



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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Committee of 48 for a Conference of Liberals, 1919-1921.

GENERAL COMMITTEE

Robert W. Bruère  
Lincoln Colcord  
Otto Cullman  
Will Durant  
William P. Everts  
Gilson Gardner  
John Haynes Holmes  
J. A. H. Hopkins  
Mary H. Ingham  
Horace M. Kallen  
Oswald W. Knauth

THE COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT  
FOR A  
CONFERENCE OF LIBERALS

15 EAST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE, VANDERBILT 4186



GENERAL COMMITTEE

Robert Morss Lovett  
Allen McCurdy  
Dudley Field Malone  
George Nasmyth  
Mary Pattison  
Gilbert E. Roe  
Mary K. Simkhovitch  
George P. West  
Arthur G. Wray  
Charles Zueblin  
William F. Cochran, Treasurer

NEW YORK CITY

July 2, 1919.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,  
The Temple,  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 26th.

We started to organize this Conference on March 22nd by advertising our "Call" in four liberal papers. Our desire was to allow the Conference to grow in a natural and democratic way. We have, therefore, made no effort to secure publicity by attaching ourselves to any one of the controversial questions which have vexed the public mind in these days.

We have merely emphasized the fact that the time has evidently come when it is proper for the American people to come together in a national Conference attended by delegates from each one of the forty-eight states.

Astonishing success has met this policy. We have been crowded out of one office into a larger office. We are constantly increasing the force. The Conference is today an assured success. Every mail brings in twenty-five to fifty signatures.

We have sent out one financial letter, copy of which I enclose to you for your information. The response to this is surprising.

We have in the office abundant evidence of an insistent demand upon the part of the American people for just such an opportunity as the Conference affords. It is a great satisfaction to find in every mail more and more letters from men like yourself who have the undoubted confidence of the community in which they live and are known to have that stability of character which demands construction and not mere futile criticism.

Yours sincerely,

*Allen McCurdy*  
For the Committee

AWM:ABB  
Enc.

## PRESS MATTER \*

"Do you favor the Plumb plan for the operation of the railroads?"

"Do you favor super-taxes on profits?"

"Do you favor compulsory military training?"

"Are you in favor of organizing a new political party?"

Independent voters the country over are answering these questions and 19 others contained in a questionnaire recently sent out by the Committee of Forty-Eight with headquarters at 15 East Fortieth Street, New York.

These replies represent opinions in each of the Forty-Eight States. When the complete returns from the questionnaire have been recorded they will form the basis for a program which will be submitted to a Conference of independent liberal voters called by the Committee of Forty-Eight for some time in the late Fall.

"We have made an experiment in democracy and it has succeeded," said Allen W. McCurdy of the Executive Committee of the Committee of Forty-Eight. "When we started to organize this conference we were told that it would be impossible to get American liberals to agree on anything. Furthermore we were assured that there was no general interest in many of the subjects mentioned in the questionnaire. The results disprove both assertions. The American people are doing their own thinking to-day and liberals are in pretty general agreement from coast to coast. Not only are we receiving almost 100 per cent returns but in many instances the questionnaire has been sent back with lengthy marginal notes or the views of the voter have been expanded in letters of several pages. It's the first chance most citizens have had in a long time to express their opinions and the size of our mail every morning is indication of the interest of the people of this country in real issues."

"No one can look over these answers," continued Mr. McCurdy, "and fail to be impressed with the demand of men and women who take democracy seriously that something definite be done immediately to save this country from the choice between black reaction and violent revolution."

From the questionnaires already returned 40% favor the Plumb plan for railroad operation, 42% favor general government owner-

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**\* Please give to your local Newspaper  
for publication**

ship and 18% are for private ownership. The program of the American Labor Party received the endorsement of 94% as against 6% opposed. 95% voted for initiative, referendum and recall, 5% were against these measures. 97½% were for an executive budget and a responsible cabinet while 2½% were for neither.

Lively interest was shown in the question of limiting the power of the courts in declaring laws unconstitutional. 94% voted that the courts should be so limited and emphasized their opinions with remarks. 6% were against any limitation.

The program of the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota found favor with 96% and was spurned by 4%. The Espionage law was voted abolished by 90% with 10% in favor of its retention. 2½% of the voters saw no good in proportional representation whereas 97½% favored it. 90% voted to take absolute control of foreign relations out of the hands of the President. 10% decided to let it remain in his hands. On the tariff question, it was found that 67% favored Free Trade, 21% a Protective Tariff and 12% a Tariff for revenue only.

The restoration of Free Speech was advocated by 99% and opposed by only 1% while the granting of equal legal and economic rights to women received almost the same support 98½% voted affirmatively and 1½% against. The land tax question met with an unusually intelligent response, 88% voting for the gradual and progressive transfer of taxes from improvements to land values and 12% opposing this suggestion.

The greatest interest was manifested in the question of forming a new political party. 80% voted in favor of forming a new party either independently or if possible as a Federation with the Labor and Farmer movements and 20% favored a Non-Partisan organization.

Compulsory military training was voted down 85% to 15% and secret diplomacy was defeated by a vote of 97% to 3%. Super taxes on profits received the endorsement of 83% as against 17%.

At the end of the questionnaire, space was left for the voter to suggest additional planks for the tentative platform. Nearly every questionnaire contains one or more such suggestions. "Our Drafting Committee," explained Mr. McCurdy, "have already submitted their first sketch of the tentative program which they will present at our Conference, when the final draft comes up for consideration."

## **Bulletin Number One**

August 15, 1919.

### **THE COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT**

15 EAST 40TH STREET

NEW YORK CITY

### **THE DATE OF THE CONFERENCE**

Official announcement of the place and date of the Conference of the Committee of Forty-Eight will be made public on September 15th. This was decided at the last meeting of the Executive Committee called especially to discuss conference matters. The Committee also decided to hold the Conference in December, rather than October as was first planned. This change of date was made necessary by the unexpectedly widespread response to the original "Call" for a Conference, especially within the last thirty days.

Plainly, assembling the conference at a period when the growth of membership has reached such momentum as at present would be a mistake. Obviously, time both adds to our strength and brings into bolder relief the problems which press for solution.

More time will enable us to form local and state organizations and thus in every way make the Conference more fully representative of the liberal thought of America and hence better able to decide policy and program. This was the unanimous judgment of the Committee.

## WHAT THEY SAY

The following letter which we have received from a prominent editor of a daily newspaper in the middle west expresses the experience and the opinion of a large number of our people:

Gentlemen:

"I have your letter and have read with profound interest your 'Call to Americans.' It particularly appeals to me because I have stood almost alone in the beginning in this section for the principles for which you propose to fight. I refused to be terrorized by the espionage law into surrendering the liberty which my ancestors gave their money and their lives to establish. How my paper escaped suppression I do not know. But please permit me to call your attention to one fact which I think is significant. While I was denounced as a pro-German, the circulation of my paper continued to increase. There is also another significant fact. The people who were denouncing me a year ago are now trying to induce me to run for Congress.

"I mention these things to sustain my own opinion that the people here, as well as elsewhere, are sound, if only given the facts. But that is exactly what is not being done, as you so well know.

"You may enroll me for the war. I shall use your 'Call to Americans' in an editorial, and I am enclosing you some names of persons to whom I wish you would send copies of this 'Call.'"

X X X

## WHAT WE HAVE DONE

Realizing that people are always glad to know the details of any movement in which they are interested, we have tried to give you in the following about what you would see or learn if you were actually to visit us at 15 East 40th Street, New York, as hundreds of our members have been and are able to do.

You would first of all see a busy office with typewriters clicking and every evidence of growth, activity and enthusiasm. The Conference idea has been endorsed by thousands of people. We know beyond all question that the Convention will be a success both as to numbers attending and the character of that attendance.

Although no effort as yet has been made by the National Executive Committee to form local organizations, some of the larger cities have been organized through local initiative, and state organizations are also being formed in a number of states.

The headquarters is planning to begin an organizing campaign immediately after the announcement of the place and date of the Conference and the publication of the official "Call." This will include all states.

*. During the month of July, nearly one hundred thousand pieces of printed matter were mailed from the headquarters.*

The daily gain in membership in the various states is a matter of absorbing interest. Within three weeks after the first announcement of the Conference, members had been enrolled in all but the following states: Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico and Mississippi. One by one these outlying states fell in line until now we are in fact as well as name, a Committee of citizens representing forty-eight states.

New York, of course, leads all states in number of members, after which the following are close competitors for second place: Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and California.

## FINANCE

During the month of July we proved these two things beyond all question.

FIRST: The liberal and independent voters of America are far more numerous than is generally supposed, and they want to organize.

SECOND: The most effective and the cheapest way to reach the people with our literature is by means of first class mail (letters accompanied by our folders and other literature).

As a result of mailing thousands of such letters in July we doubled our membership. And the work which we started will be cumulative. Hundreds of new members asked for extra folders—some as many as five hundred copies, and these folders are now being widely circulated.

The cost of our July membership drive, in addition to regular expenses, was a little more than \$1,500. At the beginning of the month we sent a letter to the members stating what the expenses would probably be and asked for special contributions. The response was so generous that we ended with only a trifling deficit. Several special contributions of \$100 each were received, but most of the total sum was contributed in small individual amounts.

Beginning August 15th, we are planning another thirty day membership drive in exactly the same way as the one described above. We shall need more money.

While we expect some generous contributions, our larger hope is that every member of the Committee will contribute something.

## THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee consists of the following:

William F. Cochran  
Lincoln Colcord  
McAlister Coleman  
William Paine Everts  
Rev. Percy S. Grant  
H. B. Hoffman  
J. A. H. Hopkins  
Martyn Johnson  
Horace M. Kallen

J. W. McConaghy  
Allen McCurdy  
Dudley Field Malone  
Frank A. Pattison  
Gilbert E. Roe  
Mary K. Simkhovitch  
George P. West  
Major Samuel P. Wetherill, Jr.  
Bishop Charles D. Williams

Oswald W. Knauth

This Committee meets at the headquarters every Monday at 4:30 and passes on all important measures connected with the work of organizing the Conference.

## THE QUESTIONNAIRE

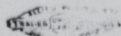
Questionnaires dealing with the platform problems which will be handled by the Conference have been sent to each signer. We will continue to send these questionnaires to new members until September 15th at which time the referendum will close. If you have not returned your questionnaire, please do so. If mislaid another copy will be mailed to you on request.

## HOW YOU MAY HELP

- 1st—Distribute folders.
  - 2nd—Secure new members.
  - 3rd—Organize local committees.
  - 4th—Make a contribution.
- If you are unable to do all, do something.

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Our next bulletin will be the official call naming the date and place of the Conference and specifying the manner of selecting the delegates.



GENERAL COMMITTEE

ROBERT W. BRUERE  
LINCOLN COLCORD  
OTTO CULLMAN  
WILL DURANT  
WILLIAM P. EVERTS  
GILSON GARDNER  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
J. A. H. HOPKINS  
MARY H. INGHAM  
HORACE M. KALLEN  
OSWALD W. KNAUTH  
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT  
ALLEN MCCURDY  
DUDLEY FIELD MALONE  
GEORGE NASMYTH  
MARY PATTISON  
GILBERT E. ROE  
MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH  
GEORGE P. WEST  
ARTHUR G. WRAY  
CHARLES ZUEBLIN

The  
committee  
of  
**48**

COMPOSED OF MEN AND WOMEN  
OF THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES

15 EAST 40TH STREET

NEW YORK CITY

J. A. H. HOPKINS  
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

ALLEN MCCURDY  
SECRETARY

WILLIAM F. COCHRAN  
TREASURER

TELEPHONE, VANDERBILT 4126

Cleveland, Ohio,  
November 14, 1919.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,

City

Dear Sir:-

In accord with request from the Executive Committee, I am asking you to attend a meeting for the purpose of effecting an initial organization of those interested in this movement.

This meeting will be held at the Parlor of the Woodland Ave. Presbyterian Church, cor. Woodland Avenue and East 46th Street - EAST 46TH STREET ENTRANCE, on Tuesday, November 18th, 1919.

Permit me to urge your attendance, which is specially important at this time. If for any reason, you cannot come, kindly advise me by 'phone or letter if that be possible.

Very truly yours,

*W. F. Black*  
E. P.

Acting Secretary.

9603 Miles Ave.  
Broadway 1101-J

Toledo, Ohio, April 8, 1921

Rabbi A. H. Silver  
Cleveland.

Dear Sir :-

If I am not mistaken  
you are a member of the Com-  
mittee of 48 of 15 E. 40<sup>th</sup> St. N. Y.  
I tried to get Mr. Morris Koback-  
er, prominent Toledo merchant, to  
sign as a 48 er but he said  
he was not well enough posted on it  
but that if you would endorse the  
Committee of 48 he would join.

So would it be asking too  
much for you to write a line  
to Mr. Kobacker which would  
be all that would be needed to  
influence him favorably.

Thanking you & hoping you  
will speak here often I am

Yours respectfully  
Edgar Steinem

2228 Scottwood Av.

Toledo, O.

Of Rabbi Silver

just you go around lecturing  
all you want you pack of dam  
jew slackers and menances  
Henry Ford is right about you  
lousy jews starting all this  
war and your lousy jew bankers  
sending funds to make other  
races fight the way the lousy  
jew and semi jew catholic  
will rule U.S. but we have you  
menances the way we want you  
both we are wiping you menances  
out of Europe now for U.S. dont  
think by that dam K. B. organiz<sup>3</sup>  
co. operating with you that any

of your menances will put a dirty  
lousey jim bolshevik or an irish catholic  
sinner for in there in any high  
political job because both of your  
menances are not strong enough  
for us this is a prodigious country  
and we will keep it so no jim or irish  
catholic will ever be elected president  
of U.S. as we have proven our challenge  
both of your our committee is too  
strong down with you dirty jim Rabbis  
and irish catholic sinner jim priests  
every bill that a catholic or a jim put  
in congress our ministers are in Albany  
to stop them you see how strong our  
committee is no jim Rabbi or irish cath<sup>olic</sup>  
priest can do that as they have not  
that much influence go back to Cincinnati  
and tell the dirty lousey jims there we  
challenge them they are afraid  
Committee of 48

THE PRESENT SITUATION  
- and -  
THE COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT

The Committee of Forty-Eight finds itself in the month of the inauguration of President Harding in a more favorable position for forming a new national political party of progressive principles than at any time since its inception.

The facts are:

- FIRST: That the overwhelming victory scored by the reactionary Republican Party was due to the large protest vote registered against the equally reactionary Democratic Party, the people having no other channel through which to express their disgust with existing conditions for which the Republican and Democratic Parties are jointly responsible.
- SECOND: That the insignificant vote cast for the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Parties in the recent election, aggregating only 4% of the total vote cast, has proved conclusively that the American people are neither class-conscious nor radical and that, notwithstanding the widespread distrust of the reactionary old parties, the voters would not swing to the opposite extreme.
- THIRD: That the sentiment for a new party already in existence, augmented by the breakdown of the Democratic Party, will be further heightened by the inability of the Republican Party to face any of our vital economic problems, as evidenced by its complete lack of any constructive program designed to solve these problems.
- FOURTH: That the continued control of transportation, natural resources and basic industries by a financial and unscrupulous group, and the breaking down of the railroads under private ownership, will forcibly bring to the public's attention the remedies for these evils proposed in the revised platform of the Committee of Forty-Eight.

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For those who take their citizenship seriously, this is a time of great opportunity; of preparation for the task that must be done if the democratic principles advocated by our forefathers are to be re-established.

You have the opportunity now to give to this generation and to posterity a new birth of freedom. The responsibility rests with you whether SPECIAL PRIVILEGE shall continue to control American life and American politics, or whether the Government of the United States will again be administered for the common good.

(OVER)

I call on every member of the Committee to make the most of this opportunity. Send us today the signatures of five of your friends who can grasp the situation and who have the courage to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the approaching struggle upon which the liberty and happiness of all of us so largely depend.

J. A. H. HOPKINS

Executive Chairman  
Committee of Forty-Eight.

The Membership Campaign is now on.

The minimum dues are \$1. per month. Enroll five new members today. Use the blank below. Make these pledges as large as possible.

COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT ENROLLMENT BLANK

The undersigned hereby enroll as members of the Committee of Forty-Eight:

NAME	ADDRESS	Ant. Per Month
_____	_____	\$ _____
_____	_____	\$ _____
_____	_____	\$ _____
_____	_____	\$ _____
_____	_____	\$ _____

MAIL PROMPTLY TO OUR NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,  
15 East 40th Street, New York City.

## F A C T S

### OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF THE COMMITTEE OF 48

#### I. THE BANK OF NORTH DAKOTA THE NEW CABINET

Attention is called to Bulletins 4 and 5 regarding the North Dakota Bank situation and the personnel of Mr. Harding's Cabinet, which have already been sent to the press and received wide publicity.

#### II. COMMITTEE HEARS STEEL INVESTIGATOR

Heber Blankenhorn, Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement spoke to an enthusiastic gathering of Forty-Eighters and their friends at a meeting at New York headquarters on February 28th. This was the first of a series of meetings which will be addressed by experts conversant with the economic issues contained in the Committee's platform.

Mr. Blankenhorn's account of the methods used by the Interchurch investigators and his scientific attitude towards the entire subject was of especial interest to Forty-Eighters as a resolution urging that the Interchurch report be made a public document was recently sent to Congress by the Executive Committee.

#### III. VISITORS

Among those who have been with us this week are Mrs. Lillian M. Ascough of our Michigan Committee, Julius Respohl, Executive Committeeman from Illinois, and Spurgeon Odell, Financial Agent of the State of North Dakota.

#### IV. PUBLICITY BUREAU BUSY

The list of newspapers that have written to Headquarters requesting statements from the Committee has grown so large that a bulletin service has been inaugurated. Bulletins are now being sent once every two weeks to many newspapers and periodicals which are using them regularly.

#### V. RAILROAD SITUATION

The recently formed Research Committee of the Committee of 48 is preparing a report on the workings of the Esch-Cummins Law during the past year and the present railroad situation. A digest of this report will appear next month.

#### VI. HOPKINS ADDRESSES WOMAN'S PARTY

Executive Chairman J. A. H. Hopkins presented the platform of the Committee to the Convention of the National Woman's Party held at Washington, D. C., February 15 to 18. Mr. Hopkins urged the women to beware of entangling alliances with the organizations of both old parties and pointed out that neither presented any practical way out of our present economic ills.

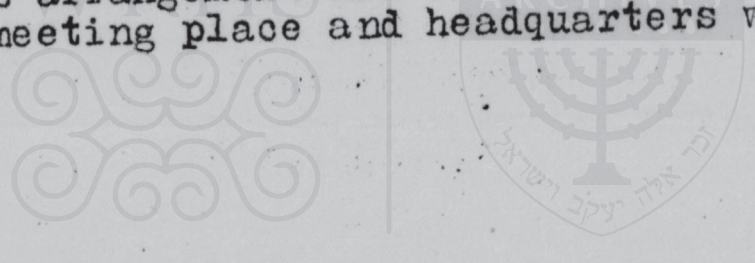
VII. OFFICIAL VOTE CANVASS

The official canvass of the Presidential vote is as follows:

Harding -- Republican	16,203,353
Cox -- Democratic	9,201,591
Debs -- Socialist	914,869
Christensen -- Farmer-Labor	252,425
Watkins -- Prohibition	187,470
Total Vote Cast	<u>26,759,708</u>

VIII. HOTEL DRISCOLL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Arrangements have been made with Mr. F. P. Orbello, Manager, to accommodate any members of the Committee of 48 at special rates and to furnish meeting or conference rooms when desired without extra charge. All members are requested to take advantage of this arrangement and to consider the Hotel Driscoll as our official meeting place and headquarters while in Washington, D. C.



COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT  
15 East 40th Street  
New York City

- - -  
SPECIAL BULLETIN SERVICE

Bulletin #4 -- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Commenting upon the situation in North Dakota, whereby the entire legislative program of the State has been paralyzed by the refusal of the banking group to allow the flotation of the \$6,000,000. bond issue authorized by the State government, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, Executive Chairman of the Committee of 48, said:

"The highway robbery perpetrated on the State of North Dakota by the Wall Street banking group is as outrageous as it is startling. It is a visible evidence that 'Wall Street' holds us by the throat through its absolute control of our transportation system, our industries and our credit. It is proof, furthermore, that 'Wall Street' neither fears nor hesitates to exercise this power arrogantly, even to the extent of saying to the people of an entire State and to the government which they have themselves established, 'your money or your life!'"

"The real facts of the situation should be proclaimed on the front sheets of every newspaper in the land. They are as follows:

"Several years ago the people of North Dakota by an overwhelming initiative vote demanded of their Legislature a specific program of fundamental economic reform. This mandate was ignored and the Legislature refused to act. Then the voters went to the polls and elected a new Legislature which enacted these measures into law. This program may not have been perfect. Few programs are. But it was sane, constructive, progressive, and placed North Dakota in the front rank as an example of legislation required in other States in order to meet our present day problems. The merits of this program and the remarkably successful achievements that had been accomplished up to that time, were clearly stated by Governor Frazier in his address at Carnegie Hall last Spring. To describe it as 'the Socialist State' or 'the socialistic plans of the Townley organization' is to misrepresent intentionally one of the greatest progressive movements of our times.

"The reason for the present holdup is altogether different and arises from the fact that North Dakota succeeded in breaking away from the 'Wall Street' grip. It established its own financial system, which was neither unsound nor impracticable. It centered in the Bank of North Dakota, a governmentally owned bank, which combined the best features of the Federal Reserve Act and the Federal Farm Loan System. The Bank of North Dakota also established a rural credit system by which the farmers could, with proper security, borrow the necessary money to finance their crops at 6% instead of 8.7%, the rate heretofore exacted by the banking group. The result

of this and other similar legislation saved the farmers of North Dakota millions of dollars which had previously flowed into the coffers of the banking group and 'Wall Street' determined not to let this gold mine slip through its fingers. It also feared that the example set by the independent, hardworking farmers in managing their own affairs in their own way would be followed by other groups in the country and that the bankers' control of political and economic machinery might be threatened. Its opportunity came when the Bank of North Dakota put out an issue of \$6,000,000. worth of 6% bonds. There is no question but that the public would readily have absorbed these bonds had it been allowed to do so. They were government securities, perfectly sound, yielding a good rate of interest, and the proceeds were to be used to carry out the progressive legislation, the constitutionality of which had already been passed upon by the Supreme Court. The economic program of the Non-Partisan League in no way impaired the investment value of these bonds. Even some of the Eastern banks were subscribing for large blocks, and Eastern bonding houses were ready to do their part in floating the bonds, but they were not allowed to do so. They were told by 'Wall Street' that the sale of the bonds must be prevented at all hazards. Then this same banking group, through its Minnesota connections, frankly told the Government of North Dakota that if they gave up their legislative program -- the program for which the people of North Dakota had voted and which they had demanded for their own protection -- it would furnish the money and take the bonds. In the meantime, it succeeded in inserting a joker in the North Dakota law making it optional, instead of compulsory, for the local banks to deposit their State funds in the Bank of North Dakota. Consequently, the latter could not furnish the necessary funds to its local banks and communities, and the thirty-two local banks which are said 'to have failed' simply had to declare a moratorium and close their doors until the situation straightened out.

"In other words, 'privilege', which is described in the platform of the Committee of 48 as 'the unjust economic advantage by possession of which a small group controls our natural resources transportation, industry and credit, stifles competition, prevents equal opportunity of development for all, and thus dictates the conditions under which we live', is showing its teeth. It is strangling the State of North Dakota in defiance of the expressed wishes of its Electorate in order that the People of North Dakota may be exploited for the benefit of the Eastern banking clique.

"When Roosevelt showed signs of progressivism, 'Wall Street' deliberately precipitated the Panic of 1907. From 1912 to 1916, when Wilson stood out against the 'partnership of big business', it threw every obstacle in his way. In 1921, when the People of North Dakota have set an example to the other States by breaking away from its control, it has arrogantly broken their credit by denying them banking facilities.

"It is high time that the people of the country at large realized what this means. It is high time for them to understand that if the progressive forces in North Dakota had been linked up with a national movement through a strong opposition party, 'Wall Street' could not have carried through its designs, and it is worth while for every individual, small or large, to remember that until 'Wall Street's' grip is broken by a political re-alignment, our boasted democracy is a joke, and our individual credit and the welfare of our families are at the mercy of this financial oligarchy.

February 17, 1921.

Committee of 48  
15 East 40th Street  
New York City

COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT  
15 East 40th Street  
New York City

- - -  
S P E C I A L B U L L E T I N S E R V I C E

Bulletin #5 -- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The following statement on the personnel of Mr. Harding's Cabinet was issued today by Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, Executive Chairman of THE COMMITTEE OF 48, from its National Headquarters, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. Mr. Hopkins's many years training in Wall Street and his familiarity with our financial methods lends a peculiar interest to his comments.

He says: "The makeup of Mr. Harding's Cabinet is significant. Five members are corporation lawyers. Two members adequately represent the banking interests. Two represent the reactionary press. Two are frankly militaristic and are openly supporting the tremendous appropriations for a superlative naval and military establishment.

"The influence of 'patronage', the lifeblood of the corrupt political machine, is amply satisfied. Roosevelt's 'invisible government' and Wilson's 'partnership of big business' are well organized. The contention of THE COMMITTEE OF 48 that 'a small group controls our natural resources, transportation, industry and credit, stifles competition, prevents equal opportunity of development for all, and thus dictates the conditions under which we live' and that the incoming Administration is solidifying this control, is amply corroborated. Mr. Harding's appointments indicate clearly that the financial control so obviously represented and backed by the most expert legal talent and the power of the press, will brook no interference.

"The necessity for a new opposition party pledged to economic reconstruction and aimed directly at THE ABOLITION OF PRIVILEGE and group control, was never more strongly demonstrated. Unless such a party is formed and properly organized before 1922, the country will realize that however strongly the voters may have registered their disapproval of the Wilson Administration, they have jumped from the frying pan into the fire. Moreover, no other result can be expected so long as our national life is dominated by the bi-partisan Democratic-Republican Party. It is high time for a new political alignment."

February 23, 1921.

Committee of Forty-Eight,  
15 East 40th Street  
New York City

## OUR PROGRAM

As a result of the several Chicago Conventions, the purpose of the Committee of 48, which was never surrendered nor compromised, stands out clear and distinct.

We told you in the last issue of "FACTS" the history of these Conventions. We now present for your thoughtful consideration our program for future activity and ask that you support this program wholeheartedly.

Our course of action, (leading up to the calling of a National Convention soon after the November Elections), is:

FIRST: To conduct a vigorous and aggressive campaign in 1920 against both the Republican and Democratic Parties, and thus swell the protest vote by means of which the people of the United States can register their disgust with the existing political bureaucracy and emphasize their demands for a new national party in 1922 and 1924.

SECOND: To lend every possible support to the Congressional and other candidates nominated or endorsed by our State Committees.

THIRD: To demand the IMMEDIATE repeal of the iniquitous Esch-Cummins Railroad Law, which has already through additional freight rates added a prospective \$5,000,000,000. to the cost of living, which means an outright addition to the living expenses of every family in the United States of \$250. It has also raised passenger rates from 20% to 50%.

FOURTH: To conduct a widespread campaign of publicity and education, organizing every Congressional District and DEVELOPING FROM OUR OWN RANKS candidates, who will again contest the Congressional Elections in 1922 and the Presidential and Congressional Elections of 1924.

THE CALL  
TO A  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF  
AMERICAN  
MEN *and*  
WOMEN

BY  
*The*  
committee  
*of*  
**48**

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
15 East 40th Street, New York City  
Telephone, Vanderbilt 4186

## A CALL TO ACTION

**Y**OU are invited to join liberal and independent voters from the forty-eight states in a Conference to be held in St. Louis, December 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1919, for the following purposes:

1. To determine and specifically set forth the fundamental principles for dealing with the political, social, economic facts and problems which affect the lives and liberties of Americans to-day, and the future of civilization;

2. To adopt a definite method of political action for giving these principles immediate force in the government of the United States and in the international relations of the republic.

You are invited to this Conference in the belief that you share with us the profound conviction that the time for action has come. The fact and the spirit of our ancient liberty must be restored, must be fitted to the realities of our modern life. This is a challenge to democracy, to the very genius of popular government. As we are worthy of this heritage, we shall meet it with a fitting expression of national mind and will, with intelligent and concerted action.

### THE FACTS

The dominating groups of the two principal political organizations do not desire, and do not even understand, that free citizens should determine their own political and economic life. They have so long weighed the word above the fact that facts for them have no meaning. They have turned over the actual government of the land to reactionary and predatory interests and contented themselves with the honors and emoluments of office as the servants of these interests.

They have made public confession that between them lies no question of political debate save the one of deciding which group shall enjoy the possession of public office.

They have lost contact with the needs and desires of the people that they might maintain contact with the needs and desires of the rapacious interests.

They have levied huge loans and raised great sums by heavy taxation, necessitating a careful economy on the part of citizens, while government itself disburses the money thus obtained with callous extravagance.

They have, by the inevitable inflation which resulted from these methods and by their

failure even to attempt the wise stimulation and regulation of production and distribution in this critical period, permitted the cost of living to reach a point where the mass of the people are reduced to silent desperation and the interests are glutted with exorbitant profits.

They have connived at the wrecking and looting of the transportation systems of the country and now jointly determine to return the railroads, rebuilt at the public charges, to those very interests who so demoralized them that their condition menaced the safety of the republic in a time of national peril.

They have challenged our right to free speech and free assembly, and ignored our right to a decent living for a day's work. They have met the nation-wide demand for constructive thought and deed with vague rhetoric and the aimless repetition of dusty political phrases that have no meaning in a world of facts.

They have for nearly one year faced a world in which industry, the basis of modern civilization, disorganized by war and unable to re-adjust itself unaided to the forces released by war, is threatened with complete dissolution.

In the face of these grave problems they have shown that they are without the vision of statesmanship, the courage of leadership, or the conviction of patriotism.

These are the facts.

## THE REMEDY

This is the situation. The present and the future are in the hands of two political parties who have no differences excepting in name and no aim excepting plunder. They are revealed to themselves and to the people as a single group moved only by their common purpose of making government a profitable business for themselves and for the interests who finance their periodical sham battles.

Partisan plots form their habitual answer to the cry for popular reforms.

Our government will remain irresponsible and irresponsible to the people so long as it is controlled by men who are responsive and responsible to the enemies of the people. We who have the liberty and well-being of our country at heart, the intelligent and

liberal citizens of the republic, are a majority. We can control our government. We can meet this crisis and solve its problems. **BUT WE MUST UNITE.** Only by concerted action can we accomplish political results. The strength of the interests who rule the existing parties has been that we have been scattered and divided. We have followed a seemingly sincere leader of one party in one section of the country and embraced a local issue of the opposite party in another section, only to discover again and again that we had done nothing to shake the real control of either party.

Their hope is to keep us thus scattered and divided, without the guidance of common counsel, without the strength of common action.

This Call for a Conference is our answer.

It is a time of grave peril and of great hope. Brave and wise things must be quickly done. It is a day that we hold in solemn trust, the trust of posterity, as our forefathers more than a century ago held our present in trust. The wheel has swung full-circle and it has come to our generation to preserve for to-day and tomorrow the liberty that was won for us yesterday. We must restore full liberty of speech and action and spirit and strike off the shackles from the minds and muscles of men and women so that all who toil with hand or brain shall be henceforth free to work and live as freemen.

*This can be done. The American people can do it. Will you help?*

**COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT**

## **Among the thousands of signers of the Call are the following:**

Harry A. Allers, Md.—Murray Auerbach, Ga.—John A. Avirette, N. Mex.—Melinda Alexander, Ill.—Florence E. Allen, Ohio—Rev. Henry A. Arnold, Ohio—Mary Scott Allen, Conn.—Rev. Harold G. Arnold, Mass.—Capt. Thos. Addis, Calif.—Rev. Andrew C. Aston, Texas.

Robert W. Bruere, New York—Allen T. Burns, New York—Dr. Henry Borst, Fla.—A. F. Bentley, Ind.—Usher L. Burdick, N. Dak.—Louis F. Budenz, Mo.—Bishop Benjamin Brewster, Me.—Warren S. Blauvelt, Mich.—Prof. G. G. Benjamin, Iowa—Herbert S. Bigelow, Ohio—A. M. Baldwin, Pa.—Rev. Herbert W. Butler, Mass.—Marie C. Brehm, Cal.—Robert C. Benchley, New York—Rev. J. E. Bird, Ala.—W. P. Boland, Pa.—Peter Burnett, Ohio—B. Lord Buckley, New York—Mrs. Benjamin Brewster, Me.—Jennie Buell, Mich.—Rev. James E. Barbour, R. I.—Edwin M. Borchard, Conn.—Carl Berus, R. I.—Rev. Olympia Brown, Wis.—Franz Boas, N. J.—Robert P. Bass, N. H.—Miss Agnes G. Balch, Mass.—James S. Barstow, Mass.—Dean R. Brimhall, New York—Mrs. Ruth Standish Baldwin, N. Y.—Rabbi Israel Brettan, W. Va.—Mrs. Dorothy Dulles Bourne, N. Y.—Halsey J. Bugg, N. Y.—George Boke, Cal.—Dr. L. F. Bunte, Mo.—E. W. Bagby, Ky.—L. Byer, La.—Howard W. Brandt, Va.—Lawrence P. Boyle, Ill.—Mrs. Ruth S. Baldwin, N. Y.—John Bauer, N. J.—W. T. Bishop, Ohio—Chas. L. Broome, N. J.—D. E. Burchell, Mass.—Alice Burton, Minn.—Mrs. Geo. Burnham, Jr., Penn.—Leo M. Bell, Kans.—E. J. Bushne, Ohio—P. F. Brissenden, D. C.—Witter Bynner, N. Y.—John Basil Barnhill, Ill.—James Burton, Wash.—Dr. C. C. Bartholomew, N. Y.—Harriet Brewer, N. Y.

Prof. Geo. A. Coe, N. Y.—Clarence Carr, Ohio—J. Dudley Carroll, Tenn.—Albert Croissant, Calif.—Lincoln Colcord, N. Y.—Herbert Croly, N. Y.—Dorr H. Carroll, N. D.—John J. Carney, Okla.—Henry Sleidell Cauby, Conn.—Prof. Clarence M. Case, Iowa—Mrs. Miriam H. Chapin, Vt.—Charles A. Coolidge, Mass.—Edmund Vance Cooke, Ohio—Otto Cullman, Ill.—S. H. Craig, Texas—Frederick A. C. Cowper, N. C.—Prof. Frank T. Carlton, Mich.—John Cairns, Conn.—Timothy Crowley, Conn.—John S. Codman, Mass.—Dr. E. H. Collier, Mich.—McAlister Coleman, N. Y.—William F. Cochran, Md.—Howard S. Cullman, Colo.—Dr. J. Newton Cloe, Ill.—Zachariah Chafee, Jr., Mass.—Dr. C. W. K. Crum, Md.—Pauline Clarke, D. C.—Emilie B. Cortis, N. Y.—Rev. Herbert H. Clarke, Wis.—A. M. Chapin, Cal.—Odin G. Clay, Mont.—David C. Coates, Wash.—Wm. Chancellor, Ohio—Lewis Clark, Ark.—D. L. Callman, So. Car.—R. E. Cantrell, Ga.—James H. Clancy, Fla.—Allen J. Crandall, Idaho—Isabel Clarke, Cal.—Stuart S. Crippen, Ill.—Mrs. Gerald A. Cooper, N. Y.—Timothy Crowley, Conn.

Prof. Durant Drake, N. Y.—Jerome Davis, N. Y.—Will Durant, N. Y.—Mrs. Belle DeRiver, N. J.—John T. DeVries, N. Y.—Otto L. Dilworth, Conn.—C. A. Dagley, Ariz.—Albert DeSilver, N. Y.—Helen M. Dana, N. Y.—Dr. Jean DuBuy, Ore.—Horace A. Davis, Mass.—M. C. de Baca, N. M.—Mrs. H. A. Davis, Mass.—Rev. Chas. Dole, Mass.—Dorothy Dickinson, N. Y.—Jean Dickinson, Mass.—John F. Duffy, R. I.—Miss Helen Davis, Calif.—Mrs. H. H. Donaldson, Penn.—A. C. Daffron, Tenn.—Samuel Danziger, La.—Clarance C. Dill, D. C.—D. P. Dear, Miss.

Walter P. Eaton, Mass.—W. P. Everts, Mass.—Capt. Thomas D. Eliot, Ore.—Homer P. Earle, D. C.—Dr. John L. Elliott, N. Y.—Louis Erb, Mo.—Dr. Louis Edelman, Ala.—Elizabeth Glendower Evans, Mass.—V. A. Earp, Idaho—J. J. Edwards, N. Y.

Jeanne Robert Foster, N. Y.—D. C. Finley, Mo.—C. J. France, Wash.—Eva A. Frank, N. Y.—Charles L. Fredericks, Mont.—Mary Sigsbee Fischer, N. Y.—Estelle I. Frankfurter, Mass.—A. C. Fries, Ohio—Elizabeth Douglas Fry, Ohio—Frederick Fuller, Mass.—Mrs. Simeon Ford, N. Y.—John Eddy Franklin, Wash.—A. Forsyth, Mich.—Edgar R. Fisher, Cal.—H. E. Fraser, Wash.—Rev. R. A. Friedrich, Nebr.—Prof. Leonard Fox, No. Car.—E. L. Fisher, N. H.

Gilson Gardner, D. C.—Robert H. Gardiner, Me.—John H. Gabriel, Colo.—H. H. Griffiths, Ia.—Louis E.

Adams Grout, N. Y.—M. D. Girard, Mich.—Percy Stickney Grant, N. Y.—Rev. Noah C. Gause, N. J.—Henry Goldman, N. Y.—Henry W. Gardner, N. Y.—Zona Gale, Wis.—M. O. Graves, Cal.—Lucius F. Garvin, R. I.—George W. Galvin, M.D., Mass.—Ernest H. Gaunt, Mass.—Eleanor A. McGamble, Mass.—G. H. Greenwood, Wash.—Prof. Lawrence E. Griffin, Penn.—W. N. Gallman, Ga.—H. J. Garrett, Ga.—T. R. Gress, Ga.—J. W. Gurney, So. Car.—Dudley L. Guilbeau, La.—Thos. H. Grosvenor, M.D., Wash.—Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.

Cora R. Hutchinson, D. C.—L. B. Harris, Ga.—Alice M. Hill, D. C.—William Hard, D. C.—B. W. Huebsch, N. Y.—Dr. William L. Holt, Wis.—Clarence W. Halbert, Minn.—Charles F. Hoffman, Mich.—Homer C. Hockett, Ohio.—William F. Hopp, Mich.—Mrs. Florence S. Hyde, Ill.—John H. Hill, Ill.—Prof. Robert Herrick, Ill.—John Haynes Holmes, N. Y.—Lynn Haines, D. C.—Grace Hillyer, Mo.—Prof. Ellen Hayes, Mass.—Hon. Frederic C. Howe, N. Y.—H. B. Hoffman, N. Y.—George E. Hooker, Ill.—C. G. Hoag, Pa.—J. A. H. Hopkins, N. J.—Matthew Hale, Mass.—Amy Nali Hicks, N. Y.—Mary Dows Herter, N. Y.—Prof. A. N. Hume, So. Dak.—Judge John P. Hickam, Okla.—Rev. Joel B. Hayden, Ohio—R. P. Harvley, Ala.—Rev. Frank Oliver Hall, N. Y.—Jno. W. Henderson, Cal.—Bolton Hall, N. Y.—Elizabeth Houghton, Mass.—Rev. R. W. Hogue, Md.—James D. Hamlin, Texas—Wm. T. Hilles, Mass.—T. G. Harriman, Cal.—A. E. Holt, Wash.—Prof. M. H. Hedges, Wis.—J. M. Hall, Ga.—Dr. J. C. Howell, Fla.—Dr. G. M. Hunt, Tenn.—Cora Hutchinson, D. C.—Bertha Hills, Vt.—Dr. Geo. Ray Hare, N. Y.—H. E. Holmes, Me.—Frances Hessler, Ill.

Fredk. F. Ingram, Mich.—Mary H. Ingham, Pa.—Cecile Iselin, N. Y.—Frank P. Illsley, Ill.—Mrs. Wm. Imbush, Wis.—Alleyne Ireland, N. Y.

Martyn Johnson, N. Y.—Alvin Johnson, N. Y.—Morton E. Johnson, Ill.—Herschel H. Jones, N. Y.—Bishop Paul Jones, Me.—William Templeton Johnson, Cal.—David Starr Jordan, Cal.—Walter W. Judell, Wis.—Mrs. Clyde C. Jeffries, Kans.—Lauretta T. James, N. J.—Rev. Mercer G. Johnston, Tenn.—Frank E. Johnesse, Idaho.

Oswald W. Knauth, N. Y.—Myron A. Kesner, Texas—Prof. Isidore Kayfetz, N. Y.—W. J. Keating, N. Y.—Julius Kespohl, Ill.—Mary B. Knoblauch, N. Y.—Winifred Kirkland, N. C.—H. M. Kallen, Mass.—Charles L. Knight, Ohio—Albert W. Kruger, Minn.—M. J. Karpe, Ohio.

Agnes Brown Leach, N. Y.—Esther Lapham, D. C.—Rev. John Howard Lever, Mo.—Frances Lucas, R. I.—Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette, Ohio—Virginia Lambert, Mo.—Arthur W. Lambert, Mo.—Robert D. Leigh, D. C.—R. M. Lovett, Ill.—Sarah E. Lyons, Minn.—Rev. J. A. Leighton, Ohio—O. G. Libby, N. D.—Samuel Lavit, Conn.—J. Weller Long, Wis.—Mrs. J. L. D. Lanier, N. Y.—Mrs. Robert D. Leigh, Ore.—Rev. W. P. Ladd, Conn.—John W. Love, Ohio—Geo. M. LaMonte, N. J.—Owen R. Lovejoy, N. Y.—Mrs. Herman Loeb, Pa.—Madame Signe Lund, Wash.—Arthur LeSueur, Minn.—R. P. Lane, Va.—Rev. Robert E. Ave-Lallemant, Minn.—John T. Laws, Mont.—Ed Lee, No. Dak.—Kenneth S. Latourette, Ohio—Rush H. Limbaugh, Ohio—Rev. J. I. Lucas, Ark.—J. T. Ledford, Tenn.—Roger G. Lewis, No. Car.—Rev. M. H. Lichliter, Ohio—Adele Lewisohn, N. Y.—Dr. E. Le Sage, Wis.

Miss Mary McDowell, Ill.—H. R. Mussey, N. Y.—Elias Margolis, N. Y.—Allen McCurdy, N. Y.—Dudley Field Malone, N. Y.—Ralph E. Meras, N. H.—Mrs. Edwin S. Mead, Mass.—Prof. H. G. Moulton, Ill.—Alex McClure, Iowa—Prof. H. L. McCracken, Iowa—Lynn Mitchell, N. M.—Mary E. McAuley, Pa.—J. W. McConaughy, N. Y.—Vaughan MacCaughy, Hawaii—Byron C. Mathews, N. J.—Edmund Marshall, Mich.—Basil M. Manly, D. C.—Dr. William J. M. Maloney, N. Y.—Fred A. Moore, Pa.—Charles W. Margold, Conn.—Wallace MacMullen, N. Y.—Rev. Dr. John W. McIvor, Mo.—J. H. McGill, Ind.—James G. K. McClure, N. C.—A. K. Maynard, Ill.—Wm. O. Morgan, Me.—Anne Martin, Nev.—C. W. McClure, Ga.—Rev. L. Walter Mason, Penn.—Mrs. B. B. Manford, Va.—Vincent T. McGee, Del.—Malcoln H. McDowell, La.—John B. McBride, Ohio—A. E. Madison, Cal.—Rev. Walter MacPherson, Ill.—Hiram Moderwell, N. Y.—James McNamara, Md.—James A. Metcalf, Ga.

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Amos Pinchot, N. Y.—Mary Pattison, N. J.—Frank A. Pattison, N. J.—Rev. O. J. Price, Mich.—Dr. Helen S. Peabody, S. D.—Prof. George McCready Price, Cal.—J. J. Pettijohn, D. C.—Judge A. B. Pittman, Tenn.—E. E. Paramore, Jr., N. Y.—R. F. Pettigrew, So. Dak.—Lawson Purdy, N. Y.—Glenn E. Plumb, Ill.—Prof. Roscoe Pound, Mass.—Roland Palmedo, Va.—W. G. Patrick, Ky.—R. W. Pringle, Ga.—Dr. Willard A. Paul, Mass.

Paul Roberts, So. Dak.—Arthur W. Rawson, Va.—H. D. Richardson, Md.—M. W. Rives, No. Car.—Winifred Rhoades, N. H.—Ruth Robinson, R. I.—H. E. Rico, S. D.—Gilbert E. Roe, N. Y.—R. P. Risley, Pa.—John Herman Randall, N. Y.—Robert P. Reeder, D. C.—Prof. George Rebec, Ore.—George L. Record, N. J.—Robbins Russell, N. Y.—S. Robineau, N. Y.—John C. Ramsey, Tenn.—W. B. Rubin, N. Y.—Father Joseph Reiner, Ohio—Edw. F. Rhodenbaugh, Idaho—Jack Rhodes, Miss.—M. E. Ravage, N. Y.

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L. H. Trieschmann, Conn.—Helen Glenn Tyson, Pa.—Francis Tyson, Pa.—Gustavus Tuckerman, Mo.—Ordway Tead, N. Y.—Carl Thompson, Ill.—Gerrit T. Thorn, Wis.—Albert M. Todd, D. C.—Robert D. Towne, Pa.—Theodore F. Thieme, Ind.—Lawrence Todd, D. C.—Edward D. Tittman, N. M.—Prof. Donald R. Taft, Ohio—Dr. Carl Ten Broeck, N. J.—C. F. Turner, Mont.—W. J. Taylor, Nebr.—Harriet Stokes Thompson, Ill.—Dr. Samuel Thurman, Mo.—Prof. James Bishop Thomas, N. Y.

Ralph B. Urmy, N. J.—Mrs. Minnie Untermeyer, N. Y.

Dr. George Welby Van Pelt, Ala.—Oswald Veblen, Me.—Rev. Robt. D. Vinter, Wis.—F. C. Volkman, Md.

Edward H. Webb, Mich.—Charles F. Weller, Pa.—Prof. Tyrrell Williams, Mo.—Percy Werner, Mo.—Harry H. Willock, Pa.—Bishop Charles D. Williams, Mich.—John Pratt Whitman, Mass.—Ben F. Wilson, Calif.—Rev. A. W. Wishart, Mich.—Gaylord S. White, N. Y.—Franklin Wentworth, Mass.—George P. West, N. Y.—Walter E. Weyl, N. Y.—Judge Arthur G. Wray, Nebr.—Edward M. Winston, Ill.—Prof. N. R. Whitney, Iowa—Charles M. Whitmer, N. D.—Major Samuel P. Wetherill, Jr., Pa.—Chester W. Wright, Ill.—Edwin D. Wheelock, N. Y.—Arthur Evans Woods, Mich.—Clare Warne, Cal.—Bert Willard, Colo.—Geo. M. Wilcox, Iowa—Charles Wiedler, Ind.—Calvin Williams, Ark.—Laura C. Williams, D. C.—J. A. Williamson, Ga.—R. L. Witt, Ark.—August Williges, Iowa—Mrs. John Pratt Whitman, Mass.

James Youngblood, Mo.

Charles Zueblin, Mass.—Arthur A. Zinkin, N. Y.—Prof. George B. Zug, N. H.—John Zahnd, Mo.

## A WORD OF HISTORY

At a gathering of men and women interested in public affairs held in New York City in January, 1919, it was decided that some definite effort should be made to discover the opinion of the people concerning fundamental national issues.

The Committee of Forty-Eight was the result of this meeting.

At a later and larger conference, it was decided to issue a Call for a National Conference. The name "Committee of Forty-Eight" was adopted as representative of the national union of forty-eight states.

The committee stated its purpose in what is now known as "A Call to Americans" which was first published as an advertisement on March 22nd in four liberal journals.

This initial announcement met with instantaneous response, the volume of which has grown as the purposes of the committee have become more widely known.

While "The Call" recited some of the problems which confront the people of the nation, no solution was even suggested.

It was the thought of the initiators of the movement that the delegates and attendants should come to the Conference with open minds. Therefore, no individual member of the committee (all signers of "The Call" are members) is committed in advance to any policy.

A Platform Drafting Committee was selected in June. This committee issued a questionnaire which was submitted to all signers of the Call. A copy of this questionnaire will be mailed to all new members enrolled prior to November 1st, at which time the referendum will close. The Drafting Committee will then prepare a tentative platform based on the answers to the questionnaire for the final consideration of the Conference.

The Committee of Forty-Eight has thus in this democratic manner sought an expression of the liberal mind of America—the only mind which has the will and the capacity to deal with our national problems in a broad spirit of justice.

The committee is seeking to make the Conference representative not only of the forty-eight states, but of the best in American life.

If not already a member you are invited to join with us and enroll as a member by signing the card accompanying this folder.

**THE COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT,**  
15 E. 40th St., New York, N. Y.

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**N. B. Convention Headquarters in St. Louis  
will be at the Statler Hotel.**

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