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THE TRUTH

◇ IN ◇

THE CASE.

J. ELLEN FOSTER,

IOWA.





Class HV 5227

Book W 7 F 6



FOR GOD AND HOME, AND NATIVE LAND.

THE TRUTH IN THE CASE,

CONCERNING

PARTISANSHIP AND NON-PARTISANSHIP

IN THE

❖ W. C. T. U. ❖

BY

J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

AND OTHERS.



THIS IS THE VICTORY, EVEN OUR FAITH.

1889.

PLEDGE OF THE N. W. C. T. U.

"I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt Liquors, including Wine and Cider, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same."

CONSTITUTION OF THE N. W. C. T. U.

ARTICLE VI.

FINANCE.

Each State Organization shall pay annually to the National Treasury, an amount equal to ten cents per member of each auxiliary.

BY-LAWS OF N. W. T. U.

ARTICLE VIII.

Sec. 2. No State Union shall be bound by any principle espoused or plan devised by the National W. C. T. U. except that all state auxiliaries must subscribe to the total abstinence pledge and to the Constitution of the National Union.

P.

Susan B. Anthony

21Ap'03

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PREFACE.

THE TRUTH IN THE CASE is prepared at the request of many friends of temperance, within and without the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

They have believed it due the great number of temperance friends who are in harmony with the position held by the Iowa W. C. T. U., and many local unions and individual members throughout the country, that a clear statement of those positions be put in permanent form for general circulation, and frequent reference.

It will be seen that while all the subjects treated are needed to make a finished whole, each one is complete in itself, and is suitable for general circulation as an individual leaflet.

This plan of preparation was adopted at the suggestion of friends who desired to choose such parts as they considered most useful for their local work.

The book and the leaflets can be secured by addressing Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Clinton, Iowa.

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INTRODUCTION.

MRS J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

Alcohol is poison and has no place in the human system. Upon this scientific truth and its correlates in philanthropy, patriotism and religion the temperance reform rests.

Its originators and present champions are earnest men and women whose labors have been of untold blessing to the race.

The results achieved attest the dignity and magnitude of the work. But "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," and this reform is subject to the imperfections and limitations of all human effort.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been an agency honored of God and accepted by the people. "Many souls in glory now," and many more "still on the way," bless God for its sweet ministrations.

Organized in 1874 and extending into every State and Territory in the Union, it has been effective in teaching the two great doctrines of total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State.

The Church, out of which it came, has been its great support and wise counsellor, and has been in return energized into greater spiritual life and increased activity.

Five years ago—October, 1888—this great organization, by resolution in its annual convention at St. Louis, allied itself with a political party: at four succeeding conventions it has restated its faith and pledged its co-operation. The officers of the National Society are influential leaders in this so-called prohibition party; the services of these leaders have been given freely to the support of this party and its candidates: the literature of this party has been officially endorsed and circulated by the Woman's Society. The National and many State auxiliaries have co-operated to the full extent of their ability in the operations of this party.

The President of the National Society said, several years ago, that she believed the chiefest need of the temperance reform to-day was, a political party pledged to its support. She has declared "party politics" to be "the chiefest agency in our work."

This party alliance with its necessary and ever attendant evils has greatly injured the work of the N. W. C. T. U.; because I believe this, I cry aloud and spare not, if so be I may show our people their

transgression and our W. C. T. U. house its sin ; therefore, I ask all into whose hands this book shall come to read carefully and consider prayerfully the testimony given and explanations made herein.

I should scarcely ask the general public to listen to so extended a presentation of personal beliefs and personal official actions, had not the whole controversy been made so largely personal by those who insist that we who dissent from the party policy of the National Union are influenced by personal animosity to Miss Willard or by unworthy or mercenary motives.

This smallness of comprehension and pettiness of spirit, may find partial explanation in the fact that women have but lately begun to study questions of duty apart from personal considerations.

If this shall be deemed sufficient explanation it is none the less pitiful. The official organ of the National Society and its many publications, as also those of the Woman's Temperance Publication Association do not hesitate to assail the Christian integrity of the protesting women. The General Officers of the National Society have sent out a pamphlet entitled the "Facts in the Case," which has been scattered by the thousand throughout the land. This pamphlet contains some statements which are incorrect and others so put as to make them the most dangerous of errors. Beside this, as if to more pointedly sharpen the attack, Miss Willard herself prepared the "Monthly Reading" for February, which is circulated among the Local Unions.

In this Monthly Reading she attacks Mrs. J. Ellen Foster by name, and reviews certain acts which she asserts Mrs. Foster has performed as Chairman of the Woman's National Republican Club.

It would take a large book to print a fraction of the false, unjust, and therefore cruel things written, and printed and said of the women who dare give expression to dissent from the position taken by the N. W. C. T. U. in its new departures, or who further exercise the ordinary right of free speech, so precious in this age and country.

In these crucial times when private character, and public teaching and legislative theory are all under the lens of popular scrutiny, it is proper that every public teacher should avoid ambiguity. It is impossible to escape the censure of those within or without, who rejoice in iniquity and do not "rejoice in the truth" (unless it conforms to their theories) neither is it possible to so adjust words and phrases that they are impossible of misconstruction ; but the conscientious public teacher ought to try to satisfy the honest inquirer after the truth.

The following temperance creed is therefore inserted. It was given in a letter to a friend some time ago, and is confirmed by events since transpired:

[From the Putnam (Conn.) Patriot, Sept. 17, 1886.]

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster sends the following letter in answer to the inquiry, "If she ever endorsed the third party movement?"

BRIDGEPORT, CONN., Sept. 11, 1886.

DEAR MRS. WHITMORE:—I thank you for your letter just received.

Faalty to a common cause demands such frankness among its advocates. I often meet reported sayings and doings of mine which are untrue as to fact, and unjust as to inference. I am helpless to contradict those of which I am ignorant. You were very kind to write me as you did. You ask me if I ever endorsed the third party, I answer, *never in the sense of its present doctrines, measures and methods.* To do so would be, for me, a travesty of moral principle, of political ethics and of Christian courtesy.

I believe in constitutional prohibition with enforcing and enforced statutes in State and Nation. I believe Local Option to be a temporary expedient, useful and sometimes very effective.

I believe License—low or high—to be a delusion and a snare. I do not believe it reduces the amount of intoxicating liquors sold, or lessens the evils of intemperance.

I believe in "political prohibition" as it has been illustrated in Local Option in the South, in "No License elections" everywhere, and in the popular elections in Kansas, Iowa, Maine and Rhode Island, by which prohibition has been put into the organic law of those States.

I believe in the election of good and true men to carry out the people's will in the three departments of the Government: Legislative, Judiciary and Executive.

In general politics I am a Republican, am such by heredity and environment and present conviction. But in the future, as in the past, I would be glad to assist in the defeat of a liquor Republican at any time anywhere, *if in so doing his place could be filled by a temperance man of any other party.*

I believe in standing by prohibition and in standing by men, *who in their personal and official relations represent the highest attainable standard possible in a popular government where majorities rule.*

I do not believe in putting up men merely to go through the motions of voting for them and to keep up the party organization, when the result of such party organization and third party voting is to put liquor men or their sympathizers in offices of public trust.

The "third party" vote does not represent five per cent. of the prohibitory sentiment of the country. It is smallest in those States where such sentiment, represented in law, is dominant.

All our successes in the past have been accomplished through non-partisan methods. This is particularly true of the South and of the recent legislation in the interest of temperance instruction in schools. The "third party" policy would have defeated this legislation. *I want this legislation,* and I am against whatever seems to me to hinder it.

I do not deny the right of any person to vote or sympathize with any party he chooses, but when he assumes that his party is a *method of temperance work*, then it, the party, must stand the criticism as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the method. The logic of passing events confirms my opinions, strengthens my convictions that the "third party" method is wrong in the principles which its advocates use in its behalf, and disastrous to prohibition and the general interests of the temperance reform.

Yours sincerely,

J. ELLEN FOSTER.

THE FACTS IN THE CASE—REVIEWED.

J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

This is a forty-four page leaflet prepared by the General Officers of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union and published by the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, Chicago; it claims to set forth the political policy of the National Society, and to correct mis-statements concerning it.

FIRST. It is claimed that the by-law below given contains the policy which has always governed the N. W. C. T. U.

"No State Union shall be bound by any principle espoused by the N. W. C. T. U., except that all States auxiliary must subscribe to the total abstinence pledge and to the Constitution of the N. W. C. T. U."

This by-law is correctly given, but it is not true that it has governed the policy of the national Union. In so far as it has had the power the National Union has visited its displeasure upon those who have declared they would not be bound by the partisan policy of the National Society.

Iowa, which has been pronounced in opposition to this policy has been called a "refractory child," and Iowa women who have made open protest against this policy have been declared "obstructionists." This is the truth in the case.

On the fourth page reference is made to a by-law, adopted in 1888, forbidding discussion on the party question in the National Convention. This by-law was without parallel in the history of popular legislative bodies. It declares, "Any resolution referring to our attitude toward political parties shall be decided by vote without discussion." It was adopted by a large majority without a word of protest from the National President. It has even been approved by her; as one of the General Officers she said in reference to its repeal; "It had done its work." What the "work" was, the debate at the next succeeding Nashville Convention shows.

At that time an *Amendment to the Constitution* was presented by Mrs. Aldrich of Iowa; the privilege of debate was denied, a motion to lay it on the table—not debatable—being immediately made and carried. This was even more summary than the by-law would justify; that referred to *resolutions*, this was a *proposed amendment*; it could hardly be supposed that the partisan majority would make this record of unwillingness to discuss a proposed Amendment to the Constitution, but this they did, and further showed their determination to suppress the consideration of the question by refusing Mrs. Aldrich's request to make an "explanatory statement."

Will any number of protestations of fair treatment of the minority cover up testimony of these "facts" which made their burning record in the hearts of the protesting minority and in the memory of the lookers on.

On page 40 of the Minutes (1887) this record is found :

"The order of business, the consideration of proposed amendments to the National Constitution, was taken up, Mrs. Leech withdrew the one offered by herself.

The second, offered by Miss Pugh, was laid upon the table *after long discussion*. The third, offered by Mrs. Foster, was tabled."

Notice, Miss Pugh's amendment received *long discussion* ; notice further, Mrs. Foster did *not offer the Amendment, she was not present at the Convention*, not having returned from Europe. She had given notice of the Amendment a year previous, but Mrs. Aldrich introduced it, and it was to her that the parliamentary injustice was done. It is also stated as proof that the partisan majority had no desire to coerce any individual member or State, that a resolution embodying the sentiment of the W. C. T. U. of Illinois, declaring that no member should speak from the public platform to antagonize the partisan policy of the National Union, and that any person so speaking was disloyal ; this resolution was "thrown out and not considered." The facts are, that such a resolution was brought from the Committee on Resolutions, but was suppressed in reading until called for by a lady from New York State ; whereupon another lady objected to the consideration of the resolution. Such a Parliamentary procedure was very questionable. An inquiry as to the motive for withholding this resolution from discussion in the Convention is naturally suggested. Did the National President fear that the resolution would carry if she allowed discussion upon it ? Did she fear the partisan majority would be consistent with itself and adopt the resolution ? The delegates from Illinois were wholly consistent, for if it was right for the National Society to pledge the influence of the Society to any political party, it is not right for any individual member to destroy the "influence" by opposing the party. Did the leaders of the party alliance in the National Union shrink from the public censure which they knew would follow the adoption of such a resolution ; did they fear to eat the fruit of the tree which they themselves had planted ?

SECOND. In answer to the objection made by Mrs. Aldrich that the majority had no more right to pledge the Society to the Prohibition party than it would have to pledge the Society to some denomination. Miss Willard's words are quoted to the effect that the churches were all favorable to the temperance question, whereas all parties were not ; but this reasoning is most vulnerable. The question is, "Has the majority any right to determine what is the relation of a church

to the temperance reform, and to pledge the influence of the Society "in its entirety" to the church or churches which pass the test of judgment?

Is it just to adjudge the relation of any party to the temperance reform and to convey the allegiance of the Society to the party approved?

No reference, direct or indirect, was made in the Constitution to the party question; this was not stated "in the bond" and is an usurpation of power on the part of the majority wholly unjustifiable.

THIRD. On pages 6 and 7 of the "Facts in the Case" it is sought to sustain the partisan alliance of the National Union by citing resolutions adopted by certain conferences of the Methodist church; if the facts, as stated, were correct, the justification would not be established; but this difference exists in the facts. Religious bodies have sometimes given utterance in favor of parties; occasional Methodist conferences have declared for the Prohibition party, but they never have presumed to pledge the influence of the church which they represent to that party.

The bishops are all Prohibitionists; only three or four voted the Prohibition party ticket, but no one of them approves pledging the influence of the Church to that or any other party.

FOURTH. In this it is attempted to show that the fears of friends that the National Society would suffer through its party alliance, have been wholly groundless and unsustained by fact; and a glowing showing is made of the present position and outlook of the National Union.

The saddest result of the partisan blight is a lack of sensitiveness to the decrease of moral power consequent upon this unnatural alliance.

There seems to have been a deliberate choice of the coarser and more carnal weapons of warfare rather than the silent but absolutely resistless power of moral conviction as an incentive to pure political action. The voice of partisanship is, "We'll show our power by ruining those who will not listen to our appeals;" it discards the evolution of political truth and seeks to bring about revolution in party politics.

Its words are softer than music and smoother than oil when it idealizes itself and its own purposes and plans. It advises "sweet reasonableness" and "serene" confidence, but if a woman dares express a contrary political opinion, and cries aloud so that others hear, she is called a "Judas" a "sender of spurious documents" and doing "hellish work."

Is it any wonder that women who can conduct a controversy with these weapons, who can allow such words to pass their lips, are

incapable of seeing that our Christian work has been hurt by this party alliance.

Miss Willard does not herself use such inelegant phrases, but she has no official censure for those who do; she calls those who exhaust the dictionary for expletives of abuse of ministers and honored laymen who dare vote any other than the Prohibition ticket as "our powerful friend and ally."

FIFTH. Attempt is made by statement and insinuation to convey the impression that all non-partisan women are Republicans; ridicule is visited upon a claim of non-partisanship from purely disinterested motives.

On the 9th page it is said, "A general reply to the reiterated charges embodied in the protests of non-partisan Republican members was made at the Philadelphia Convention in 1885;" the truth is that all the women who protested at Philadelphia were not Republican, but if they had been Republicans, what had that to do with their non-partisanship?

With all the solemnity which words could convey they declare that they desire prohibition in State and nation. Again and again they declare that they do not make their opposition to partisanship because they desire to help a party; they say again and again, "We do this for the cause of temperance and in the interest of the W. C. T. U."

It would be well for these ladies who thus impute dishonest motives to remember the words of the National President in her New York address: "We must remember that wherein we impute bad motives in another we confess them in ourselves." 7

If the protesting non-partisan women are dishonest in their protests they are unworthy of Christian fellowship and ought to be excluded from membership in the Church of Christ.

The recklessness with which Christian character is thus assailed indicates the lowered moral tone of our organization.

It is often claimed that I formerly believed in the "third party" and advised the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to give its allegiance to that party. In support of this claim liberal quotations are made from my reports and public addresses. As Superintendent of Legislation in 1883 I said in my report to the National Convention:

Every temperance woman ought to oppose by voice and influence the action of any party in which it ignores or refuses to submit this question of prohibitory and constitutional amendment to the votes of the people. She ought also to *support* the action of any party wherein it *commands* its representatives to thus aid the people in the expression of their will. In some instances this will lead women contrary to their otherwise political preferences, but since we believe the prohibition of the liquor traffic to be the subject of paramount importance, we are justified in so doing. We do not thus give ourselves to the support of any party as a party,

but we do follow wherever we see the white banner of prohibition. Do not be afraid of the charge of partisanship. A grand manifesto for principle will be of no avail unless the living personality of human effort makes it effective. The grand chorus of majorities as in unison they cry, "The saloon must go," shall possess no coercive force unless that unison merged into legislative, judicial, executive harmony, and guided by the baton of a political party, shall take up the strain and still sing on, "The saloon must go, the saloon shall go, and by our hand its power is broken." God forbid that any temperance woman should, with doubt or discord, weaken the strain or cause the time to drag.

"The grand chorus of majorities" in Iowa had been secured; the people had said, "The saloon must go;" up to that time the question had been wholly non-partisan. Republicans and Democrats and Greenbackers had worked and voted together for the Amendment.

When the nearly 30,000 majority vote was declared, the State rejoiced and good people everywhere said, "Well done." Miss Willard at that time (it seems a long time ago now) declared Iowa to be "Queen and leader of Christian civilization on this continent." But the Republican party was very slow to realize that it had any duty to the movement. It had previously declared for submission at a non-partisan election; it seemed to feel that its work was done. Its Convention, immediately following the adoption of the Amendment, made no reference to the great popular vote just taken, by which the Constitution had been amended.

This was very disappointing to many of us, but since no Legislature was to meet the next ensuing winter, we apprehended no real danger to prohibition through this silence. When another year had passed and the Supreme Court had rendered that strange, unwarranted, unexpected decision, not against the constitutionality of prohibition, but against the validity of the legislative steps which preceded its adoption—then the people were aroused to know what position the Republican party, as a party, would take. We knew that the rank and file of the party were nine-tenths of them Prohibitionists; we did not know what action the Convention would take.

With all this history and these forebodings of possible harm, I said (what these years of hot controversy since have strengthened me in believing) that a party must stand by the clearly expressed will of the people; not because that will is good, but because *it is their will*.

It is a self contradiction to suppose a party could, without committing suicide, long continue to do anything else.

Party leaders are often so crowded among the machinery of party manipulation, and blind and deaf amid the din and smoke of party management that they do not clearly see or hear the trend of public events among the great people who make law, and who make and unmake parties.

Thus reformers must cry aloud, The people must speak. As a reformer I did cry aloud, as one of the people I did speak. I also advised all temperance women to do the same thing ; but notice, I did not say it was the duty of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to oppose or lend its allegiance to *any party as a party*. I distinctly say, "We do not thus give ourselves to the support of any party as a party." I say, every *temperance woman* should oppose the *action* of any party, not oppose *the party*. What has the W. C. T. U. to do with tariff or free trade, with hard or soft money, with railroads or mines? Why has a temperance union any right to establish the creed of its members on these wholly foreign matters?

The idea that such an arrogant assumption of power would ever be attempted had never shadowed my vision. Miss Willard's last message to the National Convention had been, "I recognize that we are a non-partisan society," and when she expressed her belief that the Convention should adopt a sympathetic declaration in favor of the Independent party movement, known as the Prohibition Home Protection party, I did not have a suspicion that she purposed to carry the organization bodily to the support of that party. That year, 1882, the ninth resolution of the Committee's Report reads, "We rejoice in the day that gives recognition to our prohibition principles by political partisans, and we will endeavor to influence the best men in all communities to commit themselves to that party, by whatever name called, that shall give to them the best embodiment of prohibition principles and will most surely protect our homes."

There is nothing here about committing themselves to any party, they are to influence the best man to take the noblest action; neither is the Society pledged to support that "best" party or those best men. We then were entrenched in the belief which Miss Willard expressed; we were "A non-partisan society working through moral suasion;" we labored for prohibition through the educational agencies which are the source of growth and development in popular conviction and legislative action. We had not attempted the policy of coercion by a direction of our forces to destroy a political party which we were not able yet to convince.

On page 34 it is stated that the position now held by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is not new, but was taken unanimously in 1882 and 1883. The above quotation will show this to be incorrect.

The resolution of 1883 reads as follows: Resolved, "That we will lend our influence to that party, by whatever name called, which shall furnish the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes."

I was not a member of the Committee on Resolutions that year—as the “Facts in the Case” states.

This resolution does not name the party. It leaves every woman free to follow her own political judgment. The women of the South found their “protection” in the Democratic party; Iowa women found theirs in the Republican party. Women ranged themselves, if at all, where they chose; a few women thought they saw a promise of future protection in the political organization known as the Prohibition Party. Many women, I among them, rejoiced in the organization of voters to secure the enactment of prohibition laws. I have always hailed such organizations with delight proportioned to the wisdom of the plans adopted by these organizations. The organizations were termed parties in a way which is now misleading. We called men who believed in prohibition and voted in a way which they thought would soonest secure it, “Prohibitionists.” But they were not then, and are not now Prohibitionists in the present party sense.

We called the 11,000 men who voted for Elias Jessup, for Governor of Iowa, “Prohibitionists,” and they are called often the “Prohibition Party,” but they were far from the present party standard—every other name beside that of Elias Jessup, was the regular nominee of the Republican party.

It was merely sought to make a protest against the regular Republican nominee. These facts and conditions must be borne in mind by those who desire to arrive at sound conclusions and to give righteous judgment of persons and policies. Also it should be noted that I did not say, as quoted on page 35, “Every temperance woman ought to oppose any party,” but, “oppose the action of any party wherein it ignores or refuses to submit this question to the votes of the people.” “She ought to support the action of any party wherein it commands its representatives to thus aid the people in the expression of their will.”

Did the ladies who put such stress on these words give their support to the Republican party in the several States when it has declared for the submission of Constitutional Prohibition? By no means. They have even opposed the election of life-long temperance men who were pledged to do that very thing. Is this lending influence “to noble political action?”

When at the Convention of 1884, at St. Louis, it had become perfectly clear, by the previous action of the General Officers who had officially endorsed the candidacy of St. John, that we were all expected to wheel into line for the support of one political party, then the whole long scheme became quite plain. Some of us with indignation and sorrow declared we could not in conscience support that party, and furthermore, denied the right of the Society to barter

away our political influence to any party. From that day we have been treated as traitors to temperance and disloyal to the W. C. T. U.

In absolute fealty to religious conviction and patriotic devotion I did advise, and still advise every temperance woman to lend her influence and give her personal service to that party which she believes gives the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect the home.

I most unqualifiedly state that I believe the Republican party does this. Nine-tenths of the voting temperance sentiment of the country is embodied in the rank and file of the Republican party. I believe every interest of the home is safer by the legal protection which its legislators give.

But I realize that other women's convictions are as precious to them as mine are to me ; and I believe it wrong to seek to appropriate political influence which is not voluntarily offered. I hail with delight any judicious organization of temperance men for political work in the interest of temperance.

I have seen the Republican party in my own State, through agitation and education within its own ranks, brought to place this among the dominant ideas of its party action. In other States the same evolution in reform is rapidly going on. I expect yet to see the dominant party in the nation, whatever it shall be, thus controlled by the temperance sentiment within its own ranks. But to my utter amazement I see 300,000 out of our 10,000,000 voters marching under a banner, labelled Prohibition, and boastfully opposing the election of temperance men who are nominated on any other ticket than their own.

Some of them declare that they do not desire prohibition until it can be secured through the agency of their party. They have even of late repudiated Local Option, under which, large sections of the country have been cleared of saloons.

Miss Willard is reported to have publicly pledged herself never again to work for Local Option. Such a party I utterly repudiate. I did so as soon as I became aware that any considerable number of intelligent, conscientious men and women would espouse what, to me, seems little less than political lunacy.

The "Facts in the Case" also states, that as Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Work, at the Detroit Convention, I reported in favor of a Memorial addressed to the National Republican Convention, asking it to declare in favor of the submission of a Prohibitory Amendment to the National Constitution.

It is true that I presented such a report, but I did it as Chairman of the Committee, and only acted in my official relation.

I did not approve Miss Willard's plan, and was keenly alive to what I considered its objectionable features, because as Superintendent of Legislation, I would be charged with carrying it out. I believed the educational effect of petitions to legislative bodies was very good, indeed, the expostulation, "Petition, petition, petition!" had become my well-known shibboleth.

But political parties are not legislative bodies; they are merely convenient agencies for the election of the people's representatives in government. The less they have to do with moral reforms not yet crystallized into law, the better it is for the reform. I felt then that to attempt an agitation of the question of National Constitutional Prohibition in the form of a petition to a political party would lead our women to overestimate the power of political parties, and to underestimate the necessity of intelligent conviction in the hearts and minds of the people.

Miss Willard knew this and she herself asked that she be empowered to carry out the action of the Convention; and to do what my official relation to the Society made it my province to perform.

If I had been a little braver I should have stood for my own convictions, instead of yielding to Miss Willard's importunities. She knew very well my objections to her plan, and it is unjust in her to allow that official action, which I took in deference to her personal wishes, to be cited as a proof of change of purpose or inconsistent action.

Another instance of injustice, dishonorable to Christian controversy is afforded by the attempt to show that my contention for the reading of the Iowa Memorial in the late New York Convention, to which it was addressed, was inconsistent with my course at the Minneapolis Convention when I asked that my protest be received by the Convention *without reading*.

The cases were quite unlike. The protest offered at Minneapolis was signed by individual delegates at the Convention, after the question had been fully discussed. The Memorial offered at the New York Convention, was the solemn utterance of the Iowa W. C. T. U. in Annual Convention assembled, and addressed to the National Convention.

As President of the State Society I should have been derelict in my duty if I had not made every attempt to secure a hearing for this Auxiliary State Union which had thus in due form approached the National gathering.

Not to allow this Memorial read was to deny the right of petition. All these facts are quite apparent to any thinking mind. This is not, however, all the truth in the case.

The facts are, that I intended to present my protest at Minneapolis and to ask its reading, but the Executive Committee, through Mrs. Lathrop made a most urgent request that I should not do so.

In the presence of the Committee, Mrs. Lathrop stated that "it would do no good,"—"that I knew a large majority was against me—that it would only consume time, etc. I replied that I would yield to the majority in everything except a matter of conscience,—that this was a matter of conscience with me, and I must file the protest ; *but in deference to the desire of my sisters* of the Executive Committee, I agreed not to read it.

All these facts are well known to Miss Willard and to Mrs. Lathrop, and yet they permit, and Miss Willard aids this attempt to show an inconsistency which was occasioned by deference to their wishes.

Why does not Miss Willard say, "It is true Mrs. Foster did not ask to read the petition, but she yielded her personal desires in deference to her sisters."

She is silent. Is there conspiracy in such silence ?

Recurring again to my supposed change of views on partisan affiliation, a personal letter is here given, which in law would be the very best evidence of which the case is susceptible.

It was written by myself to Mrs. Aldrich a few days after the Detroit Convention. It will be remembered that it was at this Convention that I made the report which is quoted as sustaining party alliance. I went immediately after the Convention with my husband to visit family friends, and "on the train" wrote the letter. I may be excused if I give here the circumstances of its long preservation and recent resurrection.

Mrs. Aldrich had brought from an attic a mass of old letters and put them in the stove to burn. As the flame kindled she thought, "may-be there is something of value in that lot," and took them out. This letter was among those rescued, with not even the smell of the fire on it. She sent it immediately to me with the words, "Take good care of it ; I feel as if it had been handed me right from heaven." Here it is :

(*On train in Canada.*)

NOVEMBER 8TH, 1883.

DEAR MRS. A.—After all the time we were together I left unsaid so many things I wanted to say. * * * [Then follows several pages relating to personal matters and the Iowa work, then follows :]

A Presbyterian minister wrote a poor, weak letter to the *Toronto Globe* yesterday, in opposition to our work and the Detroit Convention. It was after the old style—woman's sphere at home, etc. In to-day's issue there is a splendid editorial in support of our work and even of the ballot. I thank the dear minister that he made the occasion.

I am so thankful we were saved from Mrs. Gougar's plans.

Did you read the "Lever" article about the Illinois W. C. T. U? The trouble comes from a supposed union of the W. C. T. U. and the Prohibition Home Protection party. *I do wish the women would let that party and every other party alone*, except as they approve or disapprove action in particular cases.

I did not like that resolution of Mary Woodbridge's that was offered late the last session about laboring to secure the calling of conventions before those of political parties, adjourning, etc., and then coming together again, etc.

I don't think it will amount to much, but it is contrary to our line of policy. Well, "In some way or other the Lord will provide, it may not be my way, it may not be thy way——"

I am at Marshall, Michigan, next Sunday. I don't know any more.

Yours,

JUDITH ELLEN.

Could anything be better testimony than this? Can it fail to convince those whose minds are unprejudiced? And further—there is another plausible fallacy running through much of the assertion which passes for argument: It is claimed that because we passed a certain resolution at one Convention, therefore at the next we must pass another of like tenor, and that intensity of statement and change of policy is progress and is a brave answer to the call "go forward: go up and possess the land."

In construing what a certain convention meant by a certain resolution, partisan advocates put into the past the action and position of the present and interpret the former meaning by the necessities of the present hour.

My explanation is, Miss Willard arrives at certain conclusions in her own mind, about what our Society ought to do and the positions it ought to take. She at once begins her plan to have conventions so composed and measures so put that her ideals shall take shape in words and be adopted by good majorities: She has wonderful skill in knowing what not to say, as well as what ought to be said, and how a new departure will be most easily accepted.

Her course is to so insinuate a doctrine—which she fears will not be accepted—with soft words and kindly sentiments and ambiguous phrases, that women are unconscious of the "real inwardness" of the resolution or measure. Miss Willard would not thus beguile the women to any position which she deemed wrong. She doubtless believes it is better to think out these positions for the women, while they only feel the glow of admiration for her gentle manners and charming words, and are all the time goaded by their own heart-breaking sorrows or womanly sympathy with sorrow to follow where she leads. Only God knoweth the heart of man—but this we do know—that a woman who thinks for herself contrary to Miss Willard, very soon falls under the ban of disapprobation.

Many women prefer the luxurious peace of acquiescence under the gentle lullaby—"Blest be the tie that binds." Others remember that it is written "first pure, then peaceable."

OTHER FACTS IN THE CASE.

MRS. MARY J. ALDRICH, IOWA.

That the party action of the National Union could have been taken and so persistently maintained without previous discussions in the local or State unions, is a marvellous fact. It is the result of other facts not stated by the National officers, but which are necessary to a proper understanding of all "The Facts in the case."

It has resulted mainly from the erroneous assumption by the National President that a "sympathetic declaration" in favor of the Prohibition party, would not be out of harmony with the recognized non-partisan character of the organization (see Louisville, annual address); this assumption would at once have been denied, but for the freedom which it was believed State Auxiliaries had, in the management of their own work, to adopt or ignore any line of effort recommended by the National Union.

In National Conventions the vote upon these questions is allowed to be in accordance with individual conviction; but afterwards is considered and reported, as the representative action of delegates for constituencies, that oft times have made no declaration upon the question, or are opposed to the party alliance.

This theory of representative action is absolutely inconsistent with the actual facts, and false to the principles of organized work.

This, and other false theories, are sophistries which ought to be apparent to any thinking mind, also "that States and individuals are not bound by any resolutions adopted, or principles espoused by the National Union."

These theories have been persistently up held and conveniently used by the woman's suffrage, and party leaders, and have been quietly acquiesced in by an admiring constituency who were unwilling to oppose those whom they loved so devotedly, even when they did not altogether approve what was done.

One finds herself as unable to believe theories like these could have been ignorantly advanced, as she is unwilling to admit that it has been craftily done, with an eye to the gradual incorporation of party principles and party plans into the work of the National Union—which the great body of the women did not really approve, yet the facts tend to show this. Another fact connected with the personnel of the National Convention has also helped to secure this result. In the development of the work of the Union, nearly forty different Departments have been constituted, the large proportion of them since the election of the present incumbent to the office of President.

Each Department is in charge of a Superintendent elected by the Convention, after having been selected and nominated by the Execu-

tive Committee which is composed of the General Officers and the Presidents of the State Unions.

In this Executive Committee the choice of the President is scarcely ever disputed and a nomination is, nearly if not always, equivalent to an election. This gives to National Conventions nearly *one hundred ex-officio members*, more than one half of whom owe their positions to the President, and carry out her wishes without one word of dissent; this fact the General Officers have not mentioned, but its bearing, others can appreciate.

Another unmentioned fact is the almost slavish devotion of many W. C. T. U. women to the President of the National Union, a devotion so persuasive and potent as to have the binding force of unwritten law; if expressed it would declare the will of the President to be the law of the Union; the force of this is manifestly apparent in the acts of the Society.

If a measure which she wishes to have carried, is in danger of defeat, she has but to speak a few words in its favor, and it is adopted; the discussion of the Blair Bill at Nashville illustrates this. If a measure she deems unwise is in danger of adoption, she has but to say enough to show her thought about it, and it is defeated, as in the "loyalty resolution" of Mrs. Rounds at the New York Convention.

This absurd and unreasonable homage paid to the National President which secures unquestioning compliance with her wishes in the prosecution of her plans, was once significantly illustrated in an Executive Committee meeting where the re-nomination of a Superintendent of one of the Departments was being considered.

It was a department as important in its reference to the success of temperance work, and broad in its scope, as any carried on by the Society, and the pre-eminent success already achieved by the Superintendent had been most wonderful; yet objections to her re-nomination were earnestly presented, among others, that this lady had declared that "Miss Willard was not a safe leader" and "when the Convention rose to receive the President elect, this Superintendent remained in her seat." Could party spirit ever descend to anything more pitiful? And this was soberly presented as a reason why this Superintendent should be deposed!

The records of the National Union also reveal that three distinct lines of effort are now aggressively advocated which were not contemplated in the work of the Union—viz., Woman's Suffrage, Party Prohibition—and the Ecclesiastical Emancipation of Women.

These lines of work are only indirectly related to the main work of the Society; viz., the overthrow of the Drink Habit and the Drink Traffic; but every one of them is directly calculated to divide the

membership and break that unity of effort and feeling, so marked in the beginning, and so desirable for success.

A careful study of the records will also show that in the introduction of these lines of work, there has been an *indefiniteness in the preliminary statements, or resolutions first presented*, which is not in accord with perfect candor ; and action has been frequently taken without such a discussion as would illucidate the actual meaning and tendency of the proposed measure, and render intelligent and harmonious action possible.

The records will also show that such approval by past Conventions of such resolutions or expressions, has afterward been made the basis for advanced expressions and continued approval and when one sees that this same course of action has been carried out in the introduction of every one of these lines of effort, one can hardly think it is accidental, or attribute it to a gradual growth of conviction in the minds of the leaders, concerning the principles upon which these lines are based ;—but to a *craftiness of expression, a diplomacy of effort, and a persistency of purpose which would be condemned as demagogic in politicians.*

In this case it undoubtedly results from false theories held concerning individual and representative action in Delegate Conventions, and of the province of the National Union to give the key note of expression upon principles and methods, in the expectation that State Auxiliaries and individual members will come up to the concert pitch of the National, with ultimate harmony of effort.

For proof, compare the guarded expressions in the first resolutions favoring woman's suffrage; then the plea that we were asking only for Home Protection, the ballot on the temperance question ; then for the removal of all restrictions because of sex, and equal civil and political rights ; again—turn to the plea for a "sympathetic declaration" from the non-partisan Union with the Prohibition Party ; then the assertion that we ought of right to give them our support ; then the declaration that we will continue to give them our influence ; and at last the declaration that the National Union is "almost solidly partisan ; and all this before local unions have ever discussed the subject, and when the General Officers of the National Union openly discourage such discussion lest it divide them in their local work, all coupled with a general tone of expression and manner that would make loyalty to prohibition principles depend upon adherence to the so-called Prohibition Party.

And again, see the statement concerning action in favor of ecclesiastical emancipation of women. The establishment of an order of deaconesses was left by the Convention as a subject of discussion for one year before definite action is taken, but the detailed plan of their

education, and the graduation in 1892 of the first class, was all given us and the already selected instructor of these deaconesses, in less than three months after this merely tentative action had been taken by the Convention.

This same imperfect analysis of theories and facts, with consequent illogical conclusions united to cautiousness of statement which is hardly fair, is apparent in the principles laid down and facts recited in the Reason Why and the Facts in the Case, making them a one-sided and partial exposition of the past and present action of the National Union in the incorporation of these lines of work into the policy of the Society.

These views concerning "The Facts in the Case" are expressed regretfully and from a sense of duty; these conclusions have been reached very reluctantly by some who were aforesaid the almost worshippers of her who has been styled the "best loved woman in America."

Through crucifixion of heart these conclusions have been reached, with the pain of a consciousness that many enthusiastic admirers are now unable to critically consider and judicially decide upon anything which the subject of such adoration may propose to have done; nor the gladness with which the bidding of the same leader would be done in non-partisan work as of yore, by those who must dissent from her partisan leadership.

The recovery from such slavish admiration has been slow, and nothing but an honest difference of opinion concerning a question of right and justice could have brought it about, and to-day the writer would be glad to believe that the object of this past admiration was just what, and all that, which imagination had pictured her to be, the most wonderful woman of our time; an able, accomplished, and safe leader for the N. W. C. T. U.

However great the reluctance to speak plainly, the time seems to demand it, and from a review of all "The Facts in the Case" there does seem to have been manifested in the Genesis and the Exodus of this party work in the National Union, more of the wisdom of the serpent, than the harmlessness of the dove—not consciously perhaps—yet one can scarcely understand how any truly and sincerely conscientious christian woman can fail to see the politic leading, which closely resembles craftiness, the lack of candor in statement which borders on untruthfulness, and the injustice of the persistent refusal to recognize the claim of the opponents of the partisan policy, to the absolute control of their own political influence which lacks only power to make it tyranny.

The effort of the leaders to set the key note of the National Union in favor of adherence to one political party—to utilize the entire machinery of the organization, its lecture force, its literature, everything

for the furtherance of the party work without any intelligent discussion of this question by the women of the local unions ;—these leaders even recommending that the unions do not discuss this question, looks like a definite purpose to unite, manipulate, direct and dispose of the aggregate political influence of all these women, and is, not only out of harmony with the genius of our Republican Institutions, but would be subversive of their purity and continuance—were these women voters—and this power undisputed.

Then when one remembers that the President of this same N. W. C. T. U. which has its own official organ successfully established in its own publishing house, through which it can send broad-cast its own partial statement of “The Facts in the Case,” its own Lecture Bureau to whom no one is admitted who does not endorse the policy of the Union concerning those controverted points, is also the leader of the International Council of Women, to which nine woman’s organizations are auxiliary, one begins to wonder whereunto it will all grow ;—how long women will be thus led without any apprehension of the false theories, or any revolt against the wrong methods under which it is done, or if such organized work of women can long go on without detriment to the women themselves, to the reforms they are advocating, to the State and the Church.

The actual results to be accomplished, coming events can alone reveal, but the present conditions and future possibilities make the question of solemn moment and all “The Facts in the Case” worthy of prayerful consideration and well-considered action.

THE WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLICATION ASSOCIATION.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

The Woman's Temperance Publication Association is a stock corporation, a "related interest" of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It is managed by a Board of Directors elected by the stockholders. It publishes :

The Union Signal, published weekly. Price \$1.50 per annum. Mary Allen West, Editor, Miss Julia Ames, Associate Editor.

The Deutsch-Amerikaner, (The Temperance German paper,) published monthly. Price 50 cents per annum.

The Young Crusader, published weekly. Price 50 cents per annum. Alice M. Guernsey, Editor.

The Sunday-School Crusader, published monthly. Price 15 cents per annum. Alice M. Guernsey, Editor.

Oak and Ivy Leaf, (The Y. W. C. T. U. Organ,) published monthly. Price 25 cents per annum. Margaret A. Sudduth, Editor.

Also a few books and many leaflets and tracts.

It is controlled and managed by women, and is a grand illustration of business enterprise and educational activity. Its financial condition is reported good, and its promises of future growth brilliant. Its Monthly Readings are very generally used by the Local Unions—they are prepared by acknowledged authorities on various lines of temperance work.

Miss Willard prepared the one for February, 1889. She chose this convenient and willing medium through which to attack Mrs. Foster by name, and to malign the personal character and work of many non-partisan women.

Let it be noted, Miss Willard often declares that States and individuals are free to adopt or reject the party policy of the National Union—but if they exercise this liberty, they fall under the censure of this and other productions of her pen.

Her words are smooth and sometimes plausible. If true, they afford evidence that non-partisan women are guilty of duplicity amounting to criminality. If not true what shall save them from the condemnation of the "idle words" of which the scripture speaks ?

God save us all from the condemnation of passing unrighteous judgment!

REVIEW OF MISS WILLARD'S MONTHLY READING OF THE
RELATION OF THE N. W. C. T. U. TO POLITICS.

BY MRS. M. J. ALDRICH, IOWA.

It is a surprise to us that the Reading begins quite as abrupt as it does, — that President Willard omitted to mention the relation to politics which the Union formerly held, simply making an apologetic statement of its present partisan relation and what she is pleased to call “attacks” upon it.

In order to fully understand both sides of the controversy growing out of this partisan relation of the National, every Union should be cognizant of all the facts relating to, and of the principles involved in the dispute.

To properly state the relation of the National Union to politics, so that Unions shall correctly understand it, omitted facts in the history of that relation past and present, should have been given, with the principles upon which the different relations are based.

It is an important fact that up to 1881, women of all political parties worked for the principles of Total Abstinence and Prohibition on a basis of union gospel and political temperance work, but with no mention of party politics in the Unions: — that the original relation of the Union was non-partisan, though it could not properly be called non-political, for any work which concerns government, legislation to be repealed or secured, is political work — though not necessarily party work.

The object of the National Union is not only to secure the suppression of the evils of temperance; it includes both the promotion of total abstinence habits, and the prohibition of the legal liquor traffic. This last cannot be accomplished without political action at the ballot box and in legislative halls.

The Union is therefore not only a religious and moral but a political society though doing its work through educational and moral methods.

Total abstinence is a moral reform advocated on moral economic, scientific and gospel reasons. Prohibition is a legislative reform advocated on moral, religious and political principles. Scientific Temperance Instruction is an educational political reform.

Women Suffrage is also a political reform, advocated on both civil and moral reasons; and these are all included in the Gospel and political work of the N. W. C. T. U.

For seven years the Union was a non-partisan society pushing its lines of political work without one hint of party work. It held a relation to politics as broad and general as the principles of government which it advocated, a relation which did not interfere in the least, with the undisputed right of every member of the Union to the control and disposal of her own political influence in accordance with her own party preferences. It is only four years since the vote of the majority brought it into a partisan relation to politics, — a far inferior and one which not only imposes severe limitations of power and usefulness until the party espoused becomes dominant, but interferes with the right of the minority to the entire control of their political influence, because the majority have pledged the influence of all, to one particular party, regardless of individual party references.

There are facts connected with this changed relation which should have been given for the information of those who have not attended the National Convention or had access to the National Minute—if “all the points in the controversy” were to be presented in this Reading and the Facts in the Case — issued by the General Officers of the N. W. C. T. U. Some of these will be now reviewed before the Reading is taken up.

It was at Washington in 1881 that the President of the N. W. C. T. U. first asked us “here at the nation’s Capital to pledge our allegiance to the new party which she prophesied would unite North and South, help on the work of Constitutional Prohibition, and the enfranchisement of women.”

This request fell upon unheeding ears. At Louisville in 1882 in her address, she recognized that we were a “non-partisan society,” but she asked for a sympathetic declaration in favor of this independent party movement,” believing as she said, that “this non-partisans Convention of women could utter a note of warning to partisans, and thus serve the cause of constitutional prohibition better than by silence.”

At this Convention was adopted the resolution which has since been claimed as the foundation of the partisan action afterward taken by the National Union.

Mrs. Florence Miller was the representative of Iowa on that Committee of Resolutions and this resolution was her part of the work.

She is a woman who has never yet said or written one word in favor of party prohibition work, and she knows how to use language which expresses what she means. It reads as follows in the Minutes of that Convention.—“Ninth.”—We rejoice in the advance made along the line of Constitutional Prohibition during the past year. We hail the successes in Iowa and Kansas, and the activity in other States for securing prohibition by this method, as harbingers of the swiftly

coming time, when with the majority of the States fixed upon the foundation of constitutional law (prohibiting the liquor traffic) they shall be able to engraft this principle upon the National Constitution. We rejoice in the day that gives recognition to our prohibition principles by political partisans and we will endeavor to influence the best men in all communities to commit themselves to that party, by whatever name called, that shall give to them the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our home.

We reaffirm the position taken the last year at Washington which gives States the privilege of choosing such methods as are warranted by public sentiment and demanded by the exigencies of the situation, believing that God's means for the overthrow of the liquor traffic, and the uplifting of the standard for God and Home and Native Land will be developed in the use of these various methods." Only those whose minds were desiring an expression in favor of party prohibition work, could see it in this resolution. Each State was to do its political work through such political agencies and methods as the public sentiment and the exigencies of their work demanded; there is not a hint of national unity in party work.

The N. W. C. T. U. was still non-partisan except in the purpose of its leaders. The annual address of President Willard at Detroit is a curious laudation of Constitutional Prohibition, and of party prohibition methods, implying that the Union could be, and urging it to be, committed to and work for, non-partisan and party prohibition methods at one and the same time.

There is an apparent ignorance of or blindness to the fact that a temperance organization cannot successfully carry on party prohibition and non-partisan prohibition work at one and the same time. This confusion of ideas in regard to party political work which is alone proper for an organization like our Union,—is manifested in all that has been done and said in the direction of party W. C. T. U. work.

The political motives of the women advocating it are undoubtedly pure, their views sincere and their purposes good; but the premises are false and the conclusions consequently unsound. The practical result of the party work in the Union, has been—dissensions, which threaten more and more to divide this wonderful organization of women upon the question of methods while they are actually united in heart concerning prohibition principles.

There has been a confounding of prohibition principles with party methods for promoting these principles, that creates a tendency among all advocating it to make adherence to the prohibition party method, a test of loyalty to the principle of prohibition.

The loyalty resolution of Mrs. Rounds at the New York Convention was the logical sequence of this partisan relation—and if the partisan

relation of the N. W. C. T. U. is right, the resolution should have been adopted. But that relation is wrong and unjust and the resolution if adopted, with power to enforce it, would be not only unwise but tyrannical in the extreme—without that power, it is absurd.

The next act in this drama of changing the non-partisan relation of the N. W. C. T. U. to a partisan relation to politics, was enacted at Detroit, where the following resolution was passed—5—“We will lend our influence to that party by whatever name called, which shall furnish the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes.”

This has been claimed as authorizing the committal of the N. W. C. T. U. to the Prohibition Party during the Presidential Campaign in 1884—but it was not so intended by the member of the Committee offering it, Mrs. S. V. Maxfield of Iowa. Before presenting the resolution to the Committee she submitted it to the Iowa delegation, suggesting that it should read—“We will lend our influence to that party, by whatever name called in our several states, which shall furnish, etc.” It was decided that insertion of the words “in our several states” was not necessary as the policy of the National was to leave each state free in its own political action.

The action of the Executive Committee at Detroit, after Convention, has also been claimed as authorizing the subsequent party work. I was a member of that Committee and present at that meeting. President Willard understood the recommendation of a Memorial as ordered by the Convention to be an endorsement of her recommendation of a Petition for general circulation, to be presented to the nominating conventions of the different political parties the following year.

The majority of the Committee, myself among the number, did not so understand the vote of the Convention. A memorable discussion followed which resulted in an almost unanimous vote of the Committee in favor of granting President Willard's desire that the circulation of the Petition be ordered. I believed in the educational work its circulation would do for the cause as thoroughly as did President Willard, and voted for ordering it. I also voted to grant her request that the details of this Petition work be left in her hands, but without due consideration, for the prolonged discussion made adjournment necessary, in order that those who were to leave the city that night might not miss their trains; and the impropriety of the Executive Committee thus taking the work out of the hands of the Superintendent of Petitions and Legislation, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, who was not in favor of it as President Willard knew, did not occur to me until afterward.

This action of the Committee did revoke the order of the Convention, but it did not authorize President Willard, or the General Officers of the National, to pledge the support of the Union to any party that might grant the prayer of the Memorial.

That question was not before the Committee at all. The circulation of the Petition was subsequently given up, as the action of the Committee occasioned wide-spread dissatisfaction, and the Memorial as ordered by the Convention was presented to the political conventions—approved by the Greenback,—given a respectful hearing by the Republican, which referred it to the Committee on Resolutions, and ignored by the Democratic Convention.

Following the presentation of these Memorials to these Conventions came the official call, of President Willard, for State Unions to send delegates to the National Prohibition Party Convention. Her participation in that Convention, and endorsement of the party nominations and work, as the official representatives of the N. W. C. T. U.—all of which had not been authorized, misrepresented thousands of women—women of the Union.

Then came the St. Louis Convention in 1884, when for the first time the women in Convention voted to “lend their influence to the Prohibition party,” though the resolution said “We will continue to lend our influence,” and at the same time declared that they were a non-political society, that states and individuals were not bound by this action, but were free from any relation to this party action, if they so choose.

It would be difficult to find more plausible sophistries and glaring inconsistencies in the political declaration of any society, than were contained in this St. Louis resolution,—all the result of a confusion of ideas on the part of those who favored party prohibition work. At Philadelphia in 1885 a similar resolution was adopted.

At Minneapolis the next year,—1886—the St. Louis resolution was reaffirmed with the addition of the Minneapolis “gag law” which was to prevent the discussion of political resolutions at future Conventions. On page 39 of “Facts in the Case” this action seems to be commended, when it is said that “thanks to this resolution, the Nashville Convention was spared the repetition of the thrice told discussion.” How any intelligent woman who believes in freedom of discussion in the Annual Meeting of our National Union, could sustain that resolution, is incomprehensible.

At Nashville, a non-partisan amendment to the constitution (notice of which had been properly given,) was tabled immediately, and harmony reigned supreme. At New York similar harmony was secured by concerted measures for the complete suppression of all discussion of the political position of a great National Union, which

through these "tolerant" methods had become, as President Willard declared "almost solidly partisan."

At the opening session of the Convention, before even it was in order for President Willard to entertain the motion, which she was evidently expecting would be made, Mrs. Munroe, President of the Ohio Union, moved that all Memorials be referred to the Executive Committee without reading. The motion carried by an overwhelming majority, thus denying the Right of Petition until such time and in such manner as the Executive Committee might see fit to grant. The answer to the Iowa Memorial as prepared by a Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee consisting of three of the most intense partisans, was brought into the Convention after nine o'clock the last night of the Convention and adopted without any opportunity for its discussion, President Willard even ignoring, ignorantly or willfully, the right of an Iowa woman to speak, who stood through the taking of the vote, claiming the right to speak to the question, and who so informed the President after the vote was announced; a parliamentary discourtesy which has been severely censured, and rightly so.

This review of facts shows how the present partisan relation of the National Union, was brought about, without any discussion of the question by its State auxiliaries or the local unions of which they are composed; and the National Officers even now dissuade State Presidents from encouraging the discussion of the question in the local unions.

The National Union is made up of State and Territorial Unions which consist of the local unions. Without any discussion of this question in the local unions, a truly representative vote can never be taken in the National Union, and all the party action of the N. W. C. T. U. has been contrary to the principles of just political representatives as well as christian equity, and in violation of individual political rights.

We are now ready to review the Reading of President Willard in which Reading, truth and error, fact and falacy, reason and sophistry are so interwoven that to separate them, is like unravelling a piece of curious tapestry of mixed stuffs, thread by thread. It is a poor apology for the National Union and its partisan action, to represent the criticisms of the Republican press upon the last National Conventions as "attacks," upon the N. W. C. T. U. and its officers. The reading contains also several erroneous and misleading statements.

The Memorial adopted by the Iowa Union printed in their own State paper and sent out to the W. C. T. U. women of other States, with cited evidence sustaining the charge of evil results from partisan W. C. T. U. work, was the respectful prayer of an auxiliary

Union for the rescinding of the party action for reasons given, and it is unworthy of christian women to represent the censure which the National Union received because of its treatment of that Memorial as a mere personal or partisan "attack." It is scarcely candid or fair to place the odium of opposition to party W. C. T. U. work upon Republicans alone, or to imply that when local unions have withdrawn from auxiliaryship it was due to the fact, that the members were the wives and daughters of Republicans and therefore the Union could not be non-partisan—as if a Union any more than a church in which all the members are Republicans need to be partisan in its temperance and religious work.

The fact is, there are Prohibition Party women, and Democratic prohibition women who oppose the party W. C. T. U. work as vigorously as Republican women, but President Willard and other Prohibition Party advocates fail to recognize any other opposition.

She compares the committal of the National Union to the support of the Prohibition Party by resolutions adopted in National Convention to the adoption of resolutions by Ministers in a Methodist Conference; but the comparison is misleading, the situation is not analogous. Methodist ministers do not go to Conference as the elected representatives of the churches; their resolutions as to support of political partisan candidates, does not pledge the influence of their churches to that party or that candidate; while the committal of the National Union to the support of the Prohibition Party, by the representatives of the local unions was representative and did pledge the influence of the Unions, a pledge that was not only unauthorized by any action of the Unions but was an unpardonable interference with the right of every woman in the Union to exercise her political influence in accordance with her own preferences.

To say that the "minority" have claimed that their money went "directly" into political channels through the N. W. C. T. U. is a misstatement. They have never claimed that; but they do claim that the money out of which the salaries of the National Officers are paid is contributed by women who do not, as well as women who do, believe in party work, that these Officers do their political party work in their representative and official capacity and therefore the money of the minority is indirectly used in party work to which they are conscientiously opposed. Were all those who repudiate the application of their money to partisan purposes, even in the payment of salaries, to withhold their dues, until the Union returned to its original non-partisan position, President Willard might realize more than she now does the extent of this dissent from the partisan action of the National. The evasion concerning the Union Signal and the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, whose finances are

separate from the National Union is too pitiful for notice. The issue of partisan literature by that House with the endorsement of the National Union is not in harmony with the object for which the funds were subscribed, though present stockholders may now approve it.

We are told that the leaders of the National Union would have declared in favor of the Republican or any other party that declared in favor of prohibition principles ; but the fact remains that they did not declare in favor of the Greenback party in '84 though that party has always looked with more or less favor on Prohibition, and Woman Suffrage.

In the Reading, President Willard tells us that the Prohibition Party leaders never asked the W. C. T. U. to stand by them—and in the "Glimpses of Fifty Years" she tells us that she was invited to attend the Prohibition Convention in Cleveland, in 1880, but declined to go, not having then been converted to that political faith. Before 1881, she was ready to consider this "proposal" of the Prohibition Party leaders and to begin the work of coaxing all W. C. T. U. women to "marry the party" as one of them has stated that the National Union has done.

It took three years of planning and persuasion to accomplish it, and then only because of the famous by-law that "no State Union shall be bound by any principle espoused or plan devised by the N. W. C. T. U." etc.

The partisan action of the National could never have been taken had it not been for the deception contained in this by-law.

The Kennett Square Union Resolutions in the "Reading," show that they fail to see the false philosophy of it in relation to political work. It is that fallacy which makes the maintainance of the party position possible, and that alone. It is because the freedom of the State, County and local Unions to elect what particular lines of Department work, established by the National, they will engage in, is supposed to extend to the political action also, that this partisan action is not actively opposed :—whereas in fact, no Union or individual is left free to elect whether they will or will not be represented by the partisan resolutions adopted and reaffirmed each year, by the Majority in the National Convention.

It is the one act of the National Union that is national, and rests like a pall over all our other work. So long as we remain in connection with the National Union, so long we all stand before the world represented by that action, whether we indorse it or not.

In the public thought, the work of local and State Unions, which by their Constitutions are declared to be non-partisan, is to-day prejudiced and hindered by the partisan position of the National Union, and will be so long as that position is maintained.

President Willard truthfully said in '85 before the annual meeting of the Ohio W. C. T. U. "the adoption of the partisan resolution gave the influence of the organization 'in its entirety' to the Prohibition Party." And that party boasts of being sustained by the N. W. C. T. U. which includes both the partisan majority and the non-partisan minority.

The partisan action of the National rests upon the assumed right of the majority to dispose of and transfer the political influence of the minority, even against their protest. It is an usurpation of authority; no majority has that right; and yet objection is made to its being called political robbery and tyranny. The "Reading" tells us that a resolution making a political test of loyalty was offered at New York Convention, and the Convention refused to consider it—but it does not tell that not one of the majority objected to it because it would be wrong to pass it, that President Willard only said that it would be *unwise to do so at present*—with not a word about the injustice of it. We are told that "The personal convictions of the majority determine the passage of resolutions in every society" but we are not told that no majority has any right to infringe the rights of the minority, which is done in the passage of these partisan resolutions,—the majority either can't or won't see that truth.

Mrs. Hoffman showed the spirit of their action clearly at Philadelphia, when she said "If the minority don't like it, they may step down and out." The words were apologized for afterwards but the spirit of the action has been and still is the same.

We are told that "The Iowa W. C. T. U. has gone on all these years, a strictly non-partisan but really Republican society, with no attempt on the part of the National W. C. T. U. to interfere with it," which settles the question of "gag law" and "intolerant" methods for all reasonable minds."

How could any one believe or publish such an absurd statement? The Iowa Union could not be a strictly non-partisan and really a Republican society. Non-partisan and partisan Union work at one and the same time is absolutely impossible—they can no more affinitize than can oil and water—there is no political potash that can unite them.

The Department work of the National Union, which ought to be entirely free from partisanship, really suffers to-day from the blighting effects of the partisan action of the National Union though each Superintendent tries to do her work through non-partisan methods. The Iowa State Union has been, and is, a strictly non-partisan Union—containing members whose individual party preferences ally them to the Republican, Democratic, Greenback and Prohibition parties; with no action taken by the State Union that will interfere with these preferences, or infringe the rights of the minority in committing all the

members to the support of one party; President Willard need give the National Union no special credit for tolerance or non-interference with the Iowa Union. The National has no constitutional right to interfere with this State Union in its non-partisan work, but it has done, and is now doing, all it can in various ways to injure the influence of the President of the Iowa Union as an advocate of Prohibition, and a true W. C. T. U. woman, and to stir up partisan strife in Iowa to the end that the partisan action of the National may, in the near future, be endorsed by the only State Union, that has freely discussed, openly and steadfastly opposed, that action.

Whether the partisan minority will succeed in Iowa in the future remains to be seen—but if it does, it will not make that action right.

A study of the principles of the two irreconcilable methods of Union prohibition work, ought to lead to the rescinding, or at least the suspension of the partisan position, enabling us once more to go on in the even tenor of the original non-partisan Union work for the principles of Total Abstinence and Prohibition, with all that clusters about that work in our W. C. T. U., and with no reference to any party.

We should remember that when we have convinced the people of the “truth” and won them to the love of it, that parties will right themselves, for parties are made up of people.

It is the truth that “rules the people;” it is the truth that is to make the people free.

We should remember too that our work for the incorporation of the great questions of christian progress into the “realm of government through the gateway of politics,” which is “the science of government” does not make it our duty or give us the privilege of dictating the party politics of a single member of our Union.

That is a question for the individual alone to settle, according to the dictates of her own conscience, as God gives her to see the right, and no organization has the right, by its vote, to settle the question for a single member of that organization. The conflict of opinion, the strife of partisanship, which has divided and weakened the National Union, has been a torture to many; but God can overrule the mistake so as to lead to a better, broader, purer political work by women in the future—let us pray that He will.

REVIEW OF MISS WILLARD'S MONTHLY READING—ON THE
RELATION OF THE N. W. C. T. U. TO POLITICS.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

FIRST. The criticisms of the general public upon the partisan policy of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union are characterized as attacks of the Republican press. As though these criticisms were animated by unworthy partisanship or ignorant prejudice.

Does the Woman's Christian Temperance Union claim infallibility? Does it ask the support and confidence of the American public, and at the same time resent any questioning of its motives or methods?

Christian ministers and the religious press contain quite as strong expressions of regret and clear settings forth of the harm which has come to our work by the partisan action of the National Union. Do these regrets arise from partisan malice or blindness?

SECOND. In speaking of me, Miss Willard says: "Mrs. Foster, President of the Woman's National Republican Club, has sent out documents, etc." In an official letter the President of the National Union should speak of a State President as a State President; she utterly ignores this and refers to what she claims I am doing as a Republican. She brings me and my utterances to the party test, and thus illustrates and fulfills the prophecy of the Philadelphia Protest—that party beliefs would be made a test of W. C. T. U. standing.

I am willing to be tried by W. C. T. U. standards, before the W. C. T. U. membership, but my Republicanism is not a proper subject of review in the official utterances of the W. C. T. U.

Neither will this statement concerning circulation of non-partisan literature bear the test of absolute truth; I have in no sense violated the equities of our organization.

In my Republican party work I have sent documents far and wide; thousands of women in this country are in sympathy with the truths they contain. I did not exclude W. C. T. U. women from their circulation and perusal; I sought only to reach all women whom I believed would be interested and profited by them.

There are many loyal Woman's Christian Temperance Union women who dare to think for themselves and to exercise the right of Americans in the expression of political beliefs, even though such

beliefs are contrary to the propaganda of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Would Miss Willard presume to claim that a W. C. T. U. woman must be cut off from giving and receiving political information through ordinary channels? I have never used my official relations to strengthen my party work.

THIRD. She claims that Republican women have passed resolutions censuring the National and State Unions. Does she mean that their protest has its source in their Republicanism?

Does she intend to impugn the motives of the women who solemnly declare that they protest by resolution and otherwise because they believe the partisan position is wrong and is harmful to the temperance work?

If she does not so intend to construe the action of the protesting women who pass these resolutions why does she call them Republican women, and why does she fail to state that "third party" women also protest? A half truth is a most dangerous form of error.

Mrs. Swift, President of the Pennsylvania Union, is a "third party" woman; her honored husband,—now deceased,—for years voted that ticket.

Mrs. Lovell, of that same State, is a protesting woman; if she had a vote she would give it for "third party" candidates.

Mrs. Campbell, who presided at the Non-partisan meeting during the New York Convention, is also a "third party" sympathizer; she is the author of the non-partisan amendment to the National Constitution which will come up for action next year.

So also in the South are many Democrats among our women. They stoutly declare they will not bring party politics into our temperance work. It is not true that Republican women are the only protestants; neither is it true that the women who protest do so because of their individual party preferences.

FOURTH. It is claimed that this new movement is "strictly political," and that unions less "way wise" than others are blinded by specious pretenses. Why are not these pretenses enumerated and their folly or untruth shown? If the party alliance of the National Union is justifiable and desirable, why do the General Officers attempt to stop discussion?

Those who are conscious of sound foundations have nothing to fear from discussion.

Soon after the New York Convention the General Officers issued this appeal:

The General Officers earnestly urge all State presidents to counsel all local auxiliaries that inasmuch as the N. W. C. T. U. has never urged upon any State or local union any action relative to its relation to politics it is hardly essential for any State auxiliary to introduce the question to its auxiliaries.

The better way is in the future, as in the past, to reach conclusions through individual conviction and not to bring up the subject in connection with our local work.

The general declaration of the National, or a State or County Convention, is a wiser method than to urge a definite position in every local union. No National Officer has ever advised this, and we are confident that our State presidents will follow in this matter the example and advice of their

GENERAL OFFICERS.

CHICAGO, Nov. 26, 1888.

Intolerance often confesses its real injustice by attacking the person of its victim when it should show the inconsistency of the doctrine taught. It was so in the Saviour's time. The high priest asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine, and was struck by an officer who stood by and was offended at the manner of His reply when Jesus answered, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if well why smitest thou me?"

The success which has attended non-partisan measures and the work of non-partisan women is the best vindication of the personnel and character of the work. If our work is evil, let our opposers bear witness of its evil. Their failure to do so is made more conspicuous by their attacks upon us.

FIFTH. The President of the Maine Union is quoted as asking if a Woman's Christian Temperance Union composed of Republicans only, could be a non-partisan society? Certainly. The society is non-partisan when it takes no position in party politics. The claim of non-partisans is that Union work and Union action shall be non-partisan.

I am a Republican—always was, never had any leanings to any other political faith—have never concealed my Republicanism; am strengthened in my belief in the party by my personal acquaintance with many of its leaders, and with the rank and file of its voters, but I never in any manner pledged my sisters of the W. C. T. U. to my political faith or sought to give their W. C. T. U. influence to the party I am glad to call "my party." This is non-partisanship.

Will any one claim that the Christian work of the W. C. T. U. is less effective because it is non-sectarian, or that Miss Willard and I are not loyal Methodists because we do not seek to influence the denominational preferences of the women who join with us in Union work?

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a grand Christian organization. Its origin was inspirational, its growth has been glorious. God has honored it by permitting it to be His minister of blessing to multitudes of His "little ones."

It has been the medium through which the holiest instincts of womanhood have found forceful operation. It was designed to be an instrumentality in which all Christian temperance women might combine for mutual defence against the worst foe of the home.

Its usefulness is impaired, its work impeded, and its ministrations limited by the entanglements of party alliance. This is the opinion of multitudes of the best men and women of the country. Clergymen crowned with years of honorable ministration at the altars of the Church; strong men in reform, in philanthropy, and in gospel politics, these all,—with solemn earnestness disclaim against it. The denominational journals of the country set forth the unwisdom of this action. No other temperance organization ever had the presumption to attempt such unwarranted misuse of majority power.

The late John B. Finch, the greatest debator on temperance platform has ever known, and the acknowledged leader of "third party" politics, stated that it was most unwise for the Society, but sent a telegram of congratulation to Miss Willard on the adoption of the partisan resolution at St. Louis; he said to a friend, "it would help the party."

Mr. Finch was caustic and mighty in speech and an intense believer in party politics as an agency of temperance reform. He gave his first allegiance to that grand organization, the Independent Order of Good Templars. He declared strongly that that society should never be entangled with partisanship.

The National Temperance Society, long presided over by the great temperance advocate and Christian philanthropist, William E. Dodge, has put itself on record as opposed to society alliance with any political party.

Its present President, that pioneer in temperance literature and temperance preaching, and pure social living, Dr. Theodore Cuyler,—he mourns this political departure. John N. Stearns, who has built up the mightiest arsenal of temperance warfare in the whole country, the National Temperance Society and Publication House, wholly disapproves it. Aaron Powell, a very seer in philanthropic effort, and a great knight in Christian chivalry, he declares it to be contrary to the ethics of organized effort. Will any one dare to say of these that their intelligence is weak or their motives impure?

Hundreds of others, men and women as noble as they, are of the same mind. The women of our organization who are of this opinion are not represented in our national councils, but they quietly grieve or are openly indignant; a few speak out and then are subjected to the criticism of the Monthly Reading or the continued censure and assumed dictatorship of the National Society and its political allies.

It is because I believe this, and because I have loved the Woman's Christian Temperance Union since its organization, that I will not cease to cry aloud and spare not, if perchance the masses of our women may see the error and speak the protest which is in their hearts, and thus the society be saved to its original purpose, and fill out years of honorable work for the God we serve in the land we love.

SIXTH. Miss Willard says in the Monthly Reading under review, "I suppose there is hardly a local union in the United States where the question of the Union's political status has come up at all." Words fail us to express our utter astonishment at this statement. If this be true, upon what knowledge does Miss Willard base her statement that the W. C. T. U. is "practically solid for the 'third party?'" Why does she speak of the Iowa women as but "a remnant," and that every Northern State, except Iowa and somewhat more than half of Pennsylvania, and every Southern State, in fact if not in form, have declared for the Prohibition party?

If the question has not been discussed in the local unions how can she be justified in declaring that "party politics is the chief weapon of our warfare."

In Miss Willard's "Bugle Blast," of Nov. 29, 1888, the General Officers say, "The general declaration of the National or a State or County Convention is a wiser method than to urge a definite position in every local union. No National Officer has ever advised this and we are confident that our State presidents will follow in this matter the example and advice of their General Officers."

To this, self-respecting W. C. T. U. women reply, "What right have National and State and County Unions to take positions which it is not wise for local unions to discuss? Are not State and County Conventions representative bodies? How can they, how dare they take representative action without knowing the wishes of their constituents?" If they vote merely their "individual convictions" then the W. C. T. U. is not "solid for the Prohibition party." If they pretend to represent the home women of the local unions they must find out through discussion what these women believe and what "definite position" they as Unions wish to take.

Methodist women will remember that the question of their right to membership in the General Conference is soon to be presented to the votes of the local churches. Presbyterians also know with what care the Church guards the representation of the intelligence and conscience of the local membership, and yet, the National Officers earnestly urge "that the question of party politics, which Miss Willard says is a 'vital issue'—the 'chief weapon of our warfare,' shall not be discussed."

Miss Willard has gone from State Convention to State Convention urging the adoption of resolutions of party alliance, she has in some instances written them with her own hand and presented them to Committees on Resolutions and urged their passage.

We are unable to reconcile the statement that the National Union has never urged upon any State or local union any action relative to its relation to politics with these facts and others which hundreds of women know to exist.

At the New York Convention she reported that she had asked Chairman Dickie, of the Third Party National Committee, what the women could do to help that party in the last campaign. Those who do not declare allegiance to that party are called "obstructionists" and compared to a "refractory child."

Money has been appropriated from local treasuries to circulate party campaign literature, and all this when "hardly a local union in the United States has discussed the question of party alliance!" I restrain personal comment upon the relation of these statements. Each woman must come to her own conclusion.

SEVENTH. The church illustration is no parallel; the Church does not bind its members to any party in the manner in which the administration of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union attempts to bind its membership to the "third party."

A majority of the bishops and General Conference appointees (leaders) of the Methodist Church, from which denomination the illustration is drawn, are Republicans; a minority as highly honored are not, but neither majority or minority among these consecrated men attempts a moral coercion of differing brethren, such as is attempted in the W. C. T. U.

The bishops who voted the "third party" ticket are untainted by such intolerance and receive the universal respect of the whole Church.

EIGHTH. The denial that money is diverted to party work is an evasion of the force of conditions which are known to exist.

These conditions are, The General Officers of the National Union give time, service, and moral and political influence in their official capacity to one political party, and vigorous opposition to other parties; the machinery of the National Union is used by their consent and co-operation to carry on the campaigns of that party and to accomplish its further party ends; these General Officers are fully salaried from the dues of the women in the local unions; their money, —the salaries of the officers,—belongs to themselves, but their time belongs to the work of the Union. These contributions are also very properly appropriated to the general work of the Society, and party

work was not contemplated in the original financial plan. Such a diversion of funds we protest against.

Again I repeat, "Hundreds of dollars are continually coming into the National treasury from women who indignantly repudiate the party uses to which it is applied." The above statement is true.

NINTH. Did the "National Union commit a crime" in making the party alliance? Only in so far as it foresaw the evil consequences which would follow, or seeing these consequences it refuses to retrace its steps and free itself from further complications of its temperance work.

I believe large numbers of women are possessed by the purest motives, the most exalted spirit of self-abnegation in their adherence to the "third party" and to W. C. T. U. alliance with it; I believe a larger number of women are possessed of the same spirit and the same devotion to other parties; I do not impugn the motives of a single white ribboner in our whole country. I have never done so, but I do protest against methods which injure our work and are unjust in their practical operations.

It is no defence to say "that whenever the Republican or any other party would declare for prohibition nationally, our National Woman's Christian Temperance Union would declare in favor of that party."

It would be just as wrong for the N. W. C. T. U. to declare for the Republican party if it had put the whole prohibition creed into its platform, as it was to pledge allegiance to the "third party." It is the principle of party alliance which is wrong, and would be equally wrong no matter what party was chosen. It is significant, however, in this connection, that the W. C. T. Unions of Maine and Kansas openly oppose the Republican party, which in those States is the open champion of prohibition; partisan unions in many places openly oppose life-long temperance men, for the fault only that they are Republicans; W. C. T. U. women have by this means aided in the election of liquor sympathizers who have voted against the very measures for which these women petitioned.

It would be a noble act for the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to announce its sympathy with all men in all parties who by their votes declare that the protection of the home is the first concern of all good government. This is quite a different thing from pledging the influence of the society to a political party, with all the complications therein involved.

The difference is emphasized when the party espoused deliberately plans campaigns to defeat good men who declare, and for years have declared unceasing war on the liquor traffic; this the

so-called Prohibition party does, with Miss Willard's approval and co-operation.

A shocking and painful illustration of partisanship was witnessed in Iowa a few weeks ago—the date of this writing is August 1889.

Mrs. Clara Hoffmann, President of the Missouri W. C. T. U., in a recent address delivered at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, said, "You may put me on record as saying that under no possible circumstances would I favor co-operation with the Republicans for the election of any Republican to office, or the furtherance of any Republican measure." And this was in prohibition Iowa, where the Republican party is the avowed champion of the home against the saloon. Lest this strange statement of Mrs. Hoffman may so amaze those who read it, that they doubt its genuineness, the conversation which brought it out is given :

After the lecture Hon. B. F. Wright, President of the State Temperance Alliance, was presented to Mrs. Hoffman and in the course of a spirited conversation put that lady a suppositious case to test the intensity of her opposition to the Republican party. Said he in substance : "Suppose the Republican party in my county should nominate me for representative and there was a clear majority of two hundred in my favor. Now with a twenty-year's record of uncompromising hostility to the saloon as a guarantee that I would take strong ground against any undoing of temperance work done, would you counsel the Prohibitionists of my county to bring out a third candidate, even though you knew such a course would inevitably elect an anti-Prohibition, High License Democrat?"

Mrs. Hoffman unhesitatingly replied, "You may put me on record as saying that under no possible circumstances would I favor co-operation with the Republicans for the election of any Republican to office, or the furtherance of a Republican measure."

The President of the Temperance Alliance was completely overwhelmed with the intensity of the hostility of the Missouri W. C. T. U. president to the party that has given Iowa that which the third party Prohibitionists in other States have failed to secure.

In this connection it would be pertinent to remember that the Executive Committee of the National Women's Christian Union, at the New York Convention, through a sub-committee, of which Miss Willard was chairman, declared Iowa to be in the "dry dock of Republicanism." Is there any "nobility" in such a reckless use of words ?

Iowa women sat in that same convention and heard these and other comments on the political faith of their husbands, brothers, sons. These men had "taken joyfully the spoiling of their goods," had seen the flames devour their dwellings, were in danger of their lives—some of them are still—because they fought boldly and politically the wild beasts of the liquor traffic; and because Iowa women do not lift their voices in approval, or sit in dumb submission, but do continually make their indignant protest, they are called

“obstructionists” and toleration of their presence is “borne” with, as that of a refractory child.” Could words express more arrogant assumption!—or is it only recklessness?

TENTH. I am amazed that Miss Willard puts in the mouth of “Mrs. I.” in the reading, such a reference to the interference of “men.” It is a sad thing for woman’s temperance work when its leaders repudiate the advice of men who are their peers in knowledge, in service to the cause of temperance and in devotion to righteousness in government. Large numbers of such men, with respectful appreciation of woman’s work in the church and in reform, advise against party alliance. To complain of such advice, comes with little grace from the daughters of the church, and its long-time beneficiaries.

ELEVENTH. I cannot understand Miss Willard’s statement that the Prohibition party leaders have never asked the W. C. T. U. to stand by them. Why do they put W. C. T. U. women on party committees, and ask the W. C. T. U. to circulate their literature; and why did they, in their last campaign, through their Chairman, Mr. Dickie, issue a circular asking each member of Local Unions to send ten cents to carry on the local campaign? Why was Miss Willard lately elected a consulting member of the National Third Party Committee? Why does she say “the W. C. T. U. and the Prohibition party will stand together?”

The Chester County Union (Pa.) needs no defense from any one. Its membership is of women noble and true; they are the peers in intelligence and Christian Temperance work, of any company of women anywhere. Their W. C. T. U. crime is, that they have exercised the liberty of individual conviction and independent action.

TWELFTH. Reference is made to the “loyalty test” based on political liberty—which was not adopted at the late convention.

This is a half-truth. The truth withheld would change materially the impression conveyed by what is told.

The Loyalty Test Resolution:—

Resolved, That it is the sense of the National Woman’s Christian Union that no member should speak from the public platform to antagonize our policy towards the party to which our influence is pledged, and that any member thus antagonizing our party is hereby declared disloyal.

Though reported by the Resolutions Committee it was not presented to the Convention. It was suppressed in a very questionable manner. Did Miss Willard fear it would carry, and that the censure of the public would be more than the Union and its political allies could wisely bear in a Presidential year? The sub-committee of the Executive Committee in their reply to the memorial from Illinois say

it would not be wise to-day to make the test. My personal opinion is that it would have carried.

A resolution embodying the same test was carried in the Executive Committee and also by the Convention.

Miss West, editor of the *Union Signal*, had asked the Executive Committee and the Convention to take action on her official relation to that paper. Though not elected by the Convention but by the Board of Directors of the W. T. P. A., she desired the moral support of the Convention.

She had made editorial comment on Mrs. Foster's address to the Committee on Platform of the late National Republican Convention and said "nothing more is needed to show that in spirit if not in name she has ceased to be a W. C. T. U. woman." Editorially she had also said that "loyalty to the National Union did not permit adverse criticisms of the plans of the National Union, even when unadvisable for a Union to assume."

Miss West very properly desired to know whether or not the Convention supported her editorial course. The Executive Committee sustained her position by a resolution and the Convention also adopted the following :—

Resolved, That we extend to Mary Allen West, the able editor of the *Union Signal*, our hearty thanks for the manner in which she has conducted our National organ, and that we hereby endorse the position she has taken in the exercise of editorial prerogatives, on the political as well as any other questions which concern our organization; and in testimony of this, we express our appreciation of her labors, and our determination to stand by her in her difficult and trying position.

And yet Miss Willard says the "loyalty test" resolution from the Illinois convention was not adopted or even considered. Miss Willard is technically correct, but has wholly failed to represent the sentiment of the Convention on the "loyalty test."

If she were a bungler with words, or feeble of utterance, such failure would be more easily understood. The Illinois women—Miss Willard's own State—adopted a memorial involving the same test, and the Illinois President, Mrs. Rounds, has now before the National body an amendment making the same test. That proposed amendment is the logical sequence of the position which the National Union has for five years taken. We quote from the Illinois memorial:

We further agree that the pledge you gave the Prohibition party—that being the only party that gave us any embodiment of prohibition principles—by such an overwhelming majority, gave to you, as a logical sequence, a political policy which no member of your honorable body has a right to antagonize. If the individual States are members of this great National Union, and if you depend upon these States to carry out your plans and policy, then the policy and plans of the National W. C. T. U. must be the policy and plans of the several States, else

we lack harmonious action, and to that extent fail to accomplish the purposes of our grand organization. We further believe that the basic principle of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is, first, *loyalty to its principles*, and secondly, unity as far as possible in the carrying out of these principles.

We would, therefore, abridge no woman's right to individual opinions, or the private utterance of the same; but we protest against members of our organization being permitted, unchallenged, to antagonize your, and therefore our, policy on the public platform, thereby bringing contempt upon your authority, and breeding discontent within our ranks.

THIRTEENTH. Miss Willard states that the Iowa W. C. T. U. is really a "Republican Society." The statement is not true, and Miss Willard's position as the elected head of an organization of Christian women cannot shield her from the consequence of such a statement.

She repudiates any criticism of political dominance in the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, notwithstanding its many utterances and closely interwoven lines of co-operation, and yet declares that the Iowa W. C. T. U. is a "Republican Society," when not one of these lines of co-operation exists.

She makes a gentle assumption of generous toleration, in not interfering with the Iowa Union, notwithstanding it is a "Republican Society." Yet she brings all the moral influence and every constitutional prerogative, and some very questionable means to bear on the State Society. She continually asserts that we of Iowa are free, but our exercise of liberty is characterized "obstruction," and when Iowa announced its freedom by a constitutional amendment, she declared that it thus "coerced the minority" in its midst.

If it is coercion to declare that we will not endorse any party, what term can properly be applied to an action which delivers the Society "in its entirety" to a party which many members repudiate.

She has gone to the limit of her constitutional powers and has abused parliamentary rules in her treatment of the Iowa Union and Iowa delegates in the National Convention; and then declares that Iowa has been borne with as a "refractory child."

She repeatedly declares that she intends to be fair and just, to protect the minority, etc., but the record of her procedure as presiding officer does not maintain her claim.

She allowed, without a word of objection, the previous question to be called while Mrs. Foster had the floor and was speaking, and she put the question on the adoption of the reply to the Iowa memorials without giving opportunity for one word of discussion; a delegate from Iowa had the floor and claimed the attention of the Chair, in vain.

The Reading closes with the serene announcement "we now understand the situation and can go on the even tenor of our way *not*

agitating those questions further, but being ready to answer those of the contrary part, keeping always among us 'the bond of peace,' etc."

To women who really desire the enactment and enforcement of temperance laws more than they desire the building up of any party, there can be no quiet acceptance of methods which they believe are contrary to the very end sought, and an assault upon the "bond of peace" which did once hold all our women in blessed comradeship in the warfare of the Home against the Saloon. Such women will not be at ease in Zion until their warfare is accomplished.

THE GENESIS OF PROHIBITION PARTY WORK IN THE
W. C. T. U.

BY MRS. MARY J. ALDRICH, IOWA.

The "Facts in the Case" has been received, read and pondered; and it seems to be the plea of a pettyfogger before the jury of public opinion, in behalf of a party against whom serious charges of unjust dealing, and unrighteous assumption of power have been preferred.

It furnishes an illustration of a possible statement of facts so as to falsify them, by reason of the truth untold, concerning correlate facts.

If the facts stated and the truth revealed, can be supplimented with facts untold and truths concealed, many erroneous impressions will be removed, and much unsound conclusion will be corrected.

On page 30 of the "Facts in the Case" we are told that the Genesis of this party work was in the Louisville Convention "in the report of the Committee on Resolutions." The real "Genesis" of this party work antedated this Louisville Convention and is to be found in the conversion of the President of the National Union to "third party" work, combined with her hope and belief that if this prohibition party which was "despised for the single reason that it lacks majority" could be "helped onward to success by woman" it would when in power place in her "weaponless" hands the "ballot as a home protection weapon."

This desire of hers for the espousal of this party by the N. W. C. T. U. was first publicly expressed in her annual address at Washington, it was reiterated at Louisville, planned for at Detroit and consummated at St. Louis.

In evidence see Reports of the above named Conventions, the records of the Post Executive Committee meeting at Detroit and the history of the Mammoth Petition.

The records of the Lake Bluff Convocation over which Miss Willard presided for years would also be germane to the subject under consideration.

In her own account of a "Woman in Politics" she has herself told us of her sleepless nights at Saratoga in 1881, when she "thought through to the conclusion—her personal duty to take sides with the Prohibition Party", and of the share she had in the founding of the Home Protection Party;—the work of which, Prohibition Party leaders gratefully acknowledge as an important factor in bringing to their

party the unprecedented gains of 1885—(see Prohibition Party Hand Book, 1884–85.)

She has also told us that in the preparation of her annual address at Washington in 1881—this thought came to her—“For you to favor the Prohibition Party as an individual is one thing, and to ask the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in your official address to indorse that party, is quite another, are you going to do it?”—of her thought “Such action will cost you much good-will and many votes” of the voice from loftier regions which said “You ought to declare for the party officially as well as individually.”

Had President Willard at that time clearly comprehended that the decision of taking sides for or against prohibition party work, was one that in each case, should be an individual decision, and that those who thought out the question of their own personal duty to the opposite conclusion of not taking sides with the Prohibition Party, not only had an absolute right to follow out their own convictions, but that it would be their duty to do so ; she might have seen that the official request for the N. W. C. T. U. involved more than the question of the “cost to her of much good will and many votes.”

Had she thought then of the rights of others she might have hesitated before she asked the majority to mortgage the influence of any one individual to the Prohibition Party—she would not consciously have asked the majority to misuse their power and pledge to the Prohibition Party that which they had no right to give to any party.

But she didn’t—and it is evident from her own words elsewhere that she failed to think of another thing, viz.—that while it was right for her as an individual, to pledge her support to a party candidate if she chose—it was not right for her as an official to pledge the support of her constituents to the candidate of any party.

In “Glimpses of Fifty Years” on page 371 she writes—“The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union of the North—it was then practically non-existent at the South—had stood solidly for the Republican candidate, whom we then believed to be a friend to total abstinence and prohibition * * * being personally acquainted with him, I had written him at Mentor immediately after his nomination, that if he would hold to total abstinence during the campaign he might count on our support—although Neal Dow was in the field and I had been invited, but declined, to go to the Prohibition Convention at Cleveland. For I had not then beheld, therefore was not disobedient to, the heavenly vision of political as well as legal suasion for the liquor traffic.”

In this paragraph, party prohibition work is evidently intended by the phrase “political” and prohibition, by the phrase “legal suasion;” and in the writer’s thought party prohibition work is

contrasted with work for prohibition principles, without reference to any party.

Prohibition is really "legal suasion" and consequently "political" whether it be partial or entire prohibition, or whether obtained by partisan or non-partisan measures. There is the same failure in analysis manifested in the statement that the W. C. T. U. had "stood solidly for the Republican candidate" causing an unintentional mis-statement.

The Union had never as an organization pronounced in favor of, or worked for Garfield or any one else as a Republican candidate.

Even "the cheering of his name in the Boston Convention," which is mentioned, was not a party demonstration by the Union—it was because the individual members there, believed him to be a friend of total abstinence and prohibition—not simply because he was a Republican. Undoubtedly the large majority of those present were Republicans in their party preference, as was Miss Willard, but it was not as Republicans that they cheered a Republican candidate, it was as prohibition women of all parties they rejoiced over a Presidential candidate with temperance principles. The analysis is incorrect and the terms confusing.

The paragraph also shows that the distinction between the political privilege, duty and action of the individual, and that of the National Union, or of the "official representing that Union—the freedom of the one and the limitations of the other, were not clearly apprehended—or President Willard would not have pledged the support of the National Union to Garfield, on the condition of his adherence to total abstinence.

The object of the organization she officially represented was the prohibition of the Liquor Traffic as well as the promotion of Total Abstinence, and in the ranks of the Union were Democratic and Greenback women who had never authorized the official head of the Union to transfer their allegiance to the nominee of the Republican party. From her own account one might infer that had the conversion of President Willard taken place before the Cleveland Convention, she might have felt it to be her official privilege and duty to pledge the support of the National Union to Neal Dow instead of Garfield, without so much as asking the consent of the Union—that she must adopt the new political faith and that as President of the National Union she must lead the organization to adopt it,—was the real "Genesis" of the party W. C. T. U. movement.

The result has not fulfilled her prophecies, but the evils resulting from it have more than realized the fears of those who opposed it.

And she tells us that "after prayer, without one misgiving" she wrote her reasons for such party endorsement by the organization,

closing with this plea—"Here then at the Nation's capital let us declare our allegiance, here let us turn our faces toward the beckoning future, here where the liquor traffic pours in each year its revenue of gold, stained with the blood of our dearest and best, let us set up our Home Protection standard in the name of the Lord."

The request fell on unheeding ears. The Convention did not make the declaration so earnestly desired. Neither was it willing to do so at Louisville, when President Willard, after reciting the history of the Home Protection Party during the year—its fusion with the old Prohibition Party under the name of the Prohibition Home Protection Party and distinctly avowing the fact that we were "a non-partisan society working through moral suasion" she "renewed the political attack," as she herself expressed it and asked for a "sympathetic declaration in favor of this independent party movement." Of this Miss Willard has recently written—"I saw the Convention was reluctant to make this new departure. Profoundly convinced that it ought to do so, I sought my friend Mrs. L. D. Carhart, then President of the Iowa W. C. T. U. and asked her to write a resolution bearing on the subject."

Then quoting the famous Louisville resolution as it was adopted—she writes—"Nothing is truer than that most people are more afraid of words than of ideas, and as this resolution avoided naming any party, while really pointing out one by its description, the Convention passed it with very little difficulty."

How any one who knows and admits these facts in the case, can consider that this Louisville resolution was the "Genesis" of the party W. C. T. U. work passes comprehension.

How they can claim it when they know that the endorsement of the Prohibition Party by the National Union, was contrary to the thought of those who wrote the resolution and that those who voted for its adoption were opposed to such endorsement, by the Union of that or any other party, is a mystery. It has been made the foundation of that work, but it was not the "Genesis" of it.

It was the conversion of Miss Willard to the "third party" movement, her hope, desire, belief, that if the W. C. T. U. helped the Prohibition Party into power, that the party, when in power would give the ballot to the women who helped them, that was the real "Genesis" of party work in the N. W. C. T. U. as a careful reading of her addresses at Washington and Louisville Convention will show.

The Louisville resolution was the Exodus of the desire, the purpose, the plan, of the official head of the National Union—to secure the endorsement of the Prohibition party by that Union, an endorsement which she believed would make friends for the party everywhere until it become "regnant and the two reign side by side." It was the first step in the Exodus from the unity, harmony and strength of a

non-partisan organization working through moral suasion,—out into the wilderness of party differences, dissensions and controversies which now agitate this same National Union that has been declared to be almost solidly partisan ;—the first step in that new departure which must if adhered to, eventually subject all the “grand educational work” of its multiplied departments to the antagonisms and limitations of a partisan allegiance—and this first step was taken as we have seen, when the ideas were so obscured by the words of the resolution, that the one whose desire had obtained it and who clearly saw what the adoption of the resolution would do, was herself surprised at the practical unanimity with which it was adopted—with such a beginning, what will the end of the wilderness journey be!

THE NON-PARTISAN MINORITY IN THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERENCE UNION.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

The first official act of protest on the part of the minority was the resignation of Mrs. Foster from official relation to the National Union. She had been for years the Superintendent of the Department of Legislation, and received full measure of respect and confidence. When the party policy was adopted, she could not conscientiously conduct the legislative work of the National Society along that line, and she felt it would be dishonorable to retain official relation to a policy which she did not approve.

Therefore she resigned a position to which she had just been re-elected. She did this with great reluctance, for she loved the women and loved the work, but there was no other honorable course open to her.

She was at the next annual meeting in her own State elected President of the Iowa Union, which brought her again into the National Convention as Vice-President for Iowa. Her position in the National Union being ex-officio, she still retains this relation. The by-law which declares "States and individuals free" gives her and her State, nominal acceptance in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union household—an acceptance which continued acts of discourtesy, and parliamentary and other injustice, make a mocking pretense.

In October, 1885, at the Philadelphia Convention, the first formal protest was offered after the adoption of the

PARTISAN RESOLUTION.

"We refer to the history of ten years of persistent moral suasion work as fully establishing our claim to be called a non-political society, but one which steadily follows the white banner of Prohibition wherever it may be displayed. We have, however, as individuals, always allied ourselves in local and State political contests with those voters whose efforts and ballots have been given to the removal of the dram-shops and its attendant evils, and at this time, while recognizing that our action as a National Society is not binding upon States or individuals, we re-affirm the position taken by the Society at Louisville in 1882, and at Detroit in 1883, and at St. Louis in 1884, and ratified by a large majority of the States and Territories in the Annual Conventions of 1885, pledging our influence to that party, by whatever name called, which shall furnish us the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and will most surely protect our homes. And as we now know which National party gives us the desired embodiment of the principles for which our ten years' labor has been expended, we will continue to

lend our influence to the National political organization which declares in its platform for National Prohibition and Home Protection. In this, as in all progressive effort, we will endeavor to meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our dangers and difficulties with prayer."

Upon the adoption of this resolution, by a vote of 245 to 30, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of Iowa, presented a protest bearing twenty-six signatures. Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, of Ohio; Mrs. Mary T. Lathrop, of Michigan, and Mrs. Clara A. Hoffnan, of Missouri, were appointed a committee to prepare an answer.

PROTEST.

With a deep sense of the grave responsibility resting upon us at this hour, and with a conviction of duty so overmastering that it will not permit us to be silent, we solemnly, and in the presence of Him whose name we bear, PROTEST against the action of this Convention in committing this Christian organization to the aid and support of a political party.

I. This action is wrong in principle. A moral reform association, having as its test of membership a total abstinence pledge, ought not to ally itself with any organization, political or otherwise, having no such test of membership.

II. It is a specific abandonment of that spirit of toleration and of Christian courtesy which has permitted harmony of action with a wide diversity of opinion. It establishes a new test of allegiance, and is a practical refusal on the part of the majority, in the interests of a political party, to recognize that equality of rights which is the sure basis of permanent organized effort.

III. In contravention of this equality of rights, while professing to leave individuals and States free, it uses the collective influence of the Union, and its moral power, as an *entirety*, including that of the opponents of this policy, in the upbuilding and advancement of a political party to which some of our members, as individuals, refuse allegiance. It lends our influence and may appropriate our money to aid a political party over which we have no control.

IV. It circumscribes the grand moral power of this great body of Christian women and wounds the confidence of the Christian public, subjecting our work to party limitations without conferring added political power.

V. It transforms the broad political work of our organization for the triumph of *Prohibition principles*, and will unnecessarily hinder the speedy accomplishment of our purpose.

VI. It makes the official organ of our Union a partisan political sheet and tends to lower its high standard of Christian journalism to the level of partisan political controversy.

VII. It is unjust. The partisan political policy of the National Union, so detrimental to Prohibition work in many States, has been made possible by the votes of representatives from States which will not carry out or tolerate that policy in their own States.

VIII. A year of the dominance of this policy has brought confusion of thought concerning *Prohibition* as a *principle* and *party Prohibition* as a *policy*. Its continuance tends to alienation and dissension among our members or the inevitable disintegration of our Unions.

In view of these facts we cannot conscientiously keep silence ; but that we may, as far as possible, free ourselves from the responsibility of this action we enter this *our most solemn protest* against this action of the Convention in committing this body and those we represent to the support of a political party.

Here we stand ;

We can do no other ;

So help us God. Amen.

J. ELLEN FOSTER,
and twenty-five others.

The protest offered by the non-partisans at the Minneapolis Convention, 1886, was substantially the same as that of the year previous at Philadelphia, given above.

The Nashville protest is here given :

“Recognizing and respecting fully the right of a majority in any philanthropic society to adopt rules and methods of action for the government and work of said organization, we nevertheless deny the right and most solemnly PROTEST against any action of the majority which invades the rights of conscience, or encroaches upon the political liberty of any of its members; by giving the aid and influence “in its entirety” to any ecclesiastical organization or political party. We assert the right of each member of any philanthropic society to their denominational and political preferences to be inalienable and beyond the just power of any majority to transfer. The National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, in resolving to “lend the influence” of this organization to the party known as the Prohibition party, has repeatedly violated the right of its members to the absolute control of their political preferences and has formally refused to adopt a constitutional guaranty, by which even the weakest member shall have the pledge of the whole that their denominational and political preferences shall be sacredly and inviolably protected. True to the right, as I see the right, I hereby sign my name in protest against this unjust action, as a duty I owe to myself and this organization also.

Here I stand ;

I can do no other ;

So help me God. Amen.”

The Convention denied debate on this protest. The National Minutes of that year read—page 54 : “Mrs. Aldrich read a protest, of which notice had been given. Mrs. Hoffman moved that it be received without debate and spread upon the minutes, which was carried.”

At the New York Convention, 1888, the Iowa women made their protest in the form of a memorial from their State Convention to the National Convention.

That it was to be presented was fully known to the General Officers and many in the Convention, because the Iowa Convention had been held some time previous, and its doings were of course published in the Iowa *Messenger*, the official organ of the society.

Early in the first session a resolution was adopted that all memorials and protests be referred to the Executive Committee without

reading. Upon this the previous question was moved while Mrs. Foster had the floor and was speaking.

A call was made for the ayes and nays. It was not sustained because the Committee on Credentials had not reported and it was impossible to know who were the members of the Convention.

Miss Willard was in the chair and sustained the previous question, although Mrs. Burlingame, of Rhode Island, asked if it were "allowable to make such a motion when a lady is on the floor and has been recognized by the Chair."

Miss Willard ruled that it was correct to call the previous question, even under these circumstances.

Mrs. Benjamin, of Michigan, Superintendent of Parliamentary Usage, sustained the Chair in that ruling.

Thus at the first session of the Convention an Auxiliary State Union—Iowa—which had sent a memorial in the most dignified and solemn manner known to the procedure of deliberative bodies, was denied the right to be heard! Was ever such abuse of majority power attempted in any deliberative assemblage claiming to be Christian or representative?

A most honorable Christian gentleman, universally respected, said of this action: "No self-respecting set of men would have sat under such ruling one hour."

In justice to Miss Willard, letters are here inserted which declare her intention to be just.

TO MRS. FOSTER.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28.—(Sabbath p. m.)—My dear Judith: You are a lawyer and know that a wrong motive must be found for any discredited action before its perpetrator can be condemned. Now I do not think you can find one in the Convention or in its presiding officer—I mean an adequate motive for doing the smallest injustice to you or yours.

We knew from the first that out of over four hundred delegates you had but a small minority—it proved to be about thirty strong. If we failed to do you justice under the rules of parliamentary usage; if we failed, indeed, to treat you with the utmost fairness, such failure and injustice must at once rebound upon ourselves. We had nothing to fear, and every motive to favor, and I solemnly declare that I meant to act upon this basis from first to last, always and in everything. Of course I cannot speak with positiveness for every member of the Convention, but I can for the presiding officer. In every parliamentary ruling I acted up to my knowledge and light, as I did in everything said and done in that Convention, in my relations to the minority. If I failed, it is the testimony of many in the majority that I failed toward them.

In taking the final vote at midnight, I felt and proposed no injustice toward Iowa. I thought the question generally called, and have no recollection that I proposed to "down" any person in that delegation from the beginning to the end. I did favor Mrs. Benjamin's objection to so much as considering the resolution about "loyalty," and am, of course, strongly blamed by many.

Believe me, ever with an earnest purpose to do right, your friend and sister,

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

P. S.—In referring the memorials to the Executive Committee, Iowa and Illinois, for the first time in years, voted together and both were equally indignant. It was not a "partisan" motion, but was in the interest of keeping protests from both sides of the Convention until they could all be carefully considered. This may not have been wise, but it is certainly impartial.

MRS. FOSTER'S REPLY.

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 16, '88.—My dear Miss Willard: Your letter of the 28th reached me in due time. It did not require immediate reply and I have of late been more than usually burdened with work because of the serious illness of my most valued secretary. Please be assured that I gave the letter the most careful consideration.

You seem to apprehend that my censure and the censure of the public upon the general action and procedure—parliamentary and otherwise—of the late N. W. C. T. U. Convention relates to yourself personally, or to the Convention in its personnel; with this I have nothing to do. Motive can attach only to personality.

I long ago determined to scrupulously obey in thought and word the Scripture command, "judge not." But if it were otherwise and the determination of the merits of the case turned upon the motive of the presiding officer, the fact that you possess the undisputed power of numbers, and an unquestioning personal following, does not acquit of unworthy motives. History records many instances of abuse of power of good people who "had nothing to fear."

You begin your letter by an appeal to my knowledge of law, and solemnly declare that you intended to be fair and just in your official relations to the minority. Permit me, as a lawyer, to say that in law a declaration of intention is not evidence of intention. Courts take cognizance of acts and from acts infer intentions. They consider the circumstances attending a case, the general intelligence of the person charged, his facilities of information as to the probable results of his act; from these sources are motives determined, and the bearing of motives upon specific acts.

Miss Willard is not on trial; her personality is her own, and is always sacredly guarded by me. The official acts of the president of the National W. C. T. U. are before the country; they are proper subjects of discussion. I concur in the very general opinion that certain of those acts were contrary to correct parliamentary procedure, and that there were other violations of the ethics of Christian controversy which were quite as painful illustrations of the evil results of party alliance.

I pray that the inconsistencies and disasters which have thickened and darkened the path of our noble organization since this heresy fastened upon it may drive its unselfish friends to guide the work away from these ever-increasing dangers.

I will comply with your request and ask the publication of your letter in the *Iowa Messenger*; also this, my answer.

With tender memories of the days of "Auld Lang Syne," yours sincerely,

J. ELLEN FOSTER.

W. C. T. U.—MEMORIALS AND ANSWERS.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

The Iowa Woman's Christian Temperance Union has continually made protest against the party alliance of the National Society. It was organized before the National and has had wide and deep experience in the great controversy between the Home and the Saloon: Its members are veterans in the service and may be pardoned if with thankful hearts they boast of their well earned victories and show how fields were won; yet may they with humility answer those who question,—“verily it is not of ourselves we boast, but of our God who is a Man of War.”

With Iowa women the working out of non-partisan measures has been a demonstration of the wisdom of those methods; the utter failure of partisan measures brings our success into bold relief. Knowing these things, temperance people in Iowa stoutly contend for what they have proved.

This contention with the National Society was—for three years—by protest from individual delegates to the National Convention. The last year—1888—the State Society, in annual meeting at Des Moines adopted a Memorial to the National Convention. This was the most dignified and solemn manner of approach.

The National convention early in its first session voted that Protests and Memorials should be referred to the Executive Committee *without reading*; Thus summarily was the right of petition denied an auxiliary state.

A memorial from the Illinois Annual meeting was read by Mrs. Rounds, President of the Illinois Union, to the Executive Committee. It was never presented in due form to the National Convention.

These memorials and the answers to them from a sub-committee of the Executive Committee—Miss Willard, Mrs. Hoffman Mrs. Lathrop—are also given. Notice the short crisp answer to Iowa, the warm greeting to Illinois and see what it costs to stand for one's convictions in the N. W. C. T. U.

MEMORIAL NO 1.

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa, in session at Des Moines, Oct. 2-5, '88, to the Annual Meeting of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to be held in New York City, Oct. 19-23, '88—
GREETING :

With a solemn realization of the responsibility resting upon us as the only State Woman's Christian Temperance Union that stands protesting against the partisan position of the National Union; with an irresistible sense of duty to ourselves in

our convictions of right, and our obligation to what we deem the best interests of the cause, as well as our duty to temperance workers in other States who are opposed to the action of the National Union, and recognizing the confidence which the Christian public has reposed in us, we pray you to recede from the partisan political action taken in 1884 and re-affirmed each subsequent year.

This alliance is wrong in principle, unchristian in method, and disastrous in results.

"To thine own self, be true," is as vital to the integrity of an organization as to individual character.

The basic principle of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is Christian unity in promoting the principles and practice of total abstinence. The basic principle of party organization is citizen unity in political action. These differing principles are unequally yoked by the partisan affiliation of the National Union.

It is as true in morals as in mathematics that quantities must be reduced to a common denominator before they can be added or subtracted.

To attempt to reduce the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the standard of party action does violence to the equities which should control all organized effort.

The partisan position of the National Union is a prostitution of its original purpose. It must be abandoned or the organization will cease to be an evangel.

The influence of the National Union "in its entirety" is given to a political party—its money is applied, through the salaries of the National Officers, to the services of a political party. The moral influence of woman is the political power which stands to her in place of the ballot. This moral influence is pledged to a political party. *This is political robbery* and strikes at the foundation principles of political liberty.

The spirit of liberty is further outraged by assaults upon the rights of free speech. This is attested by the action of the National Convention in 1886, in the adoption of the following By-law, Section II., Chapter VIII. By-laws of the National Union:

"Any resolution referring to our attitude toward political parties shall be decided by vote without discussion."

And further, by the passage of a resolution declaring that superintendents must not antagonize the policy of the National Union. Not only is free speech in National Convention suppressed by statutory law, but the right to the expression of individual opinion by National Superintendents is denied by resolution.

This alliance with a political party also makes party fealty a test of loyal membership in the organization.

In proof of this we cite the utterances of the official organ of the National Union. In its issue of July 12, 1888, it says of a vice-president of the National Union:

"Mrs. Foster appeared before the same Committee and was greeted with great applause. She rehearsed her deep affection for the Republican party, of which she announced herself a loyal daughter; dwelt upon her services to it, and implored them to put a temperance plank in their platform. She pleaded eloquently and closed by declaring and repeating it three times over, that whether they put the plank in or not, indeed, no matter what they did, she should stick to the Republican party. Nothing more is needed to show that in spirit, if not in name, she has ceased to be a W. C. T. U. woman, than this declaration, that party is more to her than principle."

This has since been repeated. It has not been repudiated by the National Officers. Thus is an officer in the National Union "read out," because she exercises her individual right to bestow her political preferences with the party of her choice. This partisan arrogance judges every Woman's Christian Temperance

Union woman as true or untrue to the principles of prohibition by her allegiance to a political party. An editorial in the *Union Signal* of July 26, 1888, on "Auxiliaryship and Loyalty," says :

"Auxiliaryship is the letter, loyalty is the spirit, and the latter means a cordial co-operation in carrying out the plans of State or National so far as practicable, and certainly does not permit adverse criticism of them, even when inadvisable for a Union to assume."

Thus disapproval of the plans and policies of the National Union is declared to be disloyalty.

UNCHRISTIAN METHODS.

In support of this attempted union of divergent agencies, facts have been misrepresented, motives have been impugned, character has been assailed, utterances private and public have been misconstrued, and our holy cause grievously wounded in the house of its friends.

It is not strange that persons seek to avoid public censure by denial of these charges, but denial is not proof, and the facts remain unchanged.

This violence to principle and these unchristian methods have wrought many disasters to our organization, to woman's work, and to the cause of temperance. The confusion in moral standards renders unity impossible; it lowers the moral tone of our organization, and threatens its very life. With hearts loyal to truth and to temperance, and grieved by the position we are compelled to take, we have stated the truth as God gives us to see it. And we pray that by a speedy granting of our request, the rights of all may be assured, and this organization, which God has so signally honored, may be saved from a further compromise of the dignity of its Christian womanhood.

Adopted October 5, 1888.

(MRS.) J. ELLEN FOSTER, President.

(MRS.) MARY J. ALDRICH, Cor. Sec'y.

REPLY

TO THE MEMORIAL NO. 1, ADOPTED AT THE IOWA STATE MEETING
AT DES MOINES, OCTOBER, 1888.

In all justice and fairness, the N. W. C. T. U. is constrained to deny the charges, accusations and insinuations of the above memorial, as having neither truth nor foundation.

Year after year, on the floor of the Convention, have all points of difference been fully and freely discussed, and decided by ever increasing majorities.

Our National organ, *The Union Signal*, has given more space, in proportion to numbers, to the minority than to the majority, and has shown a magnanimity without precedent in journalism; while the forbearance of the N. W. C. T. U. to the few that persistently obstruct the proceedings of the National meeting has no parallel in the history of representative bodies.

Holding all power of decision and action by its increasing majorities, it has yet borne and forbore, as the mother with her refractory child; but it cannot and will not recede from the position it has conscientiously taken.

[Signed]

Sub-Committee of Executive Committee,

FRANCES E. WILLARD,

MARY L. LATHROP,

CLARA HOFFMAN.

MEMORIAL NO. 2.

The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Illinois, in session at Macomb, October 10-12, 1888, to the Annual Meeting of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to be held in New York City, October 19-23, 1888.—GREETING.

We call your honorable body to witness that we stand upon record as having been loyal in letter and in spirit to the plans and purposes of your organization. Whenever we have heard the call to advance we have moved to that command with unquestioning faith and unflinching courage, because we believe that under God you are leading us to victory.

Because of this faith in you, we give quick and hearty support to the pledge you made to that party, "by whatever name called, which would give us the best embodiment of prohibition principles, and would most surely protect the home;" but we are grieved that you also declared and still affirm that this action on your part was not and is not binding upon States and individuals, thereby making our needed assistance in the fulfilment of your pledge, the ground of much adverse criticism by some members of the national organization and of the great White Ribbon Army.

We further believe that the pledge you give the Prohibition party — that being the only party which gave us any embodiment of Prohibition principles—by such an overwhelming majority, gave to you, as a logical sequence, a political policy which no member of your honorable body has the right to antagonize. If the individual States are members of this great National Union, and if you depend upon these States to carry out your plans and policy, then the policy and plans of the National W. C. T. U. must be the plans of the several States, else we lack harmonious action, and to that extent fail to accomplish the purposes of our grand organization. We further believe that the basic principle of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is, first, *loyalty to its principles*, and secondly, unity as far as possible in the carrying out of this principle.

We would, therefore, abridge no woman's right to *individual opinions*, or the *private utterances* of the same, but we protest against members of our organization being permitted, unchallenged, to antagonize you, and therefore our, policy on *the public platform*, thereby bringing contempt upon your authority, and breeding discontent within our ranks.

We come, now, asking you to define what is loyalty and what is disloyalty to your policy? Webster defines loyalty as being true to plighted faith, duty, or love. You stand before this nation with plighted faith to the Prohibition party.

Did you consider it *duty* to thus stand, or was it the frivolous fancy of a passing hour that you incorporated in your pledge at St. Louis in 1884?

Did you do this for love's sweet sake, glad to find a party which would protect the home, love's dwelling-place, or was it the heartless promises of a coquette, false to God, to man, and to herself?

Your petitioners, believing that you took that stand in all honesty of heart and purpose, now declare it to be their unanimous opinion, in convention assembled, without one dissenting vote, that you cannot honorably recede from that position of "pledged prayers, influence and co-operation" to the Prohibition party so long as it shall continue to give us the principles embodied in its Indianapolis platform, and we further believe it to be equally impossible for you to stand still while the pillar of cloud and of fire moves on! Hoping to hear from this Convention the

order to advance, we pledge you the unwavering support of *fourteen thousand* White Ribboners of Illinois, loyal subjects ready at once to move, in obedience to your command!

[Signed]

MRS. LOUISE S. ROUNDS,
President Illinois W. C. T. U.
For the Convention.

REPLY

TO MEMORIAL NO. 2 FROM ILLINOIS.

We accord a hearty recognition of the loyalty and strength with which the Illinois W. C. T. U. has stood in its place and carried out the plans and purposes of the National Union.

We realize that the conditions and circumstances which called out this expression have furnished strong provocations, but we believe that the position taken by Illinois too advanced for our present safety and out of harmony with our past policy.

Total abstinence was our first fundamental principle, and from it has grown the wide educational work of the departments. But even these when organized were never made obligatory, but the auxiliary States were left to their own choosing which of them all should be incorporated into the State plan of work.

We believe *it would not be wise to-day* to make the loyalty, upon carrying out of all these lines without regard to circumstances or ability to make them successful.

Prohibition was equally fundamental from the first. Previous to 1884, we worked for any political party to achieve it; these efforts revealed to us the utter hopelessness of seeking to carry the principle of Prohibition through parties pledged to the policy of license and to the liquor traffic itself.

Our "political policy was not therefore determined by a pledge of fidelity to a party, but by unalterable devotion to the *principle* which is their foundation as well as our own. That we are with the Prohibitory party is not so much choice of comradeship as the destiny of righteousness.

Again as in its educational work, the National Union left auxiliary States to come to expressed fealty to the St. Louis resolution, as they were given to see its wisdom, while personally in membership, and constitutionally in States, we have always been what we are to-day, Prohibitionists. We do not believe it would be wise to-day to cut off from auxiliaryship State Unions true to *Prohibition*, but as yet unwilling to pledge fealty to the party representing it. We can afford to wait for the swift-coming hour when there can be no longer non-partisan grounds on this great question.

[Signed]

Sub-Committee of Executive Committee,
FRANCES E. WILLARD,
MARY T. LATHROP,
CLARA HOFFMAN.

REPLY.

The National W. C. T. U. Convention, New York City, Oct. 19-23, 1888, to the W. C. T. U. minority of Iowa, as represented in Memorial Numbers, 3, 4, 5 and 6.

BELOVED SISTERS: We have long known that the leaders of Iowa W. C. T. U., while constantly protesting against majority rule in the National W. C. T. U., and branding it as "persecution," were rigorously suppressing the minority in their own State. We know that last year the Corresponding Secretary of your State society declared openly and repeatedly to different delegates that, by the help of Heaven, no third party woman should ever again come as a delegate from Iowa, and the present Convention, with a solid delegation of Republican women from that State, proves this to have been no empty threat. "That mercy I to others

show that mercy show to me," has not been the voice of Iowa W. C. T. U. to the National society, but while complaining bitterly of us, this auxiliary alone among the States has exhausted parliamentary possibilities in its determination to depress, suppress, and oppress its minority.

We have lamented with you, and more deeply than you have been aware, the hardships you have suffered.

But the National W. C. T. U. makes two constitutional requirements of its members—and two only—signing the pledge of total abstinence, and paying annual dues.

It has always been with us a cardinal doctrine that each State should be left free in all things except these. When, after we had repeatedly declared in our national platform that we would lend our influence to the Prohibition party, Iowa proceeded to so alter its constitution as to be non-partisan in name while so strongly Republican in fact, we made no objection to her decision.

As your Memorial intimates, so we believe that it is a confession of weakness not to be willing to hear both sides, and that by the exclusion of the National W. C. T. U. literature, Iowa has narrowed its vision to its own small field and will become provincial if it maintains this attitude.

We believe that Iowa coerced the convictions of her Prohibition party women when she made it unconstitutional to pass a resolution of sympathy with those brave men who in the midst of untold contradiction have raised their standard for NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

But as we have always maintained the freedom of each State in all particulars, save pledges and dues, and as your State has elected as its President a Republican party leader, we have not judged it just to "go behind the returns." We have no desire to dictate W. C. T. U. laws or policy in any State or Territory. Under this tolerant method of procedure our auxiliaries have fallen into line, until throughout the nation; except in Iowa, and somewhat more than one half of Pennsylvania, the White Ribboners of this nation are practically solid for the Prohibition party, every Northern State save these have formally declared for it in the State Convention, and all the Southern States having done this in fact, if not in form. But ours is a society having forty distinct departments of work, and as we do not make our party preferences a shibboleth, thousands of earnest women join heartily with us, whose study of this question has not been profound enough to prove to them as ours has proved to us that party politics must be used as the mightiest weapon of our warfare against the liquor traffic. They are fast perceiving this, however, and we do not wish to make any political test of loyalty to the National W. C. T. U. except the test of PERSONAL CONVICTION.

Therefore, beloved sisters, while we are unable to express to you the sorrow with which we note the temporary situation in your State, we do not believe it to be for the best interests of the great cause, dearer to you and us alike than any personal consideration can ever be, that we should interfere with the legislation of your State Union.

Be of good cheer; the tide is rising; it will soon reach all nooks and corners; it will float the noble young ship Iowa, out of the dry-dock of Republicanism, upon the broad sea of National Prohibition. We will help you in all legitimate ways to hasten this deliverance. It is only a question of time, and that time will be brief. We applaud your heroism and patience. "Hold the fort for we are coming," and may God defend the right. [Signed]

FRANCES E. WILLARD,
MARY T. LATHROP,
CLARA HOFFMAN.

Notwithstanding the adverse memorials from Iowa women, came before the Executive Committee in so irregular a manner they were

received with the same—even greater—attention than was the one from the Iowa State Convention, which was the solemn action of a representative body and presented in due form and through proper channels to the National Convention to which it was addressed. The memorial from Illinois was of the same dignity in its source and manner of adoption by the Convention from whence it emanated, but was never formally presented to the National Convention, and was not therefore ever regularly before that body.

Attention is called to the following statements among many irreconcilable ones in this gratuitous and unparliamentary assault upon the W. C. T. U. of Iowa.

1. It is stated that the Iowa Union is non-partisan in *name*, but Republican in fact.

Does the National Union charge the Iowa Union with duplicity and deceit? If not, then what idea are the words intended to convey?

2. If "it is a confession of weakness not to be willing to hear both sides," why do the General Officers advise the Unions—*outside of Iowa*—not to discuss the question.

If as Miss Willard supposes "there is hardly a local Union in the United States where the question of the Unions' political status has come up at all," why is it declared that "Iowa has narrowed its vision to its own small field and will become provincial if it maintains this attitude?"

3. If "profound study" is needed to prove to all W. C. T. U. women that "party politics must be used as the mightiest weapon of warfare against the liquor traffic," why do the General Officers advise against such a study? It is of course easier to lead a company of women who do not study profoundly, but does not the solemn work we have in hand demand that we use the very best weapons?

4. It is asserted "we do not *believe it best to interfere* with the legislation of your (Iowa) State Union." What interference *could* the National give with the Iowa State Union? What jurisdiction has it beyond the requirement of dues and pledge keeping? The implied assumption of rights to do something which great tolerance desists from doing, is something quite remarkable!

5. Finally, the National Union declares through its committee that it will help the women in Iowa who feel that a Prohibition party is needed, to "float the noble young ship Iowa out of the dry-dock of Republicanism upon the broad sea of National Prohibition. Is it possible this organization of Christian women purpose to help certain women in Iowa to take the State away from a party which declares Republicanism means "a school house on every hill-top and no saloons in the valley," and later still "Iowa will make no compromise with the saloon," and which within the scope of party opportunity and to the

limit of party power has waged an heroic warfare for the home against the saloon. Will Christian women destroy this party ?

This strange fulmination closes.—“Hold the fort for we are coming,” and may God defend the right !

To this prayer we reverently say amen; remembering also that it is written “not every one that saith unto me ‘Lord, Lord,’ shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in Heaven.

THE IRREGULAR MEMORIALS FROM IOWA WOMEN.

MRS. F. J. OVINGTON, REC. SEC., IOWA W. C. T. U.

At the National Convention in New York the Iowa delegation was confronted with Memorials addressed to the National Executive Committee signed by the Presidents of the 1st, 4th, and 8th District Unions, who are, ex-officio Vice-Presidents of the State Union for those Districts.

These Memorials were alike in phraseology and contained the following charges, vis.—that “owing to the so-called non-partisan views of our leaders, the circulation of “The Reason Why” is forbidden in Iowa, as is prohibition party literature” nor is there any probability of the true light ever shining into their minds” (that is the W. C. T. U. women of Iowa) “through our state organ”—and further—“that the last Annual Meeting of Iowa had adopted a By-Law that would debar the election of any prohibition party woman as National delegate, etc.”

The Memorialists declare their “sincere belief in the need of a prohibition party in this nation”—“implore special help” from the National Union “in the way of organizers and speakers” and petition the National to devise some plan for our relief irrespective of the actions of our state convention.”

Attention is called to these facts because these Memorials were sent by District Presidents who had voluntarily accepted and were then holding office as Vice-Presidents of the Iowa State Union, whose Constitution expressly declared its work “shall be non-partisan.” These same District Presidents had offered no formal protest in the state convention against any of these so-called oppressions of the majority, (cited in the Memorials) they ignored entirely the proper channel through which as individuals their complaints might have been regularly presented to the Executive Committee, of the National Union, viz., through the Iowa state delegation, to the National Convention, but sent them direct to the N. W. C. T. U. Executive Committee without the sanction, and contrary to the sentiment, of the Districts they thus officially represented.

Furthermore—The National Executive Committee not only received the Memorials thus irregularly sent, but replied to the same *without hearing* what might have been offered by the Iowa Delegation in refutation of the charges contained therein.

The Convention further refused the Iowa delegation all opportunity for the discussion of either the Memorials or the answer of the

National Executive Committee. The President of the Iowa Union,—Mrs. Foster—read the following statement and desired that it be recorded. “The discussion was so summarily cut off that I ask as a question of privilege to file this statement in behalf of the Iowa Union. I solemnly deny the statement of the National Executive Committee that the Iowa Union has pursued an unjust and intolerable course toward the minority. I renew the request, made in the Executive Committee, that the Iowa delegation be furnished all the evidence on which the Committee acted in coming to its conclusions” (see National Minutes, page 63).

Deprived of their rights in the Convention the Iowa delegation at once replied through the public press declaring that “The Iowa Union has never suppressed the tract “The Reason Why” it has never forbidden the circulation of prohibition literature, and it has not adopted a By-Law which would debar any delegate nominated at any district convention, from an election at any State Convention.”

This reply is true, and is sustained by the following facts—

I.

Suppression of “The Reason Why” and other “third party” literature.

The W. C. T. U. of Iowa has always been a non-sectarian, non-partisan organization. In the year 1885 Miss Willard the National President issued a leaflet THE REASON WHY which purported to contain the reason why the National Society had departed from its original position and pledged its influence to the Prohibition Party.

Miss Willard sent a copy of this leaflet to Iowa with the suggestion that its circulation would do good. The Executive Committee of the Iowa Union acting on this suggestion, voted to send this leaflet and did send it to all local unions.

This action is a matter of record and is well remembered by Iowa women. The oft repeated statement that this leaflet was suppressed at the fountain head is thus refuted by unimpeachable evidence.

Subsequent to this official circulation of this little pamphlet the Business Manager of the W. T. P. A.—in the Spring of 1886—communicated with the Corresponding Secretary of the Iowa Union and requested official sanction of his plan to ask for the appointment of a woman in each local union, who should become the agent of the W. T. P. A. and should pledge herself to labor for the introduction of its publications in her locality.

To this the Executive Committee replied that it would give its sanction to such appointment if the business manager would agree to omit from the literature thus sent, such partisan literature as the

Corresponding Secretary believed would be contrary to the spirit and the scope of the Iowa work.

The Executive Committee were willing and desirous that good literature on the many non-partisan lines of temperance work should be circulated in Iowa ; but they, as representing and acting for a non-partisan society refused to give its sanction to a plan which sought to make the local unions of Iowa a channel for the circulation of "third party" literature.

The Business Manager of the W. T. P. A. did not consent to our limitation of his plan, and as far as we know, such an agent was not appointed. The State Society has, however, regularly sent out the bulletins of the W. T. P. A. and the catalogues of the publications of the National Temperance Society, and has thus facilitated the selection of such literature as the Unions have chosen. This policy of the State Union has been recommended to the local unions and to county and district conventions.

The people of Iowa read ; the women of Iowa are well informed on this question. The "leaders" have encouraged the fullest discussion in their auxiliaries ; they have urged the election of delegates to conventions, who could conscientiously represent the sentiment of the women at home.

To have done otherwise would have been dishonorable surrender of the trust committed to them.

II.

To the second charge it is only necessary to reply that the files of our state organ, the Iowa W. C. T. U. Messenger, will show that both sides of this pitiful partisan controversy have been presented through its columns, and that the advocates of the partisan policy of the National Union have been accorded all fair journalistic rights and courtesies.

III.

The implied charge that, in the adoption of the By Law relating to the election of National delegates, some new and oppressive method was inaugurated to prevent the minority from being represented in the National Convention, would be unworthy of notice had not so much been made of it, both in and out of the state, by the supporters of the partisan policy of W. C. T. U. work.

The record of the action taken as found on page xlviii of the Iowa Minutes for 1888, refutes the charge completely. The record is "Mrs. Aldrich offered the following for adoption as a by-law to the constitution, stating that it simply formulated in words the practice of the State Union since the substitution of state representation in

the National Convention upon the basis of paying membership, for the original plan of district representation.

“Districts having over 500 members may, at their district conventions, nominate persons and present their names at the State convention as nominees for delegate and alternate to the National W. C. T. U. convention ; these nominations always being subject to the vote of the state convention, without debarring the district delegation or any delegate in the convention from presenting other nominations. Adopted.”

This statement ought to be sufficient explanation, but it has not been, and the impression that the non-partisan women in Iowa have grievously oppressed the partisan women in this particular has been industriously circulated. The facts are that under the original plan of representation, viz., one delegate for each congressional district of the State—the district Unions at their annual meetings frequently, but not always, elected their own delegates and alternates to the National Convention, these elections being reported and accepted at the State convention when National delegates were being elected. After the pro-rata basis of representation in the National, proposed at Indianapolis in 1879, and adopted by the National Convention at Washington in 1881, giving to each state, beside its ex-officio representation, one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for each 500 paying members, the delegates have always been elected at the State instead of the District conventions,—nominations by districts that had 500 paying members, being subject to the vote of the state convention the same as other nominations.

The non-partisan majority have had the same opportunities for a free ballot and a fair count—lack of votes being the only hindrance to the election of any nominee. There has been a growing conviction in the minds of the Iowa women, that it was their solemn duty to elect as delegates to the National Convention those only who would represent the principles of the Iowa Union, set forth in the Constitution, and general policy of society rather than their own personal sympathy with the partisan action of the National Union.

This conviction has been deepened by the fact, that many times when a partisan woman has been sent from Iowa, as a National delegate, (since the introduction of the party question in 1884,) she has failed upon this question to represent the women who elected her.

In the election of delegates to the last National convention, the non-partisan women, for the first time, refused to permit their personal regard for partisan women, to determine their ballot; they declared in their selection of delegates their conviction that *women who will not represent those electing them, and be true to the constitution and By-Laws of their own State Union, are not the proper ones to represent*

that State Union in the National Convention; this lesson they have been slow to learn even with the pertinent experiences of the last four years.

To adduce this fact as evidence of injustice toward the minority is simply to manifest, ignorantly or purposely, a misunderstanding of the natural tendency of party work in the W. C. T. U. as well as out of it. The following resolution adopted at the last annual meeting of the Fourth District Union in July 1889,—ayes 45, nays 13,—voiced the sentiment of that convention, which in addition to this resolution, so amended Art. 1st of the District Constitution as to expressly declare their District Union to be “non-partisan and non-sectarian.”

“Resolved,—That while we deplore the necessity, we feel compelled, by our sense of justice, our regard for the temperance cause, and our self respect as W. C. T. U. women, to make the following statement—The Union of the 4th Congressional District being necessarily compromised by the official act of their President declare, that they did not authorize, are not responsible for, do not approve the Memorial sent by the President of this District over her official signature to the Executive Committee of the National W. C. T. U. at its last annual meeting held in New York City. We further state that we believe the action of the last state convention as to delegate and alternate from the 4th District to the last National Convention was perfectly fair and just and in accordance with established usage.

The First District Convention adopted a resolution disapproving so much of their President's address as related to the “partisan political policy”—and the 8th District also adopted a non-partisan resolution.

Neither of the three District Presidents were re-elected to office at the late District conventions.

Thus have these District Unions refuted the charges made in these district Memorials, and proven that they were in accord with the Memorial to the National Convention, adopted by the last Annual Meeting of the Iowa State Union—notwithstanding the help and encouragement given by the National Union to the partisan minority.

Must the party work of the N. W. C. T. U. out of which these distracting dissensions naturally arise be longer continued?

Shall the wondrous opportunities and possibilities of Woman's Christian Temperance work be further crippled by party controversies? Shall not the prayer of the Iowa Memorial be heard and the party action of the National Union be rescinded?

POLITICAL ROBBERY.

MRS. FLORENCE MILLER, EDITOR IOWA W. C. T. U. MESSENGER.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every individual citizen the blessings of religious and political liberty. No individual surrenders either his political or religious liberty to the keeping of the organization, when he becomes a member of an association of individuals for the promotion of business or philanthropic aims, even though these aims may involve political action.

The moral influence of woman is the political power which stands to her in place of the ballot. This moral influence of every W. C. T. U. woman is pledged to the Prohibition party by the National Union.

The declaration is made by the National Union that "the white ribbon army is practically solid for the Prohibition party.

That party claims the support of "every one of the 200,000 white ribboners," yet there are in the ranks of the Union, women of all parties, Republicans, Democrats, Labor Party women, and Party Prohibitionists.

The aggregate sympathy and influence of these is given by action of the National Union to the Prohibition party. This aggregate influence could not exist without individual factors; the individual is included in the aggregate. The organization uses the individual factors for its purposes in giving political influence to a political party.

In a republic the individual is the only unit of political power: thus the majority in the organization are guilty of political robbery if even only one individual stood protesting against her influence being given through the organization to a political party. It is a case in which majority rule is political tyranny.

It strikes at the foundation principle of political liberty, is an outrage upon the inherent right of the individual to dispose of his political power according to his own will. The organization, by the arbitrary will of a convention majority assumes to dispose of the political power of its members and proceeds to give political allegiance to a political party.

Individual political liberty is a fundamental human right; thus the question of principle involved is larger and broader than the W. C. T. U. It is a question of human rights.

It is this fact which burns into the consciousness of thinking women the sense of wrong wrought, until all their soul rises in loud protest against it.

It is this fundamental wrong in principle which fills with the courage of conviction the hearts of the women who stand against it, and presses home upon them the duty to "cry aloud and spare not."

The right to protest has been denied, and the voice of those who stand for the political liberty of the individual, and against the tyranny which takes from her the right to bestow her political allegiance as she chooses, is stifled in every way possible, by a majority.

After using the power of a majority to so deprive the individual of political liberty, the next step is to deprive her of the right to "antagonize" the policy which enthalls. One tyranny begets another.

The sense of justice of the country is aroused against the practices of certain sections where the voice of a class of voters is stifled, because forsooth, the "ruling class" desire to keep the government a "white man's government;" but no greater wrong against individual political liberty is committed in robbing the black man of his vote than the N. W. C. T. U. perpetrates in taking by force through organization action the political influence of its members who are not Prohibition party women, and giving their allegiance to that party.

The sin against government is not so heinous, for woman has not the ballot, but the outrage against the individual is criminal.

There is always regret that there should be differences among forces united for the promotion of reform. Divisions among the good, rejoice the forces of evil. Every friend of the liquor traffic rejoices that there are differences in the W. C. T. U., and hundreds of women have been willing to suffer wrong in silence, rather than there should be public expression of division in the ranks. Hundreds of others have quietly dropped out of the work rather than seem to give comfort to the enemy by standing against a wrong among ourselves. Timid ones have hesitated to trust their intuitions, in opposition to the purpose of those in authority to whom they were accustomed to look for guidance. But all other considerations must yield to the conviction that duty demands that we stand against what is fundamentally and absolutely wrong. We can never be a conquering force against the liquor traffic so long as we outrage and wrong each other. We can never unite ballots for prohibition while we rob our own of personal political freedom. We never can be an effective instrument to eradicate a social and political wrong while we perpetrate a deeper wrong against political rights. Against this wrong it is a duty to protest, and duty to work for its undoing. No one who sees or feels the wrong should suffer it in silence. The voice of protest should make itself heard all over the land.

IOWA NOT ALONE.

FROM "THE WHITE RIBBON," DECEMBER, 1888.

The *Union Signal* of November 22, has made me realize that an honest confession of ignorance would be "very becoming" in one member of the Resolutions Committee, at Louisville National Convention. I am compelled to acknowledge, with shamefacedness and mortification, that in 1882 I did not know *anything* about politics or parties! I had been so busy about other things that my education on the political line had been sadly neglected. True, I was the daughter of one Republican and the wife of another (and by the way, I have the honor to be so still), but then I only knew that there was such a thing as a Republican party and there was such a thing as the Democratic party, and I had heard some kind of a rumor that there was going to be a new one started; but I hadn't any idea of the "true inwardness" of the resolution which the *Signal* quotes, and which doubtless came before our committee with all due form and ceremony.

Now I should feel that I was too great an "ignoramus" to have been on any important committee of the National (although that year I had the honor to be one of its superintendents and to do a good deal of hard work) were it not for the consoling speech of our dear "Mother Thompson" at New York, when she said "As far as politics is concerned I am just a perfect ignoramus, I don't know one thing about it. I am too old to trouble my head on that subject," &c. In the company of the *first crusader* I am able once again to lift up my head and look the world in the face.

But by the date of the St. Louis meeting in 1884, where the editor of the *Union Signal* gives me a second honorable mention, I had crossed the sea and got a few foreign ideas into my head, and had "views" on political subjects and was able to vote *intelligently* with the "minority," *against* the political resolution then and there adopted.

When Mrs. Watson and Mrs. Weeks are credited with speech making, as is the natural inference from the words used—"discussed for two whole days, Mrs. Foster leading the opposition, *assisted by* Mrs. Watson and Mrs. Weeks, of Pennsylvania," I must plead "not guilty" and point to the official records to sustain me. My "maiden speech" at a National Convention, was made in New York in 1888, so I was not even an embryo talker in 1884.

Another misstatement is, that the political resolution was "discussed two days" in St. Louis. The records (National Minutes, page 32) show that it was made the order of business for 10 A. M., on Saturday morning, and then after two hymns being sung, one "lined out" &c., with reading of minutes, &c., the note was taken before adjournment that *same afternoon*—about 5 P. M., if my memory is correct. Less than five hours may have *seemed* "two days" to the editor of the *Union Signal*, but it is not by the almanac.

In Philadelphia, the *Signal* says a similar resolution was adopted "after nearly as prolonged debate." The minutes say (see pages 31 and 33), that the resolutions were made special order of the day at 4 P. M., and all were read—fourteen of them—and this one was *adopted*, before the close of the afternoon session, in less than two hours time.

Neither was the resolution "discussed nearly two days" at Minneapolis, as the *Signal* affirms. The minutes (page 46), show that it was first read at the evening session of October 25th—after a good deal of other business—and its discussion was not resumed until the afternoon of the 26th, likewise after other business—and it was adopted at that same session with *ten* others, some of which were discussed at length and very warmly, as all can testify who were present.

The *Signal* claims to be giving "the true history of the political action of the W. C. T. U. from *official records*."

Its premises being inaccurate, the conclusion, viz., "three National Conventions had each given nearly half the time of its business sessions to this matter," &c., is necessarily equally untrue.

As one of the "malcontents"—by which courteous, Christian name the editor of the *Signal* chooses to characterize the obstructing minority" who voted against endorsing her conduct of its official columns—I PROTEST against the charge that hearing the reports presented by our forty Grand National Superintendents was "*peculiarly exasperating to the malcontents*." To me that was the one wholly agreeable and delightful feature of the Convention, and I believe it was to all the delegates.

Accuracy of statement is something we have a right to *demand* from our "official organ," and inaccuracies similar to those I have indicated would, in a court of law, invalidate the entire testimony of the editor of the *Signal*.

The offensive by-law was "willingly repealed by the majority," no doubt because it had *made itself odious*.

The *Signal* further claims, as I see so many others of prominence in the W. C. T. U. are doing, that the resolution concerning "disloyalty" was "rejected by as large a majority as the other was

passed." Another claims it was "voted down without debate." My experience has taught me the difference between adopting, rejecting and considering motions or resolutions. The fact is, Mrs. Benjamin *objected* to the *consideration* of that resolution. By vote, the Convention *sustained* her "objection," but that may have been for a variety of reasons—the lateness of the hour, the physical exhaustion of the delegates, or the objectionable character of the resolution. No one has the right to assume from the other actions of that Convention that it was the latter reason. My personal opinion is, if the resolution had been "considered," or discussed and put to vote, it *would have been adopted*. I think it a logical sequence of the one preceding it, which *was* adopted.

So I am not willing to concede any more liberal policy than this to the body which next year is to consider an amendment which reads "*both States and individuals shall be REQUIRED to respect all principles espoused by the National Union.*"

In self-defense, and in defense of the truth,

MRS. JOS. D. WEEKS.

IOWA NOT ALONE.

FROM A COUNTY PRESIDENT.

Mrs. Richard Darlington, President of Chester County, Penn., W. C. T. U. is one of the most accomplished women in our organization. She is a Friend:—her low voice and gentle manners, as well as her unquestioned fealty to total abstinence and prohibition, well represent a denomination of Christians always aggressive.

Mrs. Darlington says in her annual address to the County Union:

“In the spring-time of 1884 an accredited National organizer came into Chester county for the purpose of enlisting our women in the work of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union. We were at that time unacquainted with the W. C. T. U., its objects, or its methods of work. The constitution which we were asked to sign explicitly stated the objects of the society to be the education of the people up to the standard of total abstinence, to train the young, to save the inebriate and to secure the legal prohibition and complete banishment of the liquor traffic. Any woman, so said the constitution, may become a member by signing the constitution, pledging herself to do all in her power for the advancement of the temperance cause, paying certain dues annually into the treasury and signing the total abstinence pledge. The organizations were local, county, state and national. The dues of each woman, if paid over annually in part to County, part to State, part to National, keeping the residue for the Local, made her a component part of those four bodies. The National requires a certain sum per capita from its state pledged membership to secure the State representation in the National.—The State requires certain dues per capita from the county-pledged membership to secure that county’s representation in the State, likewise the county requires certain dues from the local-pledged membership to secure for each local union its representation in the county conventions. The Local is its own law regarding what it requires from a member, but it must conform to certain defined regulations already enumerated to make it auxiliary to the three higher bodies. We signed the pledge, subscribed to the constitution, have paid our dues annually, Chester county paying this year to the State W. C. T. U. of Pennsylvania nearly \$400 and Pennsylvania paying to the National \$1,856. The organizer to whose counsel we listened when we were invited to join in the work of the W. C. T. U. furthermore told us that it did not matter of what religious belief we were, nor of what political views, but that all religious denominations and all political opinions could work together for God and home and native land. While yet there were but five unions, our first convention was held and I was called

most unexpectedly to the chairmanship of this county, and I have given unsparingly and cheerfully for almost five years, whatever of time I had, whatever of talent I have, to my loved organization. True to the constitution, I have endeavored to do my part to educate public sentiment, looking forward to the day now so imminent in Pennsylvania when the votes at the polls shall decide for our Commonwealth the question of Constitutional Prohibition. With your hearty co-operation and efficient labor united to that of your officers, we have no longer five but fifty local unions, no longer 100 but 1,500 members. The unions which I have organized and those to whom I have sent organizers were enrolled as were the original, with the statement that our work was non-partisan and non-sectarian.

In the autumn of 1884, in the National Convention held at St. Louis, the W. C. T. U. declared its allegiance to a political party and for the fifth time has lately re-affirmed the same allegiance in New York. States in these years have fallen into line, and to use the language of an executive reply to an Iowa protest, also given in New York, the assertion goes out to the world that, under a "tolerant procedure, auxiliaries have fallen into line, until throughout the nation, except in Iowa and somewhat more than one-half of Pennsylvania, the white-ribboners of the country are *practically solid for the Prohibition party.*" If then my organization has become practically solid for a political party—with the exceptions that prove the rule—what has become of the principles of non-partisanship with which I covenanted when I joined the W. C. T. U. I *was free* to work as an individual before I fraternized with the sisterhood of the White Ribbon; I joined for organized work and this organized work has declared party allegiance, and my work is now set in channels. through my auxiliaryship at variance with the methods set before me when I joined. Again "he that runs may read" that the National in its executive dealings and convention acts has since its declaration for party manifested an arrogance, an impatient pity, a "let them alone and they'll come home" spirit of pretended forbearance toward the minority, with whom I class myself very contentedly on this question. Not content with a memorial and a resolution appealing for a division line of loyalty and disloyalty, the amendment is now offered to come up next year, which, if passed, requires that all States and individuals must respect all principles espoused by the National Union. Closer and closer does the majority press us with a spirit quite out of harmony with sisterly comradeship. Pennsylvania stands today a house almost divided against itself because of this entering wedge of so-called loyalty to the National being driven a little harder with each recurring year. The State has just held a most disputatious convention. Without and within its sessions were heard the tones of

discontent, the voice of censure, and a resort to unwise methods but increasing these dissensions. In Chester county the storm has not yet burst; at least your chairman knows only of a spirit of forbearance and oneness of resolve; but while you and I together may look only over white sails on a smooth sea, *we know that we are not of one opinion* on this very question of political work which has lately rocked our State organization, and witnessed the discomfiture and humiliation of that goodly minority constituting a part of the National Convention held in New York city. I say humiliation, for who is so serene, or so beyond the shafts of parliamentary defeat as to have her plea for "rights, laid upon the table by a majority," while the cheers of that majority resound through the auditorium to the echo of that vote. We are not of one opinion. Can we arrogate to ourselves any superior grace, wisdom or mastery over our own spirit and have no fears that we shall in our beloved county organization sooner or later repeat the history of our State? Can I afford to carry on the burden of my work in so-called disloyalty to Miss Willard and you, my sister, work on in so-called loyalty and no misapprehensions of my work cross the usefulness of your labors, or misapprehension of your labor cross the usefulness of mine? I do not distrust your fealty to me at this hour, but let us meet the issue now while there is no distrust, while all is fair and open. I cannot be a distrusted auxiliary of the National nor can I remain a stumbling block in the advancement of partisan W. C. T. U. work and workers.

To such intelligent women as constitute our local membership in Chester county I need not say that all the lines of our department efforts lead in the end to legislative enactment as the capstone. Our scientific instruction efforts were to procure law first to give the study of alcoholic effects to children that they in manhood might intelligently mould laws to protect humanity from the curse of rum. Our department of narcotics logically leads to legislation; the same of the social purity department. And to whom shall we to-day petition as non-voters but to the law-makers at Harrisburg for submission and for laws evolved from other departments? To whom shall we go for the repeal of the internal revenue on whisky; for prohibition in the District of Columbia; for national prohibition; for Mormon legislation except to the United States Congress? Shall we go before those bodies as partisans in fealty with any one political party, or as women working unitedly for humanity, the broad basis on which many of us entered the W. C. T. U? What are *you* going to do about it? After a careful, earnest analysis of my own responsibilities to myself and to you, prayerfully and conscientiously, I have decided that I cannot continue as an individual in auxiliaryship to the National, nor can I continue as a county leader of a union auxiliary to the National."

This annual meeting subsequently re-elected its former President, Mrs. Darlington, and submitted the question of non-partisanship and auxiliaryship to the vote of the local unions in the county.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee representing these unions, the following resolutions of non-partisanship and non-auxiliaryship were adopted :

FROM "THE WHITE RIBBON," PENNSYLVANIA—JAN., 1889,

CHESTER COUNTY.

All are anxious to know the result of the Executive Committee meeting of Chester county on the 12th. Sixty-five members were present; sixty-one voting "non-partisan," twenty-five voted to remain auxiliary to the National Union, and thirty-six against so remaining, while four were neutral. The officers continue to serve by a unanimous vote. The recording Secretary of the National was sent by the general officers to the meeting to "make explanations and render assistance." She was not received, however, as the committee doubtless felt that they had already become "thoroughly conversant with the plans and methods of the organization," and were quite competent to decide as to their duty in the whole matter. The following resolutions were adopted :

WHEREAS, The National W. C. T. U. in Convention assembled in New York, reaffirmed its allegiance to the Prohibition Party, and openly avowed our organization practically solid for the Prohibition party ; and,

WHEREAS, We constitute a chain of auxiliary organizations, Local, County, State and National, and the annual dues of a Local member are, in part, paid to the National, it follows logically that any declaration on our part as Local or County Unions of non-partisan work is contradictory and inconsistent with our contributive auxiliaryship to the National W. C. T. U., and the merest mockery of individual privilege ; therefore,

Resolved, That we solemnly declare, in executive session convened, our position in Chester county to be as originally organized, non-partisan.

That as the National is partisan in action and in declaration, we will withhold our dues from the National body, and renewedly pledge ourselves to the work of our departments.

That while we no longer sustain the policy of the National so far as it has pledged our organization to the Prohibition party, we are not opposing the Prohibition party, nor endorsing any other political party.

That we are non-partisan from principle, because we believe entering upon party politics inconsistent with the sacred calling of the W. C. T. U., and from policy, because we are convinced that by allying ourselves with the Prohibition party we necessarily antagonize temperance men in the Republican and Democratic parties, hinder the increase of our membership among a number of earnest temperance women everywhere, hinder the growth of the temperance sentiment and the cause of Constitutional Prohibition.

That as representatives of the W. C. T. U. non-partisan and non-auxiliary, we assume the responsibility of planting kindred organizations over our county, and where no such Unions exist we will invite women to become auxiliary to our County W. C. T. U.

That while we do not desire to draw to our ranks any local Union satisfied with its partisan allegiance, we cordially invite any Union to our fellowship that would find its principles better represented by our platform.

In view of the fact that the majority of the Chester county Unions have voted to change the relations heretofore existing between them and the N. W. C. T. U. by withholding their dues from the same.

That we request our County President, Recording Secretary and Corresponding Secretary to withdraw their resignations, and that they continue to act with us and for us in our Chester county W. C. T. U.

That we send our dues this spring as usual to our County Treasurer to be forwarded to the State Treasurer, with directions to the State to withhold the National dues of such Unions as have so resolved from that organization.

The position Chester county has taken is of great importance, involving many points of interest that can only be settled by the State in Convention. The minority refuses to withdraw from the Union, but asked to be allowed to still pay their dues to the National.

IOWA NOT ALONE—THE WHITE RIBBON, PENNSYLVANIA

W. C. T. U.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE W. C. T. U'S OF PENNSYLVANIA.

My dear friends: — Yours of — — is received, and I thank you for the kind sisterly tone of your communications. Although we may differ in opinion, we can at least, respect each other's convictions, and have confidence in each other's convictions, and have confidence in each other's honesty of purpose, and desire to think and act right. You evidently feel that it is disloyal and wrong to criticise the acts of the National W. C. T. U. But to my mind, one of the objects of organization is to secure all the thought and wisdom of many minds rather than of one individual, and if we refuse the members of our organization the privilege of expressing their views, we become very narrow. Our ministers and church officers go to their various ecclesiastical courts, and are not considered disloyal when they criticise, even with severity, the action of said bodies. They claim that privilege, as, indeed, the humblest member does. The Roman Catholic is the only one that refuses this, and, for the Pope alone, is claimed infallibility. At the Convention in New York the whole spirit, as well as action of the majority, showed plainly that the minority was considered disloyal. This feeling has grown increasingly manifest during the last few years, and the minority now demands the right to be heard. I disclaim the inference that it is disloyal to express disapprobation of the measures or methods of an organization in which all have equal rights. Rather it is the duty of members to "cry aloud and spare not," when they see that mistakes vital to the life and usefulness of the organization are being made. I am fully persuaded that endorsing a political party has been wrong, not only in policy, but principle, and the bitterness and restlessness brought into our Union by such action assures me that my first impulse to refrain from it was the true one. Then if this *is* my feeling, why should I not express it and urge our women to turn back from what I earnestly believe to be the wrong way? While, as individuals, every one of our members might sympathize with a party which advocates the principles we have espoused, yet as a *corporate* body we cannot endorse that party without losing our opportunity to influence those interested in other parties. I do believe that if the W. C. T. U. had kept to its own legitimate lines of work, it would have been much stronger and more influential to-day. But, as it is, we are antagonizing those whom we wish to influence, both in the church and out of it, many of our ministers even, saying that the W. C. T. U. has no more claim upon their sympathy than *any other political party*. We thus lose the opportunity to *win* people to our way of *thinking*, and consequently to our way of *voting* (if we had that privilege).

But you say, perhaps, that "we have nothing to do with policy" I think we have. In my dictionary "to be politic" is defined "to be prudent. We must take things as we find them. It is useless for us to say, "But how can any one who pretends to be for prohibition have anything to do with parties whose platform, as expounded by their adherents, may be quoted to prove much more than passive connivance with the corrupt traffic permitted to grow to such enormous proportions." As temperance women of most radical sort, we are a unit as to our abhorrence of the liquor traffic. Our aim is its utter extermination.

All are willing to admit that the *principles* of the Third Party are right—but some honestly question the expediency of its methods. We must acknowledge that there are good, earnest and honest advocates of prohibition in all parties, and many of these are members of our Unions. We must, in charity, respect their convictions, and when the majority, no matter how large it may be, votes to endorse any party, the majority is treated unjustly, because they cannot so endorse, and their views are to them as much a matter of principle as are those of the majority.

Again, it is very doubtful whether either or any *party* would be able for many years to accomplish much in the way of prohibitory legislation. Dr. T. L. Cuyler in a recent article in the *New York Evangelist* expresses fear that the temperance reform may be “swamped in the trough of the political sea,” and further says: “What then? Shall all efforts to suppress, or even to curtail, the traffic in intoxicants be abandoned? Assuredly not. But since the saloon has so many supporters in the ranks of both parties, the great question of suppressing or reducing the dram shops should be pressed on its own merits, *outside of all partisanship*. While the two great parties are divided on such national questions as the tariff or kindered issues, the temperance reform should stand or fall, sink or swim, survive or perish *on its own merits*, irrespective of all partisanship. It never should be, it never can be, lashed fast to the political fortunes of either party, to rise or fall with the rise or fall of either of them. Nor should it ever be a mere foot ball, to be kicked back and forth between the parties.

“After forty years of gratuitous and earnest labor in this blessed cause, I am solemnly convinced that if it is left to the tender mercies of partisan politicians, it will be *assassinated!*”

The women of Pennsylvania are working earnestly for a Prohibitory Amendment to our Constitution. We do not wish to alienate any friend of this measure. In other words, we want to be “non-partisan” and go up to our Legislature, pleading with every man to submit the question to the people on its own merits and at such time as will ensure its acceptance by the people. Do we not realize how we prejudice our cause if we go to them as partisans? Earnestly asking for the Holy Spirit that our W. C. T. U. may make no mistakes, and that all our efforts may be for God’s glory and the best interests of the work hitherto so blessed and prospered, I am

Faithfully yours,

Jan. '89.

FRANCES L. SWIFT, President.

(Reprinted From the *Union Signal* of January 10, 1889.)

IOWA NOT ALONE—THE CONDITION THAT CONFRONTS THE W. C. T. U.

[The clauses in brackets have been added since the first publication H. G. E.]

BY HELEN GILBERT ECOB

DEAR UNION SIGNAL:—"I promise protection to the minority." These were Miss Willard's words when she accepted the presidency of the W. C. T. U. at its 15th Convention. In accordance with this promise Miss Willard invites me to "make clear" the position of the non-partisan members of this organization. This is as it should be. Around the hearthstone of the *Union Signal*, we who love the W. C. T. U. should dispassionately "reason together." It is not with the wish "introduce the apple of discord" that this letter is written, but to show the only way in which this objectionable fruit can be removed. Neither is it an indication of ill will. Approval is the pleasure of love, but dissent and rebuke are often its highest and noblest duty.

As an organization we have solved the problem of Christian unity, and now we are brought face to face with another problem, that of organic unity. The basis of this unity is *the principle of prohibition*. It is needless to say that on this basis we are a unit.

That this principle is an adequate ground of unity is proved by the history of the W. C. T. U. It had organized its system, perfected its plans and grown to its present proportions before (its alliance with) the Third party existed. It is also proved by the declaration that each member can be free as to her political affiliations. If *one* can be free, all can be free; which is nothing less than the freedom of the entire body. There was never a thought of majorities and minorities until [the endorsement of Woman Suffrage, and afterward the prohibition] party alliance was made an integral part of National W. C. T. U. policy.

A *consciousness* of majorities and minorities in such an organization as this indicates that something is wrong; [that some action has been taken not in harmony with the original plan of organic unity.] That which was a mistake in the year 1882 has become a wrong in 1888. To indorse a mistake is to make it a wrong. It is a matter of indifference as to who framed the resolution of the Louisville Convention, or how long and how eloquently the resolution on party committal has been debated. The mistake is upon us. The "virus" will continue to spread until the *cause* is removed. Had the Memorial of

1884 been accepted by the Republican party instead of the Third party, the violation of *principle* would have been the same. The case is not altered because we have been slow to recognize the mistake. The policy of the National Society has not been generally understood, though the disastrous results of party alliance have been predicted by many seers. We have been "slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken."

The minority believe that party alliance hinders prohibition. The work of moral suasion and education which must be done before prohibition is secured can be accomplished more rapidly apart from party political action. Nothing so awakens prejudice and opposition as the subject of party politics. Our masculine friends say that it is woman's ignorance of practical politics which makes her willing to jeopardize her work in this bitter imbroglio.

"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." When, in the process of evolution, the ballot has come into the hands of woman, and we have had some years of experience in practical politics, we may be better qualified to judge whether it is wise to risk our sacred work in this dangerous field. This is the policy of our great ecclesiastical bodies, which, while taking the most strenuous attitude for prohibition have been careful to avoid alliance with any party.

The Republican party may be composed of hypocrites, who make large promises to the friends of temperance, while they secretly connive for the rum vote. Democrats may openly espouse the saloon. The Third party may be composed of saints and rejoice in an irreproachable platform. Every member of the W. C. T. U. may favor the Third party. None of these things move us. As a *corporate body* we should ally ourselves to none of them. As *individuals* we may have our party preferences, but we can work much more efficiently if, even as individuals, we are willing to hold our party affiliations in abeyance, just as the Christian works more effectively when he forgets that he is a denominationalist.

This is Scriptural teaching. Paul said, "To the Jews, I became a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them which are under the law. To the weak became I as weak that I might gain the weak. I am become all things to all men, that I may save some." So to the Republican the Prohibitionist becomes a Republican, to the Democrat he becomes a Democrat, to the Third party, he becomes Third party, that by any means he may save Prohibition. When the Holy Spirit descended on the Church at Jerusalem, the disciples began to speak with other tongues, the multitude was confounded because that every man heard them speak in the tongue wherein he was born. If the disciples had refused to speak in any language except the orthodox

Hebrew, they would not have been understood, and the pentecostal blessing would not have come. The Prohibitionist should address every man in the political language wherein he was born.

The non-partisan exalts nothing but Prohibition. He condemns license, low or high. Yet we believe that to many honest souls, license means restriction. Prohibition is the "unknown God" whom the multitude ignorantly worship in high license. That unknown God we declare unto them. "The times of ignorance God winked at." The disciple is not above his Master.

When the children of Israel desired a king the Lord said unto Samuel, "Hearken unto the voice of the people, howbeit protest solemnly unto them and show them the manner of king which shall reign over them." Oh the patience of the Lord, who waits until we learn, by bitter experience, the great truths we refuse to learn except by failure. Always teaching, always protesting, the Prohibitionist must wait with God-like patience, until with slow step, the multitude have learned the great truth that the liquor traffic cannot be legalized without sin.

Alliance with the Third party is defended on the ground that it is the latest evolution of the temperance reform. This assumes that all evolution is good. There is evolution upward, and evolution downward. We may expect an egg to evolve a chick, but sometimes it evolves the other way. No great moral movement has ever been brought about through a political organization. Votes, they are bought and sold and exchanged in the market. We want *conscience* which cannot be traded. Take care of the thoughts, and actions will take care of themselves. Take care of the conscience, and the vote will take care of itself. What would have been the result if Luther had begun the reformation by saying, "I must have a *political party* to enforce my new doctrine." Our Puritan fathers were a "concentrated power," but they were not a political party. The Parnellites are not on the road to Home Rule for Ireland by the operation of a new political organization, they are simply operating on the conscience of all parties. They have acted on the public conscience until they have compelled recognition of their cause and have been *adopted by a party*. The serfs of Russia and Brazil were not freed by organization neither were the slaves of our own country. The abolitionists were a great and masterful conscience. Their true ministry in the nation antedates their political organization.

Prohibition is not a failure through lack of a *party* committed to its enforcement. It is a failure through lack of conviction. If the public conscience were now ready for prohibition it would find expression in the *vote* of the people.

Prohibition is not "incarnate" in the Third party, and will not be until the principles of that party are embodied in *law*. The training of the public conscience to the issue of prohibition will necessarily be a slow process. Meantime the saloon has all it wants. The Third party refuses to accept any restrictive measures which are not conducted according to its own system. The disciples said, "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth us not." Jesus said, "Forbid him not. He that is not against us is for us."

The balance of power which might now be used as a scourge upon both dominant parties is entirely wasted.

The partisan action of the W. C. T. U. being based on a false principle, is disastrous in result. We want to organize in new fields, and our partisanship blocks the way. Grand women whose help we sorely need, are kept from joining our ranks. Other faithful workers must withdraw. We want to hold our meetings in a church, the authorities refuse because we are a political party. They say "If the Third party holds its meetings in the church, then the Republicans and Democrats must hold their caucuses there, too. Ministers refuse to read our notices. We solicit funds to carry on our various works, and are refused because of our party proclivities. Every one who has done work in the Legislature knows how futile is partisan action there. Personally I have known several of our ablest legislators, grand temperance men, who have taken their political life in their hands to forward our work. In return they have been "knifed" at the polls by the Prohibitionists. Does it not recall the old fable of the serpent warmed to life in the bosom of the rustic?

Practically it is impossible to be a member of the W. C. T. U. and "as individuals be free as to our political affiliations." The mantle of the parent society rests on every one of us. Our dues go into a partisan treasury; much of the work given us by our state and National officers is of a partisan character. [The reports of State and National treasurers show expenditures largely for the salary of officers and for expenses connected with conventions.

When these officers work in the interest of a party, and the convention is pledged and gives support to a party, the funds of the Union are expended for partisan purposes. Individuals cannot remain free from partisan work while members of it are supporting the partisan National Union. State Unions although declaratively non-partisan cannot be really free from the evils of partisan work so long as they remain auxiliary to the partisan National Union.] We cannot serve two masters.

"The majority which elected our National President, Benjamin Harrison, compels no one to be a Republican, or to work in Republican

channels. I have heard of no county which has refused to pay taxes, or to belong to the United States." Let the majority which elected our National President attempt anything like oppression, and instantly the minority will resent the oppression. If the dominant party should undertake to compel every Democrat to help pay their campaign bills and to vote for Republican measures, the Democrats would cry out against it. In our Legislatures all parties have freedom of debate.

The minority in the nation is continually doing the very thing that is likely to come to pass in the minority of the W. C. T. U. The minority in the nation is resisting and blocking every individual action of the majority.

[Majorities have only the right to do right.]

Is the action of the National Convention in allying us to a political party then oppressive? It is either oppression or meaningless.

[If the action is not representative, the Union cannot in truth be called "partisan." Would Miss Willard have declared the National Union "almost solidly partisan" had she not understood the party action as representative? If that action is representative it is binding.] If the action of the National is binding, upon whom is it binding and to what does it bind? Plainly it is binding on every State, county and individual auxiliary to it. Plainly it binds us to the Third party.

To hold that the right of States is inviolate—[that State Unions can of right be non-partisan when the National of which State Unions are a part is partisan]—is an absurdity. The National W. C. T. U. sustains the same relation to its auxiliaries that Congress sustains to the States of our Union. Upon the internal regulations of a state, Congress does not attempt to legislate, but where it does legislate, its power is absolute. If Congress declares war, every State is compelled to war, and every citizen is subject to draft, whether he will or no. If Congress had not this power, there would be no reason for its existence. The action of the National W. C. T. U. is binding on every auxiliary. If it is binding only on itself there is no reason for its existence; its position is illogical and absurd. If the N. W. C. T. U. refuses to listen to the demand of the minority for freedom there is only one course left. It is a painful but heroic course. The May-flowers of the W. C. T. U. must sail from the mother-home which gave it birth.

After the Convention there was an announcement that the attitude of the National W. C. T. U. was simply advisory. To make it authoritative, the Convention *itself* must *first withdraw* from the

Third party, and then *advise* alliance with it. We are not satisfied with an unconstitutional, unofficial explanation. With Paul we say "Do they seek to thrust us out privily? but let them come themselves, and fetch us out."

In the *Union Signal* of January 31, 1889, "A White Ribboner," corrected "Mrs. Ecob's Mistake," in terming the above declaration as "not authoritative," "an unconstitutional unofficial explanation," reminding us that "It has always been understood since the Indianapolis Convention in 1879," that "no principle avowed nor plan devised by the National W. C. T. U. was obligatory on any State or local Union" *except* total abstinence and the payment of annual dues. On page 282 of the Nashville Minutes stands this by By-Law (art. viii., sec. 2): No State Union shall be bound by any principle espoused or plan devised by the National W. C. T. U., except that all States auxiliary must subscribe to the total abstinence pledge and to the Constitution of the National Union"—

The Correction of White Ribboner deserves attention.

The announcement that the partisan attitude of the National was simply advisory, did rest, it seems, upon the authoritative declaration of a By-Law—but it does not rest upon a basis of *fact*.

Representative action is binding upon those represented and commits them to the position taken.

The adoption of an illogical absurd theory of representative action in 1879, was a mistake. Its incorporation in a By-Law was another mistake.

The adoption of the partisan resolution in 1884 was a still graver mistake. The use of an absurd theory in upholding that partisan action is more than a mistake, it is a blundering inconsistency. Confusion and confliction has resulted from the inevitable contradiction between words and facts.

The officers of the National Union recognize that partisan action as representative and authoritative. *It is not meaningless.* If it authorizes the partisan work of the officers, editor of the official organ, *Union Signal*, and the accredited speakers of the National Union. It is the authority for the publication of partisan literature "issued by the W. G. P. A. bearing the imprint of the National W. C. T. U. or the *Union Signal*." The general public rightfully considers that partisan attitude as representative of the Union "in its entirety."

Individuals and auxiliaries feel the binding effect of that declared attitude even while protesting against it, the general understanding of the women, and the By-Law to the contrary notwithstanding."

The "mistakes" of the National can only be corrected by returning to the original basis of unity—by rescinding the partisan action, and adopting a correct theory of representative action.

This can be done by the repeal of the By-Law, and the adoption of the amendment offered by Mrs. Campbell of Penna. The adoption of that amendment would leave individuals free as to party relation and would remove the present "root of bitterness."

Shall it be done ?

H. G. E.

Albany, June 15, 1889.

Proposed amendment to the N. W. C. T. U. Constitution.

The object of this organization shall be to interest and unite the women of this nation in non-sectarian and non-partisan Temperance work, for the reformation of the intemperate, the education of public sentiment in favor of total abstinence and prohibition of the traffic in all alcoholic beverages, for the promotion of social purity, the suppression of vice and crime, and the education of the masses in regard to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship.

IOWA NOT ALONE.

WHAT IS THE MISSION OF THE W. C. T. U.—MRS. L. H. WILSON, ILLINOIS.

In its infancy the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was confessedly non-sectarian and non-partisan. It set no one church nor one political party above another, but labored with unselfish devotion for the greatest good of all, seeking to antagonize none; but in 1884 it took a new departure, and in a resolution passed at the National convention held at St. Louis, it avowed its determination to lend the aid and influence of the N. W. C. T. U. to the Prohibition or Third party, leaving State organizations and individuals free to hold their own political views. It has reaffirmed its allegiance to that party every year since. As the National is made up of State organizations, and they of district organizations, and they of county organizations, and they of local organizations, and they of individuals, it is difficult to see how the National can be loyal to anything when the elements of which it is composed are wandering off in other directions, each at its own sweet will; and, as might have been foreseen, various confictions have arisen. Mrs. Rounds, our own State President, is nothing if not logical, and she was quick to discern the weakness of this position. She is a strong Third Party woman and under her leadership the W. C. T. U. of Illinois, in convention assembled at Macomb last fall, went a step farther and passed the following resolution :

"Resolved that it is the sense of the Illinois W. C. T. U. that no member has the right from the public platform to antagonize the policy indicated by the St. Louis resolution, or denounce the party to which our influence is given, and further, than any member thus antagonizing our policy becomes thereby disloyal to our organization and is no longer entitled to wear our badge."

Now my first objection to this attitude on the part of the W. C. T. U. is a personal one, which is of small importance except as I am the representative of many others. One of the strongest desires of a majority of the members of the W. C. T. U. is that with the ballot in her hand each woman may record her vote against the evils and abuses that afflict the State, according to her own convictions of right and duty. Every indication points to the fact that the day is not distant when this revolution will take place; consequently there is nothing wrong nor unbecoming in a woman's entertaining and avowing strong political convictions. I have my political preferences and they seem to me convincing, and well grounded, but I don't wish to force them on any man or woman, nor on any body of men or women, nor do I wish even a semblance of forcing such opinions, to be exercised on me.

When for the second time I became a member of the organization I did so under protest, because I was not at all in sympathy with the Third Party on many points and neither wished nor expected it to become a dominant party. For one thing I think it is a superfluity; for whatever a majority of the people demands, the legislators, as their servants, are bound to grant, and when public opinion demands prohibition, the dominant party, whether it be Democratic, Republican or Prohibition, will grant it. I will bring proofs to substantiate this assumption further on.

I could give my reasons for not favoring this party at great length if it were necessary, but they would not be likely to prove of interest or importance to any one except myself. My apology for taking up so much time in stating my personal objection is, that I know while doing this I am stating the feeling of many others on this question. Entertaining these convictions I took the opportunity when Miss Helen Walker was at my house last summer to absolve myself from seeming to appear under false pretenses, and she replied that my opinions were a matter of no importance whatever to any one but myself, that I could interpret the resolution if I chose as applying to the party of my choice, and express my loyalty to it in any manner I saw fit, but according to the resolution of the Illinois convention there is limit to such expressions. While they may be whispered in the ear in closets, they must not be proclaimed upon the housetops.

“When a woman will she will, you may depend on’t,
When she won’t she won’t and there’s an end on’t.”

Man may be bound by such resolutions, but woman, never! If this resolution of the W. C. T. U. means anything it abridges the right of a large minority to believe as they please, and avow their conviction when and where they see fit, responsible only to God and their own consciences; if it means nothing it is a stumbling block and rock of offense. This resolution is not only devious and misleading to the rank and file, but it puts us in a false position before the world, and leads to misunderstandings among ourselves. There are no greater lights among the ranks of the W. C. T. U. than Mary T. Lathrop, of Michigan, and Louise S. Rounds, of Illinois. Mrs. Rounds in her annual address delivered last fall at Macomb uses this language: “Again and again we are assailed with the declaration that the W. C. T. U. is a political party. I deny the charge.”

Mrs. Lathrop, after a most stirring address at the N. W. C. T. U., begins the final paragraph of her speech with the assertion, “Lastly we are a political organization.” According to the diametrically opposite character of the views held by two women so prominent in the counsels of the organization as these, the uncertainty of Horatio, whether “to be or not to be,” is nothing to the uncertainty

as to whether we are or are not bound to the Third Party. Again, it engenders dissensions and bitterness between the majority and the minority. No person can be blind to this fact who reads dispassionately the minutes of the W. C. T. U. as reported in the *Union Signal*. If it were fully defined just how far the resolution binds the individual member everybody would know just what to do. If, as Mrs. Rounds says, we are not a political party, every member has the right to go into politics on her own individual responsibility where and how she chooses, and no other member has the right to criticise her political action any more than the minister has the right to criticise the political action of an elder or a deacon, but if as Mrs. Lathrop says, "we are a political organization," then the women in our ranks with Democratic and Republican preferences are bound with a chain grievous to be borne. Such a state of things cannot exist without heart burning and strife even among Christian women, and the proof is before us in these records that hard things were said and done on all sides; they were not confined to one person nor one faction. As members of the W. C. T. U. we represent organized Christian effort, which in all other departments of work for the uplifting of humanity, is quite distinct from organized political effort. No doubt good women can do much and have done much to purify politics, but each one should stand for herself alone and not for any Christian organization. That is formed for another purpose and supplies another want. Good men, Christian ministers, and pious elders are all identified with some political party with great advantage to the party, but no one wishes to identify the church with any party. Everyone recognizes the fact that it would be unbecoming and unseemly. It labors for the good of all and one important element of its usefulness, viz: its impartiality, would thereby be withdrawn. I am not in favor of lending the influence of the W. C. T. U. to any political party, for politics in its restricted sense is at best a muddy pool. Whether it is necessarily so is not the question. It is enough for our present purpose that it is unquestionably so. I have heard women declare that they could do a large washing, and afterwards black the stove and scrub, in white apron and spotless linen collar and cuffs without soiling them with spot or stain. I am not prepared to say they can't do it, but I can truthfully say that I never saw it done. The Third Party Prohibitionists claim to be great sufferers from the accumulation of political mud thrown by their opponents, but it does not require very close investigation to see that their own hands are by no means clean. For one thing they are profuse in the use of epithets. Such terms as liar, hypocrite, Pharisee and thief flow as glibly from their pens as from that of any Republican or Democrat that lives. If they do not make damaging statements about their opponents that they know to be false,

they do make such statements without knowing them to be true. Witness the unprovoked attack of the *Voice* on Dr. Theodore Cuyler, of New York; the particulars of which it is not necessary to give at this time. The *Lance*, which is the Illinois organ of the Third Party, in an editorial on the corruptions of the Republican party, after enumerating the various enormities committed by it, says :

“And these and other assaults upon the purity of the ballot, were supplemented by a system of wilful lying, intimidations and cruel persecution without parallel in the political history of the nation, and all done under the hypocritical cry of a ‘free ballot and a fair count.’ It is the Pharisees who are doing this, men of prominence and respectability, who raise these large sums of money, knowing the use to which they will be put; men who deal openly in corruption one day and go to church the next.”

The *Lever* introduces this editorial by saying :

“The written evidence of its scoundrelism having been destroyed, it is next to impossible to secure positive proof.”

Now I appeal to any fair minded person in this audience if this is not throwing political mud with a vengeance: making the most damaging statements, couched in the strongest possible language and then admitting that you cannot prove your charges. “But,” says one, “are not other partisan newspapers guilty of those acts?” If they are, their culpability is of no moment to us as members of the W. C. T. U., for the influence of our organization is not pledged to them. Do we want its white garments soiled by this association. Nay, verily.

Another practical objection to this position is its utter hopelessness. As sure as there is a God in Isreal a healthful storm of awakened and purified public sentiment will break over our land, sweeping into oblivion the noxious vapors of intemperance ; but there is not a cloud as big as a man’s hand to indicate that it will ever come through the Third Party. It is true it polled 100,000 more votes in ’88 than it did in ’84, but the increase was only relative. A writer in the *Century* is authority for the statement that the popular vote of ’88 was increased 1,000,000 ballots over that of ’84. According to these figures only ten per cent. of the increase went to the Third party and 90 per cent. to the others. According to an official statement of the popular vote at the late election, and published by Secretary Bayard, six Southern States and one Northern State cast less than 700 votes apiece for Fisk and Brooks. One Southern State, South Carolina, did not record a single vote for those candidates. Twenty-four States cast less than 10,000 votes apiece, and only six States cast 20,000 and upwards. If the number of these votes is the measure of temperance sentiment in our land, the outlook is gloomy indeed, especially in the Southern States, but thanks to God it is not so.

In the four years during which the W. C. T. U. has lent its influence to the Third Party, it has never accomplished anything in the way of temperance legislation through that party. Effective work in that direction has been accomplished, but it has been strictly on non-partisan lines. On the contrary, its adherence to the party has in many instances been detrimental to the best interests of the organization. In proof of this assertion I will quote from the minutes of the N. W. C. T. U., as found in the *Union Signal*; Mrs. Hoffman, I think from Missouri, spoke as follows :

“The argument brought against the action of this great organization in endorsing the policy and position of the prohibition party is, that it would antagonize the other parties, so that legislators would not give us the legislation we desire. Is it true? The first temperance law ever passed by the Congress of the United States, was passed in the year 1885, and was the scientific temperance instruction law, signed by Grover Cleveland, and our own Mary Hunt has the pen he signed it with.”

To this Mrs. Tilton, of Washington, D. C. made reply on the following day :

“I speak from the standpoint of the sensitive, throbbing heart of this nation, the one place at least where up to this time only non-partisan women have utilized temperance sentiment and crystalized it into more. The only temperance law ever passed in Congress was the scientific temperance instruction law, which I had the honor of assisting Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, our National Superintendent, to secure. I was surprised to hear last night the statement that this law could be claimed as a trophy of the Third Party W. C. T. U. My sisters, the Third Party has not yet been strong enough to secure any law in Congress. The men to whom we appealed belonged to the two dominant parties. We appealed to them from a non-partisan, Christian standpoint. We could work in no other way. Mrs. Angie F. Newman, superintendent of work among Mormon women, has been obliged to work on the non-partisan line. Her eloquent words have won the aid of strong men of all parties and her success stands a monument to non-partisan Christian work. Since the more pronounced Third Party stand has been taken by the National, she has met decided opposition on the ground that the organization she represents is hostile to the men she desires should assist her.”

A volume could not tell more than this short paragraph. Meanwhile the fair Goddess of Temperance is not waiting for the Third Party to come to the rescue but is marching steadily on to victory. I said a while back that when the people demand temperance legislation the dominant party must grant it. I also assume that while there is much to condemn there is something to commend in all parties. Let us look into the past record of the two old parties and see if there are not some grounds for our affiliating with either or both of them.

Do we approve of the respective platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties in their entirety. No, not wholly of either. The Democratic party has allied itself to the whisky power by declaring against all sumptuary legislation. Do we approve of this? No, but the Democratic party, like the young man, who, when told to go

to work in his father's vineyard, said "I will not," and afterward repented and went. Perhaps the old gentleman made him go. It has done good work for temperance in the South where it is the dominant party, passing stringent local option laws which insure practical prohibition in large sections of the country. Do we approve of this? Yes, heartily! The first State to pass a prohibition amendment was Maine and it was done by a Democratic legislature. Do we approve of this? Yes. A Democratic House of Representatives passed the scientific temperance instruction law, and it was approved by a Democratic president. Do we approve of this? Yes. The Democratic party has given to the country many eminent statesmen, jurists and scholars, who have been noted for the brilliancy of their attainments and the purity of their lives. Do we approve of them? Yes, and are proud of their fame. Shall we then ally ourselves with the Democratic party? No, a thousand times no!

The Republican party was not very emphatic in announcing its temperance policy. Do we approve of this half-hearted measure? No. The party is accused of slandering Fisk and Brooks, especially Brooks. Do we approve of this? If they falsified the facts, No! "The leaders are said to be hypocrites and Pharisees, doing the devil's work six days in the week, going to church on the seventh." (I quote from the *Lever*.) Do we approve of this? No. It has passed a prohibitory amendment in five States, in two of which it is to-day in stringent and successful operation, and almost every session of each legislature—which is always Republican in these States—passes acts for its better enforcement. Do we approve of this? Yes. It has given municipal suffrage to women in Kansas, and school suffrage to women in Massachusetts. Do we approve of this? Yes. It numbers in its ranks practical and consistent temperance men by the thousands, especially in the Northern States, and the number is constantly growing. Do we approve of this? Yes. Should it be proposed that the W. C. T. U. swear fealty to the Republican party would we approve of it? Again no, a thousand times, no!

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: The W. C. T. U. will not and cannot remain stationary of this question. It must either recede or go forward. At the last convention of the N. W. C. T. U. Mrs. Campbell, of Pennsylvania—which has declared its attitude to be non-partisan—gave notice that she, or some one in her place, will offer at the next convention an amendment to article 1st, which defines the object of the organization making the article to read as follows:

"Its object shall be to interest and unite the Christian women of this nation in non-sectarian and non-partisan temperance work, for the reformation of the intemperate, the education of public sentiment in favor of total abstinence, and

the prohibition of the liquor traffic, for the promotion of social purity, the suppression of vice and crime, and the education of the masses in regard to the duties and responsibility of good citizenship."

Here is the mission of the W. C. T. U. in a nutshell. After the convention had re-affirmed its allegiance to the Third party, Mrs. Rounds, of Illinois, made the following announcement, with reference to one of the by-laws of the constitution :

"I now give notice that at the next meeting of the convention I or some one in my place will amend the by-law in question so as to read thus : 'All States auxiliary to the N. W. C. T. U. must subscribe to the constitution of the National Union, and both States and individuals shall be required to respect all principles espoused by the National Union.' Madam President, I do this that we may hold a logical position."

Now the National Union of 1889 will doubtless do one of these things. To avoid the painful criminations and recriminations that prevailed at the last convention, it must make a decided stand one way or the other. If Mrs. Campbell's amendment carries, our organization will be free from this Third Party incubus. If Mrs. Rounds' by-law carries countless individual members, as well as the two great States of Iowa and Pennsylvania as they now stand, must either go unrepresented, or their delegates must sit silent spectators while the National Union arrogates to itself the authority to espouse measures utterly obnoxious and distasteful to them. How shall it be with this local convention? If we approve Mrs. Rounds' course, we owe it to her to say so and stand by her. If we do not we owe it to ourselves and to what we consider the best interests of our organization to protest against it. Meanwhile—

"The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small.

Though with patience He stands waiting, with exactness grinds
He all."

IOWA NOT ALONE

"WHITE RIBBON," CONN.

The statement made in the circular sent out by the National W. C. T. U. "That all the States, save Iowa and a part of Pennsylvania, had declared for the Third Party in their State Conventions," is not correct. The following resolution was adopted by the Connecticut Union in the convention held last year: Resolved, "That we are unreservedly and unutterably committed to the principle of Prohibition, State and national, and as this can only be accomplished by a combination of moral and political forces brought to bear at that point where the will of the people becomes the law of the land, we will lend our influence to those whose votes are cast first, last and always for Prohibition." Many delegates opposed this resolution, but were assured that it did not mean any political party, but might mean Republican, or Democratic Prohibitionists, as well as Third Party, but the fact that the word "party" was not mentioned had a quieting effect upon those who, for their interest in the temperance cause, desired peace and harmony in the ranks. Nevertheless a substitute was offered for this resolution, and carried, that the action taken by the convention relating to the political resolution should not be binding on local unions or individuals.

At the annual convention recently held in New London, Mrs. C. B. Buell, National Corresponding Secretary (who holds an honorary position in Connecticut), was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and the word "party" was inserted in the political resolution, which was adopted, with nine others, as a whole. And afterward, when a resolution was offered by a member of the Committee on Resolutions from Windham county, to the effect that we would not pledge our influence to any political party, but do our temperance work on a non-partisan plane, one of the delegates voted for it who had cast her vote for the first one, and said that she could not see that there was any material difference between the two resolutions. And when we realize that few women are familiar with parliamentary usages, and have been accustomed to attending religious meetings, is it surprising that they can be easily confused by those trained and experienced not only in parliamentary usage, but in political trickery. The statement was made in that convention that there was not a partisan union in the State, and it was not refuted. Miss Willard was present at the convention last year and one delegate arose and asked the question,

whether a delegate should vote her own opinions or represent her union, and Miss Willard told her to vote her own opinions. This lady was President of a union that had declared itself by vote non-partisan in its plan of work, yet its President voted against them for the Third Party.

This year the same question was asked, and the State officers replied, in substance, the same as Miss Willard, and added: "As the unions knew the political standing of their delegates, they doubtless knew they would express them by their votes." They utterly ignored the fact that over one hundred of them were delegates by virtue of their offices as local Presidents.

Let all the members of local unions discuss this subject freely, and when the County, or State or National Conventions are held, the delegates will know what they are voting for, and our unions will be represented. Let every union instruct the delegates they send to conventions, then the vexed question will not arise, "Shall I vote my own opinions?" One local President remarked, "Oh! we never say anything about politics in our union," and afterwards added, "We could not reorganize until we assured the ladies that W. C. T. U. did not stand for politics." That same President voted for the Third Party in State Convention.

WHITE RIBBON.

IOWA NOT ALONE.

IN HIS NAME.

MRS. O. E. BLAIR, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Julia Ward Howe went home one night haunted by the words that form the beginning of the "Battle Hymn" of the war: "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord." These lines penned by a woman's hand found their way into print, and like an inspiration they sung their way into the hearts of thousands of men separated from home and loved ones by that cruel, cruel war. Little did the author dream of the enthusiasm that tender poem would awaken. She builded better than she knew, as did the W. C. T. U. of Iowa when they placed themselves on record as protesting against the political attitude assumed by the leaders of the National W. C. T. U. All honor to these brave women who have the courage to stand by the right. Vastly different is their heroic stand for principle from that taken by the Illinois W. C. T. U., which in its last State convention passed the following resolution:

"It is the sense of the Illinois W. C. T. U., that *no member has the right from the public platform to antagonize the policy of the National W. C. T. U. or denounce the party to which our influence is pledged.*"

In pledging this influence were all the "privates" in this vast white ribbon army *thrown in* to make good measure? Is this resolution confined to the State of Illinois that holds and shelters the honored dust of Abraham Lincoln? Or does it apply to all the sisterhood of other States? If it does, by the inherent right of patriotic blood I boldly face the resolution and deem it no disloyalty to the National W. C. T. U. to adversely criticise its plans or policies. When our organization becomes an autoeracy then it will be time enough to bridle free speech. Until then as an independent person I claim the right to differ with the National union and its policy, and to so express myself wherever and whenever I deem it best. With might and main I do protest against the action of the National W. C. T. U. in dragging our organization into politics. Furthermore we are told in the *Union Signal* of October 11, that Mrs. Rounds was instructed to present a memorial to the National W. C. T. U. asking them to define what is loyalty and what is disloyalty to our organization. Loyalty to our organization is standing by its God-given principles. To thine own self be true and thou canst

not be disloyal to anyone. If our leaders will go into politics and it is their intention to trail our white banners of purity in the mire political, if these white ribbons that have meant so much, speaking of unity, sympathy and harmony, these emblems of peace that have guided the world, are to link our broad, grand, liberal organization to the narrow line of a political party—then by all right, human and divine, let them strike out the ennobling word *Christian*; let them not steal the livery of a saint to serve the devil. The long suffering Christian spirit of the women of our country finally culminated in the Crusade. As though moved by one impulse they arose in a body and declared this accursed traffic in strong drink shall be no more. The crusade prepared the way for the W. C. T. U. It was conceived in prayer. The wrongs and the sufferings, the prayers and the tears of long years were poured out at its birth, and at its christening it was stamped with the divinity of God. I have no fear of its success ultimately. There are women in all parts of this land of ours who will marshal themselves in due order to its defence, and above any party and any power that would stay them in their course. They will wave their white banner aloft, and in the words of Constantine on beholding the cross in the blue sky, they will cry: "By this sign we conquer." We arose in our helpless womanhood and by the might and power of God we proclaimed to all the world the Lord is on our side, and by His aid we will win the fight." And so we will, my friends. If it need be, if there be no other way to bring out leaders to their allegiance (and to their knees), then the Christian spirit of the W. C. T. U. will arise and cry aloud to those who are endeavoring to lead them after false gods, "Get thee behind me, Satan." We love the Lord and Him only will we serve. We are bound to no party; our field is in the world. By many roads, by many strange ways and from many different by-paths we have come, but in our coming we bring with us a love for "God and Home and Native Land" that rises far above all party consideration. Not of the Democratic party, not of the Republican party, nor yet of the Prohibition party is this host of white ribboners composed, but they march in His name.

IOWA NOT ALONE.
 IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH.

MRS. M. K. BLAKE, OAKLAND, CAL.

AN APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE W. C. T. U.

It is to be hoped that at the next National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union the Association will come together and be united heart and hand, and let no political issue separate the well-organized society. It can no longer be a union when there is such a wide difference in the views and sentiments of the members in regard to making the organization political. History and observation show that there is corruption in all political parties. Colonel Woodford said while here that in time the Third Party might become corrupt. It is not wise for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to trust itself in politics, for human nature is weak, and "to err is human." We do not desire to have our Union connect itself with any party to become in time corrupt and useless. I think it is best for us to be firm in our original ideas, and keep out of politics; and I believe this would be the opinion of a large majority of our Unions if they would sit down and carefully and sensibly consider the matter, and let judgment decide instead of imagination, and look at things in a more practical light. Were it for nothing more than to preserve our glorious Union, we should adhere to its first noble position. It is heartrending to many who have been early in the work and borne the burden and heat of the day, and have put in their time and money for our blessed Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for the past fifteen years, to see the rupture that has been made in it.

I feel so earnestly in the matter that I could have traveled all over the State to plead with the Union to beware of taking any course to lose any of its power, influence or respect. I could see what a power the Woman's Christian Temperance Union could become in the world, and what untold good it could do to humanity, should it continue to move on harmoniously, and not do anything to retard its progress or break the Union. As the convention did not want me to express my views there it has necessitated me to express them in this manner, which is intended only for good. I will again say, let us adhere to our first noble position. It remains now for the partisans to decide whether we go on united as formerly or become a broken band. In order to obtain national prohibition the constitution of the United States must be changed, and that cannot be done unless three-fourths of the States are in favor of it. Reform must commence first in the States, and this must be done by Local Option or Constitutional Prohibition.

IOWA NOT ALONE.

LETTER FROM MRS. ANGIE F. NEWMAN, OF NEBRASKA.

Mrs. Angie F. Newman of Nebraska, is a lady of much culture and wide experience in Christian work. She has been for years influential in Woman's Missionary Work in the M. E. Church.

For the last five years she has given almost her entire time to a study of the Mormon question. She has travelled up and down the Territory, has sat in the homes of Mormon women and heard the tales of sorrow from their own lips, has spent months at Washington and been largely instrumental in securing advanced legislation from Congress and effective exercise of federal authority against the foul system of polygamy which has disgraced the social and demoralized the political condition of Utah and been a shame to the Republic.

Her recent great enterprise is the securing of an appropriation from Congress for a home for Mormon women who have been released from the agonies of polygamous marriage and thus become social outcasts and homeless wanderers.

Her indefatigable labors, her power of expression with the pen and her eloquence on the platform have made her mighty to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan. She was from the first connected with the W. C. T. U. of Nebraska, but was called by Miss Willard into the National work, and made Superintendent of the Department of Work among Mormon women. She has lately resigned her Superintendency.

The following letter is from her pen.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

Mrs. M. J. Aldrich,

Dear Sister :

* * * I have always voted the Third Party until the last Convention. I then voted against the Third Party resolution—not because of the Third Party—or any other party. But because I saw in the political attitude of the National Union an increasing cause for dissension, an increasing divergence from the primal purpose of our organization—1st. Christian,—2d. Temperance work.

I felt and still feel unity as most essential in the great organization. I believe in the "Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." I believe we ought as an entire country to present a solid front to the enemy. That we ought not to be in battle array within our ranks, and it seemed to me, looking at the question from the stand point of the sentiment of the last Convention, that it had been a mistaken policy to declare in favor of any party, and the surest way

to secure harmony, would be to suspend the policy, and leave every woman, every Union, every State to its own conviction as to politics. We are not, cannot be a political organization, as we are not voters. Hence I expressed my conviction by ballot as against the perpetuity of a political affiliation with any party.

I did not vote against "Miss Willard," nor against "St. John nor the "Third Party as a whole." I have always believed in Miss Willard. I do still. I think she has erred in some things—not she alone, but the National Union as an entirety as evinced by the sequence of things,—and my thought only was to turn my individual influence against the causes which led to such sequences.

I believed that liberty of action to every individual, every Union, every State, was essential to harmony and harmony essential to strength, and solidity of more value to us than a political pledge.

I am—I always have been for many years, a firm friend of J. Ellen Foster. That friendship has never wavered. But just as I believe, Mrs. Foster and the Iowa women have a right to think and act on political matters as their judgment determines, so I accord that same liberty to every one else.

I have never entered this political controversy. My work in the W. C. T. U. has always been on the original and uncontroverted lines of action for the National and State—viz—"Christian, Temperance." I have entered into no attack upon party or individual. I never have spoken, especially on the political question but on topics above mentioned. I have neither health nor disposition to do so now. I am in my own State, Vice-President of the non-partisan League to work for the Amendment. We have Republicans, Democrats and Third Party, all pledged to silence our party issues, but voice the Amendment solidly.

I believe if as States and as a National Union we push our Department work—in the gradual evolution of things, the political question will settle itself and we settle our relation to it—by individual action.

I would give credit to Senator Blair and all other noble men who have endorsed him, for what he has done in Republican ranks—to Senator Colquitt and his adherents in the Democratic ranks—in a word, I would work for a common purpose—namely, Prohibition, with all men and all women. If we can't agree as to method, let us each use our own tools, but hew for the same foundation and superstructure.

My vote in the last National Convention is not to be interpreted as a faction vote—nor yet a party vote—but simply as I have said, a vote for the discontinuance of a political policy—the effect of that

policy upon the organization—I believed had been to provoke discord—to open chasms—I would cease the strife and as individuals, in all the future, act as conscience should dictate under the coming rays of light. I would preserve the Union:

In this discussion, at least you will credit me with honorable action. You can make such use of this letter as you choose.

Yours in sincerest friendship,

ANGIE F. NEWMAN.

IOWA NOT ALONE.

MAINE.

Mrs. Florence Porter, for years a leading temperance woman and wife of a Congregational pastor, writes: "Many of the unions in Maine claim to be non-partisan; except at election times little discussion is had on the controverted questions."

Aroostook County has made open and vigorous protest, and published the following formal declaration: "Believing that the time has come in the history of our State and N. W. C. T. U. when a decided stand should be taken against its partisanship, we, the undersigned, with the deepest regret for the severing of the ties that have bound us together, withdraw for the purpose of forming a non-partisan union."

The "Y's" of the county have been more fortunate in avoiding the dissension and strife which have perplexed the older organizations.

The State Secretary sent out an official inquiry as to their "attitude on the political question." This set the "Y's" to defining their attitude and they soon decided not to become auxiliary to the State. Other organizations have been formed which are non-partisan and non-auxiliary.

This county—Aroostook—has been perplexed by a State organizer who aroused disaffection by challenging the right of the non-partisans to use the name W. C. T. U. and to carry on its regular lines of work.

The controversy should not be a reflection upon the Christian spirit of the participants for disputations are not necessarily involved in the discussion of the issue between the minority and the majority. Because of the expression of opinions contrary to those of others, reforms have come in the past and are apt to come in the future. The cause of the controversy is widely known. It is not a simple difference of opinion relating especially to the organization itself. The W. C. T. U. has made its political work a national question, and through it seeks to do a national work. Therefore a discussion of the wisdom or expediency of its policy by its own members and those interested in moral reforms, is perfectly proper and justifiable.

Minorities and majorities always exist in large corporative bodies and the rule of the majority is the just one on which our Republican form of government rests, but the claims of the minority should ever be respected. The W. C. T. U. is inconsistent in its relations toward the minority. If its premises are correct it should boldly avow that

party politics is the fundamental law of its organization and expect from its followers a faithful adherence to its political teachings. Members could not then be placed in the anomalous position they now occupy, because in joining they would accede to, if not believe in its conditions of membership.

To say that the sole work of the W. C. T. U. is political, is unjust, for many wise reforms and needed charities are carried on by its manifold departments; but before the election the General Officers and some of the late presidents, together with members of the different unions, were actively engaged as speakers in the campaign, carrying the influence of the organization with them and giving to it a political character not hitherto assumed.

There are many who say in their hearts, "I wish the W. C. T. U. had never touched politics" and yet vote for these resolutions or allow them to pass without opposition. Others have allowed the theoretical rather than the practical side of the question to influence them. The speakers and leaders at all the large conventions are advocates of party prohibition and an argument is hardly ever heard from non-partisan side for lack of somebody to present it. Under such conditions there is no need for the manifesto that "the minority is steadily decreasing." It cannot be otherwise under such a regime.

The minority does not question the honesty of the opinions of the majority, but it does feel that a spirit of intolerance prevails toward the opinions of the minority at variance with the "Gospel of Sweet Reasonableness."

IOWA NOT ALONE.

MASSACHUSETTS.

It is reported from the headquarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Massachusetts "that in point of fact there are but six partisan unions in the State." This number would hardly justify the statement that "we are practically solid for the Third party." Some unions in the State make vigorous protest against the committal of the Union by the State officers and by delegates in National Convention. Many also have passed non-partisan resolutions. The union at South Framingham adopted the following :

Resolved, That upon such questions as party affiliation, woman's suffrage, Mormonism, socialism, and other more or less remotely related questions we do not declare ourselves, our unity in distinctive temperance work for which we were organized being of more consequence than any possible success in attempting to cover ground that is likely to result in the confusion and disintegration of our noble organization.

Resolved, That the insinuation in a recently published circular from our Woman's Christian Temperance headquarters that the women who are not partisans or suffragists are ignorant of great questions at issue is altogether unworthy of its authors and unjust to others.

BROOKLINE W. C. T. U.

The following protest has been unanimously adopted at a meeting specially called to consider the relations of the local Union to the Prohibition party and to the subject of Woman Suffrage

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Brookline hereby protests against the action of the State Union at its last annual convention, whereby we—as an auxiliary—stand pledged to "loyalty to the Prohibition party in the State and nation," and also are pledged "to ask for full municipal suffrage for women."

We believe that the best and most permanent results of any efforts that we may make for the cause of temperance can be accomplished by adhering strictly to a non-partisan and non-sectarian basis, and while allowing full liberty of individual opinion, we do not believe that as a Union we should be pledged to promote Woman Suffrage.

We therefore send respectful word to our State organization that, although still an auxiliary to it, we shall not assist in furthering these ends, either by personal effort or by contributions of money.

MRS. JEROME W. TYLER, President,
MRS. DAVID HALL RICE, Secretary.

NATICK W. C. T. U.

While we do not think it wise at present to sever our connection with the State Union, we most earnestly and decidedly protest against the action of that organization, at its annual convention, in committing itself and so its auxiliaries "to loyalty to the Prohibition party in the State and nation."

Neither do we believe that as a *Union* we should be pledged to promote Woman Suffrage. We believe we can accomplish most for the temperance cause by adhering strictly to the non-partisan and non-sectarian basis required by our constitution on which we have worked in the past, and thus allowing full liberty of individual opinion.

MARY A. PELOUBET,
EMMA W. HOYT,
M. ESTELLA SWEETLAND.

IRREGULAR AND ILLEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

MRS. FLORENCE MILLER, IOWA.

The records of the National Executive Committee held in New York city on the evening of October 20th 1888, present this fact ;— The Secretary presented Memorials from the First, Fourth and Eighth Districts of Iowa, and others from individuals also from the same State." Further "facts in the case" prove that an answer to these Memorials was prepared by the Executive Committee, read to the Convention on the evening of the 23d and adopted by that body.

In consideration of these facts the first question which arises is, how came district and individual Memorials before the National Executive Committee? Were they legally before that body? Had they been presented to the Convention through any legalized channel? Were they referred to the Executive Committee by the Convention? Had the Convention any authorized knowledge of their existence? How do Memorials and Petitions come before legislative bodies?

Petitions and Memorials are presented to legislative bodies by members of those bodies. Usually and legitimately through the delegation, or members, most directly related to the petitioner. If by any outrageous or anomalous condition of affairs this channel is closed to a petitioner, the President of the United States may be the bearer of a petition to Congress, the Governor of a State to a Legislature, or a President of any organization; all of these however must submit the petition to the body from which action must emanate. There were no Memorials presented to the New York Convention except that from the Iowa Union. The Minutes of that Convention make no record of the presentation of any other Memorials.

The Minutes of the Executive Committee show that Mrs. Rounds of Illinois presented and read to that body, a Memorial from that State, but no Memorial from Illinois was referred to the Executive Committee by the Convention. The Memorials said to be from the First, Fourth and Eighth Districts, and from individuals in Iowa, were not presented to the Convention by any member of the Iowa delegation, the only regular and recognized channel through which they could come before that body for disposition.

A motion was carried that all Memorials should be referred without reading to the Executive Committee, but the Iowa Memorial was the only one presented to the Convention and referred under that

rule. The legitimate authorized presentation of the Illinois Memorial to the New York Convention was that it be presented by the Illinois delegation, and that fact and its reference to the Executive Committee would have then been matter of Convention record. The Memorials from individuals in Iowa should at least have been presented to the Convention by the Secretary of the Executive Committee, and on motion of a delegate, or by order of the Chair under rule adopted by the Convention, have been given formally and legally into the hands of the Committee.

All action of the Executive Committee and the Convention upon all Memorials save upon that of the Iowa State Union, was irregular and illegal.

The Convention could not refer to the Executive Committee that which it did not possess, that which was never in its hands. The Memorials from Illinois and from the Iowa women were never in the hands of the Convention. The Executive Committee could not act for the Convention upon matters the Convention had never committed to it, and these Memorials were never put into the hands of the Committee by the Convention. True the motion to refer Memorials to the Executive Committee without reading was adopted, and that before any Memorial had been presented,—but that motion did not put Memorials into the possession of the Convention, it only provided for their disposition when they should come into its possession.

The Executive Committee also transcended its powers when it formulated replies to the Memorials; the Convention did not delegate to it the work or duty, of preparing its answer to Auxiliary States, or individual petitioners. Having no knowledge of the existence of such Memorials it could not authorize replies.

The motion to refer to the Committee all Memorials, did not hint at any action of the Committee in regard to them. It may be claimed the Memorials from Iowa women were addressed to the Executive Committee, and that therefore that body had power to hold and to reply to them. If this were true the reply should not have been submitted to the Convention for approval, thus becoming a Convention reply to a Committee matter. Either the Committee was guilty of usurpation of power in doing a thing that belonged to Convention or the Convention recorded its interference with Committee rights in its vote on the replies.

The Committee arrogated to itself the power to consider the Memorials which found their way into its hands through irregular and illegal channels, and the power to formulate replies to both these and the Iowa Memorial without the shadow of instruction from the Convention to make such reply.

It also assumed the power to hold in its possession the Memorials from Illinois and the Iowa women, and the Convention had no knowledge of their existence or substance, except through outside rumor, until ten o'clock on the evening of adjournment; at which time they were read on demand of the Iowa delegation; after which they were distributed to delegates on printed sheets which also contained the replies of the Committee. This was at so late an hour they could not be read by delegates, even had the light of the hall been sufficient for reading purposes; so that the vote was taken upon the replies to these Memorials when delegates had had no opportunity to read either Memorials or replies and have an intelligent opinion on the questions involved.

Discussion was summarily prevented by the action of the Chair in putting the question to vote with undue haste, while a delegate held the floor demanding recognition. The right of petition is most sacred and important. The character of the Memorials under consideration has nothing to do with the facts and issues involved in this particular discussion.

The irregularity and illegality of proceedings is the thing pointed out and complained of. Assumption of power by the Executive Committee is a dangerous and demoralizing element in the deliberations, conclusions and results of Convention action.

The Committee is the servant of the Convention, not its master or director. It is the business committee of the Convention, but no business is legally before it unless committed to it by the Convention. Matters of business which lie legitimately in its domain for presentation to the Convention are to be laid before the Convention as business to be disposed of by that body, rather than business which has been considered and passed upon by the committee, and their final action only presented for approval or reflection by the Convention.

The arbitrary, unparliamentary and illegal proceedings of the New York Convention in the matter of the Memorials, is not merely a technicality but involves unjust dealing with the constituency these represented and should be fearlessly and courageously considered for the future good of the organization.

It is duty to stand in times like these against organization allegiance that is wrong in principle, and against assumption of power. It is duty to speak. In the fear of God, in kindly word, with christian forbearance let it be done, but let no woman shrink from the responsibility of the times, or fail to let the light of truth shine forth.

THE DISTRESSES OF PARTY ALLIANCE.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

The distresses to which the partisan alliance of the National Society has driven the organization are painfully manifest in the general conduct of its affairs.

Measures have been resorted to, which among men in business might be judged bad faith, and in organizations not distinctively Christian, might be condemned as tainted with craftiness or actual dishonesty. We do not make this charge; we set forth facts and ask Christian women to inquire into the relation of these facts to standards of absolute rectitude.

We ask them to pray for a clarified vision which shall reveal the effect of these doubtful measures upon the future of the work. Can we expect the blessing of Heaven unless the work of our hands will bear the test of probity and Christian courtesy?

Note the following discrepancies and ambiguities. An Annual Leaflet is published by the N. W. C. T. U. The title page of the last issue reads—

THE
NATIONAL WOMAN'S
CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

WHAT IS IT?

WHY IS IT?

WHO ARE ITS LEADERS?

HOW DOES IT WORK?

—
ANNUAL LEAFLET.

1889.

This little leaflet purports to set forth the work of the N. W. C. T. U. and it does so, clearly and in full outline—except that *no reference whatever is made to the political work of the Society.*

A stranger would naturally suppose the Union did no party work, since none is referred to. What else could be supposed if the little summary is accepted in good faith as being what it claims to be, an honest setting forth of the work *to which the public is asked to contribute.*

Miss Willard says "party politics" is the "chief weapon of our warfare." She says it is a "vital issue." Then why do the General

Officers in this official leaflet omit all reference to this among other lines of work ?

Is it honest ? Can it be possible they wish to keep the public in ignorance, lest its faith would be shaken, and its benefactions of service and of money be lessened ?

Might not a conscientious Temperance Republican, who gave money to the Union under the supposition that its General Officers had given a full and fair summary of the Society's work, consider himself duped, when at the next election those same ladies whose work he had helped, officially entered the arena of political action with the avowed purpose of destroying the party which he believed conserves the best interests of temperance and other politico-moral questions ? Might not he call it bad faith ?

Take another case—a minister is approached by a committee of W. C. T. U. women who desire the use of his pulpit, for a public meeting, to be addressed by an accredited representative of the society.

The minister very properly inquires of the ladies of the nature of the proposed meeting, of the Society's work, etc.

The ladies tell of the good already done, and contemplated in the future, and they leave with him the Annual Leaflet as an official statement. The church is given, the meeting is announced as a "temperance meeting" from the pulpit and press, the speaker arrives, the congregation assembles, the minister extends all pulpit courtesies ; the lecture contains much admirable presentation of temperance truth ; but it also contains denunciations of political parties and partisans, and of measures advocated by the minister and members of the congregation whose guests the Society and the speaker are. Is it right thus to abuse the courtesy of a minister and a congregation ? Is it right ever to accept a courtesy secured through guile ?

The Leaflet under review is one of many illustrations of the suppression of the truth in regard to our work ; such suppression is not consistent with perfect honor.

Again—There is a carelessness in the preparation of official statements which in law might be prosecuted under the head of malicious mischief or criminal negligence.

It has been repeatedly stated that Mrs. Foster was a member of the Resolutions Committee at the Louisville Convention. It is not true, as the minutes bear record.

Also, that Mrs. Foster made certain statements at the Convention. These statements were made, but Mrs. Foster did not make them. In some instances these mistakes are trivial, in others they are prejudicial to the truth under controversy.

One startling inaccuracy appears in the official Minutes of the New York Convention. The Rounds Amendment, which should be before the next Convention for action—as given in the records of that Convention, reads—

“Mrs. Rounds—I wish (then) to give notice and I give this notice so that we may be in harmony with the action we have just taken on Resolution No. 7, and I read the By-Laws, Article 8, Section 2, ‘No State Union,’ etc,

I now give notice that I or some one in my place will, at the next Annual Convention, move that the first clause of the By-Law be stricken out, and that the By-Law shall read :

“All States auxiliary to the National W. C. T. U. must subscribe to the Constitution of the National Union, and both States and individuals shall be required to respect all principles espoused by the National Union.”

Madam President, I do this that we may hold a logical position.”

In the official Minutes this same amendment reads :

“I now give notice that at the next annual meeting, I, or some one in my place, will move that the first clause of Sec. 2, Art. VIII of the By-Laws be stricken out, and that the By-Laws shall read : ‘All State auxiliaries must subscribe to the total abstinence pledge and to the Constitution of the National Union.’”

What has become of the part which contains all that about which there is any division of opinion, viz—

“And all States and individuals shall be required to respect all principles espoused by the National Union.”

Did the Recording Secretary knowingly leave out that which would arrest attention and prove the truth of the minorities’ declaration, that the loyalty “whip” will be applied as soon as considered “wise?”

The amendment as given in the report as prepared by the official stenographer appeared in the *Daily Union Signal*. There can be no question as to its correctness.

But the Minutes will be the record received by the next Annual Meeting, (Chicago, Nov. 1889). The Minutes will fail to show the amendment as offered by Mrs. Rounds, and will sustain Miss Willard in ruling that there is no “loyalty test” amendment before the Convention for action.

If such a mutilation of public records were made by an officer of the government it would merit and receive public and judicial condemnation.

We charge no one with wrong intent. We do not understand who is responsible for this serious error.

Mrs. Rounds made a brave attempt to have the National Union give an honest straight-forward declaration of a policy which is the logical result of its party action, and which has been its unwritten but vital law for nearly five years.

Will Mrs. Rounds submit to have her attempt smothered between the pillows of timid expediency and dexterous manipulation of records ?

Again—The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa, at its annual meeting next preceding the National Convention at New York, adopted a solemn Memorial to the National Union, setting forth its reasons for opposing the Alliance of the Union with a political party.

The Memorial was intrusted to the delegation of that Convention to be by the President presented to the Convention to which it was addressed.

After the action on the first day of the Convention by which its reading was forbidden, it was presented in due form by Mrs. Foster. The record in the Minutes is—pages 28 and 29 .

“Mrs. Foster arose and said: Madam President, I rise to a question of privilege. I hold in my hand a Memorial addressed to this body. It is entitled—

MEMORIAL OF

The Fifteenth Annual meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Iowa, in session at Des Moines, October 2-5, '88 to the annual meeting of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to be held in New York City, October 19-23, '88—Greeting:

This Convention yesterday voted that protests and petitions should be referred to the Executive Committee without reading. I am therefore compelled to present this paper which bears the greeting of the loyal W. C. T. U. women of an Auxiliary State Union.

The Iowa Woman's Christian Temperance Union has complied with the letter and the spirit of every constitutional requirement of pledges and Christian effort and membership dues. On behalf of these women and this State Union, I present to the Convention, through the Secretary, this Memorial which you have declared voiceless.

J. ELLEN FOSTER,
President Iowa N. W. C. T. U.

Although the right of petition was thus denied, we knew that its formal presentation would secure for it a place in the official records of the Society, and not until some weeks later, when the official Minutes appeared, did we discover that the State Union of Iowa was subject to the further discourtesy of exclusion from official records.

It does not anywhere appear in the official Minutes of the Convention. Messages involving the mere passing courtesies of the hour find place, but this one is conspicuous by its absence.

Who has authority to determine what part of the proceedings the W. C. T. U. Convention shall find their place in the Minutes? what part be excluded ?

Is there any such authority except the Convention itself? It took no such action—the responsibility rests elsewhere.

Neither is it any excuse to answer that the Memorial from Illinois was also excluded. It is naturally suggested by those acquainted with the contents of the Illinois Memorial, that it would have afforded abundant evidence of the truth of the claims of non-partisans that the "loyalty test" is now in practical operation; that when the "wise" time arrives it will be made part of the written as it is now of the unwritten law.

The Illinois statement of the case is full and clear and in that regard commands respect.

The answers of the sub-committee (Miss Willard, Mrs. Hoffman and Mrs. Lathrop) of the Executive Committee are in matter and style significant—the short brusque denial and arrogant condescension which marks the answer to Iowa, is in marked contrast with the spirit of sympathetic comradeship which beams from the long reply to the one making the loyalty test from Illinois.

On page 38 of the Minutes is given the record of the vote by which Miss Willard was re-elected President; the first motion following was by Mrs. Foster who "moved that the informal be made the formal ballot of the Convention and Miss Willard be declared President for the ensuing year."

The motion was carried, but the usual courtesy of including some leader of the opposition in the committee to introduce the newly elected officer was denied Mrs. Foster, although she had made the motion to make the informal the formal ballot.

Were the ladies ignorant of this common courtesy in such cases, or were they determined to make the controversy conspicuously personal?

It is pitiful that this controversy has been so personal in its character; those who differ with Miss Willard and say so are charged with personal ambition, with a desire to "break her down," to destroy the W. C. T. U., etc, and partisan leaders have defended the action of the Society by reiterating that it was led to take such action by the teachings of Mrs. Foster. Quotations from her reports and addresses have been given in the attempt to show that she once believed in the "third party" and advocated the endorsement of it by the W. C. T. U.

It would be pertinent to inquire if there are no stronger, broader grounds of defense for this party alliance than that some woman once loved and trusted by the leaders in the W. C. T. U. had led them to that position?

Is the policy of the W. C. T. U. on so "vital an issue" to be determined by personal leadership? Is this sufficient reason for the hope that is in us?

Miss Willard states that not one dollar from the treasury of the N. W. C. T. U. has ever gone for party purposes, and that the books of the Treasurer sustain this statement; to which we reply, it was never claimed to our knowledge that money from the National Treasury had been directly appropriated to "third party" work, but we do claim and reaffirm that the National Officers whose salaries are paid from the National Treasury, do serve the "third party," they do spend their time in its service. The officers of the N. W. C. T. U. are competent, accomplished women, and receive proper remuneration for their services; they are assisted by a corps of clerks who are also paid from the National Treasury. They are not paid one dollar too much; their salaries are their own, but their time belongs to the Union. Their service of the Prohibition party is a logical result of the society alliance to the Prohibition party; and women of the local unions have no remedy, they are compelled to support the party by their financial contributions to the W. C. T. U.

It is stated and restated that no State Union or individual member is bound by the policy of the National Society, but the National Convention declared that Iowa coerced the convictions of her Prohibition party women by adding a non-partisan clause to the Constitution of the State Society.

If a mere negative statement which forbids the endorsement by the W. C. T. U. of any political party is coercion, what must be the coercion of the National Society toward Republican, Democratic or Union Labor Party Women whose united influence is pledged and whose money is used in support of the "third party."

Further, Mrs. Rounds, President of the Illinois W. C. T. U., writing from Headquarters W. C. T. U., Chicago, Ill., September 21, 1888, says of the Secretary of the Whiteside County Union in that State, "I am sorry that Mrs. Mallory has chosen to repudiate the party to which the W. C. T. U. promised to lend its influence. If she is making speeches in the interest of either old party, I shall consider that she has forfeited her claim to membership in our Society, and shall be obliged to so punish her"!!! This utterance was made in the State of Illinois, United States of America, in the year of our Lord, 1888. It was not a decree of the Pope of Rome, or of a Mormon Bishop, but of the President of a Woman's Christian organization, and concerning a member of that organization, who as a free American citizen had spoken her convictions on current political questions! Only those who have known by contact and co-operation the growth and work of the Woman's Temperance movement can understand how such a preposterous assertion could be intelligently and conscientiously made! It has been well said, "Much unwise

action is caused by the forceful conviction that something must be done."

The personal sorrow and sympathy with sorrow, the religious fervor, the patriotic desire of American women have agonized for deliverance from the drink curse; thus hundreds have been ready converts to a false theory of political action, and hundreds more only half persuaded of the wisdom of that action have yielded to the sweet coercion of personal devotion, and the insidious and sometimes unconscious influence of numbers in an organization about which holy associations cluster. Party politics having been espoused "for better or for worse" there is a sort of grim heroism in Mrs. Rounds's unflinching loyalty to the logical sequence of that espousal.

In a leaflet published by the Illinois W. C. T. U., entitled "What Answer" Mrs. Rounds addresses "To the White-Ribboners of Illinois, and all others concerned." She refers to the current controversy in the W. C. T. U. on political action, gives Resolutions of the last annual convention of the Illinois W. C. T. U., the Memorial of the same convention to the National Convention, and the reply of the National Convention to it.

She sketches the growth of conviction in the Society which has led to present positions. It is a strong, plain, out-spoken defense of the partisan position of the National Union. There are no equivocations, no ambiguous phrases, no reversible adjustable clauses. Such honest and bold championship commands the respect of those who utterly repudiate the positions taken and the conclusions reached.

Among other things Mrs. Rounds says :

"Has the W. C. T. U., which is not a political organization and which, in the nature of the case cannot be, a political policy? If so, how came it by that policy? And what is our duty concerning it, and what is loyalty and what is disloyalty toward it?"

To all these questions what answer? Every question at all worthy our consideration, ought and must be settled upon its merits. This cannot be done until we put away all prejudice, and, regardless alike of friend or foe, seek to know the truth. To the first question, Has the W. C. T. U. a policy? I answer emphatically, Yes!"

Again—

"But is this policy of our great National organization the policy of the several States composing the National? 'Aye, there's the rub.' We are told that States and individuals are left free; free for what? Free to accept or reject this pledged position of the National body—free to antagonize it, free to use influence against as well as for the Prohibitory party. Could anything be more absurd or illogical? What then is our duty? Manifestly either to retreat, go back to non-partisan ground, withdraw our influence from the Prohibition party and lend it to none—or go on to the only logical and happy conclusion and make the policy of the National the policy of the States. But will we go back?"

Hear what the National says : "It cannot and will not recede from the position it has conscientiously taken." Brave words.

It will not because it cannot; the bridges are burned behind us.

Will we go on ? That remains to be seen. The swift and unerring logic of events will bring us, ere long, gladly or reluctantly, to a decision."

Among the resolutions adopted by the last Convention of the State Union of Illinois, were the following:

"Whereas, Individual membership in the W. C. T. U. has never been, and is not, based upon the holding of certain political views, and, whereas, the individual member is accorded perfect freedom of private opinion and private utterance of same, we nevertheless recognize the fact that the action of the National W. C. T. U. in promising, by a large majority vote, to "lend its influence to that party by whatever named called, which would give the best embodiment of Prohibition principles and would most surely protect the home," gives to our organization a political policy which each member is in honor bound to respect; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Illinois W. C. T. U. that no member has the right from the public platform, to antagonize that policy or denounce the party to which our influence is given.

Resolved, That any member thus antagonizing our policy becomes thereby disloyal to our organization and is no longer entitled to wear our badge.

VI.

Resolved, That we present to the National W. C. T. U. Convention a Memorial asking that body to define what is loyalty and disloyalty to our organization, and that Mrs. Rounds be asked to prepare and present such a Memorial."

We call attention to the 5th Resolution, which permits "perfect freedom of *private* opinion and *private* utterance of the same ;" but this freedom does not extend to the "public platform."

Do the temperance women of Illinois really wish to stand before the country as approving such an attempted assault upon free speech? The imbecility of the assault does not redeem its real inwardness.

If it is right to have private opinions on political questions which are contrary to the edicts of the National Society, is it not right that they shall be expressed at the option of the individual citizen who holds such opinions ?

Since the days of Daniel who might worship the God of Israel in private, but must not, according to royal decree, open his windows toward Jerusalem, was ever intolerance more arrogant, or corporate power more magisterial ?

But on the other hand, if it were right for the N. W. C. T. U. to promise to lend the influence of the body to a party, ought any individual whose influence is thus mortgaged, to resist the delivery of that influence or to dare to "lend influence" to any other party ?

Do not these conflicting claims show that the N. W. C. T. U. had itself no clear title to the political influence of individual members

which it could convey at its own option? Can it lend "aggregate influence" without lending individual influence?

Mrs. Rounds asks, "What is duty—to go back to non-partisan grounds, withdraw our influence from the Prohibition party, and to lend it to none, or to go on * * * and make the policy of the National the policy of the States?" Brave woman, that she dares set her face thus boldly to a thorough solution of the question! She would have the present partisan policy of the National Union obligatory on the States and on individual members of local unions!

Iowa and hundreds of women in Illinois and other States would have the Society retake its former crusade position. We would have it go up higher than partisan limitations now permit; we would have it a great moral power over all parties, generating force which in popular governments is applied through many political agencies, and which continually makes for righteousness.

It is impossible to hold the W. C. T. U., a united mighty force for righteousness if positions are taken which will not bear discussion, or lines of work are adopted about which there is, and must continue to be diversity of opinion and condition. It is better to be wholly united on a few lines than to weaken that unity by introducing doubtful measures.

The temperance women of the Southern States are many of them troubled that the National Society has endorsed Woman Suffrage, and that so many of the States are working along these lines.

These Southern sisters, true to the very soul to prohibition, and heroic in their attempt to build up the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in their beloved "South land" are obliged often to assure their conservative friends that States and individuals are quite free to adopt or reject any line of work proposed by the National Society.

The Alabama Union has been pressed at this point.

In the official Minutes for 1888 this record is made of questions asked Miss Pugh, the honored and trusted Treasurer of the National Union. Miss Pugh was at the Convention at Miss Willard's request and as her representative:

"Should it be regarded as an evidence of disloyalty if a State or local Union should not endorse every position taken by the N. W. C. T. U.?" In answer to this, Miss Pugh replied substantially as follows:

"No, emphatically no! The N. W. C. T. U. makes but two requirements of its members, viz.: The signing of the total abstinence pledge and the payment of dues. Each State takes the lines of work suited to its condition; each local union takes those suited to its environments. No State takes all the lines of the National, much less any union all those of its State.

* * * * *

"East, West, North, and South have so many interests that it would be impossible to run us into one mould. Still with this wide liberty we should *not* consider

ourselves *free to criticize adversely in public, methods adopted by the National.* Nor must you here think that the N. W. C. T. unions are working for suffrage. *I do not know of one that is so doing.* We are trying to educate the people with literature, etc., but no State is making any special effort to secure suffrage for women.

"In view of this pledge each local president and member is requested to work faithfully to secure as many subscribers as possible in her town and union."

Is it true then that no State at the North is making any special effort to secure suffrage for women? Call the roll of the States and let them answer.

Read Miss Willard's addresses! Read the reports from the States! Read the columns of the *Union Signal!* Read the appeals of Rev. Anna Straw, Superintendent of Franchise—read or hear the argument of Mrs. Wallace—they seem the echoes of Holy Writ. After all this, read Miss Pugh's statement that no State is making "any special effort to secure suffrage for women" and realize to what straits we have come in the attempt of the National Union to compass the whole field of philanthropic and reformatory and political work.

Again in these same Alabama Minutes we read Miss Pugh's words that W. C. T. U. women are "*not at liberty to criticize adversely in public methods adopted by the National.*"

Must women not speak against Woman Suffrage, even if they believe it not a step toward righteousness in government! Must Republican and Democratic women say no word adverse to the Third Party, although they believe—guided by the light of philosophy and experience—that the Third Party is a dangerous political factor in temperance reform and in general National welfare.

Where is the right of free speech for which our father's contended? Shades of Mt. Vernon and of Bunker Hill, protect us!

It is often claimed that by the party alliance of the W. C. T. U. the North and South have been brought into closer union; that women have clasped hands over the once bloody chasm, etc., but the fact remains that the W. C. T. U. has repeatedly refused to wipe out the sectional line. It has its "Superintendent of Southern Work," which is wholly anomalous in our plan of organization.

When the South was missionary ground and Mrs. Sallie F. Chapin the accomplished pioneer of the work there, was careful lest the radicalism of the North might startle Southern conservatism, a Southern superintendency might be excused as a temporary expedient.

Not so now. The Southern States are in good working condition. Each one sends its full quota of representatives to the National Convention. Many Southern ladies see the uselessness and incongruity of this office. The Southern ladies are among the choicest of W. C. T. U. women and to their praise be it said, they have kept their work

practically free from the distresses of partisanship. They vote for the partisan resolution at the National Convention, but they guard well their local work from its distracting influence. They are able to do so because the party which the W. C. T. U. has espoused is little more than a shadow in the South. But whenever the roll of superintendents is called and the Southern Superintendency is recognized, the memory of bye-gone national griefs are summoned.

Further, Miss Willard has boldly said :

“We want the Democratic party to bite the dust, and will do our utmost to work its final overthrow. It is the enemy of our cause and we pronounce upon it the anathema of the American home.”

Is such an official message to the Democratic South likely to bind hearts in sympathetic union in and toward W. C. T. U. work? Does Senator Colquit and his Democratic Local Option voters, wish to facilitate the coming of such an evangel?

Like announcement is made to the other great party:

Nor can we do less to that degenerating party which some of us once loved but of which the Brewers League declared, “It has been in power for twenty-five years, and has done for us all we asked.” The two old parties are nationally the sworn allies of the saloon.

Do such words pave the way for success when our women go to the National Congress which is controlled by these two parties?

If the “utmost” which the W. C. T. U. can do, should work the overthrow of the Democratic party in the South, Senator Colquit and others of his faith would be left at home. If it should succeed as well in the North, Senator Blair and Congressman Cutcheon of Michigan, and Kerr and Stuble of Iowa, and Dingly of Maine, and a host of others as brave and true to temperance might also be rendered powerless to help us.

If temperance legislation is desired, is it right to do our utmost to overthrow the parties of which these our champions are the representatives.

Good citizenship demands that patriots shall be defended as well as traitors be destroyed.

These varied distresses might have been avoided if the National Union had held to its crusade basis of moral suasion work for total abstinence and prohibition; many more would have been reached by the truth which alone makes free the individual or the State.

SPEAK OUT.

LETTER FROM MRS. LYDIA H. TILTON, COR. SEC. W. C. T. U. DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA.

Dear Mrs. Foster:

During my recent visit to New England, I tried to answer criticisms on the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and on yourself as the representative of non-partisan W. C. T. U. women. The readers of THE FACTS IN THE CASE were surprised to learn that some truths were yet unspoken.

I met many discouraged ones, and many who were losing interest in temperance work. Most intelligent women in New England are in sympathy with some one political party; W. C. T. U. women are of course included among "intelligent women;" the strain of the last campaign was heavy.

Imagine the wife of a good Democratic politician—at a temperance meeting—cheering the sneers at the Democratic party! and the daughter of some grand temperance Republican leader—listening with joy to the caustic utterances of Mrs. Hoffman or Mrs. Lathrop!! are that wife and that daughter expected to reverence these W. C. T. U. leaders? will their protest against such abusive language prove them "disloyal to prohibition and to the W. C. T. U.?"

There is such a thing as repelling those who otherwise might be won for the cause. I love our women and our cause too well to be silent when I think a little explanation would set things right.

The first question asked is "How can Mrs. Foster be a non-partisan and a thoroughly partisan Republican?" I answered, "just as you can be a Methodist or a Baptist or a Congregationalist and yet insist that your temperance organization is wholly unsectarian."

"But why should she help the Republican Party?" Because she believes in the Republican Party and it is her duty—just as it is yours and mine—to follow her political convictions.

"But why can't she let us help the Third Party?" She can and does.

She urges all men and women to stand for the party which they believe to be right. She honors the woman who has clear cut political convictions and will try to secure righteous laws and righteous men to enforce them; but in order that we may be one as a W. C. T. U. in our struggle against the liquor traffic, she would call upon all good women to *leave religious and political differences outside the W. C. T. U.* and as an association be non-partisan and non-sectarian.

“But we are all for Prohibition, and why can't we take the shortest way?” Our women are not all agreed which is the shortest way and we cannot force them to see from our standpoint.

Mrs. Foster believes the Third Party plan hinders Prohibition.

Only those who have strong convictions and will follow them even to the death are to be depended upon in this fierce struggle.

We need all the different forces and the different plans to bring us all safely to the goal. The great danger is in insisting that all must follow our path, and discouraging the dear women who cannot take it.

This summer a discussion arose about the best way for reaching the summit of Mt. Washington. One group said “We must go by rail, it is the quickest and the best way;” another “We must go by stage so as to see more of the country;” another “You can't see it all in either of those ways, but must walk up.” Only one of the whole company dared take the eight miles of walking up the steep mountain road. We all agreed it would be the best way *if we could only do it*, but we couldn't and we were sure we could go by different ways and reach the top, and we did it.

We are trying to bring ourselves and our people up to the very highest plane of Christian civilization. God has already brought us up so far that the eyes of the whole world are upon us. The steep uplands are frowning before us—we cannot all climb them in the same way. What then? Must we insist upon the one way and so break ranks forever?

We unite upon a few ways which are agreed upon when we join the W. C. T. U.: We were never asked where we joined the society what political party we believed in: It was not right after we had gone on so well together in the ways we agreed to take, to attempt to take us all, whether we like it or not up some other way.

Many have already fallen out by the way; and something ought to be done to bring them back, and to save others from leaving us. Cannot you speak out in some way?

Many of us hoped to hear you at the last National Convention and were sadly disappointed. The *Union Signal* said you spoke fourteen times. I could not believe it—but the record was before me in the shape of the *Daily Union Signal*, and I counted up; in nearly every case you asked a question, or made a request, or referred to some paper or made a motion.

However, I put it all together and read it slowly as I thought you had spoken it, and it took me seven minutes. A reader would infer from the statement in the *Signal* that you “spoke fourteen times,” that you were permitted to use a large portion of the time of the Convention; that reader would be much surprised to learn, that

your speeches, questions, suggestions, and motions consumed only seven minutes, while Mrs. Lathrop, Mrs. Hoffman and others occupied hours of time for Third Party speeches, and there was always plenty of room upon the platform for Third Party candidates and speakers. I do not think you were once on the platform.

Pardon my question, but ought you not to have been accorded the honor of assisting to escort Miss Willard to the Chair after you made the motion "that the informal ballot for President be declared a formal ballot?" Has partisan feeling so come between you and our honored President that you must be publicly ignored?

Is partisan feeling henceforth to control our conventions? to forbid our courtesies—to separate friends?

Must "Union" become a misnomer, and "Christian" be changed to political? Do speak out so that our grand women will not misunderstand you, and will understand the leaders of the National Union.

They love the W. C. T. U. and have been influenced to think you are trying to break up the Union:

They do not know that you are trying to point out and cast out the unwise methods which are the source of our weakness and present trouble. Why do you not speak through the *Signal*?

Are articles by non-partisans refused?

Is there a feeling that our word or our judgment must be at fault?

When the *Signal* published the statement that "Roman Punch was distributed, and wine was served to the initiated in private apartments" at the Inaugural Ball, Mar. 4, 1889, I thought the statement misleading, inasmuch as the said Roman Punch was a water ice flavored with some kind of liquor and served with other ices at supper and *not a drink*. *All wines and liquors were absolutely prohibited*, either to be sold or given away upon the premises. I spent two days collecting proof which I sent to *Union Signal* in as concise form as possible, but was told by the editor that "it was not deemed best to publish it." While we object to any use of liquors for flavoring ices, or mince pies, or pudding sauces, we certainly rejoice over the fact that there was no drinking at the Ball and the wives who went there with fear and trembling—remembering the experiences of former inaugurals—went home rejoicing. There should have been joy and thanksgiving to God for this one step taken in the right direction. Anything that helps to make social wine drinking unfashionable is to be hailed with joy; for it is our strongest enemy.

I suppose the *Signal* could not rejoice because partisan feeling forbade it.

THE OFFENSE AGAINST IOWA.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

That our sisters in other States may know how sorely the action of the National Union disturbs our work in Iowa, the following official letter sent to our unions last February is here inserted :

FEBRUARY 15, 1889.

Dear Sisters of the Iowa W. C. T. U.:

We greet you in the words of Paul, 1st chap. of 2d Thess. 2, 4, 11, 12.

From letters being constantly received by your General Officers, we are convinced that an increasingly large number of women in Iowa, as elsewhere, feel impelled to withdraw entirely from W. C. T. U. work, because of their unwillingness to be financially compromised by the partisan policy of the National W. C. T. U.

These women assert that the General Officers of the National Union give time, service, and moral and political influence—in their official capacity—to a political party, and vigorous opposition to other parties; that the machinery of the National Union is used—by their consent and co-operation—to carry on the campaigns of that party, and to accomplish its further party ends; that the official organ of the National Union is the zealous advocate and partisan defender of that party.

These women further claim that by each and all these agencies their temperance principles, their political convictions and their sense of common justice are continually outraged, and that it is wrong for them to sustain directly or indirectly, a policy which they individually condemn.

They call on us to witness that their pleadings have been rebuked, their protests branded "obstruction" their solemn memorial declared as having neither "truth nor foundation," and dismissed as the petulance of a "refractory child."

With indignation and sorrow they declare they have exhausted every remedy and have only one recourse left, viz.: the withholding of dues from the National Society—whose policy has been so deteriorated, and whose spirit has been so embittered by alliance with a political party.

We know the grievances of which those—who now appeal to us—complain: they are terribly true; the National Union by its partisan alliance has furnished ground for the repudiation by individual members, of its financial claims.

Such a diversion of funds as above shown would, in a commercial organization, be regarded "bad faith;" it would afford occasion for redress in courts of law. We do not censure our sisters who feel that the higher claims of Christian equity demand that they should separate themselves from a policy which they consider essentially wrong.

For ourselves, we have believed the payment of dues to N. W. C. T. U. though inconsistent with our Iowa non-partisan policy, wrought less harm to our State work than would any other course.

Possibly our connection with the National Union since its organization, our long years of pleasant association with its membership, our devotion to its leaders, may have unduly influenced our decision upon these and relevant questions.

We have therefore, in all good conscience, continued the payment of national dues and have endeavored to persuade others to do likewise. But we now find ourselves confronted with an unlooked for condition of things. We find our own members weary of this continual controversy about methods, and tired of their partnership with that which they consider wrong.

They are in harmony with the State work and its policy; they desire to help the State maintain its present non-partisan attitude, but they will not do that if they at the same time help to support the National in its war on Iowa, and on the principles and policies by which Iowa has driven the saloons of the State from their legal entrenchments.

We would be glad if all our members looked at this question as we do, and were willing to aid us in our attempt to turn the policy of the National back to its former non-partisan position.

But the work in Iowa is the first burden laid on our hearts. We dare not permit it to suffer by any timid negligence on our part. We are compelled to respect the conscientious convictions of these our sisters who trust us.

We will not longer hesitate to assume the responsibility which attaches to our official position.

The Constitution of the State Union provides that all orders for the payment of money—including national dues—shall be signed by the President and Secretary; we therefore hereby announce to all whom it may concern, that when a formal request is made in writing by any local treasurer to the State Treasurer, that the national dues of any certain number of women be retained in the State treasury, we will not order the payment of said dues to the National Treasurer, but will instruct the State Treasurer to hold the same in trust for the National Union until such time as the National Union places itself in its original non-partisan position and rightfully claims our unconditional support, or until we obtain other constitutional relief.

We also request all local presidents and treasurers to carefully observe the wishes of members in this regard, and to state to the State Treasurer when dues are sent, how many members are willing to still pay their proportion to the National treasury, and how many wish them retained in trust by the State Treasurer.

With earnest desire to do that which is just and right.

(Signed)

MARY J. ALDRICH,
Cor. Sec.

Yours faithfully,

J. ELLEN FOSTER,
Pres. Iowa W. C. T. U.

It has been repeatedly declared in W. C. T. U. circles that an official statement of the General Officers of the Iowa Union debars any Third Party woman from office or membership in the Society.

This official statement is here given that those who desire to know the truth may judge for themselves:

(From Iowa W. C. T. U. Messenger.)

CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS PRESENTED.

DEAR SISTERS OF THE IOWA UNIONS, GREETING IN HIS NAME:

At the last National Convention your Iowa delegation were surprised and pained to learn that three vice-presidents in their official capacity, and certain

officers and members of local unions, had memorialized the Executive Committee of the National Union to aid them through organizers and speakers to prosecute Prohibition party work in Iowa. Political party work in the Iowa W. C. T. U. is contrary to an express provision of the Constitution of the State Union and is disloyalty to the W. C. T. U. of Iowa; it is a violation of the covenant made by each individual when she accepts office under the Constitution of the Society, or when she becomes a member of a local union.

No woman is eligible to official position, or even to membership in a local union, who does not endorse the Constitution of the State Union. The first provision of this Constitution declares, the W. C. T. U. of Iowa shall be "non-sectarian in its religious, and non-partisan in its political work." An acceptance of the fundamental principles and requirements of the constitution of any voluntary organization, is the only basis of honorable membership in such organization. Membership in an organization implies such acceptance.

With individual opinion and individual action the organization neither has, nor assumes to have any control. A W. C. T. U. woman may believe in and advocate the principles and policies of any political party, and at the same time be a loyal W. C. T. U. woman; but any W. C. T. U. woman who seeks to use the name or the influence of the W. C. T. U. to further the interests of any political party, the Prohibition party not excepted, is disloyal to the W. C. T. U. in Iowa. The united work of individuals in this as in every other voluntary organization is subject to the limitations and provisions of the constitution of the organization.

If the present party policy of the N. W. C. T. U. were incorporated in the constitution of that body, the continued opposition of many women, in Iowa and elsewhere, to that party policy would be disloyalty.

This is not the case. The alliance of the National Union with a political party has been often declared by resolution in annual meeting, but it is not a part of the Constitution. Iowa's non-partisan policy is a part of the Constitution. It was made so at the annual meeting in 1887. It was the result of years of experience in securing the prohibition of the liquor traffic and other legislation in the interest of our work.

In view of the county and district conventions soon to meet, we have thought it our duty to bring these undisputed facts, and these essential principles to your earnest consideration. Remembering all the way the Lord has led us; we bid you praise Him for all that is passed, and trust for all that is to come.

Yours by the White Ribbon,

J. ELLEN FOSTER, *Pres.*

M. J. ALDRICH, *Cor. Sec.*

F. J. OVINGTON, *Rec. Sec.*

S. W. BLACK, *Treas.*

DES MOINES, May 1, 1889.

ECCLECIASITICAL ASSUMPTIONS.

MRS. FLORENCE MILLER, IOWA.

The plan of work adopted by the New York Convention gives the following under head of Evangelistic.

"That the plan of the establishment of an Order of W. C. T. U. Deaconesses be made a subject of special study and discussion by State and local unions during the coming year. These deaconesses to be commissioned as such upon passing examination in all requisite intellectual and spiritual gifts, and for whom recognition shall be asked from all ecclesiastical bodies, and who shall be subject to call and appointment to pastoral service whenever needed."

No word of the quartette making up the name of our organization is so prized as "Christian:" no work in all the forty departments is so emphasized as Evangelistic; no part of convention proceedings is more precious than the religious services. The supreme desire, the most diligent effort of the women, has been to make the organization as near akin to the church as possible, in all its work for God and home. It has held in the minds of the people a place beside the church as one of the evangelizing forces of the world, and it is its boast that it is the "right arm of the church."

By the church it has been most cordially appreciated and sustained. Most kindly sympathy has been extended, the warmest welcome accorded to the work of the society, by the ministry and the church. The developement of women in the Evangelistic department, the popularity and success of their work, the open door to pulpit work through church welcome to the women temperance Evangelists, has aroused attention to the ecclesiastical limitations proscribing women in the ministry.

It has aroused women themselves to a sense of the injustice of these limitations upon their powers for service to God and humanity, and made them restive under ecclesiastical restrictions, so the cry has gone up from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for ecclesiastical emancipation. And the National Union in furtherance of the cause of woman's emancipation, rather than in the furtherance of the evangelization of the world to temperance truth—it seems to critical, judicial observers—has inaugurated a system of certificates, a course of study, an order of deaconesses, and with approving favor has received the audacious proposition to establish a church union in which women shall be regularly licensed and ordained to preach.

The proposition to establish an order of deaconesses is that they are to be "trained in our Evangelistic department, taught to be

skilled nurses in our temperance hospital, and employed by our local unions in preaching, teaching, and visiting the sick and poor." These deaconesses are to be supported by means solicited or collected by the local unions.

The order of deaconesses is peculiarly a church order. The name, the order, its sanctity, its ordination belong especially to the church, and the proposition to establish such an order in the W. C. T. U. which has no ecclesiastic power—"to set them apart to this sacred office" is an impertinence unworthy the womanhood of the organization.

The W. C. T. U. ought not to usurp churchly orders, or assume churchly authority. It can have a temperance hospital, it can train nurses for useful work among the sick, it can have temperance Evangelists, but their commission should be within the limits and bounds of the principles and purposes of the organization they represent; and the boundary line of W. C. T. U. Evangelistic work ought not to trench upon that of the ordained work of the church of Christ.

There is work enough for all the women who may be enlisted by whatever agency, but with no ecclesiastical authority to confer the title, with the field already occupied by the church, a rightful deference for church authority, a Christian sense of the proprieties of the case, a becoming modesty as a philanthropic society, should lead us to do our Evangelical work along lines in no way trenching upon or interfering with the work of the church.

And further—the ecclesiastical emancipation of women will not be ecclesiastical emancipation if it is not accomplished within the church. No amount of freedom assumed by an outside organization will count for justice for women in the church. The fitness of woman for all she claims of opportunity to work for God and humanity under church authority, has been sufficiently demonstrated, and the contest for its recognition needs to be steadfastly pressed within the church itself, an outside pressure that antagonizes, will hinder, not help. It will not be victory unless she conquers within her own.

No amount of assumption of the sacred orders of ecclesiastical bodies can invest the W. C. T. U. with the sacred mantle of the Church of God, and the triumph of woman in the church in securing rightful recognition to do any work in pew or pulpit that she can do well and to the glory of God, could only be crippled in its results for good by the present and proposed attitude of the N. W. C. T. U. on the question of W. C. T. U. deaconesses and "church union."

PARTISAN PLEDGES IN W. C. T. U. CONVENTIONS.

MRS. M. J. ALDRICH, IOWA.

The preacher says "there is a time to keep silence and a time to speak." It may not be time for me to speak; it may be that silence, even now, would be golden, but I feel impelled to write an open letter to all non-partisan temperance women, members of unions, who are opposed to party W. C. T. U. work, who nevertheless through inattention or carelessness, fail to have their views represented in our W. C. T. U. conventions by delegates elected for that purpose.

In as much as the influence of the party work of our N. W. C. T. U. is not limited to that organization I would also enlist the thought and ask the co-operation of all those Christian Temperance Women who neglect to help in our W. C. T. U. work because of the contention resulting from the prohibition party work of the National Union. I would like to have the many sympathizers with the non-partisan W. C. T. U. methods of work realize that the W. C. T. U. is here to stay; that it is a power and will continue to be, politically as well as morally, and that the remedy for the mistaken party policy of the National Union *really rests with them.*

Large and influential as is the National Union conceded to be, the most potential factor in the prohibition party and its work, it has not yet enrolled in its membership more than one-third of the Christian Temperance Women of this country. Its position on woman suffrage has been one hindrance, and its party policy for the last three years has been a far greater objection. The active opposition of these silent opponents of this party policy could turn the scale in favor of non-partisan temperance W. C. T. U. work blessing our land and hastening the day of its redemption from the liquor curse. Shall not that active opposition be henceforth given? Does not the good of the temperance cause as well as the best interests of the W. C. T. U. require it?

If this question could come home to every Christian Temperance Woman who now stands aloof from the Union as a question of duty, it would be decided rightly, and disaster averted.

No temperance organization of men, with ballots in their hands, would submit to such action as that taken by the N. W. C. T. U. and no temperance organization ought to submit to it.

The main reason why women who are opposed to party W. C. T. U. work fail to send delegates to conventions who will represent their non-partisan views in the convention, is because this subject is rarely

ever discussed by the Unions, and women do not think of it in connection with the election of delegates. The actual work of the local unions is conducted in a non-partisan manner, as illustrated by the following incident which occurred at the close of union meetings held during a W. C. T. U. week of prayer :—A lady who had recently come to the city was in attendance upon the meetings, and at the close of the last one, was speaking about becoming a member of some W. C. T. U. in the city.

A member of the first union organized in that State in which the constitution declared the Union to be non-partisan, said to her, "If you are not a third party woman you had better join our union, for ours is a non-partisan union." The Secretary of a Union whose active workers were known to favor party W. C. T. U. work, said, "I don't think you ought to call our union a third party union; the subject is scarcely ever mentioned in our meetings at all." "I know it," replied the lady who remembers too well the efforts made by the third party faction of this particular union, to prevent any expression of opinion by the non-partisan majority in 1885—"I know you can't discuss the subject, but when you send delegates to convention they are third party women, and have been for the last three years."

If it was right for the National or a State Union, to adopt a partisan policy at all (which is not admitted except for the argument), then, if the majority of any local or State Union was in favor of party W. C. T. U. work it would be right for that Union to send delegates to the W. C. T. U. conventions, who would sustain the partisan policy, both in the election of officers and the adoption of resolutions or plans of work; but if the majority of any Union is not in favor of the Prohibition Party work of the W. C. T. U. then, it would not be right for their delegates to misrepresent their constituency simply because the subject had not been discussed and no one thought about it when the delegates were elected.

Delegates to a Convention ought to conscientiously represent the societies sending them, or if their views are such that they cannot in conscience vote as they believe the majority of the society would desire, they should refuse to accept the position of a representative of the society. Oft-times one, in such a position, to be true to her duties as a delegate, explains her vote—that it is not in accord with her individual convictions, but as representing their society. But it is not right for any Union to adopt a partisan policy.

I am an enthusiastic W. C. T. U. woman. I believe in its legitimate work for the principles of total abstinence and prohibition, and all the political changes which that work involves, but I am utterly opposed to party political work by the W. C. T. U. organization.

I rejoice in the success of any W. C. T. U. in the prosecution of legitimate union work, but I would openly work for the defeat of any party work of any union. I do not consider party temperance work as legitimate W. C. T. U. work. I believe that the political opinions preferences and "influence" of each individual W. C. T. U. woman are her own, subject to her own disposal, to be by herself given to the party of her choice, and cannot rightfully be voted away, by any majority however large, to any political party whatsoever.

I am just as much opposed to the action of the N. W. C. T. U. in which by an overwhelming majority they pledged the "influence" of the N. W. C. T. U. to the Prohibition Party, and no more so, than I would be if the church of which I am a member should, by a large majority, vote that the "influence" of that church should be given to the Prohibition Party. The wrong is just the same in one case, as it would be in the other.

It is not the privilege of the church by a majority vote to give political influence of its members to any party, neither is it right for the National Union to thus give or "pledge" that "influence."

The Prohibition Party sympathizers in any church would protest most emphatically and rightfully, if the church, in a called meeting, or through its representatives in an official meeting should vote that the political "influence" of the church "in its entirety" should be given to the Republican or Democratic party. And if the advocates of the Prohibition Party in any representative ecclesiastical meeting should vote to give the political "influence" of the churches they represented to any political party they would be guilty of the same political tyranny and political robbery that the N. W. C. T. U. committed at St. Louis in 1884 and has endorsed every year since.

I believe that action not only just as wrong in principle in the N. W. C. T. U. as it would be in a church; but it would have been wrong in principle even if the subject had been discussed previously in every local union in the whole United States, and in every union it had been favored by a two-thirds vote. No majority has the right to vote away the political "influence" of any member of any church or society like the W. C. T. U. It was, however, doubly wrong, because it had not been so discussed, and the delegates in those National Conventions did not in many cases truly represent the sentiment of the local unions.

Is it any wonder that the majority of the Iowa delegates, in both National and State Conventions, have been opposed to this action of the N. W. C. T. U. for all these years? They know too well what prohibition means for Iowa and what party prohibition would do for the State, to have taken any other position than a firm, determined stand in favor of continuing their non-partisan temperance work.

It was a belief that party political work in, and by the W. C. T. U. of Iowa, would harm the cause of prohibition in the State, as well as a just regard to the right of every member of the Union to control the disposal of her own political influence that led the State Union to take, and has enabled it to maintain a non-partisan position.

I firmly believe that if the subject had been discussed in every local union, and the delegates elected in accordance with the views of the majority of the members, that the party faction in our State would have been far less turbulent and troublesome.

And I am confident that if the Christian Temperance Women in our churches had realized the importance of the contest maintained by the non-partisan W. C. T. U. women for the last few years, that more women would have given their names and membership fees to the local unions, even if they could not give time and labor to the work; and furthermore they would have seen to it that they were truly represented in W. C. T. U. Conventions by delegates who thought as they did.

I hope they will do so in the years to come. The contest is not over. If ever the Iowa Union recedes from the non-partisan position maintained during the last three years against the opposition of the few, working in harmony with the N. W. C. T. U., it will be through the votes of third party delegates from unions that have not discussed the question—delegates who represent their own views on the party question, and misrepresent their constituency. It has been done, and will be again, unless Christian Temperance Women are willing, in womanly and Christian ways, to oppose, openly and firmly, though kindly and courteously,—the alliance of an organization like ours with any political party. The party preferences of the individual woman need have nothing to do with this opposition to party W. C. T. U. work. It should have nothing to do with it. A woman though a member of the union, should be free to be an ardent Republican, or Democrat, or Greenbacker, or a Prohibition party woman; but the union should do no party work, send no delegates to party conventions, purchase and circulate no party literature, secure and pay no party speakers; nor have the adherents of any party though in the majority any right to vote that the influence of any other W. C. T. U. woman shall be given to the party of their choice. The political wrong would be the same whether that party was in harmony with their prohibition principles or not; in power or out of power. This conflict of opinion was not brought about by the non-partisan W. C. T. U. women. It is the result of the action of the W. C. T. U. officers and delegates in the St. Louis and subsequent conventions. It cannot cease unless the minority in the National Union acquiesce in a wrong the majority would not submit to, were the tables turned. "With charity for all and malice toward none."

REPRESENTATIVE ACTION.

MRS. FLORENCE MILLER, IOWA.

This paradox is presented in the position of the National Union on representation. It is a representative body, but those it represents are not necessarily represented in its principles or plans,—except in total abstinence,—and those principles and plans are not binding upon its constituency.

The National organization gives in its entirety “the allegiance of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union to the Prohibition Party, and supports the cause of woman suffrage,” also “in the entirety” of the organization, but declares individuals and states free; not bound by any principle espoused, or plan devised by the National Union.

The National W. C. T. U. is composed of certain ex-officio members, and delegates from the various state unions. These delegates are chosen upon a basis of membership and membership dues, paid by the state into the treasury of the National Union, one delegate for every 500 members of auxiliary state unions, these members having paid into the state treasury for the National Union \$50. Thus this delegate Convention is a doubly representative body. Every delegate sitting in its councils represents 499 other women, both in their membership through signature to the total abstinence pledge, and by the money they have paid into the National treasury. The power of such a body rests in the fact of its representative character.

The action of a free legislative delegate body is eminently representative, and binds its constituency to plans, principles and policies declared and adopted. The whole country judges, tries, approves, or condemns the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, through its length and breadth, by the declarations and policies of the National Union, because that body in its representative relation speaks for the whole.

The fallacy of the freedom of states and individuals—the declaration that they are not bound by any action of the National Society—the anomaly that they are parts in membership and dues, but may not be included in the whole “in principle espoused or plans devised”—is a convenient illusion with which to please the fancy of the women who do not assent to the espousal of the woman suffrage cause, or approval of the party alliance.

The latter are told that no action has been taken "binding any member to the Prohibition Party," and this in the face of such declarations as that "we"—the organization—"reaffirm our allegiance" to the Prohibition Party,—“we”—the organization in which all are included—"are practically partisan," "the white ribbon army is practically solid for the Prohibition Party," "200,000 stand solidly for the Prohibition Party," and many similar declarations in testimony that the political power of the whole organization has been given to the Prohibition Party.

The same is true of the suffrage question. The Southern States do not endorse the position of the National Union in relation to it, but under the declaration of "freedom of states" hug the delusion that they have no part or lot in this to them, obnoxious endorsement.

The constitutional construction of the organization in ex-officio relation is also a strong factor in its representative character. The auxiliary states are bound to the National union even before they are independent constituencies, and before they have delegate representation, for every State President is by force of the National Constitution, vice-president of the National Society.

To claim the representative character of the National Union in membership, dues, principles and plans, and abrogate its power to bind its auxiliaries to those plans and principles in National policy, is playing a game of fast and loose with constitutional law, and is an untruth upon which are builded erroneous views of representative government and false conceptions of organized relations. It is time the vicious theory of the freedom of States and individuals from the action of a body, dependent upon and representative of these States and individuals should be exploded.

A little dynamite of truth and honest dealing is needed to clear the atmosphere of sophistry and pretenses under the guise of "tolerance and forbearance."

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

NON-PARTISAN AMENDMENT—TO BE VOTED ON AT NATIONAL CONVENTION,
CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 1889.

[Introduced by Mrs. Campbell, of Alleghany County, Penna.—herself
a believer in the Prohibition party.]

From *Daily Union Signal* Nov. 5th, 1888.

Mrs. Campbell—I desire to offer an amendment to the Constitution. I hereby give notice that I or some one in my place will offer next year an amendment to article I of the Constitution by adding to the article, as it now reads, the following words :

“Its object shall be to interest and unite the Christian women of this nation in non-sectarian and non-partisan temperance work for the reformation of the intemperate, the education of the public sentiment in favor of total abstinence, and the prohibition of traffic in alcoholic liquors. For the promotion of social purity, the suppression of vice and crime, and the education of the masses in regard to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship.”

In connection with this amendment I desire to announce that a meeting of all those interested in this amendment will be held in the parlor of the Broadway Tabernacle after the adjournment this afternoon.

LOYALTY TEST AMENDMENT.

[As introduced by Mrs. Louise S. Rounds, President Illinois W. C. T. U. to be voted on at National Convention, Chicago, Nov. 1889.]

“Mrs. Rounds—I wish (then) to give notice and I give this notice that we may be in harmony with the action we have just taken on resolution No. 7, and I read the By-Laws, Article 8, Section 2, “No State Union,” etc.

“I now give notice that I or some one in my place will, at the next Annual Convention, move that the first clause of the by-laws be stricken out, and that the by-law shall read :

“All States auxiliary to the National W. C. T. U. must subscribe to the constitution of the National Union, and both States and individuals shall be required to respect all principles espoused by the National Union.”

Madam President, I do this that we may hold a logical position.”

The Loyalty Test Amendment introduced by Mrs. Rounds, President of the W. C. T. U. of Illinois, to be voted on at Chicago, November 1889—as it appears in the Minutes of the New York Convention, page 63 :

NOTICE.

“I now give notice that at the next annual meeting, I or some one in my place, will move that the first clause of Section 2, Article VIII of the By-Laws be stricken out, and that the By-Laws shall read : “All State auxiliaries must subscribe to the total abstinence pledge and to the Constitution of the National Union.”

IS IT NOT TRUE ?

MRS. M. J. ALDRICH, IOWA.

First, That in this country the undisputed right of the majority to rule does not give that majority the right to violate, infringe or trample upon any right of the minority?

Second, That every man has an undisputed right to the absolute control and disposal of his own ballot ?

That no person and no majority has the right to interfere, by force or otherwise, with the freest exercise of any man's political liberty to absolutely control the disposal of his ballot ?

Third, That no man has the right to vote for another representatively except the authority has been properly conferred ?

IS IT NOT ALSO TRUE ?

Fourth, That a woman's political "influence" stands to her in the place of a ballot ?

Fifth, That every woman has an undisputed right to the absolute control and disposal of her own political "influence" according to the convictions of her own judgment, and the dictates of her own conscience ?

Sixth, That no woman has the right to pledge, or dispose of the political "influence" of another, except such representative action has been duly authorized ?

Seventh, That the National Union was, and is composed of women united in their desire to promote the religious, scientific, economic and political truths of Total Abstinence and Prohibition but who were and are divided in their political party and their religious denomination preferences ?

Eighth, That the annual meeting of the National Union is a delegated body representing all the women of the local unions in all the State auxiliaries and legislating for them concerning the temperance work of the organization ?

Ninth, That up to 1884 the work of the Union was carried on without any interference with or reference to the political preferences of the individual membership ?

Tenth, That at St. Louis the majority of the Convention there assembled resolved to "lend the influence of the Union to the Prohibition Party" in the same resolution declaring that each individual member of the Union and each State auxiliary were free to give or withhold their influence from said party?

Eleventh, That this action of the National Union was representative, and did commit the organization "in its entirety" to the Prohibition party?

Twelfth, That this representative action was unwarranted, unjust, inconsistent, wrong; unwarranted, because unauthorized by those whom the delegates represented; unjust, because this action of the majority infringed the right of the minority to the absolute control and disposal of their own political "influence"; inconsistent, because the declared freedom of individuals and State auxiliaries from the binding force of the resolution was impossible so long as the resolution was in force at all, inasmuch as the "influence" of the constituent parts were, and are included in the influence of the whole organization, which by the adoption of the resolution was and still is pledged to the Prohibition party; wrong, because unwarranted, unjust and inconsistent—is not all this true?

IS IT NOT ALSO TRUE?

Thirteenth, That the resolution of the National Union is *de facto* in conflict with the undisputed liberty of any and every State auxiliary to keep itself free from any party alliance whatever, even while the resolution professedly recognizes that liberty?

Fourteenth, That the National Union ought to jealously respect and guard the right of any State auxiliary to be non-partisan in its political temperance work?

Fifteenth, That the National Union ought to recognize respect and protect the right of every woman in the N. W. C. T. U. to the entire control and free disposal of her individual political influence, untrammelled by her official position or membership in the Union?

Sixteenth, That this has not been done and that it cannot be done until the partisan action of 1884 is rescinded and the original conditions of united temperance work are restored?

Seventeenth, That the irrepressible conflict between the National action in 1884, and the undisputed rights of State auxiliaries and individual members of the N. W. C. T. U. could be removed by the adoption of the amendment to the N. W. C. T. U. Constitution proposed by Mrs. Campbell of Pennsylvania, viz.: "Its object shall be to interest and unite the Christian women of this nation in non-sectarian and non-partisan temperance work, for the reformation of the intemperate, the education of public sentiment in favor of total abstinence and the prohibition of the traffic in all alcoholic beverages, for the promotion of social purity, the suppression of vice and crime, and the education of the masses in regard to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship?"

Eighteenth, That it ought to be done for "His sake and in His name," the cause of the present discord and division in our ranks be removed, and "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace be restored?"

Nineteenth, Will you not work for such a result?

ARE "NON-PARTISANS" PARTISAN?

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

The question is often asked, "Is not the minority in the N. W. C. T. U. as intensely partisan as the majority; is not Mrs. Foster an active Republican, as earnest in her platform advocacy of Republican doctrines and as trusted in the counsels of party managers and as responsible for Republican methods in dealing with the temperance question as is Miss Willard for the Third Party?"

To this we reply: Mrs. Foster is earnest in her belief and advocacy of Republicanism; she is trusted in the temperance counsels of Republicans, she willingly shares the responsibility of the general tread of Republicanism on the temperance question.

The difference between her position and that of Miss Willard is that Mrs. Foster's Republican party work is done as an individual, she does not attempt to coerce the opinion or carry the influence of the W. C. T. U. organization to these party ends.

Miss Willard does in her official capacity support the Third Party; she is instrumental in pledging the W. C. T. U. in the States to support the Third Party; she goes in person to local conventions and pleads for this party alliance; she gives official approbation to official representation of the W. C. T. U. in Third Party political conventions; she is herself, by vote of the N. W. C. T. U. Convention a "consulting member" of the National Prohibition Committee; she uses the platform of W. C. T. U. Conventions in personal advocacy of the Third Party and its candidates; she herself introduces these gentlemen as the candidates of "Our Party."

This Mrs. Foster has never done. In Iowa, where the Republican party has warranted the largest approbation of temperance women, and where if anywhere the society would be justified in promising allegiance, there the W. C. T. U. has never given it, and Mrs. Foster has time and time again declared it never could be done with her approval. To fail to see the difference between official action and individual action reveals a lamentable condition of mental and moral obliquity.

In the conflicts of modern civilization it argues pitiful imbecility not to possess political convictions; it argues mental or moral cowardice not to advocate them.

This is as true of women as of men, but the political immorality of the N. W. C. T. U. consists in its appropriation of the political

influence of the minority against their protest; that influence was given to the organization to keep and to use but not to assign to any political party.

In civil courts, to obtain property under false pretenses is "embezzlement," and to divert funds from their assigned and constitutional uses is "fraud," the difference in honor being in favor of the embezzler, the grand larceny committed by this Christian organization being of heart and soul and home "influence" while the embezzler merely steals material value.

This is what the W. C. T. U. has done.

Ought not the majority to rule, and do not a large majority of the women of the W. C. T. U. desire to give their support to the Third Party?

A large majority of the delegates and ex-officio members of National Conventions do, but even a legislative majority cannot override the Constitution. If the various resolutions affirming and reaffirming the allegiance of W. C. T. U. to the "Third Party" are constitutional, there is no resistance to the logical result which the Illinois women are brave enough to offer, viz: that party fealty shall be a test of membership in the W. C. T. U.

UNITE THE FORCES.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE, IOWA W. C. T. U. MESSENGER.

The Iowa W. C. T. U. *Messenger*, official organ of the Iowa State Union, is the only weekly non-partisan W. C. T. U. paper published. It is a fearless exponent of the Iowa position, and voices the convictions of thousands of women in other States who are not in harmony with the National Union.

The *Messenger* would like to hear from these thousands and will gladly give them voice in any worthy communication sent its editor. The paper would also be glad of the patronage and support of friends in sympathy with its position, and it would in turn be an inspiration and help in their work.

Friends of non-partisan temperance work will find the paper well worth the subscription price, \$1.00 per year. The paper is just being established upon the foundation of a stock company, after nearly four years' existence with a good subscription list, and this stock company is known as the Woman's Iowa Publishing Company. Shares of stock \$10.00 each. Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Mrs. M. J. Aldrich, Mrs. S. W. Black, Mrs. F. J. Ovington, Mrs. M. E. Callahan and other well-known Iowa women are incorporators of the Woman's Iowa Publishing Company and are guarantees of its worthiness and stability.

The price of shares is within the reach of all, and one, two, three, five or more shares of stock will be a most excellent investment. We believe there are many temperance friends in the country outside of Iowa, who would be glad to have an interest in a live, non-partisan temperance paper, and we confidently hope these will take stock in the Woman's Iowa Publishing Company.

All inquiries, and money for shares of stock should be addressed to Mrs. S. W. Black, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. All subscriptions and communications for the paper should be addressed to Mrs. Florence Miller, 810 Grand Ave., East Des Moines, Iowa.

Let us hear from friends. Let the Iowa women feel the heart-beat of your sympathy in the brave fight they make for justice and right, and give them the opportunity to help you by furnishing a means of communication, an inspiration of courage, a mutual reliance and help in standing for the truth. In "union there is strength." Lend a helping hand for a union of forces through the medium of the *Messenger*. Let us hear from all well-wishers of non-partisan temperance work.

PRINCIPLES — POLICIES — POLITICAL PARTIES — REFORM
ASSOCIATIONS.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

Parties are useful as a convenient means of recording the popular will on questions of legislative policy.

They are not the Garden of the Lord wherein reforms are grown; reforms which one after another have been, and shall be wrought into the nation's governmental life. The Church, the school, the home, the moral reform association, these are the beautiful flower beds where are grown all the trees and fruits of the Kingdom of Heaven which shall be set upon the earth when human law is the copy of the divine.

Let us build again the hedges of Christian love and charity about our W. C. T. U. garden and drive out the hoofs of partisanship which trample our lovely flowers in the dust.

Do not be afraid to discuss this question on its real merits. It is simply this :

Ought the W. C. T. U. to ally itself with a political party?—only that and nothing more.

Not—Is the Republican party a temperance party?

Not—Is the Third Party doing a good work, and ought I as a temperance woman to support it?

I remember that one of old who was branded as a disturber of the peace replied, "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy house in that ye have forsaken the Lord and followed Baal." These verses in the Crusade psalm often come to me, "Put not your trust in princes nor in the son of man in whom there is no help."

I pray God to forgive us all for any such entanglement of our holy cause. We err when we confound principles with methods and make adherence to one the test of devotion to the other.

We are Prohibitionists—every one of us—do we not know what it means to fight the demon of drink in the man and in the saloon? would not we of Iowa joyfully give our lives rather than lose what we have gained through non-partisan methods of temperance work?

Let every woman have her party preference according to her own political convictions; let her be a Republican, a Democrat, a Union Labor woman, an adherent of the Third or any other party, but let her not seek to appropriate the influence of her sisters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to her party. To do this in the W. C. T. U. is appropriating influence "under false pretenses."

Not—What did this woman or that woman mean when she said so and so, or is this woman or that woman sincere in her beliefs? It is always right to suppose all women are honest in their beliefs; but whether they are or are not, does not determine whether or not their views shall be accepted.

A woman who is wise enough to join a W. C. T. U. is wise enough to determine any political question which properly comes before that Society. Always make a distinction between political questions and party questions, all questions of government are political questions, but they are not all party questions.

We want our temperance question to be a subject of pure political action and that it may be so we strive to keep it away from the complications of partisanship.

Always remember too that under a popular form of government what is in the hearts and minds of the people must come out in the laws of the people.

It cannot appear in the law until the knowledge and desire are formed in the minds and hearts of the people.

Any one who increases knowledge and creates desire is doing the greatest possible service to her country.

Women, is not this a wide and safe field of Woman's Christian Temperance Union action, does it not afford full scope to all our powers? God bless us, every one.

PERSONAL.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, IOWA.

My heart was nearly broken when I was first obliged to differ from Miss Willard. I loved her with a chivalrous devotion not common among women. My admiration was absolute and unquestioning.

She was more skilled in political matters than I. We entered the temperance work at about the same time, but she had been connected with educational work which taught her how to manage people, while I had been engaged in domestic affairs and the care of my little children.

When the crusade came with its grand possibilities of woman's work for temperance, it found me wholly unused and quite averse to public work for woman. I gave to Miss Willard the ardor of a personal devotion, which drew to itself the religious fervor of that Holy War. Her words were to me, almost as sacred as the spirit of the movement itself.

In the early years of our work I did not question her methods or exercise my judgment concerning them—I was only too happy to follow where she led. I am not sorry that I loved her so devotedly, for love is a noble sentiment and elevates the person who indulges it; but I am sorry that I allowed my affectional nature to overcome my judgment.

In matters of trivial importance, not involving questions of right or wrong, one is often justified in waving one's opinions and preferences, but in questions of duty let every woman stand for herself at the bar of her own conscience.

As the work progressed and my official relation to it necessitated my individual action, my great error was, that in the settlement of any question of duty in the W. C. T. U. where Miss Willard and I differed in judgment, I always yielded mine to hers—I did not realize then as I do now the great responsibility of public teaching. I did not realize that wrong theories, however plausible, and for the present seemingly expedient, are sure in time, and when applied by many persons, to lead to wrong action.

Neither did I realize that it is unsafe, unwise, and morally wrong by indefiniteness in statement, by trick or device of Convention action, or by the sweet coercion of personal affection, to secure the nominal acceptance of principles and methods, which do not command the intelligent, hearty and forceful approval of real conviction in the

minds and hearts of the "women at home" for whom such representative action is taken.

It is painful to lay open to the gaze of even my sisters in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union this weakness in myself, which was occasioned by my personal devotion to Miss Willard.

Many women know, however, that they have been similarly weak.

If silence on my part brought only loss of my sisters' confidence in me, I would continue to bear it; but since I fear (by the prominence which Miss Willard and her supporters have from time to time given it) that confusion of thought is wrought among those whom I greatly desire to serve, I am constrained to speak.

Under Miss Willard's gentle persuasion I was ready to aid her to take representative action which embodied her idea of the positions our work should take, rather than the positions really held by the women who trusted us.

Fictitious positions thus taken were made the basis of continued assumptions until the super-structure thus built has been the castle of her beliefs, her fancies, her ambitions, rather than the abode of the great army of quiet, toiling women who have done their blessed work and achieved their glorious victories in other fields of action and by the use of other agencies.

I believe the hearts of many women will witness to experiences in whole or in part similar to those which now accuse me.

Four years ago a gentleman of wide experience and unquestioned probity, said to me, "History will record the alliance of the W. C. T. U. with a political party to be the crime of this century." I was shocked at what seemed a severe censure. I now believe it was not put too strongly, except that, critically speaking, crime involves intent. I do not charge—on the contrary I repudiate as unworthy the dignity of Christian controversy, the implication that Miss Willard, who is mainly responsible for this alliance, intended to do wrong. Her personality is her own and has been and shall ever be sacredly guarded by me.

Her career in public service is proper subject of review; she has recently opened it to public gaze in an extensive autobiography, therefore with all due deference to her many achievements, we say, she acted in this as is her custom in relation to organization work with which she is connected;—she seems not so much to desire to represent those who put her in a commanding position of leadership, as to make them a background for her personal exploits, a theatre for the exercise of her wonderful powers and accomplishments.

God had so honored woman's temperance work that I believe she was confused with expectation of a popular uprising under the leadership of the W. C. T. U. with her at its head.

A great party hurled from power in '84, the speedy dominance of the Third Party, the enfranchisement of women and the overthrow of the liquor traffic, all soon following, were they to be successive stages in the victorious march which should usher her in as the nation's deliverer?

To be a Joan of Arc in America in the 19th century is not an ignoble ambition—a small nature could not be dominated by it—but American women as well as American men, while they possess the touch of chivalry which enshrines beauty and canonizes heroism, do not forget that they long ago repudiated the political system built on the divine right of kings and queens.

In the long run the sober judgment of the average citizen dominates the politics of this country; and in reform this same average judgment will in time assert itself; it will resist the fascinations of the most brilliant leadership, it will prove that the seductions of personal gentleness and the witchery of soft words are powerless to hold those whose judgment is not enlisted and whose sense of justice has been outraged.

Therefore, when Miss Willard offers her theories of reform as substitutes for the methods sustained by philosophy and history, when she uses the personal devotion of temperance women to support her political opinions and to further her political ends; when she tests their devotion to temperance and their fitness for service in the W. C. T. U., by their acceptance of, or their silent acquiescence in her theories of temperance work; then in self-respect I refuse to follow, and in humble fealty to the truth I have espoused I will endeavor to lead others to the higher, nobler grounds of intelligent, independent acceptance of principles and methods.

I have little hope that the leaders in the so-called Prohibition party movement will ever change their views, though some of them have of late been forced by the exigencies of local political contests, and their honest desire for substantial results in temperance legislation, to accept non-partisan methods.

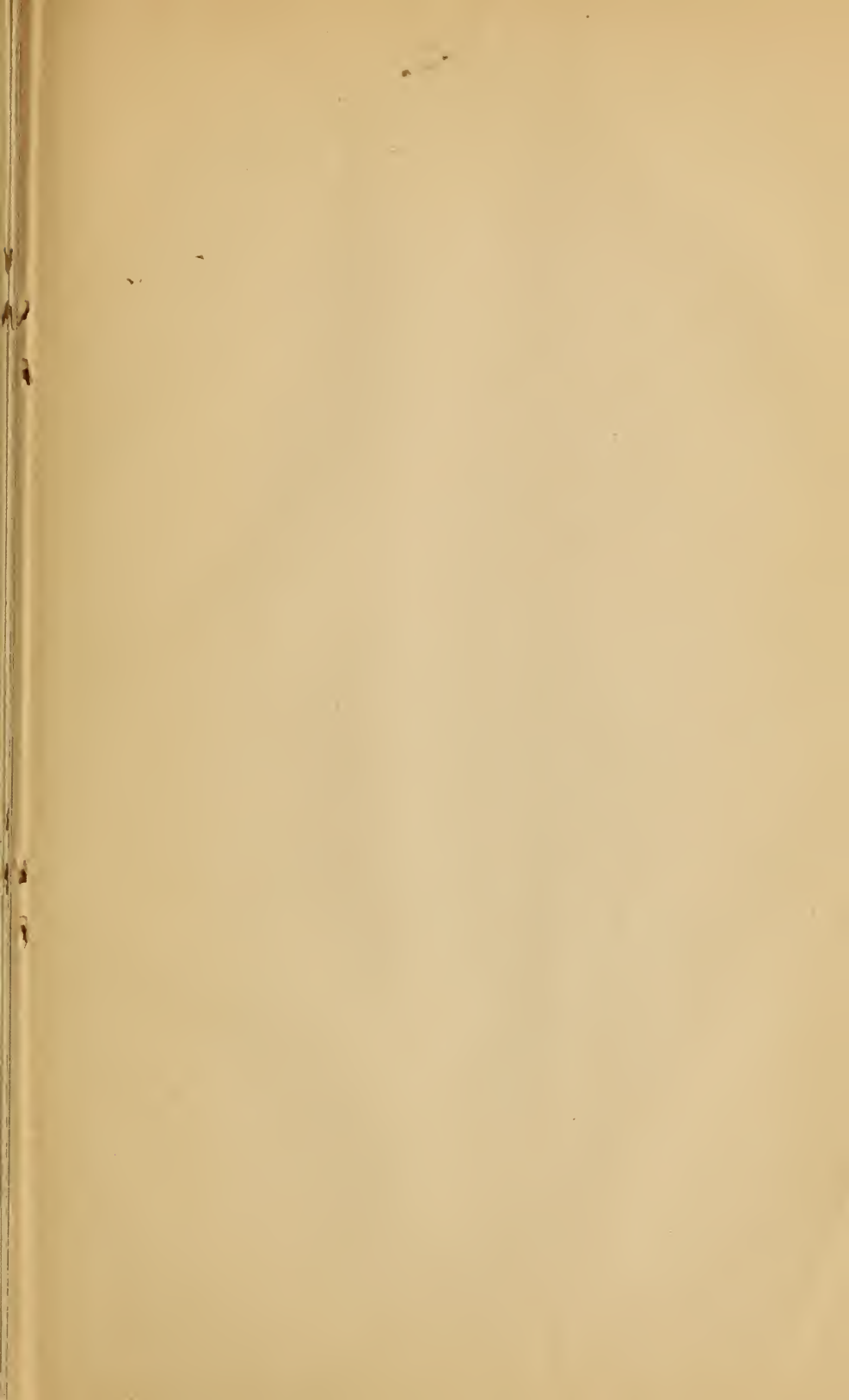
But the leaders are few; the men and women in the ranks are many. There are multitudes of "partisan" alliance women in the W. C. T. U. who are actuated by the noblest motives; whose service in the cause amounts to entire self-abnegation; they are not under the thrall of a great ambition, they have made no record which it would be humiliating to reconsider and rewrite; they are not—as I was—under the bondage of an almost idolatrous affection; with these women I will argue and expostulate and plead, if perchance I may help to more effective Christian service, and save our much-loved organization from schism and decreased usefulness.

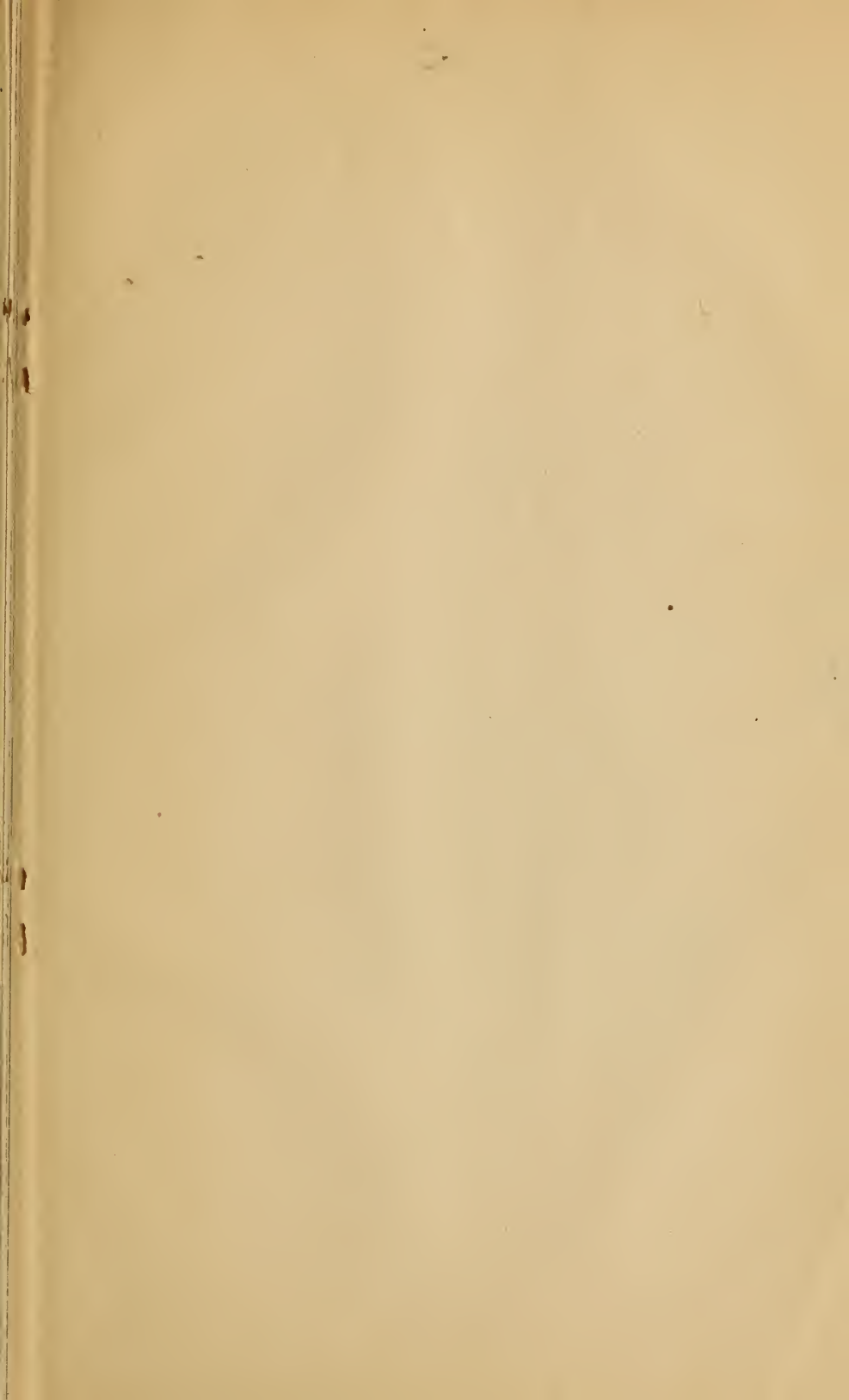
It is not pleasant to be called a "disturber of the peace," a "Judas"—a "sender of spurious reports," a receiver of bribes, doing "hellish work"—all these appellations have been passed upon me by partisan W. C. T. U. women, and Miss Willard utters no word of protest. She herself uses her official capacity to aid in this tirade of abuse.

How are we brought low by this party alliance: How is the fine gold of our Christian love dimmed by party strife and party spirit?

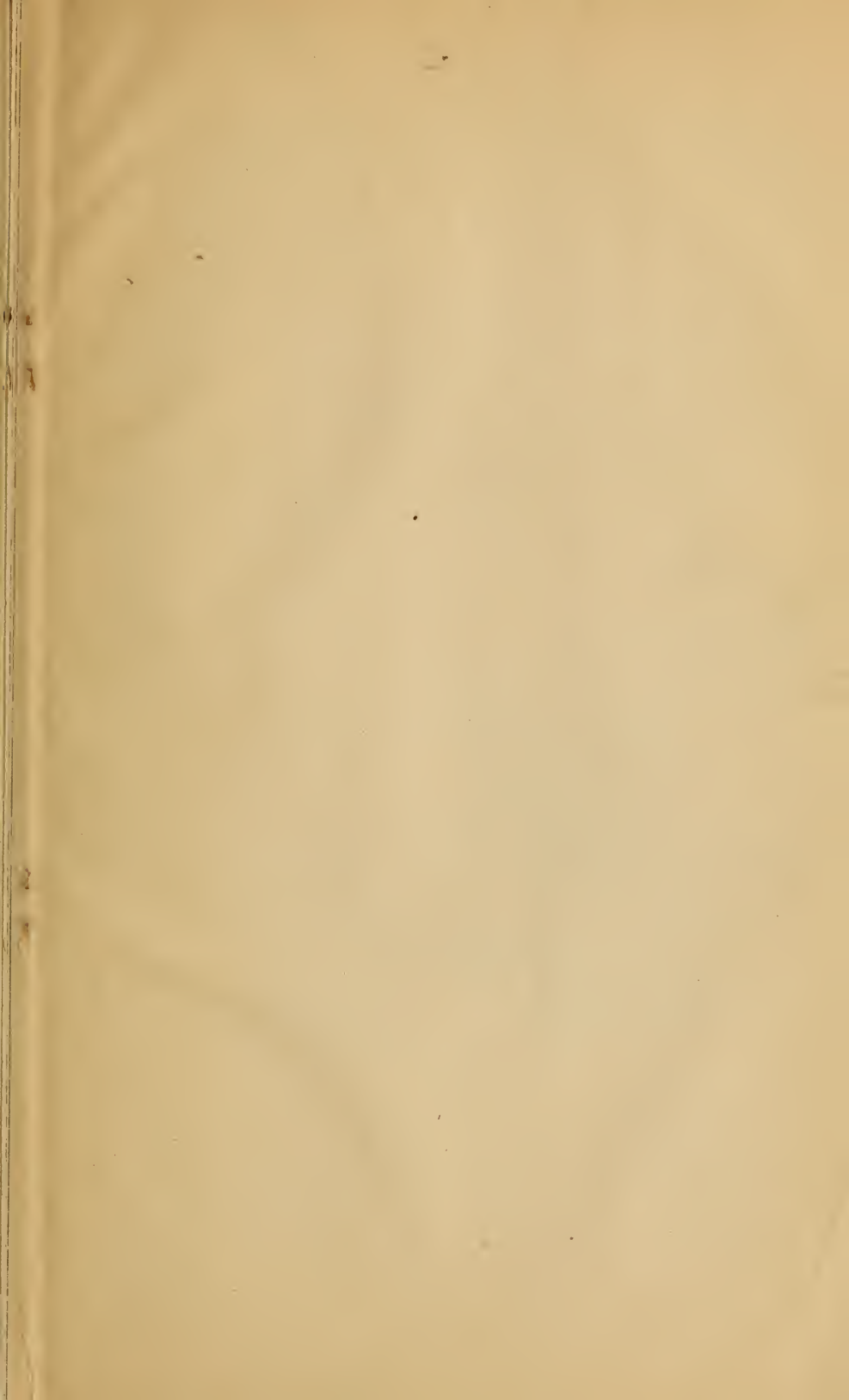
Amid these distressing conditions and under these disheartening influences, the true soldier in this holy war remembers that his solemn oath of allegiance was born of religious conviction and patriotic devotion. To him present disaster permits no cessation of hostilities or even temporary truce with the enemy, but becomes incentive and inspiration to more unflinching defense of already taken positions and more determined assaults upon the enemy's remaining defenses.

That man or woman who has all the charms of fine manners and elegant culture, who seems the embodiment of goodness, but whose works are evil, is a most dangerous foe of purity and truth; so a movement using the shibboleths of a righteous cause, and assuming to personify moral heroism, but whose works are evil, such a movement is an agency well calculated to serve the purposes of error. If the cause of the Home against the Saloon were not so sacred, I would gladly take off my armor and retire from the field of controversy: If the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, were less influential in the controversy, and therefore less potent for good or for harm, and if I had not already put fifteen years of hard labor into its establishment and extension, it would be less agonizing to see its usefulness impaired, its teachings corrupted, and the confidence of the christian public betrayed. And furthermore the cause of temperance—by which I mean—the overthrow of the drinking usages of society which of course includes the utter annihilation of the liquor traffic—is dearer to me than the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; dearer than even the cause of temperance is the character of Christian womanhood, which is the mightiest human instrumentality for the overthrow of all sin and the setting up of the Kingdom of Christ in this dear Land of ours.

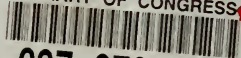








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THE TRUTH

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THE CASE.

J. ELLEN FOSTER,

IOWA.
