mueller, A. W.	Sutherland
Christanson,A.	Harrison, H.H.	Moen	Swanson, S. J.
Christianson,T.	Hinds	Mossman	Swenson
Cumming	Holmes	Neuman	Teigen, A. F.
Danielson	Hompe	Nordgren	Teigen, L. O.
Dare	Indrehus	Odland	Warner
Davies, J.	Johnson	Olien	Welch
Davis, T.	Knutson	Pratt	
Dealand	Kuntz	Putnam	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Bernard	Grant	Neitzel	Reed
Bessette	Greene, T. J.	Nett	Rodenberg
Birkhofer	Gullickson	Nimocks	Searls
Bjorge	Hale	Nolan	Seebach
Bouck, C. W.	Harrison, J. M.	Nordlin	Siegel
Borgen	Hicken	Norton	Sliter
Briggs	Howard	Norwood	Solem
Brown	Hulbert	Novak	Southwick
Burrows	Konzen	Orr	Steen
Corning	Lang	Papke	Stevens
Crane	Lee	Parker	Sudheimer
Erickson	Lennon	Pattison	Swanson, H. A.
Flikkie	Leonard	Pendergast	Thornton
Flowers	Levin	Peterson, A.	Tollefson
Frisch	McGrath	Peterson, A.M.	Washburn
Gerlich	McNiven	Peterson, O.M.	Winter
Gill	Miner	Pikop	
Girling	Moeller, G. H.	Pittenger	
Gleason	Murphy	Praxel	

Bjorklund, Marwin, Ryberg did not vote.

The Knutson Bill.

In H. F. No. 80 Mr. Knutson attempted to impose a tax on every sale, or agreement to sell.

This tax was to be imposed on the sale of "any products or merchandise at any exchange, or board of trade, or other similar place in the State of Minnesota, either for present or future delivery."

The proposed tax was not large, but the bill provided for an elaborate system of blanks, contracts, memoranda, and bookkeeping, and required stamps to be affixed to all such contracts of sale.

The discussion lasted for about three hours and resulted in the adoption of eight amendments, one confining the act to sales for future delivery, another exempting all bills of lading, another cutting out entirely Section 2 taxing sales of corporate stocks, and one exempting from the effect of the act all hedging transactions and all sales where the delivery of the goods is actually made.

These amendments made the bill far less objectionable, but it was defeated, 39 to 87.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Anderson	Flikkie	McLaughlin	Steen
Bjorge	Frye	Madigan	Stenvick
Burrows	Hinds	Malmberg	Stone
Christanson,A.	Holmes	Marschalk	Strand
Christianson,T.	Hompe	Mueller, A. W.	Swanson, S. J.
Crane	Johnson	Neuman	Teigen, A. F.
Davis, T.	Knutson	Orr	Teigen, L. O.
Devold	Kuntz	Pikop	Warner
Donovan	Lee	Pratt	Welch
Dwyer	Leonard	Shipstead	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Baldwin	Gerlich	Marwin	Peterson, O. M.
Bendixen	Gill	Miner	Pittenger
Bernard	Girling	Moeller, G. H.	Praxel
Bessette	Gleason	Moen	Putnam
Birkhofer	Grant	Mossman	Reed
Bjorklund	Green, H. M.	Murphy	Rodenberg
Boock, J. W.	Greene, T. J.	Neitzel	Ross
Bouck, C. W.	Gullickson	Nett	Searls
Borgen	Hale	Nimocks	Seebach
Briggs	Harrison, H.H.	Nolan	Siegel
Brown	Harrison, J. M.	Nordgren	Sliter
Carmichael	Hicken	Nordlin	Solem
Child	Howard	Norton	Southwick
Corning	Hulbert	Norwood	Stevens
Cumming	Indrehus	Novak	Sutherland
Danielson	Konzen	Odland	Swanson, H. A.
Dare	Lang	Olien	Swenson
Davies, J.	Larson	Papke	Thornton
Dealand	Lennon	Pattison	Tollefson
Erickson	Levin	Pendergast	Washburn
Flowers	McGrath	Peterson, A.	Winter
Frisch	McNiven	Peterson, A.M.	

Hammer, Ryberg, Sudheimer and the Speaker did not vote.

Both these bills are good illustrations of trying to do a right thing in a wrong way.

They also show that something more than good intentions are necessary.

The thing may be wrong, but it doesn't follow that your method is the right way to correct it.

The statute books of every state and country are full of enactments that have only served to make bad matters worse.

A statute that interferes with a citizen's inherent right is always bad, no matter how good the intention.

Many claim that buying and selling for future delivery, and especially buying and selling on margin or option, where actual delivery is not contemplated, tends to depress prices.

If this is true, it is bad for the producers who are comparatively few, but good for the consumers; and all are consumers.

Others claim that this sort of dealing tends to increase prices, which would be bad for consumers but good for producers.

Still others assert that the only effect is to hold prices more even and stable, which, of course, is better for all—both producers and consumers.

It is fully believed by many careful observers that even the purely gambling contracts have no effect on actual prices, but only injure those unwise people who hope to beat professionals at their own game—that gambling only injures the suckers that get skinned.

This may be true financially; but, of course, any sort of mere gambling must injure both parties morally.

Can these evils be corrected by repressive statutes; or must they be got rid of by removing the social and economic causes, by education and moral uplift?

Each must answer for himself.

The Teigen Investigation.

Early in the session Mr. A. F. Teigen secured the passage of a resolution for an investigation of all grain exchanges and other things too numerous to mention. This was to be especially an investigation into the workings of the Duluth Board of Trade, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce and the Equity Co-operative Exchange of St. Paul.

The first thing this committee found out was that employees of the grain department of the Railway and Warehouse Commission had contributed to the Republican campaign fund; but all this is of record in the office of the Secretary of State.

Mr. Teigen then started an exhaustive investigation of the Equity. This dragged along for several weeks and became a good deal of a joke. It came out in the evidence that Teigen had asked the Equity for a job—and had been refused.

The following from the St. Paul Daily News of March 5th speaks for itself:

TEIGEN INQUIRY DISBANDS ITSELF.

Committee Members Say They See Nothing Wrong With Equity.

The Teigen house committee on grain and livestock marketing formally disbanded itself today.

The members passed a resolution ending their activities because the house has passed a bill for an interim committee to investigate the same matters as the Teigen committee has been doing.

Most of the time of the Teigen committee has been taken up with investigating the Equity Co-operative exchange.

Say Equity Is All Right.

Reps. J. E. Madigan and E. P. Nordgren said at the committee's final session today that they couldn't see anything the matter with the Equity. Chairman Teigen said he didn't think the investigation had injured the Equity.

The final session of the Teigen committee was characterized by some lively tilts.

Chairman Teigen called the members' attention to an advertisement in his home town newspaper, the Montevideo American, from the Equity exchange, asking him to debate in Montevideo on the grounds that his investigation of the exchange has been unfair. Chairman Teigen asked the committee to pass a resolution saying he has not been unfair. The committee refused to do so.

"We've been made fools enough already in the press throughout the state," said Rep. Fred Mossman. "I think we'd better let well enough alone."

"Yes," said Rep. C. M. Bendixen, "I guess the least said the better."

Would Debate Crites.

Chairman Teigen said he would debate J. G. Crites, general manager of the Equity, but no "wide-lipped attorneys for the exchange." He referred to James Manahan, attorney for the Equity.

Rep. E. P. Nordgren said prior to the disbanding resolution that he didn't think the chairman should order everything to be done and rule by himself.

Chairman Teigen was insisting that the state grain inspection department furnish the committee with detailed lists as to barley reports.

"What can we go out and tell the farmers if we don't know about this barley business?" he demanded.

"I'm not going out and tell them anything about barley," said Rep. Fred Mossman. "I'm going home and grow it."

The Teigen committee made a final report, giving the Equity a clean bill of health.

Divorcing

Grain Inspection from the Ry. and Warehouse Com.

The only question in this bill was whether the Governor or the Railway and Warehouse Commission should control Grain Inspection.

The Efficiency and Economy Commission had brought in a bill to take this duty away from the Railway and Warehouse Commission and give it to the Governor.

Duxbury, Jackson, Rockne and R. C. Dunn defended the bill.

Sageng, Gillam, O'Neil, Holmberg, Geo. Sullivan and F. H. Peterson defended the present system as being efficient, economical and satisfactory to both the farmers and grain buyers. F. H. Peterson made a hit by saying: "Gentlemen, you are trying to bring a divorce proceeding. I am a party to that proceeding and I don't want any divorce."

The bill was defeated, 16 to 46.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Baldwin	Duxbury	Johnston	Rockne
Bonniwell	Glotzbach	Knopp	Sullivan, J. D.
Carley	Hilbert	Nelson	Ward
Dunn, R. C.	Jackson	Peterson, E. P.	Weis

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Gardner	Millett	Sageng
Alley	Gillam	O'Neill	Steffen
Andrews	Gjerset	Orr	Sullivan, G. H.
Benson	Griggs	Pauly	Swenson
Blomgren	Grose	Peterson, F.H.	Turnham
Callahan	Handlan	Peterson, G.M.	Van Hoven
Campbell, A.S.	Hanson	Potter	Vermilya
Campbell, W.A.	Hegnes	Putnam	Vibert
Denegre	Holmberg	Rask	Wallace
Dunn, W. W.	Lende	Ries	Westlake
Dwinnell	Lobeck	Rustad	
Gandrud	McGarry	Rystrom	

Five Senators did not vote: Buckler, Healy, Jones, Nord, Palmer.

CHAPTER XII.

PATRIOTISM AND MILITARISM.

When I read the article by the eminent writer, John Walker Gunn, on the above subject, I saw that he had done the work so much more perfectly than I could hope to do, that I decided to let him express my thoughts for me.

Good and Bad Patriotism.

By John Walker Gunn

Patriotism is the prevailing and insistent note at this writing. A clear and rational discussion of patriotism is, therefore, timely.

There are two types of patriotism and of patriot, and the question of whether patriotism is good or bad hinges entirely upon this difference in type.

There is a type of patriotism that is the direct opposite and the supreme antithesis of reason, fairness and justice. This is the type commonly displayed in the midst of a war craze, that is the outgrowth of this craze, and that is wholly identical with the mob spirit.

This type of patriotism cannot make the slightest appeal to an intelligent, fair-minded person. It is a state of hysteria, of emotional excitement, that banishes reason and makes its victims the slaves of the most ignorant, vicious and dangerous impulses. This hysteria manifests itself both in the form of a weak, silly sentimentalism and in the form of a savage, unreasoning prejudice. It unbalances the

normal processes of human intelligence and brings the blind instincts of the beast into active and evil play.

Crowds convulsed with patriotic hysteria are blind creatures of prejudice and hate, whose controlling impulse is to fight and destroy those whom their inflamed imaginations fancy as foes. Acts performed by crowds and individuals while under the stress of patriotic emotion reveal clearly a condition of insanity, of mental aberration.

Suggest to a man in a crowd which is viewing a patriotic pro-war demonstration that you see no good reason why the country should go to war, and you may get off lightly by being merely knocked down (if the maddened patriot is big enough to carry out this peculiarly patriotic course) or you may have to exercise extraordinary swiftness and strategy to escape being severely manhandled by a patriotic mob and possibly hung, if the war craze has reached a sufficiently violent stage.

Ordinarily your opinion would be listened to in a spirit of normal, intelligent fairness; but a man who is crazed with patriotism is not normal, nor intelligent, nor fair. For the time being he is a man out of his mind.

The purely emotional, impulsive and hysterical patriotism that evinces itself in the wild waving of flags, in the hoarse shouting of mobs, in blatant music and inflammatory bursts of athletic eloquence, that clamors for war without understanding or even inquiring the cause, is utterly bad.

* * *

Toward the type of patriot who is sincerely and intelligently attached to the higher interests, the deeper realities and the broader motives of the nation's existence, whose patriotism is ever active in times of peace as well as in times of threatened war, and manifests itself in efforts to better the conditions, increase the liberties and advantages, and encourage the forward movements in which the true interests of the nation and its citizens are bound up, is due the fullest respect and the frankest admiration.

This type of patriot is not a patriot in the narrow nationalistic sense, which insists that a man must hate, fear and suspect other nations in order to prove that he loves his own nation.

The real, intelligent patriot loves the whole world and all humanity; he realizes that the nation of which he is a part is similarly a part of the great world family of which all other nations are parts, and that as his interests are the same in a broad and true sense with those of his fellow citizens, so his nation's interests in a broad and true sense are the same as those of other nations.

This patriot welcomes and encourages the movement toward freedom and democracy and brotherhood, toward progress in all its phases, toward a fuller, finer and freer life, in other countries as warmly and wholeheartedly as in the country where he lives. He may rejoice in a revolutionary forward movement in Russia and at the same time deplore sincerely and resist earnestly a reactionary backward movement in his own country.

The dearest ideal of this fine, noble, admirably human and hopefully sane type of patriot is that some day there shall be a universal federation of all nations, a world-wide parliament of man, when all narrow national rivalries and enmities shall disappear and with these evils of nationalism shall vanish the necessity for that malignant monomania which today prevails so widely under the name of patriotism.

And now, my dear readers, if you were a member of the legislature, which kind of patriot were you?

And if you were not a member, which kind would you rather have to represent you there?

Patriotism and Militarism in the Schools.

On Feb. 8th, the Senate had before it a bill by Senator Alley providing for "singing of patriotic songs, readings from American history and from the biographies of American statesmen and patriots and such other patriotic exercises as the superintendent or teachers of such schools may determine" not to exceed one-half hour one day each week.

This was most vigorously opposed by Mr. Duxbury, who declared that patriotism cannot be taught in any such way, and furthermore to make such teaching compulsory will only open the door to some text-book maker to sell millions of books at a big profit.

During the discussion of this measure Senator Gjerset made a speech in opposition that will take rank among the best delivered on any subject during the session.

Now Come the Jingoes.

The real test of the Senate came, however, when G. H. Sullivan of Stillwater proposed to amend by adding the following:

"Also teaching the necessity for military preparedness by teaching the history of nations which have been conquered and destroyed by reason of their failure to make sufficient military preparation against aggression."

Now, indeed, the fight was on, and the floodgates of oratory were opened wide.

Sullivan made an impassioned speech for militarism, and was ably supported by Ward, Glotzbach and Nord, tho the last named wanted the purely military part of the teaching separated from the peaceful portion.

The Jingoes were strongly opposed by Lobeck, F. H. Peterson, Alley, Wm. A. Campbell, Vermilya and Jackson.

Duxbury urged everybody to vote for the Sullivan amendment as the most effective way to kill the whole bill and carried with him Baldwin, Steffen and Swenson, who believed the bill contained a chance for a text-book graft.

But Sullivan was defeated. He got only 24 votes and four of these appear to have gone with him to help kill the bill.

Those who voted for the Sullivan amendment were:

Baldwin	Duxbury	McGarry	Sullivan, G. H.
Callahan	Glotzbach	Millett	Swenson
Campbell, A.S.	Griggs	Nord	Van Hoven

Denegre	Healy	Pauly	Wallace
Dunn, R. C.	Johnston	Peterson,G.M.	Ward
Dunn, W. W.	Knopp	Steffen	Westlake

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Gardner	Nelson	Rystrom
Andrews	Gillam	O'Neill	Sageng
Benson	Grose	Orr	Sullivan, J. D.
Blomgren	Hanson	Palmer	Turnham
Bonniwell	Hegnes	Peterson, E.P.	Vermilya
Buckler	Holmberg	Peterson,F.H.	Vibert
Campbell, W.A.	Jackson	Rask	Weis
Carley	Jones	Rockne	
Gandrud	Lobeck	Rustad	

The amendment was lost, and the bill was then passed 48 to 9.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Alley	Gandrud	Nord	Rystrom
Andrews	Gillam	O'Neill	Sageng
Benson	Grose	Orr	Sullivan, G. H.
Blomgren	Hanson	Palmer	Sullivan, J. D.
Bonniwell	Healy	Pauly	Turnham
Buckler	Hegnes	Peterson, E.P.	Van Hoven
Callahan	Holmberg	Peterson, F.H.	Vermilya
Campbell, A.S.	Jackson	Peterson,G.M.	Vibert
Campbell, W.A.	Johnston	Putnam	Wallace
Carley	Knopp	Ries	Ward
Denegre	Lobeck	Rockne	Weis
Dunn, W. W.	McGarry	Rustad	Westlake

Those who voted in the negative were:

Baldwin	Gjerset	Rask	Swenson
Duxbury	Jones	Steffen	
Gardner	Nelson		

The following Senators were present but did not vote: Glotzbach, Griggs, Millett and R. C. Dunn. All these had voted for the Sullivan amendment and the inference would be that they refused to support the bill on final passage because it was not militant enough, or from fear that it contained a text-book scheme.

Adams, Dwinnell, Handlan, Hilbert and Potter were absent.

This bill furnishes a very interesting test on the question of military teaching in the schools and shows that not more than about one-third of the Senate is favorable to that kind of education of our children.

The Big Military Scheme.

But all this is very mild when compared with the provisions of a bill introduced into the House by Harrison, McNiven, Marschalk and Southwick and into the Senate by Geo. H. Sullivan and Knopp.

This bill made real military teaching and training compulsory in all the high schools of the state.

Very strenuous efforts were made by the militarists to push this bill. A neatly printed pamphlet containing the text of the bill and a strong appeal for its passage was placed on every desk in both houses very early in the session; public hearings were arranged at which advocates

of the bill were heard at length. Captain Stevers was brought from Chicago to address committees and was given a joint hearing by the two houses.

Below are some of the telling objections made to the plan of subjecting immature boys to military training:

"Soldiering itself is a man's business, and is not for the boy under 18."

These words are not those of a pacifist lecturer. They are the well-considered conclusions of Capt. Stuart Godfrey, West Point instructor, and officer in the regular army.

But Dr. C. W. Crampton, director of physical training, New York city, supplies the aptest comment. He says:

"A wave of enthusiasm for military training has swept over the country. If this spends itself in the military training of infants, nothing but waste and harm will result."

By David Starr Jordan,

Chancellor of Leland Stanford, Jr., University.

The awful carnage of murder in Europe has induced parallel currents of hysteria in the law-abiding neutrals, including the United States. Out of them has arisen the plan of compulsory military training for our boys, based—as some have suggested—on the Australian model.

Now in Australia boys from 14 to 20 years of age are placed in military camps for about 18 days each summer. Their scheme has nothing to do with the public school system. It is purely a matter for the state to look after. No attempt is made to tie it up with the local school systems.

The Australian system has involved great expense and much ill feeling. This is something not generally recognized. It is claimed that the "camp" is democratic because all classes meet on the same level.

Bad boys, it is true, here get a touch of good company, but the good ones often find themselves, for the first time, in very bad company.

The associations of the camp on the whole are not wholesome.

The old trooper, avowedly no "plaster saint," is usually not a fit instructor for growing youths.

In Australia, with a population about double that of California, 22,143 boys have been in the past two and a half years prosecuted for failure to appear at the barracks.

Even for writing home accounts of their experience, boys have been punished.

* * *

Why has Central Europe maintained compulsory military training? It exists, partly to make good soldiers, but partly also, to make bad citizens, MEN WHO WILL TAKE ORDERS FROM ABOVE AND OBEY THEM WITHOUT THOUGHT.

* * *

"America means opportunity," and the young men and women of the republic should be trained to grasp opportunity for themselves.

Their springs of action should be responsive to the individual conscience.

The "discipline" of driven sheep is not for them, however useful it may be to aristocracies which claim to rule by divine right.

Collective discipline impairs individuality.

The good citizen of America is not a chattel sheltered by a state he does not control.

The democratic state exists for the common welfare of the men and women that compose it.

The idea of compulsion has little place in a democracy. Wherever it appears it should be scanned most critically, for it is legitimate only in time of severest need. Such need may not appear when the high school boys of today have grown to be men. We may hope with Louis Raemakers of Amsterdam that this is Europe's "Last Dance With Death."

Prof. W. F. Webster,

East Side High School, Minneapolis.

The advocates of military drill affirm that their system furnishes the best training for developing strength and endurance. If this were true, military drill might be justified; for a strong body is as essential to the arts of peace as to the arts of war. But the claim is not true. And I call to witness those who know.

First, Dr. Sargent, veteran director of physical training at Harvard: "Military drill is not an adequate means for physical training. It is not only very limited in its activities, but actually harmful in its effects upon boys less than 18 or 20 years of age. . . . It is apt to foster a bombastic spirit of 'tin-soldierism' and false sense of patriotism which does not appreciate the seriousness of war nor the glories of the struggles of peace."

Dr. Herman Koehler of West Point says: " . . . the maintenance of robust health and the development of organic vigor should be considered the primary object of this training." Sir William Aitkin, professor of pathology in the Army Medical school of England, says: "Boys given military training at 18 make soldiers who are less robust and efficient than men with whom this training was deferred a few years. . . ."

The subcommittee on military training reported to the joint committee on higher schools, Philadelphia, last May: "That it finds it undesirable to add a technical course in military training to the already full curriculum of the public high schools. The extension and development of the present method of physical training is strongly advised, supplemented by practical instruction in hygiene, prevention of disease and immediate treatment of wounds and injuries."

The report of the special commission on military education and reserve, appointed by Governor Walsh in June, 1915, states: "It is generally agreed that the military drill which a boy receives in school is of little or no advantage to him from the point of view of practical soldiering. . . . The commission does not recommend military drill (in high schools), but is opposed to it."

Neither house looked with any favor on this bill for military training in high schools, and in the Senate the committee

on education recommended it for indefinite postponement early in the session.

The Military Craze.

But later, when the military craze was sweeping over the country, when an insane fear had taken possession of thousands of people usually sane and reasonable, George Sullivan again attempted to take advantage of the psycological moment to bring in another bill with the same object.

This bill practically established a military dictator over all the high schools of the state.

The local school boards had no power, and the military dictator would be monarch of all he pleased to call his kingdom.

It was pointed out in the debate that none of the great military nations of Europe provided military training in public schools, and that well-known educators discouraged the proposition; that Generals Wood, Young and Goethals had made public statements to the same effect.

But George ridiculed all this as "mush and milk," and tried to jam his bill thru by methods he so well knows how to use.

He was twice defeated. First he got only 29 votes for his bill and then he failed to get a reconsideration when the vote stood 29 to 35 against him.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Adams	Glotzbach	McGarry	Van Hoven
Baldwin	Griggs	Nord	Vibert
Blomgren	Grose	Pauly	Wallace
Callahan	Handlan	Peterson, G.M.	Ward
Campbell, A.S.	Healy	Putnam	Westlake
Denegre	Hegnes	Rask	
Dunn, W. W.	Johnston	Sullivan, G. H.	
Gardner	Knopp	Swenson	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Alley	Dwinnell	Lobeck	Rockne
Andrews	Gandrud	Nelson	Rustad
Benson	Gillam	O'Neill	Rystrom
Bonniwell	Hanson	Orr	Sageng
Buckler	Hilbert	Palmer	Steffen
Campbell, W.A.	Holmberg	Peterson, E. P.	Sullivan, J. D.
Carley	Jackson	Peterson, F. H.	Vermilya
Dunn, R. C.	Jones	Potter	Weis
Duxbury	Lende	Ries	

And thus ended in complete defeat a very daring attempt to force militarism into our high schools—a thing that not even Germany, under Prussian militarism, has ever attempted.

We profess to have gone into this war in the cause of democracy and to crush out Prussian tyranny and autocracy; but it looks much as if some of our would-be statesmen would like to bring the hated Prussian system here and force it upon our people.

CHAPTER XIII.
MISCELLANEOUS.

EDUCATIONAL.

For many years there has been a constant, steady, persistent, determined effort to concentrate the control of the rural schools into the hands of the State Department of Education and the State Superintendent of Schools.

The state school fund has been used as the club to bring local authorities to terms.

Plans for school houses, systems of heating and ventilation, whether or not districts should consolidate, and a hundred and one other matters relating to rural schools have been dictated from the central office at the Capitol; and the threat has been freely made that the state aid would be withheld unless the local school board would yield their judgment to the demands of the central authority.

Now the greatest merit of the district school system is the fact that it furnishes a nucleus around which all the social and economic, as well as educational activities, of the neighborhood can center.

Here in the country school house the people gather to hear lectures on all kinds of questions, to discuss together their needs, and to determine how they will handle their local affairs.

In the management of their school affairs—the election of trustees—the discussion relating to building of school houses—the selection of teachers—the length of school terms—and the many other questions that are constantly coming up for settlement—the people get good and valuable lessons in self-government, and learn to understand and apply the principles of democracy.

Any change which diminishes these activities of the people in their own school affairs is to be resisted as a step away from democracy and toward centralization.

In the legislature of 1917 this tendency manifested itself principally in the bill to establish county boards of education empowered to manage all the schools of the county and elect the County Superintendent of Schools.

This bill would deprive the people of the several districts of all direct interest in their local schools, and take away from all the people of the county their right to vote for County Superintendent of Schools.

That the bill did not pass was no fault of those who introduced and published it.

Another dangerous tendency is in the policy of enormous state aid to rural and village schools.

This is the financial club used by the centralizers to force their policies upon the rural and village schools.

Representative Dealand, himself for many years a teacher and County Superintendent, very clearly pointed out how this system robs the rural district schools for the benefit of the village high schools.

The following table shows the effects of this system on the rural and village schools of 9 counties:

Nobles County.

Rural valuation	$14,196,691	5/6+
Village and city valuation	2,443,119	1/6—
Total valuation	$16,639,810	
Amount of special school aid	$ 27,390	
Proportion of special aid paid by country	23,000	
Proportion of special aid received by country	11,000	
Loss by country, about	$ 12.000	
Special aid received by villages, about.	$ 16,000	
Special aid paid by villages, about	4,000	
Gain by villages	12,000	
Exactly	11,844	

Cottonwood county, villages gain and country loses $11,000.00
Murray county, villages gain and country loses.. 9,000.00
Jackson county, villages gain and country loses 10,000.00
McLeod county, villages gain and country loses 15,600.00
Norman county, villages gain and country loses 10,450.00
Meeker county, villages gain and country loses.. 11,000.00
Watonwan county, villages gain and country loses 9,000.00
Mille Lacs county, villages gain and country loses 12,000.00

The country schools are the hope of democracy. They should be kept close to the people and made the best possible.

EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY.

For the second time an interim commission submitted to the legislature a number of bills claiming to simplify the state government and make it more economical and efficient.

Most of these bills were defeated.

This defeat is charged in part to the activity of the public officials whose departments would be abolished or merged into others and to their desire not to be interfered with.

The defeat was due in part also to a feeling on the part of many members that they would effect no saving in expense and would help to build up a great political machine in the hands of the Governor. Just how there would be more opportunity than now for such a machine was not very apparent.

State Auditor Preus made a strong fight against the Public Domain bill which would take a great amount of work and responsibility away from his department and give it to the Governor.

The Governor was equally anxious for the success of this bill, and sent a special message to each house urging its passage.

At first the Senate killed this bill.

Then the house made many amendments and passed it 79 to 43.

When this amended bill reached the Senate, Duxbury tried to get a special order for its consideration but failed 31 for to 35 against.

The one greatest stumbling block in the way of this measure is the fact that most members believe that the state constitution will have to be amended before the state lands can be taken out of the hands of the Auditor and turned over to a department of Public Domain.

It seems to be generally conceded that the Auditor ought to be Auditor and nothing more,—that he should be the officer elected by the people to check up all state departments and be free from all other duties.

The Auditor would then be what the name indicates and would have under his direction the departments of Public Examiner, Banks and Insurance.

It is not at all logical or consistent that the Governor should appoint the Public Examiner to check up the accounts and activities of his other appointees. This should be done by an officer elected by the people and directly accountable to them.

There would then be no serious objection to putting into the hands of the Governor the appointment of all administrative officers and holding him responsible for their work.

Concentration of administrative responsibility is safer than to scatter such responsibility and is no more likely to result in a political machine.

TRYING TO STOP LEGALIZED PRIZE FIGHTS.

In 1915 the legislature passed a bill legalizing ten round boxing matches, and putting the State into partnership with the business by turning over 10% of the gross proceeds to help in the fight against tuberculosis.

Senator Andrews of Mankato was very anxious to prevent any affiliation of the University of Minnesota with the Mayo Hospital at Rochester, and had vigorously supported this boxing bill, it is said, in exchange for a considerable number of votes against the Mayo Affiliation.

In the interval between the two sessions Senator Andrews appears to have become convinced that the boxing bill was not the success he had supposed it to be and desired an opportunity to go on record against it.

Other Senators who had always opposed the legalizing of prize fights were also anxious to repeal the law.

Senator Sageng early introduced such a repealer and it came to a vote March 6th.

Sageng, Palmer and Andrews urged repeal, declaring that it is a disgrace to the state to go into partnership with a disreputable business like prize fighting.

Briggs, Rask, Adams, Glotzbach and R. C. Dunn spoke against repeal declaring that the sport is not brutal and the objection of state partnership has no weight as about half the states in the union legalize such matches and participate in the profits.

The vote resulted in 31 for and 35 against repeal.

Those who voted in the affirmative were:

Alley	Gjerset	Palmer	Sullivan, G. H.
Andrews	Hanson	Peterson, E.P.	Sullivan, J. D.
Benson	Holmberg	Peterson, F.H.	Vermilya
Campbell, W.A.	Jones	Potter	Wallace
Duxbury	Lende	Rockne	Ward
Dwinnell	Lobeck	Rustad	Weis
Gandrud	Nelson	Rystrom	Westlake
Gillam	Orr	Sageng	

Those who voted in the negative were:

Adams	Dunn, R. C.	Hilbert	Peterson, G. M.
Baldwin	Dunn, W. W.	Jackson	Rask
Blomgren	Gardner	Johnston	Ries
Bonniwell	Glotzbach	Knopp	Steffen
Buckler	Griggs	McGarry	Swenson
Callahan	Grose	Millett	Turnham
Campbell, A.S.	Handlan	Nord	Van Hoven
Carley	Healy	O'Neill	Vibert
Denegre	Hegnes	Pauly	

The only changes from the vote of 1915 were two. Andrews who then voted for the bill now voted for repeal, and Blomgren changed the other way and now voted against repeal.

Senator Putnam had been excused and was absent.

THE ABSENT VOTERS' BILL.

The following from the Duluth Labor World is a good account of the absent voters bill introduced by Wm. A. Campbell of Minneapolis.

The absent voters' bill passed the Minnesota senate without a dissenting vote last Friday. Now if the house passes favorably upon the bill thousands of commercial travelers, railroad men and others temporarily out of the state or away from their voting districts will be permitted to vote at every election.

The bill is a comprehensive measure and prepared by the attorney general's office at the request of the organization of commercial travelers and railroad men, free of charge.

"The Sample Case," official organ of the United Commercial Travelers, says the bill is "the most up-to-date absent voter bill yet proposed."

It contains the machinery by which a citizen of Minnesota temporarily in Texas, or in any other state, may exercise the right of franchise.

It is a just measure; the wonder is that Minnesota has failed to correct the injustice before.

"The commercial traveler and the railroad man," says the "Sample Case," "would like to have a voice in the political affairs of his country, but on account of election laws that have been in force since his great-grandfather's time he is obliged to resign all his political privileges to the fireside voter.

"The fireside voter is always at home. He can vote whenever he takes a notion. He may get out and do it, or he may not; it all depends upon what personal interest he

may happen to take in some local election. The absent voter is the one we are trying to enfranchise. Owing to the wide territory he may cover his views are sure to be broader than the fireside voters'—that makes him the more intelligent voter. There is no reason why any American citizen should lose his vote year after year because he happens to be away from home election day."

The Labor World says amen to that. Minnesota will do only what is right toward some of her solidest citizens when the absent voters' law is put on the statute books.

JUNKETS.

In the old days of partizanship and plunder it was very common for the legislature to adjourn for the day and accept the hospitality of some great corporation or other big interest. This was usually done at just the right time to influence the members in favor of some bad bill the interested ones wanted passed or against some good bill they wanted defeated.

In the legislature of 1917 there were only two affairs that could be called junketing trips, and both of these were altogether harmless and very instructive.

A Visit to the New States Prison.

The first of these was a visit to the new state's prison at Stillwater, conducted by "Uncle" Henry Harrison.

Every one paid his own street car fare both ways. In the old days all rode free.

We all had a chance to see the best conducted prison in the country, a more than self-sustaining institution, where the prisoners are treated like men and are helped to learn the better way.

A good dinner at the prison and all returned well pleased and satisfied.

The South St. Paul Stock Yards.

The second junket was to South St. Paul to see the Stock Yards and watch the processes there by which millions worth of food is prepared for human use.

"Long" Bob Carmichael led this junket, and all who went were satisfied they had not spent the afternoon in vain.

Here again each one paid his own car fare, and a simple restaurant dinner was furnished at the expense of the packing company.

BOOZE.

In the old days Booze played a large part in deciding the fate of bills.

Also Booze was the common daily and nightly companion of a large number of members.

The total abstainers are rapidly increasing, with beneficial results, both to the morals of the members, and to the honesty and fairness of the laws passed.

IMPORTANT BILLS THAT PASSED.

Constitutional amendment for state-wide prohibition.

Abolishing state highway commission and substituting commissioner.

Providing for inventory and appraisal of state property.

Repealing law by which railroads charged 3 cents a mile for first five miles of passenger tickets.

Repeal of presidential preferential primary law.

Permitting absent voters to vote by mail.

Giving state health board charge of tuberculosis work by making advisory commission part of health board.

Anti-injunction law, based on federal Clayton act by which state courts cannot interfere with organized efforts of laboring men to improve conditions.

Increasing compensation which workmen can collect for injuries.

Making waiting period one week instead of two when workmen can begin collecting compensation, when injured.

Prohibiting payment of wages in non-negotiable time checks.

Prohibiting discrimination in grain prices between localities to force farmers' elevators out of business.

Authorizing rural night schools.

Requiring public schools to teach patriotism.

Creating state public safety commission and appropriating $1,000,000 for placing state on war footing.

Making it felony to teach criminal sabotage or criminal syndicalism.

Creating state commission to pass on securities offered for sale to public.

Large number of child welfare bills recommended by commission appointed by governor.

Numerous measures to improve game and fish laws.

Several minor bills recommended by state efficiency and economy commission.

Drainage and flood control measures.

Requiring suburban and interurban car lines to have toilets.

Electing Minneapolis School Board, one from each Senatorial District.

Creating a Public Defender for Minneapolis.

SOME BILLS DEFEATED.

Creating state public domain department.

Separating state grain inspection department from railroad and warehouse commission.

Creating new state department of education.

State uniform text book bill.

Placing oil and hotel inspection departments under dairy and food department.

Several measures for return to political convention system.

Constitutional amendment for woman suffrage.

Presidential suffrage for women.

Provision for state constitutional convention.

Constitutional amendment to allow state to build grain elevators.

Creating interim commission to investigate grain and livestock marketing conditions.

Providing nonpartisan political convention to nominate supreme court justices.

Repeal of law for election of legislators on nonpartisan ticket.

Tonnage tax on iron ore.

Repeal of boxing law.

Revoking contract for affiliation between Mayo foundation and University of Minnesota medical school.

Track scale bill, urged by farmers.

Bills to prohibit grain exchanges from dealing in futures and to tax grain transactions.

Requiring registration for county option elections.

Abatement of blind pigs.

Appropriating $100,000 for use by governor in suppressing labor troubles.

State industrial insurance urged by organized labor.

State board of chiropractic examiners.

SABOTAGE AND SYNDICALISM.

The legislature passed a bill making it a felony, with heavy fine and imprisonment, to teach or practice **"criminal syndicalism,"** and defines it as follows:

" 'Criminal syndicalism' is hereby defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage **(this word as used in this bill meaning malicious damage or injury to property of an employer by an employe)** violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political ends."

Now, according to the strict wording of this definition, of course no sane person would ever think of defending "criminal syndicalism," and least of all workingmen; for they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by running counter to popular prejudice.

The trouble is that both words, "Sabotage and Syndicalism," have very definite meanings in the literature of the world, and neither word has anything **criminal** about it.

We might just as well talk about "criminal Republicanism" or "criminal industrialism" or "criminal universalism" or "criminal patriotism;" and to take words of well understood and harmless meanings and use them in a new and unusual sense is to do violence to the language, and might almost itself be classed as "criminal," tho it would be very far from "syndicalism" as the word has come to be used in literature.

Both of these words have recently been imported into our language from the French.

Sabotage means any neglect of duty and is just as applicable to a member of the legislature who comes in late in the morning, neglects or refuses to answer to roll call, or loafs in the corridors when he ought to be at work in his seat or in committee, as to a working man who soldiers on the job or in any other way fails to do what he is paid for doing.

If all acts of **sabotage** were made crimes and the law enforced most people would be in jail most of the time,

and it would be hard to get a quorum of either house to make new laws.

Possibly that wouldn't be such a calamity as some might think; for every session sees many very bad laws proposed, and some of them usually pass.

It would be easy to fill several volumes with a description of such laws.

The Insurance Woodchuck.

One such, relating to fidelity accident and casualty insurance, passed both houses unanimously and was on its way to the Governor, before its faults were discovered.

The story goes that this bill was drafted somewhere in the East and introduced into all legislatures that were in session.

It was brought in by Representative J. M. Harrison of Minneapolis, who got Bessette of the North End of St. Louis County to introduce it into the house and Healy of the same district to father it in the Senate.

It posed as a harmless bill favored by both laborers and employers, but was really favored by none but a few large insurance companies that would have corralled all the business.

Its opponents declare that this bill would have established a trust in this class of insurance, throwing most of the smaller companies out of business, and legally robbing thousands of people by compelling them to pay double premiums or go without insurance.

They admit that probably no member of the legislature knew the real nature of this bill.

They admit that those who introduced it, those who should have carefully examined it in committee and those who answered yes to the roll call when the bill was passed were all innocent of any intent to do wrong; but, even so, it shows a degree of carelessness—of neglect of duty—of **sabotage**—little short of criminal.

A few defenders declare the bill was all right—that it would only put out of business those who were offering insurance too cheap and running the chance of going bankrupt.

But who is to judge what rates are too low?

Shall this business be left competitive or made a trust?

All were prompt to repudiate the bill as soon as its nature was known.

Syndicalism is from the Greek and literally means "getting together."

As applied to labor organizations it refers to that principle which provides for the organization of all workers in any great industry or all industries into one great, all-comprehensive union, rather than organization by trades.

The Syndicalist movement is the most comprehensive, all embracing, efficient and successful labor movement in all the history of the world.

It is a natural outgrowth of the tendency to concentration and centralization of industry.

It is labor's answer to the capitalist's trust.

It can never be crushed by penal laws and imprisonment, any more than trusts can be **"busted"** by **dissolution.**

When we have discovered the bad statutes that give rise to trusts among so-called **capitalists,** and repealed those statutes, the power of the trusts for evil will disappear.

Labor will no longer need the **syndicalist** movement and it will die a natural death.

Nothing happens by chance.

Many volumes have been written on **Syndicalism** and **Sabotage** and some of them are interesting.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RECORDS THE MEMBERS MADE.

For several sessions the temperance question has been the one burning issue in the state.

On this issue most of the members of the House and Senate have been elected.

Formerly most of the wet members were pretty completely under brewery control, and voted on all matters very much as the special interests dictated.

However, when the legislature was made non-partizan, a greater degree of independence began to show itself. Many members, who voted wet because it was the wish of their districts, manifested much independence on other questions, and showed themselves to be very free from any kind of special interest domination.

The legislature of 1917 is generally conceded by all competent observers to have been the best that ever sat in the State of Minnesota,—the best in the sense of having the largest percentage of clean, honest, intelligent and independent men, who gave careful study to every question, refused to vote until they understood, and then cast their ballot according to their honest convictions. Only once was the House stampeded.

The following members were elected without opposition:
Speaker Ralph J. Parker of Houston and Fillmore Counties.
Thomas Tollefson, Dodge County.
Claude E. Southwick, Faribault County.
John G. Gerlick, Mankato, Blue Earth County.
Alfred W. Mueller, New Ulm, Brown County.
George W. Grant, Cottonwood Co.
George W. Dealand, Nobles County.
Andrew Olien, Yellow Medicine County.
Theodore Christianson, Lac qui Parle County.
Oscar A. Swenson, Nicollet County.
Thomas J. Greene, St. Paul, part of 1st and 9th wards.
Leavitt Corning, St. Paul, 7th ward.
Albert F. Pratt, Anoka and Isanti Counties.
Henry Holmes, Big Lake, Anton Peterson, Mora, representing Kenabec, Sherburne and Mille Lacs Counties.

George W. Burrows, Wilkin County.
Farley Dare, Cass County.
P. H. Konzen, Kittson Co.
Wm. A. Pittenger, Duluth.
Anton Borgen, Duluth.

The fact that twenty men had proved themselves so satisfactory to the voters of their districts that no one contested the election against them speaks pretty well for the non-partizan legislature and the primary system.

There are many questions arising in every legislature that test the honesty, intelligence, independence and fitness of the members.

Generally speaking, a man should represent his constituents, especially on questions that were vital issues in the campaign. But in many cases it is impossible to know the wish of constituents. Those having direct personal interest are pretty sure to make their wishes known, but these are often just the wishes that should not be granted.

Most members of this legislature looked at all questions from the point of view of right and wrong. Their first question was, "Is it fair, is it right?" and they generally voted accordingly.

There were, however, some evidences of prejudice and clannishness.

The wets hung together sometimes where it would be hard to defend themselves; so also did the drys.

On a few occasions a large number of farmers stood solid for bad measures that appeared to be for their interest.

The city men were pretty generally against the tonnage tax without any very good reason. Also many of them opposed the Warner bill to allow farm and garden produce to be peddled direct to consumers in the city. Commission merchants and grocers had opposed this bill furiously. That is the best reason why it ought to have passed unanimously. Many farmers still have a feeling that the city man is his enemy. This is very foolish, and will disappear in time. The city people furnish the market for the farm produce. The farmers need the city just as much as the city needs the farmers.

The big special interests had no very great influence; but little petty interests were too much in evidence.

There was considerable trading which could not be defended, but not nearly so much as in the old days of parties and caucuses.

A few very dangerous bills were passed, but many more were killed.

The Senate was the same as in 1915, with the exception of Mr. Rask; but it was plain that the events of the intervening two years had made an impression on a number of the members, and that they were desirous of meeting the changed conditions.

This was especially noticeable in matters of temperance legislation. Thirteen Senators who had voted against county option in 1915 now voted to submit state-wide prohibition. Most of these were from counties or districts that had voted dry under the county option law.

Steffen was the only Senator who persisted in voting wet tho his district had gone dry by a large majority.

Carley and Gardner, Millett, Rask, Benson and Rockne are all from districts that are wet under county option, but still they voted to submit the dry amendment to the people and let them decide.

This shows a very commendable spirit of democracy and independence.

A Good Way to Judge Legislators.

It will be easier to fairly judge the votes of members if we bear in mind a few fundamental truths.

I. People are naturally inclined to be fair, to love justice and do the right thing. If this were not so the human race would have destroyed itself long before this time.

II. The evils of society are mostly the result of bad laws; and when these laws are repealed, the evils will disappear.

III. If a thing is wrong, you can't make it right by legalizing it and making it pay a fine, a tax or a license fee.

IV. Drastic repressive laws have always failed and always will.

V. All legislation should keep in mind, at all times, the principles of personal liberty, home rule and local self-government.

VI. Governments should confine themselves, to **Public Affairs,** leaving private and personal matters alone.

VII. The legislator who wants to regulate everybody and everything is not a good law maker, no matter how honest he may be. "Hell is said to be paved with good intentions."

SENATORS	Pres. Suffrage for Women	Repeal Prize Fight Bill	Dwinnell's Bill for Partisan Legislature	Rustad's Bill for Party Conventions	Prohibition	Tonnage Tax	Sullivan's Military Training in High Schools	Anti-Labor Injunctions	Industrial Insurance	Public Domain Bill	Peterson's Peddlers Bill
Adams	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N		N	N	N	Y
Alley	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Andrews	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Baldwin	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Benson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	
Blomgren	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Bonniwell	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Buckler	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Callahan	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N		
Campbell, A. S.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	
Campbell, W. A.	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Carley	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Denegre	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	
Dunn, R. C.	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Dunn, W. W.	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	
Duxbury	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	
Dwinnell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	
Gandrud	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Gardner	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Gillam	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Gjerset	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
Glotzbach	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Griggs	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Grose	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Handlan	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hanson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Healy	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hegnes	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Hilbert	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Holmberg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Jackson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Johnston	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Knopp	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Lende	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
Lobeck	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
McGarry	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Millett	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Nelson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nord	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
O'Neill	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Orr	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Palmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pauly	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Peterson, E. P.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Peterson, F. H.	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Peterson, G. M.	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Potter	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	
Putnam	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
Rask	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	
Ries	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	
Rockne	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	
Rustad	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Rystrom	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Sageng	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Steffen	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Sullivan, G. H.	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Sullivan, J. D.	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	
Swenson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	
Turnham	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Van Hoven	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vermilya	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Vibert	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Wallace	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Ward	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Weis	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Westlake	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

HOUSE MEMBERS	Tonnage Tax	Minneapolis Civil Service Repeal	Prohibiting Sales for Future Delivery	Taxing Future Sales	Welch Oleo Bill	Temperance: Constitutional Pro	Temperance: Statutory Pro	Temperance: Cumming Blind Pig Bill	Temperance: Captions for Cons. Amendments	Anti-Labor Injunctions	Equal Suffrage	Odland's Party Conventions Bill	Public Domain Bill
Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Baldwin	Y	N	Y	N		Y	N			Y	Y		Y
Bendixen	Y		Y	N		Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bernard	N	N	N	N		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	N	Y
Bessette	N	Y	N	N		N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Birkhofer	N	Y	N	N		N	N	N		Y	N	N	Y
Bjorge	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bjorklund	N	N	N	N		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Boock, J. W.	Y	Y	Y	N		N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Borgen	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Bouck, C. W.	N	Y	N	N		N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Briggs	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Brown	N	Y	N	N		N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Burrows	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carmichael	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Child	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Christanson, A.	Y		Y	Y		N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Christianson, T	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Corning	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Crane	Y	N	N	Y		Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Cumming	Y	N	Y	N		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Danielson	N	N	Y	N		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Dare	N	N	Y	N		Y	N			Y	Y		Y
Davies, J	N	N	Y	N		Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Davis, T	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Dealand	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Devold	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	N			Y	Y		N
Donovan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Dwyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Erickson	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Flikkie	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Flowers	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Frisch	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Frye	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Gerlich	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Gill	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
Girling	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Gleason	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Grant	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Green, H. M.	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Greene, T. J.	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Gullickson	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hale	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hammer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harrison, H.H.	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harrison, J. M.	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hicken	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hinds	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Holmes	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Hompe	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Howard	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hulbert	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Indrehus	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Knutson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Konzen	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Kuntz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Lang	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Larson	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lee	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Lennon	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
Leonard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Levin	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
McGrath	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
McLaughlin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N

HOUSE MEMBERS	Tonnage Tax	Minneapolis Civil Service Repeal	Prohibiting Sales for Future Delivery	Taxing Future Sales	Welch Oleo Bill	Temperance: Constitutional Pro	Temperance: Statutory Pro	Cumming Blind Pig Bill	Captions for Cons. Amendments	Anti-Labor Injunctions	Equal Suffrage	Odland's Party Conventions Bill	Public Domain Bill
McNiven	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y		Y	N
Madigan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Malmberg	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N		N	N	N
Marschalk	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Marwin	N	N				Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Miner	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Moeller, G. H.	N	Y	N	N	N		N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Moen	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mossman	N	N	Y		N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mueller, A. W.	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Murphy	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Neitzel	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Nett	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Neuman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Nimocks	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Nolan	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nordgren	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Nordlin	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Norton	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Norwood	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Novak	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Odland	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Olien	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Orr	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Papke	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Pattison	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pendergast	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peterson, A.	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peterson, A. M.	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peterson, O. M.	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pikop	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Pittenger	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Pratt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Praxel	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Putnam	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Reed	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rodenberg	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Ross	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ryberg	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Searls	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seebach	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shipstead	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Siegel	Y	(Y)	N	N	N	N	(Z)	N	Y	Y	(N)	N	Y
Sliter	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Solem	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Southwick	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Steen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Stenvick	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stevens	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stone	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Strand	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sudheimer	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Sutherland	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swanson, H. A.	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swanson, S. J.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Swenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Teigen, A. F.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Teigen, L. O.	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Thornton	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tollefson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Warner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Washburn	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Welch	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Winter	N	Y		N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mr. Speaker	Y					Y	Y	Y	Y				