

A
PROGRESSIVE
PRIMER



THE NEED OF THE HOUR

What do we need to keep the nation whole,
To guard the pillars of the state? We need
The fine audacities of honest deed;
The homely old integrities of soul;
The swift temerities that take the part
Of outcast right--the wisdom of the heart;
Brave hopes that Mammon never can detain,
Nor sully with his gainless clutch for gain.
We need the Cromwell fire to make us feel
The common burden and the public trust
To be a thing as sacred and august
As the white vigil where the angels kneel.
We need the faith to go a path untrod,
The power to be alone and vote with God.

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and Other Poems*.

By Edwin Markham.

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A PROGRESSIVE PRIMER

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MAX MURPHY

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WAR!

War.

I abhor!

And yet how sweet

The sound along the marching street

Of drum and fife, and I forget

Wet eyes of widows, and forget

Broken old mothers, and the whole

Dark butchery without a soul.

Without a soul—save this bright drink

Of heady music, sweet as hell;

And even my peace-abiding feet

Go marching with the marching street,

For yonder, yonder, goes the fife,

And what care I for human life!

The tears fill my astonished eyes,

And my full heart is like to break,

And yet 'tis all embannered lies,

A dream those little drummers make.

O! it is wickedness to clothe

Yon hideous, grinning thing that stalks

Hidden in music, like a queen

That in a garden of glory walks,

Till good men love the things they loathe;

Art, thou has many infamies,

But not an infamy like this,

O! snap the fife, and still the drum,

And show the monster as she is!

—RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

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The Progressive Bookshelf

For detailed description of these books and other tools, see Chapter V—Kitchen equipment.

BOOK SHELF FOR WOMEN INTERESTED IN POLITICS

BOOKSHELF NUMBER 1

World's Almanac
Wisconsin blue book
Elementary civics
Women and Labor
Wisconsin Citizen's handbook .
Wisconsin idea

BOOKSHELF NUMBER 2

World's Almanac
Wisconsin blue book
Wisconsin: an experiment in democracy
Labor problems and labor legislation
Political philosophy of Robert M. La Follette
Wisconsin citizens' handbook

PREFACE



THE aim of this little primer is to give to the women of the State, through a few examples, an understanding of what has been accomplished in the progressive movement, and to show them how they can use their new power in politics. It points out the interdependence between the business of getting a living and the business of politics. We hope that it will awaken in women, a realization of the necessity of making themselves count through the ballot, through holding office, through initiating legislation, and through participation in the enforcement of laws. The primer is an inspirational index to the Progressive movement in Wisconsin.

This little book owes its existence to three of the "Forward looking" women of the State. Miss Gena Thompson conceived the idea, Miss Irma Hochstein, aided by Mrs. Jennie Turner, made it a reality.

ADA L. JAMES,
President, Wisconsin Women's
Progressive Association.

CHAPTER I.



"Forward"

"FORWARD." That is the motto of Wisconsin.

What does it stand for?

It stands:

For those who have looked forward to a better future for the coming generation.

For those who are not content with things as they are.

For those to whom "The Wisconsin Idea" is dedicated.

"The hard handed men who broke the prairie, hewed the forests, made the roads and bridges, and built little homes in the wilderness. The Norse Lumberjack and the 'Forty-eight' German and the men of the 'Iron Brigade,' and, all toilers who, by their sweat, made possible our schools, a great university, and all the good that is with us. The legislators always criticised and never praised."¹

For those who are carrying the state ahead, as leaders through their service and usefulness.

¹ The Wisconsin idea—Charles McCarthy.

It will be interesting to study the lives of forward marching Wisconsin men and women. Their work is the work which we women must be carrying forward in the history we are making.

What do these names stand for in Wisconsin history:

Robert M. La Follette	W. D. Hoard
Charles K. Adams	George W. Peck
Albert R. Hall	Philetus Sawyer
Charles McCarthy	John C. Spooner
Silas I. Lapham	Lavinia Goodell
Henry C. Adams	Carrie Chapman Catt
Jememiah Rusk	Olympia Brown
Henry C. Payne	Mrs. Robert M. La Follette
Stephen M. Babcock	Zona Gale
John Bascom	Mrs. Louis P. Harvey
Frank Hutchins	Frances Willard
John B. Winslow	Mrs. Victor Berger
Solomon Juneau	Ada James

We see the difference between the forward-looking and acting and those who are reactionary all around us. How many of us have listened to these discouraging remarks:

"What do you want to do that for?"

"You'll never do that in a hundred years."

"You just can't change human nature."

In our ideals and purposes we join with groups working for the same things for which we are working. Sometimes many different groups unite for a common cause. At a recent meeting in Madison held in the interest of a free press there were present single taxers, democrats, socialists, republicans of every variety, prohibitionists, trade unionists, all having a common ground for common action, the fight for the truth in our news service. According to the work we wish to see accomplished, we join our forces to the activities of various groups. The more useful that work is, the more likely it is to be difficult of accomplishment. The more likely we are to be a small determined band. Garibaldi fought a hard losing battle. His followers knew the dangers and difficulties besetting them and yet they believed in him and

joined with him in spite of hardships. They followed him though he could offer them nothing.

"Whoever wishes to follow me, I offer him fresh battles, suffering and exile; treaties with the foreigner, never."²

Those who could understand followed the teachings of Galileo. Though his books were burned, and though he was imprisoned, the truth he set free has lived, **"The world does move."**

William Lloyd Garrison³ was marched through the streets of Boston with a rope around his waist because he believed in the abolition of slavery. It is not easy to be one who fights for progress toward greater and greater freedom.

Each one of us has her choice. Do we in our small way, want to be a Garrison, a Garibaldi or a Galileo, a Jane Addams, a Susan B. Anthony, or Frances E. Willard, a Clara Barton, a Florence Nightingale, or a Madame Curie, or do we want to be a Josiah Tucker, who said a hundred and thirty years ago:

"As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire, under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes and manners indicate that they will have no centre of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to the natural boundaries, by great bays of the sea and by vast rivers, lakes and ridges of mountains."

Do we want to help in the progress of the world or do we want to hold it back? We can and do hold it back by inaction, inertia and indifference. We must look about us. We women are making history now. We are part of it. Let us stick to Wisconsin's motto "Forward."

² Trevelyan, *Life of Garibaldi*, p. 280, *Crossing the Murrachia*.

William Lloyd Garrison by J. J. Chapman.

The leading forces in our social civilization have been known by various terms in various countries and at different times.

Liberal or Radical	Conservative
Progressive	Reactionary
Tory	Whig
Iconoclast	Dogmatist
Cooperator	Individualist

It would be well worth our while to study the meaning of these terms and find illustrations from characters in history and from the development of political movements. For example, the term progressivism in Wisconsin has come to stand for the legislative and governmental changes adopted during the last twenty-nine years under the direction and leadership of Robert M. La Follette. How the ground was prepared and the foundation laid by leaders like Carl Schurz, John Bascom and Albert R. Hall is an interesting chapter in Wisconsin history. The work of La Follette is well described in the two books included in our bookshelves "Wisconsin: an experiment in democracy" and "The Wisconsin Idea." To understand our political situation at present we must acquaint ourselves with the struggle between that progressive force in the state against the reactionary forces. We must know what an uphill fight those leaders had, to provide railroad regulation, to make democratic our elections thru the adoption of the primary election law, to create an industrial commission, to pass a workmen's compensation law, a public utilities act, to provide industrial education and university extension. We must know that we are still in that fight for further progress.

In making a study of the progressive forces in the country consider the following names:

Benjamin Franklin	Robert M. La Follette	Mary Lyon
Alexander Hamilton	Abigail Adams	Alice F. Palmer
John Quincy Adams	Lucy Stone	Lucretia Mott
Abraham Lincoln	Jeanette Rankin	Susan B. Anthony
John Brown	Jane Adams	Mary Walker
Wm. Lloyd Garrison	Mary Anderson	Anna Howard Shaw
Theodore Roosevelt	Florence Kelley	Harriet B. Stowe
Grover Cleveland	John Marshall	Louis D. Brandeis

How can they be classified? Are they radical or conservative? Have their lives been forward looking? Have they helped or hindered progress in our social civilization. One of them, William Lloyd Garrison was known in his generation as an agitator, and the term agitator in our day has come into disrepute, yet it was the work of men and women like him who led in the abolition of slavery. Nothing better describes the necessity for the work Garrison did than a statement of one of his friends to William Ellery Channing the noted New England preacher. Read the account in John J. Chapman's "Life of Garrison." It illustrates that all advances to bring about a greater degree of democratic freedom have been made with the pioneering help of those discontented fighting souls like him.

Suggestions for Study.

Make a list of forward looking men and women in Wisconsin. Determine how one you admire most would face and solve your present problems of government. Apply this to such questions as the election of school board members, street sanitation, county board issues for road building, etc.

What would a man like Robert M. La Follette do in fighting for a Mother's pension law, and in watching the administration of that law?

CHAPTER II.



The Business of Politics and the Industrial Revolution

"It has always seemed to me that women should play a larger part than they do in the greater housekeeping of the state. One of the factors in the improvement of conditions in Wisconsin has been the selection of able women for positions in the state service, particularly upon those boards having to do with the welfare of women.

"I believe not only in using the peculiar executive abilities of women in the state service, but I cannot remember a time when I did not believe in woman suffrage. The great economic and industrial questions of to-day affect women as directly as they do men. And the interests of men and women are not antagonistic one to the other, but mutual and co-ordinate. Co-suffrage, like co-education, will react not to the special advantage of either men or women, but will result in a more enlightened, better balanced citizenship, and in a truer democracy."—R. M. La Follette's *Autobiography*, pp. 314, 317.

THE VOTE.

We women have been given the vote. What power does a vote give us? How can we use it in the business of governing? How will it help us in the business of living? Can, we through our vote, provide for a just distribution of food, for good clothing and education? How can we through the right of suffrage and our entrance into politics work to fit government justly to human life? What must we do to make our vote count?

THE POLITICAL GARAGE.

We have tried to select a bookshelf helpful to those interested in politics. The shelf includes books which will give you facts on government. Through the questions and lists of references in these books the woman voter will be enabled to get at facts. But reading alone will not do the work, women must take an active part. They must actually organize, must learn that the best service can be given through actual work and through the act of voting. The work that women must do is very well expressed by Dorothy Canfield Fisher in the Pictorial Review for November 1921, in an article, "Hanging around the political garage." The following is her definition. "The Garage so to speak, for us newly enfranchised voters, is anywhere where any actual work in government is being done or anywhere where anybody with experience in the business will talk about it." In comparing an automobile in trouble with our political machinery she says, "Did anybody ever see the women in the back seat of the very car in trouble, get out, take an intelligent interest and hand the monkey-wrench?"

"Once in a great while, a woman driving her own car turns to and repairs her own car troubles. Such women are, to those who sit on the back seat and crochet while they wait for the men to fix it, what politically experienced women are to the rest of us. What we must all do, now that we are responsible partly for the running of the car we ride in, is to get off the back seat, take our manuals in our hands, and begin to hang around where the mechanic is fussing with the engine.—We can only learn by getting off the back seat and handing them the monkey-wrench."

IS WOMAN'S SPHERE THE HOME?

Yet some people still say that women should not meddle with the particular monkey-wrench called politics. They say, "Why should any woman be interested in government and politics? Woman's sphere is the home. She should take care of her children."

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.⁴

Home is woman's sphere but the world has come into her home and she has gone into the world. The change that has brought this about is known as the industrial revolution. Through the discovery of electricity and steam power, work went outside of the home into factories—Women followed. The work of men and women in those factories, daily affects the lives of all of us.

It is not much more than three generations ago the family worked together in the home. The home was:

The only dairy

The only laundry

The only textile mill

The only hospital

The only bakery

The only school.⁵

The only cannery

Our great grandmothers traveled by ox team. They made their own tallow candles and soap. They drew water from the well. They spun and sewed their own clothes. Everything was made by hand.

But a great change has come. Machines began to take the place of hand work. In 1819 the first steamboat crossed the Atlantic. In 1829 the first steam locomotive was used. In 1814 in the city of Lowell, the first factory power looms opened.

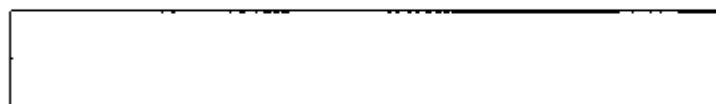
Number of people engaged in factory occupations U. S. census 1850 and 1920:

1850



250,000

1920



2,103,000

⁴ See an Elementary Civics by McCarthy, Swan and McMullin. The industrial revolution and the ballot, Chapter 3, pp. 11-15.

⁵ U. S. food administration Exhibit: How cooperation can help solve difficulty. Designed and written by Elizabeth C. Watson, 1917.

This change from hand power to steam power is known as the industrial revolution.

No longer do we provide all of our food and our clothing. The walls of the home have been extended, we are all living together in a community ever widening in its horizon. We must learn to help each other, to make laws to protect and cherish the welfare of all of us, not only women living in Boscobel, or Green Bay, not only women in Wisconsin or Missouri, but in the United States and the world. And not only for the interests of any privileged class, but for the common folk as well.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE.

When each woman churned butter for her own family she made it good enough to suit her husband and children. Sometimes it was excellent, sometimes not. Each housewife was a law unto herself. She made the butter, she and her family ate it. Nobody else was concerned. Now most of the butter is made in creameries or dairies—in large factories. Everyone who eats butter is concerned. How can we be sure that the butter we eat is made of clean sweet cream? That it is fresh and wholesome? That it is unadulterated? It is a part of the business of voting and governing to see that the best rules are made for the production of good butter for everybody—surely, we would not go back to the individual family churn!

It has been a long process covering many years from the day of the individual family churn to the regulation of butter production by the state and nation. A study of that progress would show us many agencies with direct and indirect power. Always back of those agencies to whom we delegate the power, stands the voter. We must learn to appreciate how much power we are placing in the hands of the experts who make our laws, and we must be watchful that our rights are safeguarded. At dairy food exhibits and state fairs, we have seen spread out on a table, a miniature farm house showing the cow stable, the milk cans and the route of the milk cans from the farmer's barn to the creameries. We have seen the poorly equipped, unsanitary farm contrasted with the modern, clean, well equipped farms and barns.

We seldom pause to ask ourselves what laws govern and protect the farmer in the marketing of his milk and in the transformation of the cream into butter. Many state departments have been created by state laws to aid and protect both the farmer and the consumer. These are the laws creating the State department of Agriculture, the Dairy and Food commission, the University College of Agriculture and the Marketing Commission. Then there are laws like the one providing for the tuberculin test of cattle and forbidding the transportation of diseased cattle into the state. There are local ordinances regarding the pasteurization of milk and cream. There is the state law permitting farmers to get together in an organized group, build their own creameries and produce their own butter through their own co-operative marketing associations. This law is known as the State Co-operative Law. All this necessary law-making illustrates that no matter in what manner we go about the business of producing butter at the present time, whether as a privately capitalized corporation erecting a creamery, or as a group of organized farmers running a co-operative creamery, the state through its law-makers, regulates the manner of producing that butter in order to protect each individual producer and consumer.

Not only the state but the national government is interested. When the farmers of Denmark can produce and ship butter to be sold in New York at a lower price than that of Wisconsin butter in the same market, we have an international problem that needs studying and regulating. The family churn has become an international churn.

This is but one illustration, but it is sufficient to show us how important to the welfare of each one of us it is that we understand the intricate complications of government. We must elect to represent us in the city councils and in the legislative bodies, men and women who understand the problems of government and who are honestly endeavoring to pass laws so that no injustice will be done to the people's interests.

CHAPTER III.



How A Law Is Made

WHY ARE LAWS NECESSARY?

We need but to look around us to appreciate how necessary laws are for our mutual welfare, happiness and safety.

A Ford car driving through the wilds of Africa needs no traffic rules. Over the brush and through the prairies it speeds on its way. That same Ford car, on a crowded city street, must observe certain laws. It must travel under the rules which the safety of the public and the orderly progress of traffic demands. Those traffic rules are often not made until serious trouble has arisen due to congestion of traffic or until people have been killed. It is the part of wise legislation to provide the laws before any trouble has arisen.

How Are Laws Made At Present?

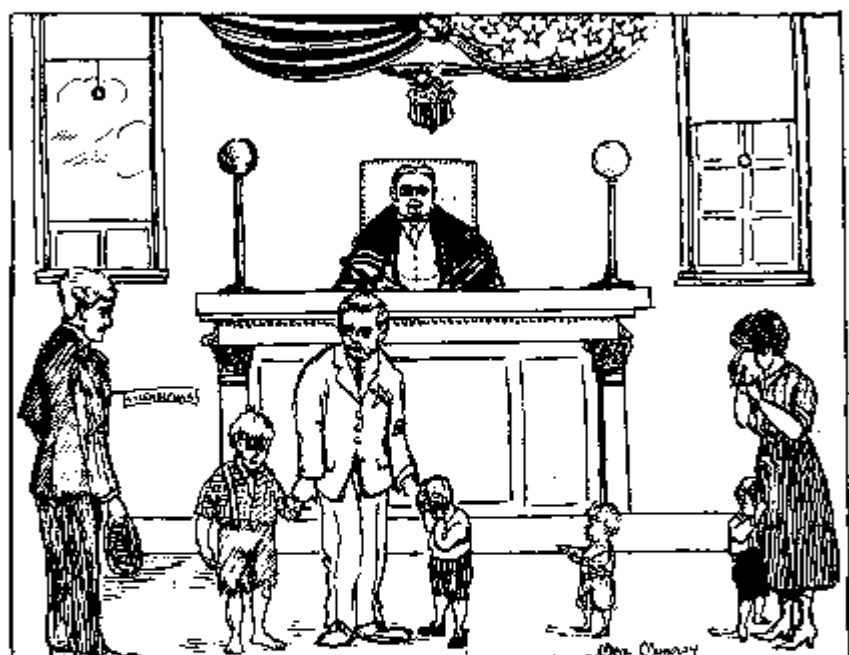
REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT,

Generations ago each community made its own laws to provide harmony and justice in its community life.^a The individ-

^a Elementary Civics. Ch. II. How England worked out representative government for the world. Ch. V. From the cave dweller to modern Boston.

Wisconsin League of Women Voters. Wisconsin citizens' handbook. Ch. 5.

uals took direct part in the town meeting. Today, we send our representatives to the common council of cities, to the state legislatures and to our national congress to make our laws for us. We are living under a system of representative government. It is only through the individuals whom we elect by majority vote that we can express our wishes in the law-making of the local government, of the state and of the national government. The



The Widowed Mother Sees Her Two Sons Committed to a Reformatory

individuals elected to these governing bodies by majority vote are called aldermen, legislators, congressmen. Our state legislators are either assemblymen or state senators.⁷ The members of the national congress are known as congressmen. These rep-

⁷ Wis. Const. Art. IV, Sec. 2. "The number of the members of the assembly shall never be less than fifty-four nor more than one hundred. The Senate shall consist of a number not more than one-third nor less than one-fourth of the members of the assembly." At present there are one hundred assemblymen and thirty-three senators.

representatives make the laws under which we live. The body of law which they have passed and which governs our relations to each other are known as the statute law of the country. This body of law has developed through the years we have lived in this country. Much of it our pioneer fathers brought over from the old countries.

CHANGING THE STATUTES.

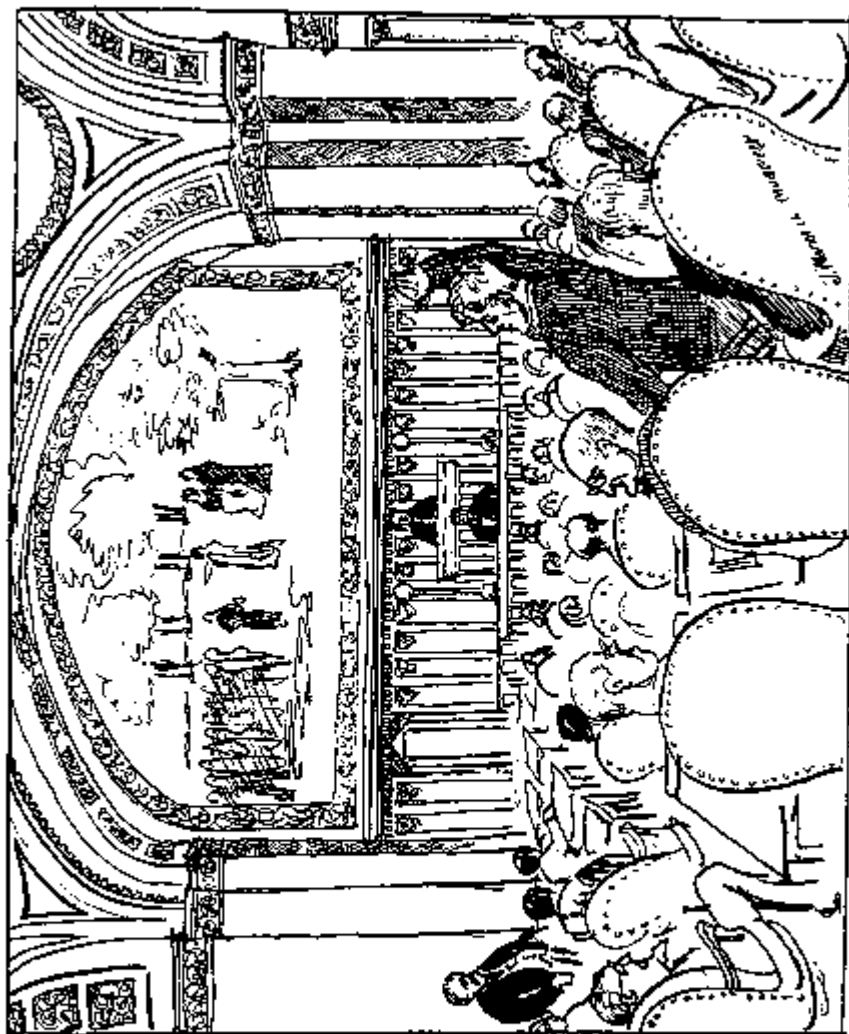
Now when a state legislator goes to the legislature he uses the volume called the Wisconsin statutes, the law of the state. At each session or meeting of the legislature the lawmakers may do one of three things; (1) They may repeal old laws in the statutes; (2) They may amend the old laws, that is, they may change parts of the old laws, whole paragraphs or just words or phrases to suit changing conditions; (3) They may create new laws. The desire and necessity for new laws comes when the old ones are ineffective or cannot justly take care of the conditions under which we live.

THE MOTHERS' PENSION LAW.

Sometimes the need for a law is felt long before action is taken. In the history of every law it is necessary to go back to the causes which led to its passage. The story of how a single law, the Wisconsin mothers' pension law, was passed, will serve to illustrate this.

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES FOR A MOTHERS' PENSION LAW?

We are all too familiar with the story of the breakup of a home upon the death of the father. The mother takes the work easiest to find, she goes out washing. The children, left alone, get into mischief. They cannot be kept clean and well fed. The mother comes home irritable and tired at night, the result too often is the commitment of the children to orphan asylums or reformatories. It was long recognized that some provision ought to be made to keep the family together to make it possible for a widowed or a deserted mother to bring up her children in her own home whenever she is competent. After all, the mother's influ-



The Debate on the Bill in the Assembly. The Introducer Answers the Objections of His Opponents.

ence is the best for her children. The question before the law-makers was: What steps must be taken to remedy a situation under which children were separated from their mothers and committed to institutions as public charges?

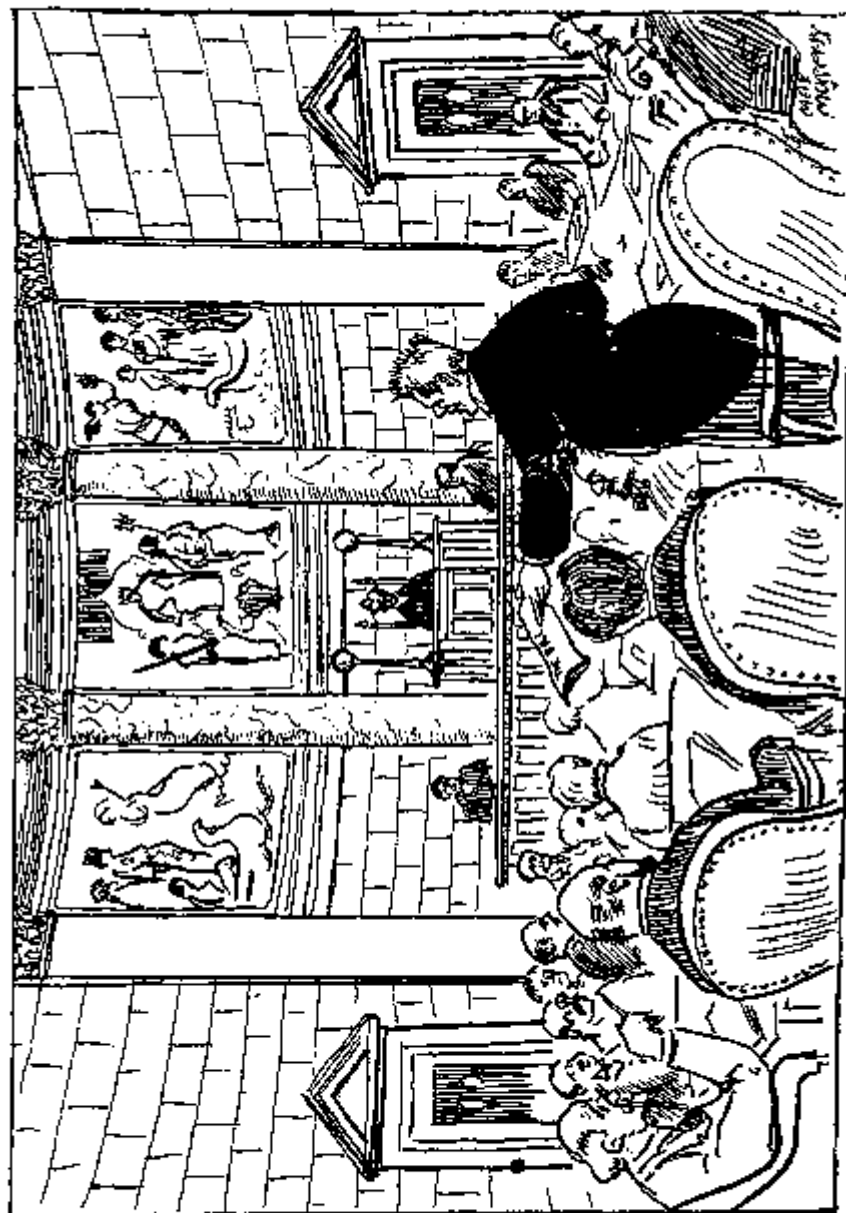
WHAT STEPS ARE NECESSARY TO PASS A LAW?

Often the very persons concerned are not in a position to help themselves. Take the case of the mother, widowed, left with three or four small children and no means of support. She has not the time nor the opportunity to plead her cause. But in numerous ways her case is called to the attention of those who can help. Her son, John, aged twelve, may have stolen some fruit and been brought before the juvenile court. In that way the judge learns of the family needs. Her daughter, backward in school because of undernourishment, may have been examined by the school health officer. One or two isolated cases would not be sufficient cause for action, but throughout the state, various people and agencies similar to the judge and the nurse come to know and feel that not only is an injustice being done to the mothers and children but that society at large is the sufferer. They realize that it is too late to save the horse after the barn is burned. The question is "How to keep the barn from burning?" How to provide means for the mother to keep the family together and be on hand to run her home at the time when the children's characters are being formed and they need her guidance. It is not a local matter to be handled by each community. The widowed or deserted mother may be found throughout the state. It clearly is the duty of the state to take the first step. The first step is to bring the question before the state legislature in the form of a bill.

THE WORK OF THE LEGISLATURE.

"There is one thing that is stronger than armies and that is an idea whose time has come."—Victor Hugo.

The need for a law may be so apparent that the attention is called to four or five legislators, and each one of them introduces a measure which in his judgment and that of his advisors will make the necessary provision. The law which passes usually is



The Bill in the Senate

a compromise containing one or more features of each of the bills introduced. This was the case of the Mothers' Pension Bill. We will trace the story of the bill which passed, Bill No 1053A, 1913, to show how many changes are made and how many minds are at work to bring about a required end.

Before the convening of the legislature, individuals interested in aiding widowed mothers undoubtedly had meetings with the legislator of their district about the provisions of the bill they wanted passed. Other people in other parts of the state, were getting together with other legislators in the same way.

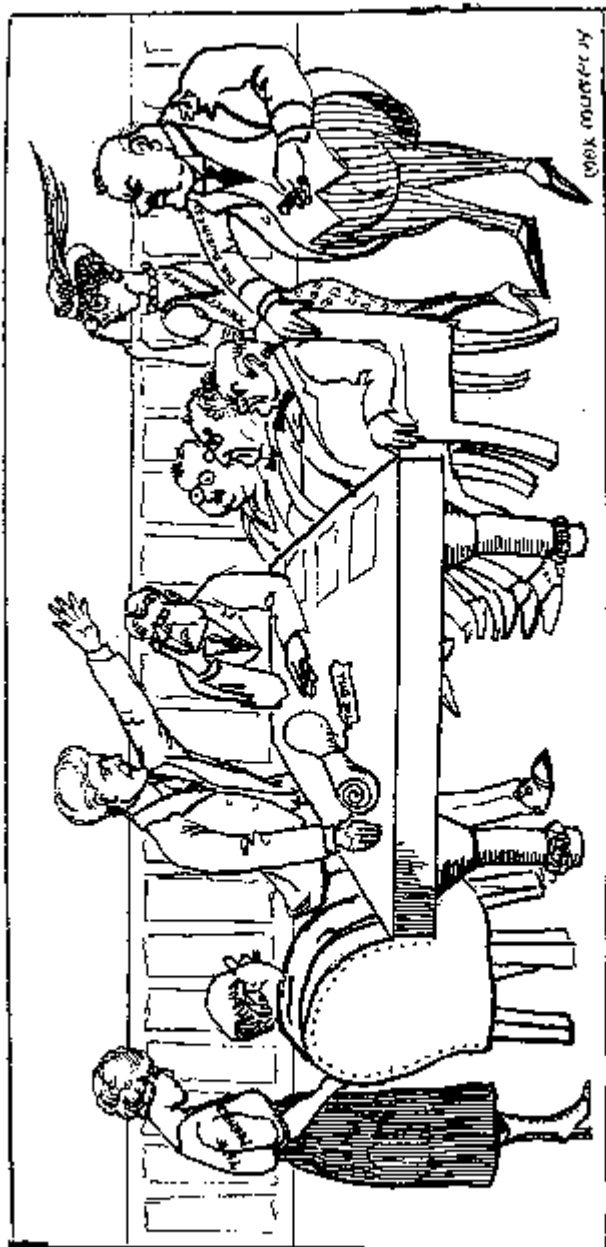
WHAT WERE THE GENERAL DEMANDS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE PROPOSED BILL.

Such informal conferences resulted in suggestions which made up the first rough provisions to be included in the bill. The principle that the mother ought to be paid a monthly amount for each dependent child was agreed upon. Many practical questions had to be considered; the best methods for raising the money; the agency through which the money should be paid; rules necessary to prevent women from imposing upon the state and getting more than their just deserts; all these factors had to be considered. Those who were interested did not go very far in their study and suggestions before they realized that they could profit by the experience of other states and countries—they needed to find out what other states had done to take care of their needy mothers.

WHERE COULD THEY GET THIS INFORMATION?

The Legislative Reference Library.

The legislative reference library served the legislators interested in the drafting of the mothers' pension bill in two ways: It provided expert legal assistance in drafting the bill so that it would be properly worded and would definitely state the intent of the lawmakers. It provided expert research assistance to furnish the laws of other states and countries and to find out how successfully these laws were being administered so that Wisconsin could profit by their experience. Anyone of us can



write out more or less roughly what principles should be included in the law. We cannot word it in legal language consistent with the Wisconsin statutes nor can we foresee all the difficulties which we will encounter in having a law work justly. The state of Wisconsin has established a legislative reference library which through its trained assistants, gives aid at state expense to the legislators who wish to use it. So satisfactory has this service been that 95 per cent of the legislators use this library each session, although its use is optional with the legislator. Before Wisconsin had such a department, legislators, unskilled in bill drafting, had to write out the bills themselves, or had to employ lawyers at great expense to themselves.

The library has pamphlets and clippings, bills, laws and reports showing what other states have done and are doing. These are for the use of all people interested in law making and especially for the use of the legislators. The library also has a bill drafting department with trained expert lawyers.

BILL DRAFTING.

To draft a bill ready for introduction means to write out the provisions to be included in concise accurate language with section numbers to show how each paragraph fits into the statutes.

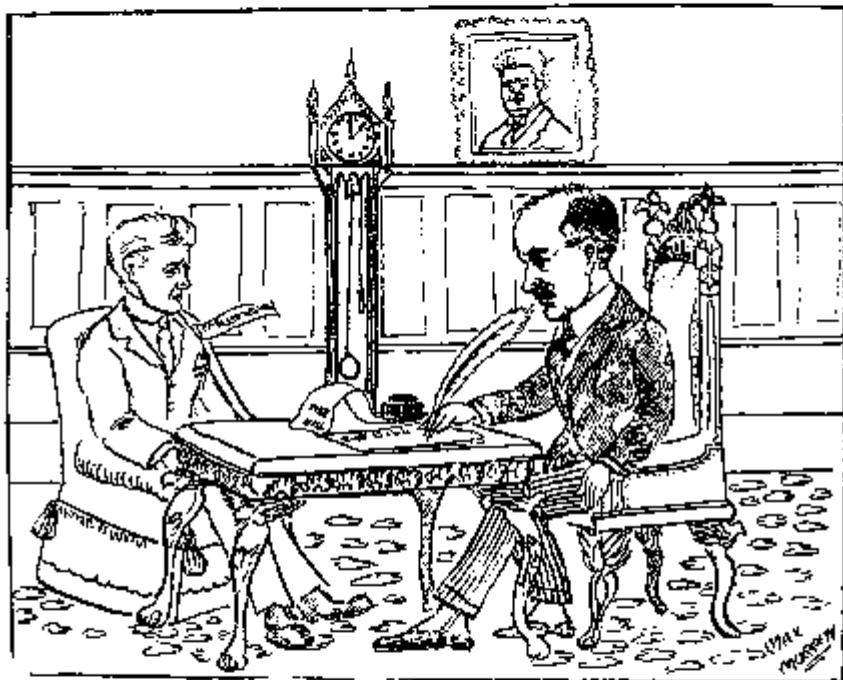
THE BILL IN THE LEGISLATURE.

It is not easy to follow the technical passage of the bill through the legislature. It is introduced by a legislator. This means that its title, the number given it according to the order of its introduction and the name of the introducer are read in the house where it is introduced. It is read a first and second time on separate days. After the second reading the speaker of the house then refers it to the proper committee. For example, all bills on finance are referred to the joint committee on finance.

COMMITTEE HEARING.

The committee announces in a weekly bulletin the time when a public hearing will be held on the bill. At that time anyone who is for the bill, or who is against it may appear and pub-

licly give his reasons and suggestions. This is known as the **committee hearing**. The committee judges the arguments presented and makes its recommendation either for or against the passage of the bill. The mothers' pension bill did not follow this procedure. It was recalled from the committee, made a special order of business before the entire assembly. A substitute



The Governor Signs the Bill

amendment was adopted, the bill was referred to the finance committee and passed the assembly as amended by the finance committee.

THE BILL IN THE SENATE.

When the Mothers' pension bill passed the assembly where it was introduced, it was sent over to the senate for consideration and passage. The same procedure was followed in the senate.

It was referred by the president to the committee in education and public welfare. The committee announced public hearings and made a report to the legislature for passage of the bill. In the senate it happened that no amendments were offered, although the senate, too, has the power of amendment. The



The County Judge Pays the Mother Her First Monthly Check under Mothers' Pension Law

bill was ordered to a third hearing, and passed. On passing the senate, it was returned to the assembly to be signed by the speaker. The clerk of the assembly then sent it to the governor for his signature. The chart, pages 28-29, shows the procedure in passing the mothers' pension bill.

WHAT ARE THE GOVERNOR'S POWERS IN LAW MAKING?

The governor, as we know, is an executive. His only power in law making is that of forbidding by his veto the passage of a law. Should he do so, the bill is referred back to the house in which it originated, with the message of the governor,



A Reunited Family—the Mother's Pension Law Enforced

giving the reasons why he does not approve. To become a law in spite of the governor's veto, a bill must be passed by a two-thirds vote of the members of both houses.

With the governor's signature we say the bill becomes a law, and it remains a law and is enforced. But that is only a

beginning. The law as passed was the best law the legislators could work out at that time. Since then at every session new bills have been introduced to correct mistakes and to make the law work more justly. As amended, what are the present provisions of the law?

THE PRESENT MOTHERS' PENSION LAW.

It provides for the payment of \$15 a month for the first child, and ten dollars a month for each additional child. The maximum limit has been removed. The law is to be administered by the county judge or juvenile court judge in each county who may appoint a board of child welfare to serve without pay, to assist him. The money is raised by taxation within the county, to be paid through the county courts, the state to contribute one-third of the entire amount spent in the county.⁸

In each session of the legislature there are efforts made to improve the law or to make it ineffective; the following list of bills introduced on the subject of mothers' pensions illustrates both that a law is everchanging and that the voters of a state must be everwatchful to safeguard themselves. 1913—477A, 561A, 1058A, Ch. 669, the first mothers' pension law in Wisconsin; 1915—A522, A490; 1917—S39, A51, AJR 18, A683; 1919—A450, Ch. 466, A124, S231, Ch. 308; 1921—162S, Ch. 86.

After the law has been signed by the governor it is sent to the secretary of state's office. From this office it is officially published in the newspapers and later printed in the session laws.

A law passed in this way remains a law unless it is repealed by the legislature or declared unconstitutional by the courts.

DECLARING A LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

An individual may plead that the law is contrary to either the state or the federal constitution and may bring a case in court for the court to decide. That is, an individual may plead that the law as passed is not in agreement with the principles of government laid down in the federal constitution.⁹ This is one

⁸ Wisconsin Stat. 1010, Sec. 4822 as amended by Ch. 86, laws 1921.

⁹ Elementary Civics, Ch. 12 Justice. Especially pp. 125-129 which deal with the workmen's compensation laws and the courts.

of the most important power of the courts: their power to decide whether the constitutions of the state and of the United States permit the passage of any given law. The constant exercise of this power as well as the exercise and delay incident to carrying a case through one court after another has raised considerable criticism of the courts and their methods of administering justice.

The State Board of Control in 1920 published a pamphlet every mother should know.

"Law providing aid to dependent children, mothers' pension law, with the opinions of the attorney general thereon and statement of expenditures." From this pamphlet you can find out the mothers' pension statistics for your county.

Two other pamphlets every mother should know are:

"Laws relating to Mothers' Pensions in the United States, Canada, Denmark, and New Zealand," compiled by Laura A. Thompson. U. S. Children's bureau, Legal series no. 4, 1919, 316 p. This contains a list of 665 articles on the subject of mothers' pensions.

Maternity benefit systems in certain foreign countries, by Henry J. Harris. U. S. Children's bureau. Legal series no. 3, 1920.

Massachusetts—Special Commission to investigate maternity benefits. Report Dec. 1920. Boston, Mass.

CHAPTER IV.

The Lawmaker and the Voter

We have shown how we are living under a system of representative government, and how the voter can express his wishes in law making only through the action of his representatives in the legislative bodies of the city, of the state, and of the national government. To understand how each lawmaker is elected, we must study intensively the election machine of the state and our part in it as voters. We must understand the necessity for our taking an active part.

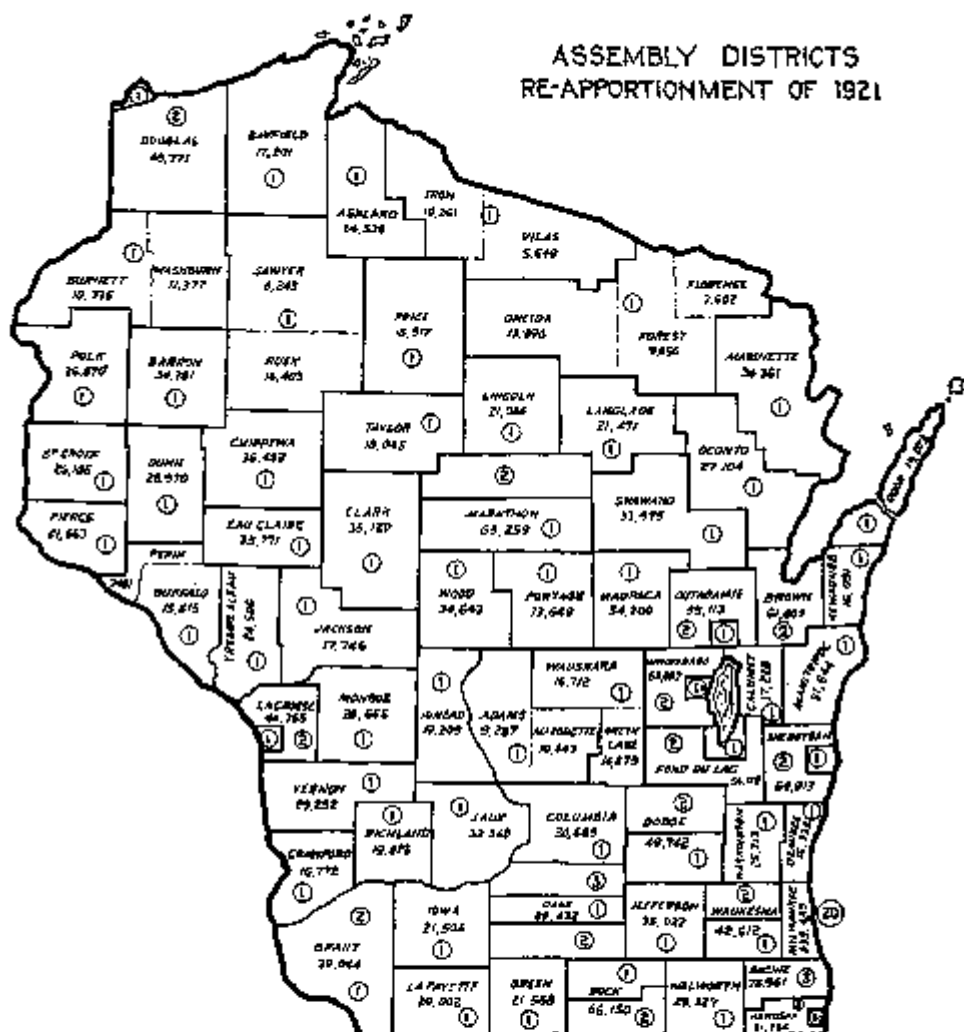
Under our constitution our lawmakers represent geographical units. Let us take a concrete case and follow, for example, the election of an assemblyman to the state legislature.

HOW IS THE CANDIDATE CHOSEN?

Let us imagine that we are citizens of St. Croix County. We can elect as a representative of our county one of the one hundred assemblymen elected every two years, one for each of the one hundred districts into which Wisconsin is divided. An assembly district may comprise one county or more, or it may be only one part of a county, depending upon the population. St. Croix county comprises one assembly district. Every ten years a new apportionment is made according to the United States census.

As members of a political party, for instance the Republican party, we can elect a committee of the party leaders in the county to select a candidate. The committee knows Overt Olsen well, it knows he has been a Republican and been a leader in the farm organizations of the county, and asks him to be our Republican candidate for the assembly. We circulate petitions for the nomination of Olsen among his friends and fellow Republicans. The number of signatures must equal at least three

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS RE-APPORTIONMENT OF 1921



per cent of the party vote in at least one-sixth of the election precincts of his district. These papers must be filed not later than the last Tuesday of July of the year in which the primary is to be held for those members of the senate and assembly whose districts comprise more than one county, in the office of

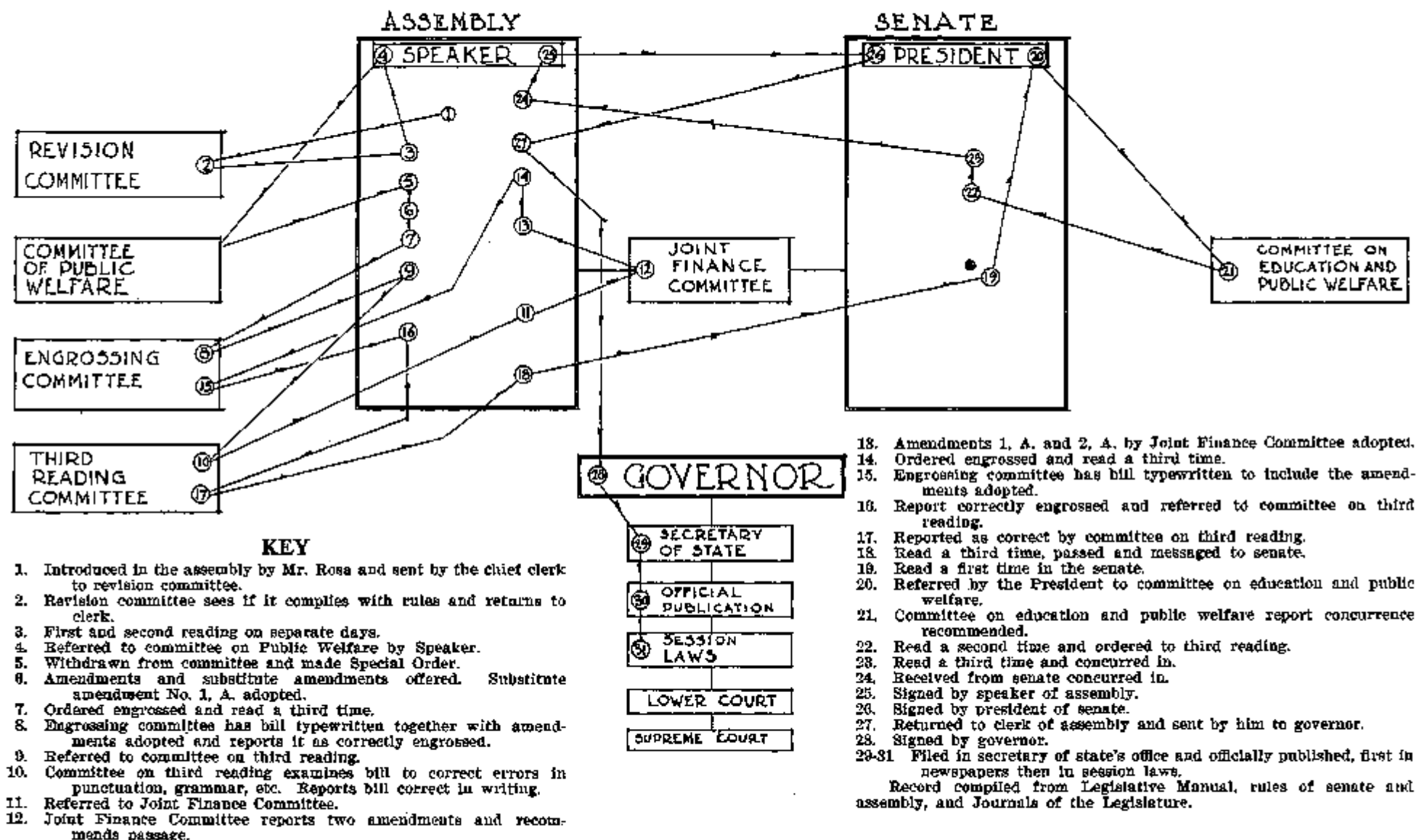
SENATORIAL DISTRICTS RE-APPORTIONMENT OF 1921



the Secretary of State. For offices to be voted for wholly within one county they are filed in the office of the county clerk of such county.¹⁰

¹⁰ Sections 5.01—5.07 Wisconsin Statutes, 1919.

PROCEDURE IN PASSAGE OF MOTHERS PENSION BILL WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE 1913



Obert Olsen will not be the only Republican candidate. Other Republicans may feel that John Schmidt, or William Singer may better represent them, and these Republicans may sign petitions for their nominations.

THE PRIMARY ELECTION.

The primary election is the method provided to enable each member of each political party to cast his vote for his choice of candidate in his political party for office. The Republican party, as we have said, may have three or more candidates. In the Democratic party, John McCormick, Toni Salvati and Michael Kryska may all be democratic candidates for assemblyman. The primary gives the members of the party the opportunity to choose among them by casting their vote. The one who receives the highest number of votes of the three is elected to run against the victor of the Republican primaries, the Socialist primaries, and the Prohibition primaries in the general election. We in Wisconsin have what is known as an open primary law. See Definitions—Open Primary.

The primary for the general election of state officers is held the first Tuesday of September. From the time of the filing of their nomination papers in July until the date of the primary election these candidates will be busy campaigning among their constituents. They will give speeches, will issue circulars, pledging themselves to the support of a definite program of lawmaking. For example, they will declare themselves either for or against an amendment of the primary election law, they will declare their stand on a marketing system for the state. Each one will vie with the other in his promises to the party members in his district.

Suppose that Obert Olsen is lucky enough to receive the largest number of votes of the three Republican candidates at the primaries. He becomes the Republican candidate to run in the general election.

THE PLATFORM CONVENTION.

After the September primary in the general election years a platform convention for each party is held at Madison, the

third Tuesday in September, composed of the candidates for the various state offices and for the senate and assembly. At this convention, these candidates formulate the state platform of their party.

Along with the other candidates, Obert Olsen goes to Madison for the Republican platform convention. The Democratic party and other party candidates are holding a similar convention. He takes with him the statement and pledge of the legislative measures which he promised his party friends in his district to stand back of. Each other victor in the primaries who goes to the convention does the same. In the convention a platform committee considers the suggestions of the candidates, drafts a state platform to which all the candidates throughout the state in the Republican party can pledge their support.

WHAT IS THE STATE PLATFORM OF A POLITICAL PARTY?

It is a pledge of future action. It is an outlined statement of the principles for which the party intends to stand. For example, in 1920, the state Republican party platform included in its recommendations the following: An amendment of the marketing law to include more funds, and to give the marketing department power to ascertain the cost of production of farm products and production of other commodities; a revision of the co-operative law to protect co-operative associations from exploitation; the basic eight-hour law; the elimination of child labor in industry; better protection to railroad workers; an increase in payments under the workmen's compensation act for the more serious injuries or death benefits; exemptions from income taxes to be increased in proportion to the increase in the cost of living; economy in state finance; improvement and support of common schools, evening and continuation schools; the construction of adequate roads.

The Socialist party declared itself against the establishment of European militarism in America; for freedom of speech, press and assemblage; against prohibition; for a graduated income tax up to eighty per cent of their income, incomes under

\$5,000 to be exempt; for the national ownership of trusts, and the public ownership of public utilities.

The Democratic party platform like the Republican stood for a change in tax system, including a more liberal exemption in the income tax law. It favored a good roads program, home rule for cities and stood for an investigation of the cost of production of farm products.

In order to understand the outline of principles of each party, every woman ought to study the text of the state platforms in the Wisconsin blue book 1921, pages 78 to 85.

Obert Olsen returns home from Madison with the platform adopted. We say he runs for office on that platform, and campaigns throughout his district explaining to the electors the legislative measures for which he will stand.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.¹¹

At the general election, the first Tuesday after the first Monday, the voters of the state choose between the candidate in each political party who was successful at the primaries. A candidate who was defeated in the primaries or did not run then, may enter the final election as an independent candidate, provided his nomination papers shall be signed by at least 1,000 voters, if for a state office.

If the results of the general election show that Obert Olsen is elected as assemblyman to the state legislature, he will go to the legislature convening at Madison the following January.

The following paragraph from McCarthy's Elementary Civics, How The State Does Its Work, may give you some idea of Olsen's difficulties when he gets to the legislative session in Madison.

"The Lawmaker In Difficulty." John Jones comes to the legislature. He is a good citizen, a man of hard sense, well respected in his community. He finds that if he is to represent his district he must introduce bills and that he must in

¹¹ The Secretary of State of Wisconsin publishes a pamphlet called Election Laws of Wisconsin with forms. This is indexed and complete and may be obtained free. Every voter should have a copy. Every public library in the state has a copy on file.

some way get those bills through the legislature. He must, first of all, get those bills drawn, and never having drawn a bill in his life, and not knowing how such things should be done, it is very hard work for him. He is confronted with two thousand bills on two thousand subjects, legal and economic. Complex questions which are not settled by the greatest thinkers today are hurled at his head. Even scientific subjects that the chemist or the physician or the man of science has had a hard time to deal with must be met by our John Jones, and that in the hurry and rush of committee work, and of his efforts to take care of the multitudinous duties placed upon him. If he is honest, he will try to draw his bills himself, or else he pays somebody to do it for him; but the easiest way is to consult someone else. He finds around him bright men, well-paid lawyers, men of legal standing, who are willing to help him in every way. But it is seldom that he finds a true friend. They are there to look out for their own interests; to get hold of John Jones in their business. If he is honest and by persistent courage and sterling honesty fights his way through—pushes his bills on to become laws—those bills, having to do often with complex technical subjects, and being drawn by a man unskilled in law, are thrown out by the courts. Our United States constitution says to each state: "There are certain things which you may not do, and certain things which the United States may not do." Each state constitution says to the state legislature: "There are certain things which you may do, and certain things which you may not do." Hundreds of laws which the legislatures have passed in good faith have been afterward declared by the Supreme Court of the State or Nation to be unsanctioned by the constitution."

We have explained in the chapter "How A Law Is Made" the aid provided Obert Olsen through the Legislative Reference Library in the drafting of bills and the getting of facts.

Obert Olsen's relation to the people back home has not yet been described. How can the electors who voted for him see that he truly represents them in the legislature by voting for the bills they wish?

THE PETITION.

On every bill of importance that is presented in the legislature hundreds of petitions come in from people throughout the state. Suppose that Obert Olsen's people back home did not want the filled milk bill to pass. Leaders among them would circulate petitions giving arguments against permitting the manufacture and sale of milk filled with cocoanut oil or other vegetable oils. These petitions of voters would be sent to Mr. Olsen to be presented to the legislature. In that way the voters can show their representative what stand they are taking.

LOBBYISTS.

Many people feel that the petition alone is ineffective. The legislator needs the backing of organized groups of the public and also of individuals if he wishes his bill to become a law. These groups can help him or hinder him. They can send representatives to Madison to register as lobbyists in the Secretary of State's office and appeal both to individual legislators or appear as speakers before committee hearings on the bill.

Everyone who appears before the legislature, or talks with an individual member of the legislature to influence his vote on any bill being considered, is a lobbyist. With hundreds of bills to consider the legislator should be given opportunity to get information from every source and the state recognizes the legitimate influence of the lobbyist.¹²

We have said that each legislator represents a geographical district, and in that district the members of a political party. He must represent the wishes of these members in the legislature. But these state legislators meet to make laws for the entire state, and the welfare of the entire state must be considered in their law making. One hundred men coming together from all parts of the state are wiser than any one man or any one district. That is why a general manager or even a com-

¹² Study the Wisconsin Lobbyist law. Wis. Stat. 1910 Sec. 4482-4482a. Can you as an individual help pass good laws, even tho you are not a registered lobbyist? What is the right of petition? Give illustrations from history showing the power of the right to petition.

mission of three or five men cannot make representative laws as well as a larger body of men. It is one reason why our constitution does not give the governor law making power. It explains what Tallyrand meant when he said, "There is somebody wiser than you, Napoleon, and wiser than all your councillors, and that is everybody." It is what Abraham Lincoln meant when he said, in discussing the power of the United States President: "Can he (the president) in the nature of things, know the wishes of the people as well as three hundred representatives coming from all parts of the country? If so what is the use of having a congress?"

THE POWER OF ORGANIZATIONS.

Because this representation by geographical districts has not always worked to provide laws satisfactory to the people, there have been developed two movements: (1) The representation of interests through lobbyists, these lobbyists sometimes called the third house of the legislature, and the growth of other devices to provide representation of interests; (2) The policy of removing law making from the hands of the legislators and placing it back into the hands of the people, the movement for the initiative, referendum and recall.¹³

What do we mean by the representation of interests?

People constantly are organizing into groups concerned with similar interests. The cheese manufacturers of the state get together into a cheese producers federation, the retail merchants into a retailers' association, the farmers' mutual telephone companies into their association. If a bill is introduced giving the railroad commission more power to regulate the rates of telephone companies, or giving the industrial commission power to fix minimum wages for women employees of the telephone companies, this association of farmers' mutual telephone companies hires an expert to be their representative before the legislature—it wants its interests to be represented. We call this a rep-

¹³ Initiative and Referendum. University of Wisconsin Extension Division Bulletin General No. 425, Madison, Wisconsin, 1913. The Initiative and Referendum State Legislation. Chas. H. Talbot, Wisconsin Legislative Reference Department Comparative Legislation Bulletin No. 25, 1913.

ory of having legislators elected according to their class interest or occupations, is gaining favor with some groups.¹⁴

It is hoped that some scheme may be worked out to effect a juster method of representation and to curb the power of the lobbyists.

Action showing this break away from the theory that law makers must represent a definite geographic section of the country and a political party in that district, is under way at present in Congress. Under such far-sighted leaders as Senators LaFollette, of Wisconsin, and Kenyon, of Iowa, Democrats of the south and Republicans of the west have organized an agricultural bloc to further legislation of interest to farmers.

Organize a discussion program of these three plans: (1) The election of representatives according to our present laws by geographical units; (2) the election to represent the strength of each political party; (3) the election to represent occupations.

THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL.

The second policy mentioned was that of bringing the law making back into the hands of the people through the initiative, referendum and recall. Study the definition of these terms, as given in the appendix. Have a debate on the question:

Resolved, that Wisconsin shall adopt a constitutional amendment similar to Joint Resolution No. 98, 1921, to amend Sec. 1, Article 4 of the constitution, to give to the people the power to propose laws and to enact or reject the same at the polls, and to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature, and to create section 31 of article XII of the constitution providing for the submission of amendments to the constitution upon petition of the people. The above resolution was introduced by Senator Huber.

The Department of Debating and Public Speaking, University Extension Division, will send package libraries on both sides of a question for debate.

¹⁴ See Editorial, "Should Senators be Phonographs," Century Magazine, Oct. 1920.

resentation of interests. The more members an organization has, the closer it is united, the more money it has, the better able it is to hire the most intelligent and skilful expert to represent it before the committee hearings of the legislature and the public hearings of the administrative commissions like the railroad and industrial commission.

Women studying the business of politics ought to study the organizations of their community and their state. A profitable program for any group of women interested in politics would be to take up these questions, especially from the standpoint of women:

What organizations of women have their interests represented by experts hired to attend committee hearings of the legislature and public hearings of commissions?

What does such representation cost?

Is it worth while to send representatives?

Why?

What can and do they accomplish?

What interests do the following organizations represent?

State Consumers' League.

Women's Trade Union League.

State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Wisconsin League of Women Voters.

State Conference of Social Workers.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Wisconsin Teachers' Association.

State Parent Teachers' Association.

The Wisconsin Society of Equity.

Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association.

Enlarge this list by adding the names of those organizations you know about or to which you belong.

To remedy the difficulties arising under this system of representation by geographical units various plans have been suggested, and are being tried out in various localities and countries. We have plans for proportional representation, a plan designed to provide representatives in proportion to the number of members in each political party in the state. The the-

THE ENFORCING OF LAWS.

We have tried to show how laws are made and the relation between the law maker and the voter. We must still consider how a law is enforced or made effective.

You have often heard the expression used, "Oh, yes, that's a dead letter law," and "Yes, you can pass that law but it can never be enforced. The people won't stand for it." No law is good unless it can be fitted justly to the lives and conditions of the people. To say that the governor, the courts and the commissions of the state enforce the laws, gives an inadequate idea of their powers and duties. Study the enforcement of one law, for example, the Workmen's Compensation Law, to see how the Industrial Commission works as an administrative body. This study will involve the reading of the state Workmen's Compensation law, and of the biennial report of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission. In every community industrial accidents occur. Study the case of an accident in your community to find out whether adequate compensation was paid to the injured workmen within a reasonable time. Read the chapter in McCarthy's Wisconsin Idea "Administration," pages 172 to 193, together with chapter nine "The Law and Economic Progress," pages 233 to 272.

Study in the same way the administration of the mothers' pension law. In the case of the workmen's compensation law, we have the enforcement carried out by a commission of three men. In the case of the mothers' pension law, the courts carry out its provision. Contrast the two systems of enforcement and point out the strength and weaknesses of each. Try to draft bills to amend the laws in order to correct any weaknesses you discover.

In this brief outline of some of our problems we have tried to show the responsibilities of the lawmakers and the too often neglected responsibility of the voters. On being granted full suffrage, we women appreciate our responsibility of giving our contribution in making this state a better place to live in for our children and ourselves. That responsibility means our taking our part on governing bodies and on law enforcing bod-

ies, our studying the needs of our community and outlining a program we want to see carried out. We must bring our knowledge and intuitions to complement the knowledge and feelings of men.

PRESENT ISSUES.

Suppose yourself a candidate for election to the Wisconsin legislature. What planks would you like to see in your platform? How many of the planks in the party platforms in 1920 which were not carried out by the 1921 legislature, would you re-introduce in your 1922 platforms? How many new ones would you add? Would you favor increasing the salaries of state legislators? Do you believe that members of the industrial commission and other commissions should be responsible to state legislatures? Would you memorialize congress to continue its efforts for the limitation of armaments and the establishment of world peace, for the repeal of the Esch-Cummins law? Would you favor the national ownership of railroads and coal mines, or an organization of them similar to that proposed in the Plumb plan? What tax reform measures would you advocate? Single tax? The repeal of the personal property offset in the income tax law? The increasing of the income tax rate on incomes above \$5,000? Would you vote for unemployment, old age and sickness insurance? What policy in providing this kind of insurance would you support? What stand would you take on the election of teachers to school boards? On increasing teachers' salaries? On one room schools in the country? On raising the age of part time school attendance? On public health nurses? On the eight hour day? These are only a few of the questions the lawmaker must try to solve. Whether you are a candidate for office or not, you must be informed on these questions in order to vote intelligently and to make your wishes count.

DISARMAMENT.

Every woman in the state and country wants the assurance that we shall have no more wars. What can she do to accomplish this end? What are the economic causes that make

for war and how can laws remedy them? Study these quotations from Jane Addams and Lloyd George. Jane Addams said recently in calling attention to some of our economic international problems as they effect world peace:

"We have out in the middle west, what is called a 'glut' of grain. Farmers are poorer by a surplus. The wool men have two clips on hand because the mills are at a standstill and the cotton growers have planted 50 per cent less cotton because they are embarrassed by the bales still standing by the railroads.

"In the valley of the Volga is a vast area swept by the worst drought since the time Tolstoy led the relief. The women are grinding up grass and roots, and boiling them with the hoofs of horses to make a bread they call 'pancake.' * * When I realize the conditions there and here, I get a new conception of the stupidity of the human race."¹⁵

And Lloyd George, in discussing limitation of armaments, said:

"It matters not what treaties are signed, what pacts are entered into between nations, what understandings they may establish, if nations arm against each other for war, war will ensue in the end."

What must each woman voter demand of her representative on this issue?

In the following chapter we are giving a list of references to books and reports which may be helpful in answering questions which arise and in solving some of the problems before us.

¹⁵ Milwaukee Sentinel, Dec. 18, 1921.

CHAPTER V.



Kitchen Equipment

We everyday housekeepers know our kitchens pretty well. We know where to find the egg beater and the frying pan. We know that a good cook needs several reliable cook-books. Half the success of housekeeping lies in knowing where to find things.

We need the same kind of housekeeping knowledge in the business of governing. So many questions come up to puzzle us for answer. In connection with almost any election questions like these arise:

Who is the assemblyman representing your assembly district?

How are the candidates for this office nominated?

What are the party committees in each district?

What are the state political parties?

Where can you find the texts of the state political party platform? A list of the newspapers in the state? The postoffices?

What was the total number of votes cast for governor at the last election?

Where are election statistics filed?

Where is there a good brief outline of Wisconsin's history?

For a bill to pass the assembly, how many legislators must vote for it?

It is easy to answer these questions if you know your political kitchen equipment as well as you know your own housekeeping equipment. It is for that reason that we have selected the bookshelves for study and are giving this account of pamph-

lets and reports worth owning and studying. Let us examine first the books listed in our bookshelves.



BOOKSHELF NUMBER 1.

World's Almanac.
Wisconsin Blue Book.
Elementary Civics.
Woman and Labor.
Wisconsin Citizens' Handbook.
Wisconsin Idea.

BOOKSHELF NUMBER 2.

World's Almanac.
Wisconsin Blue Book.
Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy.
Labor Problems and Labor Legislation.
Political Philosophy of Robert M. LaFollette.
Wisconsin Citizens' handbook.

Where may the books listed in these bookshelves be obtained? What subjects do these books deal with? The Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association has made arrangements so that anyone on sending five dollars to headquarters may have either bookshelf sent to her. Eight dollars will purchase both shelves. The books may also be obtained from public libraries in the state. If you have no public library in your city, a package of books or any one of the books will be sent to you on application to the Traveling Library Department, Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Madison, Wisconsin. The following is a detailed description of the books listed above.

World's Almanac—An encyclopedia of information issued annually by Press Publishing Co. (New York Times), Pulitzer Bldg., New York, 50c.

Contains a great many statistics on social, industrial, political, financial, religious, educational and other subjects, political organizations, societies, historical lists of famous events, etc.

Wisconsin Blue Book—Madison, 1921. Obtained from State superintendent of public property for 75c or free from legislators.

A manual designed to place before the public, official information relative to the state government. The 1921 blue book contains a brief outline of Wisconsin history, election statistics for 1920, both primary and general, biographical sketches of state officers, including the judges and the members of the legislature, a directory of the courts of Wisconsin and the judges, a list of county officers elected for 1921-1922, and a complete list of the state officers since the organization of the state for the elective officials and the state commissions, a list of Wisconsin representatives in Congress and the dates of every legislative session since the state was organized. The chapter describing the departments, commissions, and boards of the state gives not only the officials, but detailed statements of the work and activities of each department. The 1920 census statistics are included. The book contains a list of Wisconsin newspapers and postoffices, a brief outline of the federal government and federal officials, including the members of the present congress for all the states and a table showing the dates and limits of sessions of all the state legislatures. It includes the Declaration of Independence, the constitutions of the United States, and of Wisconsin, and maps showing the distribution of Wisconsin into assembly and senatorial districts under the 1921 reapportionment.

How may copies be obtained? Each legislator is given 120 copies for distribution in his district. One copy is sent to each public library and to each school. If you can not obtain a copy free from the representative of your district, one may be purchased for 75c from the state superintendent of public property, State Capitol, Madison Wisconsin. A study of the Wisconsin Blue Book is an excellent way to become informed on Wisconsin history and politics.

Elementary Civics—McCarthy, Swan & McMullin. Laidlaw Brothers, Educational Publishers, 1922 Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. 85c.

Especially valuable for the questions concluding each chapter, this book is admirably fitted for study club work. It gives a historical background showing the growth of representative government in other countries as well as in the United States. The titles of the chapters indicate the subject matter: How England worked out representative government, Why we vote in parties, From the case dweller to modern Boston, How the state does its work, Justice, etc.

Woman and Labor—Olivek Schreiner. Frederick A. Stokes Co., N. Y. 1911. \$2.00.

To understand the present economic and social position of women every woman ought to read *Woman and Labor*. It traces the historical development of women and her changing position. The chapter on Woman and War is especially powerful.

Wisconsin Citizen's Handbook—May Wood-Simons. Wisconsin League of Women Voters, Plankinton Arcade, Milwaukee, Wis. 1920. 77p. 25c.

This is a handy reference book on state and local government in Wisconsin, containing a wealth of definite information about our city governments, city departments and problems, the different kinds of municipal governments and the state and federal governments. It contains good short lists of references at the end of each chapter.

Wisconsin: An experiment in Democracy—Frederick Howe. Scribner's Sons, N. Y. 1912. \$1.25.

A description of the development of progressive legislation in Wisconsin from about the year 1900 to 1912 showing the work of Robert La Follette as a leader in Wisconsin progressivism.

Wisconsin Idea—Charles McCarthy. Macmillan Co., N. Y. 1912. \$2.00.

Everyone who wishes to understand present Wisconsin conditions and laws ought to have a knowledge of the years during which the foundations were laid. Nowhere is the government of the state in its relation to the people, their occupation, and their education, described better than in McCarthy's "Wisconsin Idea." Every voter who intends to

vote for his representative in the Wisconsin legislature should read chapter 8, *The Legislature*.

Labor Problems and Labor Legislation—John B. Andrews, American Association for Labor Legislation. N. Y. 1919. 10c.

In this little pamphlet are set forth in simple and readable style the main labor problems in which the American Association for Labor Legislation is interested. It is well illustrated and decidedly worth reading.

Political Philosophy of Robert M. La Follette—Torelle, Ellen and others, comp.—Robert M. La Follette Co., Madison, Wis. 1920. \$2.00.

A compilation of the writings of Senator La Follette beginning with his earliest days of political activity. A study of these writings will furnish a fine background for understanding Wisconsin politics. Along with this book La Follette's autobiography ought to be read.

Supplemental Pamphlets, Reports, and Books

Much valuable material may be obtained free, or at a nominal cost. An hour a week in the periodical room of a public library will help to furnish you with up-to-date information on political and economic questions.

We have compiled the following list of references roughly chosen to illustrate both the value of information issued by state and federal departments, and to give you a list of books and periodicals which will give real aid in your studies. Package libraries containing one copy of each of the pamphlets listed or any of the pamphlets separately may be obtained by writing to the Department of Debating and Public ~~Speaking~~, University of Wisconsin. The books listed may be obtained from the Traveling library department, Wisconsin Free Library Commission. The Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association, Madison, Wisconsin, likewise has a very limited number of these traveling libraries. In all cases these books are sent out only if the material is not available in the public library of the community in which you live.

Bibliographies

Wisconsin legislation: topics for discussion—Prepared by Mrs. J. M. Turner for the Legislative committee of the Wisconsin woman's suffrage association. Madison, 1915.

Copies may be obtained from Wisconsin women's progressive association, Madison, Wisconsin.

Women and children in industry: data for women's clubs and other civic organizations—Bulletin, Wisconsin industrial commission. 1914. Free.

Contains valuable lists of references on all subjects relating to women and children in industry, also good list of fiction.

Social forces: a topical outline with bibliography—1915. 136 p. Order from Wisconsin league of women voters, Plankinton Arcade, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 25c.

The paragraph Political history of Wisconsin from 1890 to the present, p. 23, contains references especially worth studying.

Citizenship, Courses of study—State board of vocational education, monograph no. 3, Madison, Wisconsin, 1919, 32 p.

Contains excellent references especially to books giving the historical background necessary in understanding governments.

A syllabus of civic problems—San Jose, California State normal school. 1916. 61 p.

A very complete list of references arranged by subjects.

An outline for the study of current political, economic and social problems with bibliographies—Indiana university extension division Bulletin v. 12, no. 7. 77 p. 15 cents.

Periodicals

Monthly labor review—Supt. of documents, Government printing office Washington, D. C. \$1.50.

Life and labor—National women's trade union league of America, 127 Dearborn St., Chicago. \$1.50.

This publication was discontinued October, 1921, but will be resumed in the near future.

- The Congressional record**—Daily while Congress is in session.
Supt. of documents, Government printing office, Washington, D. C. May be secured thru congressmen.
- La Follette's magazine**—Monthly. Robert M. La Follette Co.,
115 W. Main St., Madison, Wis. \$1.00.
- The Woman citizen**—Weekly. Women Citizen Corporation, 171
Madison Ave., N. Y. \$2.00.
- Searchlight on congress**—Monthly. \$1.50. Woodward Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.
- Cooperation**—Monthly. Cooperative League of America. 2 West
13th Street, New York. \$1.00.
- Wisconsin agriculturist**—Weekly. Racine, Wis., \$1.00.

National Government

- The American commonwealth**—James Bryce. 2v. Macmillan
Co., N. Y. Rev. ed., 1910.
- Modern constitutions**—Walter Dodd. 2v. Univ. of Chicago press,
Chicago, 1909.

Official congressional directory.

This is published for each session of Congress giving a list of the congressmen, their biographies, committee assignments, etc. It contains descriptions of the membership and work of the Executive and Judicial departments, the diplomatic service and all the branches of the federal government. Copies are usually obtained in all public libraries. They may be purchased from the Superintendent of documents, Government printing office, Washington, D. C. 60c.

- Federal executive departments as sources of information for libraries**—Edith Guerrier. U. S. Bureau of Education bulletin no. 74, 1919.

An excellent description of the work of the National executive departments and their bureaus. Supt. of Documents, Government printing office, Washington, D. C. 25c.

- Civil service reform, a reorganized civil service**—E. B. Rosa, Journal of Washington academy of science, v. 10, no. 19, Nov. 19, 1920.

Recommendations for changes in the federal civil service—also applicable to the state service.

U. S. Civil service commission—Civil service act, rules, statutes and executive orders with notes on the rules by the commission and legal decisions. Amended to July 1921. Wash. Government Printing office, 1921.

State Government

Wisconsin statutes—Copies should be available in every public library, and in the office of every county, city and village clerk. Provision of the distribution to them is made by sec. 85.84, Wisconsin statutes, 1919.

Reports of Wisconsin State Commissions—Each of the important state commissions and departments issues an annual or biennial report. These reports give accounts of the work done by that commission and may be obtained by writing directly to the state department. Important state commissions issuing such reports are:

Industrial Commission	Department of Public Instruction
Tax Commission	
Railroad Commission	Department of Agriculture
Civil Service Commission	State Board of Control
Marketing Commission	State Board of Vocational Education.
Board of Health	
State Treasurer	Highway Commission.

See the Wisconsin Blue Book for a complete list of state departments.

Wisconsin Governor—J. J. Blaine. Message to the legislature, Jan. 13, 1921. Before each legislative session the governor sends a message to the legislature. This message usually summarizes the problems confronting the state in the management of its business and makes recommendations for legislation. The regular biennial message is printed separately, and also in the journals of the legislature. Special finance message, Mar. 1, 1920. Address Governor's Office, Madison, Wisconsin. Free.

Report of Special Legislative Committee on Reconstruction to the Wisconsin Legislature, Feb. 5, 1919—Obtained from

Wisconsin legislative reference library, Madison, Wisconsin. Free.

Next steps for Wisconsin: a program of construction—Wisconsin state federation of labor. 26 p. J. J. Handley, Sec.-Treas., Metropolitan block, Milwaukee, Wis. Free.

Election laws of Wisconsin of 1919 with forms and index. 1920, 213 p. Order from Wisconsin Secretary of state's office, Madison. The Secretary of state's office usually publishes a revision after each legislative session. Free.

Cooperation and Marketing

Cooperation among farmers—J. L. Coulter. Sturgis & Walton, N. Y. 1912.

Cooperation the hope of the consumer—Harris, E. P. Macmillan, 1918.

How to form cooperative egg circles and poultry associations—Grace A. Adams. National agricultural organization society. Copies to be obtained from the author, Wisconsin Legislative reference library, Madison, Wisconsin.

Report on the wholesale marketing of food—Federal trade commission, Washington, D. C., 1920.

Report on sugar supply and prices—Federal trade commission. Washington, D. C., 1920.

Summary of the law creating the department of markets, ch: 571, laws 1921—Wisconsin department of markets, Madison, Wis.

Statutes of Wisconsin relating to cooperative associations, 1921—Wisconsin Secretary of State's office, Madison, Wis.

The Cooperative movement in the United States, 1919—J. P. Warbasse. Pamphlet to be purchased from the Cooperative League of America, 2 W. 13th St., N. Y.

Marketing by federations—Theodore Macklin. Madison, 1920. 24 p. Wisconsin university, Agricultural experiment station bulletin 822.

An account of the work and organization of the Sheboygan cheese producers' federation.

Marketing of Wisconsin butter—B. H. Hibbard and Asher Hobson. Wisconsin university, Agricultural experiment station bulletin no. 270—Madison, 1916. 69 p.

Education

Educational news bulletin—weekly bulletin of State superintendent of public instruction.

Wisconsin educational horizon—Issued bi-monthly by Wisconsin state board of education, Madison, Wis. The following issues are of particular and timely interest. Scholarships in continuation schools, v. 4, no. 1, pt. 1, 1921. Educational programs: educators, labor, businessmen, farmer, v. 2, no. 4-5, 1920. Wisconsin looking forward: an educational program, v. 12, no. 3. Adult education, v. 4, no. 2, pt. 2, 1921.

Laws of Wisconsin relating to the common schools—Published by state superintendent of public instruction, 1919.

Wisconsin laws relating to vocational education—Wisconsin state board of vocational education, 1921.

The extension division and the worker: some facts to show the relation of extension and the working man—University of Wisconsin extension division, 1917, Madison, Wis.

New farm facts—University of Wisconsin agricultural experiment station. Annual report of the director, 1919-1920.

Instruction in Wisconsin schools—Report of the general executive board to the twenty-eighth annual convention of the Wisconsin state federation of labor, La Crosse, Wis., July 21-24, 1920. Pereles Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.

California commission of immigration and housing—The home teacher: the act with a working plan and forty lessons in English. 1915. 50 p. 525 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Adult working class education in Great Britain and the United States: a study of recent development—C. P. Sweeney.

U. S. Bureau of labor statistics, bulletin no. 271, 1920.
Washington, D. C. Free.

Disarmament and World Peace

Disarmament: selected articles—Compiled by Mary Katharine Reely. The H. W. Wilson Company, N. Y., 1921.

References do not date back of 1920 and 1921. It is divided into two parts: for disarmament; for continued armaments. It contains the best available lists of references and reprints of articles.

Economic importance of the scientific work of the government—Monthly labor review, July 1920, 34 p. Chart shows proportional expenditure for various activities by the national government.

Expenditures and revenues of the federal government—Edward B. Rosa. Annals of the Amer. Acad. May 1921.

America menaced by militarism—Harriet C. Brown. The Searchlight Publishing Co. Woodward Bldg., Wash., D. C., 10c per copy, 100 or more 5c each.

Organizations for disarmament—

American association for international conciliation, 406 W. 117th St., N. Y.

American union against militarism, 203 Westory Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Friends' peace committee, 804 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Women's committee for world disarmament, 717 Woodward Bldg., Washington, D. C.

World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Labor

Labor laws of the state of Wisconsin and orders of the Wisconsin industrial commission, 1920—Wisconsin industrial commission, Madison, Wis.

The labor code of the state.

Biennial report—Wisconsin Industrial commission. The latest report issued may be obtained on request at Madison, Wis.

A Physiological basis for the shorter working day for women—George W. Webster. U. S. Women's bureau, bulletin no. 14, Feb. 1921.

Administration of child labor laws—U. S. Children's bureau, 1921. Industrial series no. 2.

U. S. Industrial relations commission—Report 1915. Washington, D. C. There are very few copies of this valuable survey of working conditions in the U. S. with its recommendations. Copies may be borrowed from the University library or from the Legislative reference library, Madison, Wis.

Wisconsin state federation of labor—Convention proceedings, 1921. Pereles Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis. Contains tables giving records of state legislators on labor bills.

Minimum wage laws of the United States: construction and operation—Lindley D. Clark. U. S. Bureau of labor statistics, bulletin 285, 1921. Washington, D. C. Free.

Employment certificate system: Wisconsin—Ethel E. Hanks. Administration of child labor laws, part 4—U. S. children's bureau. Industrial series no. 2, part 4, Washington, D. C. 1921.

The new position of women in American industry—U. S. Women's bureau, bulletin no. 12, 1920. 153. p.

State laws affecting working women—Washington, D. C. 1921. U. S. Women's bureau bulletin no. 16.

Contains charts giving digests of laws in effect July 1, 1921, on hours, prohibition of night work, rest periods, home work, mother's pensions and minimum wage laws.

What's what in the labor movement: a dictionary of labor affairs and labor terminology—W. R. Browne. Huebsch, N. Y. 1921. 577 p.

Miscellaneous

Wisconsin land mortgage association law as amended 1919—
Published by Wisconsin commissioner of banking. Free.

Wisconsin dairy and food laws and decisions of courts—Issued
by Wisconsin dairy and food commissioner. 1919. Free.

The powers and duties of boards of health: book of instructions and laws issued to health boards and health officers—Wisconsin state board of health. 1918. Free.

The failure of regulation to regulate—Daniel Hoan. Socialist party of the U. S. National office, 111 N. Market St., Chicago, 1914. 25c.

A compilation of the laws relating to the regulation of public utilities including water powers—1907-1919. Published by Wisconsin railroad commission. 1920.

Wisconsin tax commission—Municipal statistics department. Bulletins. 1921.

No. 1. Assessed valuations, general property taxes and tax rates, 1920, by cities.

No. 2. General property taxes, collected in 1921, Wisconsin cities.

No. 3. School and school district taxes, 1920, collected by Wisconsin cities, 1921.

No. 4. County assessed valuations, general property taxes and tax rates 1920.

No. 5. Salaries of county officers 1921.

No. 6. Responsibility for high taxes.

No. 7. Statement of all taxes raised for all purposes year ending June 30, 1920.

No. 8. Receipts and disbursements of the state and all its political subdivisions.

No. 9. County operation and maintenance disbursements.

No. 10. Uniform municipal accounting.

The Wisconsin income tax law with explanatory notes—Wisconsin tax commission 1919. Madison, Wis. Free.

A tax that is not a burden: the single land value tax—1921. John Harrington, 26 p. 15 cents. To be obtained from Mr. Harrington, Wisconsin tax commission, State capitol, Madison.

A simple easily understood account of Henry George's progress and poverty and the application of the single tax to Wisconsin conditions.

Report of the special committee on social insurance, Wisconsin legislature, Jan. 1, 1919. Madison, Wis.

Report of teachers' retirement fund committee, Wisconsin legislature—Madison, 1921.

Illegitimacy laws of the U. S. and certain foreign countries—Ernst Freund. U. S. children's bureau, Legal ser. no. 2.

Report of the Massachusetts special commission to investigate maternity benefits—Dec. 1920. Boston, Mass.

Fourteenth census of the U. S.—1920. U. S. Census bureau, Washington, D. C. Bulletins: Population: Wisconsin—Agriculture: Wisconsin.

Proportional representation with list of representative bodies elected under this system —Proportional representation league leaflet, no. 5, Oct. 1921, 8 p. Address 1417 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa.

General

Modern democracies—James Bryce. 2 v. Macmillan, N. Y., 1921. \$10.50.

The American commonwealth—James Bryce. Macmillan, N. Y.

Story of the woman's party—Inez H. Irwin. Harcourt, N. Y. 1921. 480 p. \$3.50.

Short history of woman's rights—E. A. Hecker. Putnam, N. Y., 1910. \$1.50.

- Marketing of agricultural products**—B. H. Hibbard, Appleton, N. Y., 1921. \$3.00.
- Regulation of railroads and public utilities in Wisconsin**—Fred Holmes, Appleton, N. Y., 1915. \$3.00.
- La Follette's autobiography**—Robert M. La Follette. Robert M. La Follette Co., Madison, Wis., 1913.
- Efficient marketing for agriculture**—Theodore Macklin. Macmillan, N. Y., 1921. 418 p. \$2.00.
- Social insurance with special reference to American conditions**—I. M. Rubinow. Holt, N. Y., 1913. 525 p.
- Spirit of American government**—J. A. Smith. Macmillan, N. Y. 1907. \$1.25.
- The real business of living**—J. H. Tufts. Holt, N. Y., 1918. \$1.72.
- Theory of the leisure class**—An economic study on institutions. Thorstein B. Veblen, Huebsch, N. Y., 1912. \$2.50.
- The new democracy**—W. E. Weyle. Macmillan, N. Y., 1912, \$2.25.
- The new freedom**—Woodrow Wilson. Doubleday, 1913, \$1.25.
- American government and politics**—Charles A. Beard, 1910. Macmillan, N. Y. \$3.50.
- An economic interpretation of the constitution of the U. S.**—Charles A. Beard, Macmillan, N. Y. 1913.
- Story of a pioneer**—Anna Howard Shaw. Harper, N. Y., 1915. \$1.75.
- Twenty years in Hull House**—Jane Addams. Macmillan, N. Y., 1912. \$2.75.

APPENDIX

Definitions

APPORTIONMENT

The division of the state into districts, according to population, from which districts representatives for the state legislature and U. S. congress are elected. After each federal census the state is divided into one hundred Assembly districts, thirty-three Senate districts, and into Congressional districts. The U. S. senators are elected for the entire state.

BILL

A form or draft of a proposed law but not yet enacted or passed or made law.

BILL OF RIGHTS

A statement or declaration of personal rights in the constitution of a state and incorporated in the amendments to the constitution of the United States.

BULLETIN OF THE LEGISLATURE

A Bulletin is printed weekly while the legislature is in session, giving the bills introduced and the status of each bill, i. e., whether it has been referred to committee, passed or failed, etc. It includes also a subject index of the bills, an index to the journals and the names and committee assignments of the legislators.

BUREAU

A department of government for the transaction of business confined to subdivisions of executive departments, e. g., the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor.

CIVIL SERVICE

Public employments not naval or military. All service rendered to and paid for by the state or nation.

COMMISSION

The commission is a permanent body appointed to see that the laws in a certain field shall be carried out. As questions grow more complicated it has become impossible for the legislature to take the time to study the facts necessary to legislate

intelligently. For example, it is difficult for the legislators—farmers, business men, working men, to give the time to a study of the industries in which women work in order to find out what hours are dangerous and what are safe. So the legislature says the hours shall be reasonable, and leaves it to the Industrial Commission, who gives its entire time to such matters, to find out what is reasonable and to enforce orders. The Industrial Commission consists of three men appointed by the governor for six years. The legislature says that one kind of food shall not be sold as another, and leaves it to the Dairy and Food Commissioner, appointed by the governor, with a trained staff on the job all the time, to see that its will is carried out. See the work and organization of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission as described in its Biennial report. See Blue Book for list of commissions and description of their work.

COMMITTEE

One or more persons elected or appointed to attend to any matter or business referred to them, as for example by a legislative body, court or society.

COMMITTEE HEARING

Under the rules of the Wisconsin legislature, a committee fixes a time when it will give opportunity to those who are for or against a certain bill being considered by the legislature, in order that they may publicly appear before the committee and make their arguments on this bill. This is known as a committee hearing.

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

A committee of a legislative body consisting of all the members sitting in a deliberative rather than a legislative character for formal consultation and preliminary consideration of matters awaiting legislative action. A special presiding officer for the occasion is usually appointed.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

Schools organized for pupils to continue their education beyond the time of compulsory attendance at the regular graded school. The law requires full time education through the eighth grade, or school attendance for nine years above kindergarten in continuation school cities, high school graduation, or half time to the end of the school term in which the pupil is sixteen years of age and eight hours a week to the end of the school term in which he is eighteen years of age.

CONSTITUTION

The fundamental law for the government of a nation, state or society. A constitution is the organized law of a state, the adoption of which by the people constitutes the political organization, as distinguished from the statutes made by the political organization acting under the order of things thus constituted. For example, the constitution tells how the law-making body shall be made up. In its organization under these rules, the legislatures make the laws.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF LAW

The question of whether an act is constitutional turns on consistency or conformity with the written constitution. An act in contravention is void or of no effect. State laws may be declared unconstitutional by the courts as being inconsistent with the state constitution or with the federal constitution.

CO-OPERATION

The act of working jointly with others. A co-operative organization is a corporation in which the stockholders each have one vote instead of voting according to the number of shares they hold. There are two principal kinds of co-operation in Wisconsin, producers' co-operation, such as cheese factories, creameries, etc., in which the stockholders are producers, marketing their own produce in order to receive for themselves all the profits possible, and consumers' co-operation, such as stores, etc., in which the consumers are the stockholders selling their goods to themselves in order to secure goods as cheaply as possible.

DEMOCRACY

A form of government in which the supreme power is retained by the people and exercised either directly or indirectly or through a system of representation and delegated directly to authority periodically renewed. When this power is exercised directly by the people it is a pure democracy.

A republic is a democracy in which the people delegate their power to their representatives.

ECONOMICS

The science that investigates the conditions and laws affecting the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, or the material means of satisfying human desires. Sometimes called political economy.

EXECUTIVE

The executive branch of government is that which carries laws into effect or secures their due performance. The governor, the president, the members of state commissions, and of the president's cabinet are executive officers.

FEDERAL OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The government of the union of the states. This federal or national government makes laws regulating the relations of the states to each other and to foreign countries.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Monarchy—government by one.

Oligarchy—government by a few.

Democracy—government by the many.

Republic—government through representatives. It may be oligarchic or democratic.

GENERAL ELECTION

The election for state officers; U. S. senators, representatives in congress, members of the assembly and state senators and county officers held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November in each even numbered year. The election is biennial for state officers, representatives in Congress and members of the assembly. U. S. senators are elected for six year terms and state senators for four year terms.

GERRYMANDERING

In U. S. politics, an arbitrary arrangement of the political divisions of a state, in disregard of the natural or proper boundaries as indicated by geography or position, made so as to give one party an unfair advantage in elections. The effect has sometimes been to secure to a party a majority in the legislature of a State or in its quota of Members of Congress at an election in which the opposite party received a majority of the total number of votes.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

A term applied to action by the state in owning and operating an industry or utility usually owned and controlled privately. The U. S. government built, owns and operates the Panama Canal. This is probably the best illustration of what is meant by government ownership.

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE

A candidate, though not nominated as the choice of a majority of the members of a political party at the primaries, may

choose to run independently. To do so in Wisconsin, he must be nominated by nomination papers, signed if for a candidate to be voted for throughout the state, by at least one thousand voters.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Term applied to the series of changes which took place in the nineteenth century from hand power to machine power in agriculture and manufacture. The use of steam and electric power for hand power.

INITIATIVE

Giving to the people the right of proposing and originating legislation to be acted on.

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

A term given to a committee of a legislature especially appointed to search out, inquire into and study a particular problem before the legislature, e. g., The question of teachers' pensions was studied by a joint legislative investigating committee which was held over from one legislative session to the next, and made a report and recommendation for legislation. A committee which holds over from one legislative session to the next is known as an interim committee.

JOURNAL OF THE LEGISLATURE

The daily record or account of the transactions of the legislature. This record is printed from day to day and includes the record of the votes cast on the bills before the house, the list of bills introduced, messages from the governor.

LAW OR ACT

A bill becomes an act or law after having been passed by both branches of the legislature and signed by the chief executive officer. Acts may be general or public, which relate to the state as a whole, and private or local, which relate to particular persons, concerns or communities. The tendency is away from private and local acts.

LEGISLATION

The enacting of laws or statutes; the business of a legislator or legislature; a general term including all phases of law-making.

MARY ANN LAW—SECOND CHOICE

An amendment to the Wisconsin primary election law passed in 1911 and repealed in 1915 providing that the elector

at the primary elections can vote for two candidates in his party, indicating both his first and second choice.

MEMORIAL

A written statement of facts made to a legislature or other body as the ground of a petition, or the statement of facts accompanied with a petition. The Wisconsin legislature, memorialized congress to pass a woman's suffrage amendment to the Federal constitution.

MONOPOLY OR TRUST

Exclusive control of the supply of any commodity or service in a given market.

NON-PARTISAN

Not controlled by parties or party interests.

OPEN PRIMARY ELECTION

The Wisconsin primary election law is known as an open primary, i. e., there is no test of party membership. In voting to name candidates the voter is free to vote in any political party. The members of all parties go to vote at the same place at the same time. The names of all candidates are printed on one ballot divided into party columns and the ballot cast is secret. The voter need not declare the name of the party to which he belongs in advance. It is made possible under this system for the independent voter to cast his vote for the person whom he considers to be right, no matter to what party he belongs. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes in each party is nominated as the party candidate to run in the general election.

ORDINANCE

A standing regulation or law adopted by city or municipal government.

PART-TIME SCHOOLS

A system of school attendance under which the pupil works part time and attends school part time. The length of time varies; at Cincinnati University, e. g., boys work in machine shops two weeks and attend the engineering school two weeks.

PETITION

A formal written request particularly to a legislative or other body asking some favor, right, grant, or mercy. By the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, Con-

gress can make no law prohibiting the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Parties interested in the science or art of government. Politics is derived from the Greek word for citizens and means that which belongs to the citizens or to the state.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

The science dealing with the organization and government of states.

POLITICS

The art or science of government.

POLLS

The place where the votes are cast and recorded. Poll—The result of the counting of those votes or election returns.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Government in which the supreme power is exercised directly by the people as opposed to representative government. The term is applied to the movement for direct control as embodied in the initiative, referendum and recall. See A. B. Hall's *Popular Government in America*.

PRECINCT

A subdivision of a ward or county for election purposes.

PROGRESSIVE

Advancing by successive steps or degrees. The progressive in politics is one who sees what the next steps are in bringing a better civilization, and who knows how to take those steps without being retarded.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS

Terms applied to corporations or companies rendering service more or less essential to the general public convenience or safety, e. g., railroads, street railways, lighting systems, waterworks. They may be publicly or privately owned. The principle of state regulation of all public utilities is spreading. More and more activities are being regarded as public utilities. Is the production and marketing of milk, fuel, oil, and ice a public utility?

RECALL

To take back, to countermand an order. A term applied

to the power of removing an official upon petition, or withdrawing a decision.

REFERENDUM

A vote by the people cast to decide on a law or laws already passed by the legislative body. In Wisconsin all amendments to the state constitution are subject to a referendum, i. e., they must be voted on by the people before they finally become laws.

REGISTRATION FOR ELECTION

The registration of voters is the act of recording, by election precincts the names of those eligible to vote. In cities over 5,000 in Wisconsin, those who have not registered must be sworn in before the election officials by two citizens of the district in which the vote is to be cast.

REPRESENTATIVE

One who stands for a people or a community in its legislature or governing bodies. A state legislator or a congressman is a representative of the majority of the electors in his district. If there are more than two parties he is the one who has received a plurality of votes cast at the election.

RESIDENCE QUALIFICATION FOR VOTERS

To vote, one must be a resident of the state for at least one year, and of the election district ten days next preceding the day of election.

RESOLUTIONS

Bills and resolutions differ in form but not necessarily in subject matter. The form of resolution is usually used for the appointment of committees of the legislature and for messages from one house to another or to the Governor. They are used to state the opinion of the legislature on non-political matters, to express condolences, note thanks, extend congratulations, to declare political policy, in requests sent to Congress, etc. Resolutions may have the force of laws which usually deal with minor matters of transitory character. A joint resolution is one adopted by both branches of a legislative assembly.

SESSION LAWS

The laws passed at one particular session or sitting of the legislature are known as the session laws, e. g., the legislature of Wisconsin publishes after each session the laws enacted known as the laws of the session of the Wisconsin legislature for that year. These laws repeal or amend laws passed by former legislatures, or create new laws.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Is a term applied to legislation concerning itself with questions relating to public health, education, labor, punishment of crime, reformation of criminals, pauperism, etc.

SPOILS SYSTEM IN CIVIL SERVICE

The practice in the civil service of regarding public offices as so much plunder to be taken from the defeated party and distributed to members of the victorious party. Opposed to merit systems.

SPRING ELECTION

The election for judicial and municipal officers, school boards, etc., held on the first Tuesday in April in every year in which certain officers are to be elected. Spring primary is held two weeks before the election for which such primary is held.

STALWART REPUBLICAN

Name which the machine element of the Republican party called themselves, for the first time in January 1901. LaFollette's Autobiography p. 242.

STATUTES

A register of laws.

The complete text of the laws in force in the state of Wisconsin from the earliest times as amended and revised through the last legislature. The state of Wisconsin publishes a compiled statutes giving the complete law of the state. This volume is called the Wisconsin Statutes.

SUFFRAGE

The right or power to take part in electing public officials and adopting or rejecting legislation. The franchise.

VETERAN-PREFERENCE IN CIVIL SERVICE

A system in the Civil Service of recognizing service in war as a qualification for placing applicants for civil service positions on a preferred list.

VETO

(Latin: I forbid.) The right under constitutional restrictions, of the executive, i. e., the president or governor, to reject a bill passed by the legislature.

