



## Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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In full, the call reads as follows:

CALL TO CONVENTION

To the Fiftieth Annual Convention and double anniversary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

1869 -- 1919

The National American Woman Suffrage Association calls its State Auxiliaries through their elected delegates to meet in annual Convention at St. Louis, Statler Hotel, March 24th to March 29th, 1919, inclusive.

In 1869, Wyoming led all the world by the grant of full suffrage to its women. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this event.

In 1869, the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations were organized -- to be combined twenty years later into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization which without a pause has carried forward, during half a century, the effort to secure the enfranchisement of women.

As a fitting memorial to a half century of progress, the National American Woman Suffrage Association invites the women voters of the fifteen full suffrage United States to attend this anniversary Convention, and there to join their forces into a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries.

The Convention will express its pleasure with suitable ceremonials, that since last we met the women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada and Germany have received the vote; but it will make searching inquiry into the mysterious causes which deny patriotic, qualified women of our Republic "a voice in their own government," while those of monarchies and erstwhile monarchies are honored with political equality.

Suffrage Delegates, Women Voters, there is need of more serious counsel than in any previous year. It is not you, but the Nation that has been dishonored by the failure of the 65th Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Let us inquire together. Let us act together.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Carrie Chapman Catt, President	- Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President
Katherine Dexter McCormick, 1st V.P.	Harriet Burton Laidlaw, Director
Mary Garrett Hay, 2nd Vice-President	Henrietta W. Livermore, "
Anne Dallas Dudley, 3rd " "	Nonie B. Mahoney, Director
Gertrude Foster Brown, 4th Vice-Pres.	Esther G. Ogden, Director
Helen Gardner, 5th Vice-President	Mary Safford, Director
Emma Winner Rogers, Treasurer	Olga B. Stilwell, Director
Nettie R. Shuler, Cor. Sec'y	Maud Wood Park, Chairman
Justina L. Wilson, Rec. Sec'y	Congressional Committee
Jane M. Brooks, Director	Rose Young, National Press
Florence B. Cotnam, Director	Chairman.

[1919]

Possible Delegates

Listed by Mrs Stevens

Districts 15-17-46-  
51-52-62-63-64-65-  
66-67 —

# Possible Delegates

[1]

Leg. Dis.

Mrs. H. L. Starks St Peter  
 Mrs. A. K. Gault " "  
 Mrs. C. T. Weibezahn " "  
 Mrs. Ben Nelson, or some  
 one Mrs. Starks would name.

15

Mrs. D. W. McDougal Le Sueur  
 Mrs. E. B. Casgrove " "  
 daughter-in-law of the new  
 senator from Le Sueur  
 Mrs. Geo. W. Taylor " "

17

Mrs. Halvor Halverson Sauk Center  
 Went over to look on her petitions

46

Miss Marion Lewis Long Prairie  
 or her sister Mrs. Van Dyke " "  
 Mrs. Hattie Illingworth Wadena  
 or some one she would name

51

Mrs. Daniel De Lury, Walker  
 Mrs. C. M. Taylor Cass Lake

52

Mrs. A. P. White, Bemidji  
 or any of her committee she  
 would suggest

62



Miss Leonora G. Bauer      Detroit [2]      Dist  
 Mrs. Carrie C. Spruith      "      }  
 Mrs. Henry M. Jensen      "      } 63  
 Mrs. J. A. Vanderpool      Park Rapids      }  
 Mrs. M. M. Nygaard      "      }

{ Mrs. A. L. Hanson      Ada      }  
 { Mrs. B. F. Larney      "      } 64

{ Mrs. H. W. Froedich - Thief River Falls      }  
 { Mrs. C. A. Pettin      "      "      } 65  
 { Mrs. J. M. Bishop      "      "      }

Mrs. C. M. Graves or Crookston } 66  
 some one she would name

Mrs. B. B. Brett      Stephen  
 Mrs. H. D. Yetter      Stephen  
 Mrs. E. C. Borley or      Hallock      } 67  
 some one she would name

Mrs. Fannie Bernard -      Warren  
 probably couldn't go but  
 might suggest someone

[1919]

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Mrs. Andreas Ueland ✓

~~Mrs. David P. Simpson~~

DELEGATES

St. Paul

Mrs. Stiles Burr ✓

Miss Cornelia Lusk ✓

Duluth

Mrs. E.L. De Voist ✓

Minneapolis

Mrs. H.G. Harrison ✓

Mrs. Walter Thorp ✓

Mrs. Victor Troendle ✓

Miss Marguerite Wells ✓

Miss Florence Monahan ✓

Mrs. A.E. Merrill ✓

Miss Nellie Merrill ✓

Mrs. James Paige ✓

Mrs. A.W. Strong ✓

~~Mrs. H.G. Truesdale~~

~~Mrs. Louis Schwartz~~

~~Mrs. H.L. Gearhart~~

Mrs. C.H. Chalmers

Mrs. R.H. Passmore

Mrs. C.J. Evans ✓ - 18

~~Miss de Que~~

~~Walter Burr~~

~~Spencer~~

- 1 Inverdale
- 2 Schwab
- 3 Monahan
- 4 Paige
- 5 A. Brown
- 6 Ueland
- 7 Mc Donald
- 8 Sharpe
- 9 Merrill
- 10 W. "
- 11 Wells
- 12 Evans

Dr. room Two St Paul

Thompson

Pat  
7.50 or 3.50  
M + S.L. Plahart  
4th av N + Wash  
buck 3.30  
18.93  
Bk 2.4. Rickel  
6th St 2nd Lo

Rickel

Conventions

<sup>Sat</sup>  
7.50. Mt St L.

3.30

18.72

---

St. room 12.60 for 3  
4.20

---

Mr J. G. Rickel  
6th St 2 days

---

Hotel

[1919]  
Odeon - Benguet - Return

ALTERNATES & DELEGATES

To  
NATIONAL CONVENTION  
St. Louis, Mo.  
1919

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Shaffer

Mrs. Andreas Ueland

reserved

"

Miss Marguerite Wells

reserved

DELEGATES

St. Paul

Shaffer

Mrs. Stiles Burr

reserved

~~Mrs. Walter Burr - Alternate~~

Shaffer

Miss Cornelia Lusk

reserved

Duluth

Mrs. P.L. De Voist

Miss Clara Le Duc

Minneapolis

Shaffer

Mrs. H.G. Harrison

reserved

Shaffer

Mrs. Walter Thorp

(Ueland) Shaffer

Mrs. Victor Troendle

Shaffer

Miss Hope McDonald

reserved

Shaffer

Miss Florence Monahan

(Zinn) Shaffer

Mrs. Milton Purdy

reserved

Mrs. A.E. Merrill

reserved

Miss Nellie Merrill

reserved

Shaffer

Mrs. James Paige

reserved

Shaffer

Mrs. A.W. Strong

reserved

Shaffer

Mrs. R.H. Passmore

Shaffer

Mrs. O.J. Evans - <sup>Delegates</sup> Alternate

reserved

~~Mrs. Earl Spencer - Alternate~~

Miss Josephine Berry - Alternate

Dr. Michel Hirsch

reserved



[1919]

ALTERNATES & DELEGATES  
TO  
NATIONAL CONVENTION  
St. Louis, Mo.  
1919.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Mrs. Andreas Ueland

Miss Marguerite Wells

DELEGATES

St. Paul

Mrs. Stiles Burr

~~Mrs. Walter Burr~~ - Alternate

Miss Cornelia Lusk

Duluth

Mrs. F.L. De Voist

*Introduce*

Miss Clara Le Duc

Minneapolis

*Envelope*

X Mrs. H.G. Harrison

*Statler Hotel*

Mrs. Walter Thorp

Mrs. Victor Troendle

Miss Hope McDonald

Miss Florence Monahan

X Mrs. Milton Purdy

*Statler Hotel*

Mrs. A.E. Merrill

Miss Nellie Merrill

Mrs. James Paige

Mrs. A.W. Strong

X Mrs. R.H. Passmore

*Statler Hotel.*

Mrs. O.J. Evans - Alternate

*introduce*

Mrs. Earl Spencer - Alternate

Miss Josephine Berry - Alternate



[1919]

ALTERNATES & DELEGATES  
To  
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St. Louis, Mo.  
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Mrs. R.H. Passmore

Mrs. O.J. Evans - Alternate

Mrs. Earl Spencer - Alternate

Miss Josephine Berry - Alternate

[1919]

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

*Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President*

## LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

*Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Chairman*

National Headquarters, 171 Madison Avenue, New York

### CHAIRMEN ENFRANCHISED STATES

Washington Ratification Committee.....	Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe
318 California Bldg., Tacoma	
Oregon Equal Suffrage Alliance.....	Mrs. Kelley Rees
1310 East 34th Street, Portland	
California Ratification Committee.....	Mrs. Robert A. Dean
1034 Vallejo Street, Russian Hill, San Francisco	
Idaho Ratification Committee.....	Miss Margaret S. Roberts
220 Jefferson Street, Boise	
Nevada Ratification Committee.....	Mrs. Frank G. Patrick
Reno	
Montana Ratification Committee.....	Mrs. M. J. Crichton
Supervisor of Schools, Helena	
Wyoming Ratification Committee.....	Mrs. Melville C. Brown
Laramie	
Utah State Suffrage Council.....	Mrs. Emily S. Richards
175 A Street, Salt Lake City	
Arizona Ratification Committee.....	Mrs. Eugene Brady O'Neill
30 West Willetta Street, Phoenix	
Colorado Equal Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. George E. Hosmer
1426 Milwaukee Street, Denver	
South Dakota Universal Franchise League.....	Mrs. John L. Pyle
Huron	
Kansas Equal Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Charles H. Brooks
1007 N. Lawrence Avenue, Wichita	
Oklahoma Ratification Committee.....	Miss Katherine Pierce
112 North Broadway, Oklahoma City	
Michigan Equal Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Percy J. Farrell
93 Josephine Street, Detroit	
New York State Woman Suffrage Party.....	Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw
303 Fifth Avenue, New York City	

### CHAIRMEN PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE STATES

Illinois Equal Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout
603 Tower Building, Chicago	
Chicago Equal Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Jacob Baur
115 Bellevue Place, Chicago	
Suffrage Amendment Alliance.....	Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch
112 West Adams Street, Chicago	
The Evanston Political Equality League.....	Mrs. Robert D. Cunningham
1718 Orrington Avenue, Evanston	
Indiana Woman's Franchise League.....	Miss Helen Benbridge
Terre Haute	
Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	Miss Anna B. Lawther
1100 Fleming Building, Des Moines	
Maine Woman Suffrage Association.....	Miss Mabel Connor
16 Elm Street, Augusta	
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Andreas Ueland
403 Essex Street, Minneapolis	
Missouri Equal Suffrage League.....	Mrs. George Gellhorn
755 Century Building, St. Louis	
Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. W. E. Barkley, Jr.
1919 D Street, Lincoln	
North Dakota Votes for Women League.....	Mrs. Robert Clendening
324 De Lendrecie Bldg., Fargo	
Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association.....	Miss Mary B. Anthony
234 Butler Exchange, Providence	
Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party.....	Mrs. Sara M. Algeo
394 Angell Street, Providence	
Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Leslie Warner
123 North Spruce Street, Nashville	
Vermont Equal Suffrage Association.....	Dr. Marion Horton
Windsor	
Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. Henry M. Youmans
428 Jefferson Street, Milwaukee	
Texas Equal Suffrage Association.....	Mrs. B. J. Cunningham
629 Littlefield Bldg., Austin	
Arkansas Equal Suffrage Central Committee.....	Mrs. T. T. Cotnam
1515 Cumberland Street, Little Rock	

## C O U P O N

Without obligation on my part, please send me information as to how I can become a member of the League of Women Voters.

..... (Name)

..... (City, Street & Number)

..... (State)

*Cut this out, sign and mail to your State Chairman, as listed above.*



# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N



## AS BETWEEN ALLIES

JOHN BULL: "I say—What was that jolly old principle you fought me for?"

UNCLE SAM: "Don't taunt me. I admit the inconsistency, but the United States will soon catch up with Great Britain. The Federal Suffrage Amendment is going through."

## CALL TO CONVENTION

Fiftieth Annual Convention and Double Anniversary

1869--1919

The National American Woman Suffrage Association calls its State Auxiliaries through their elected delegates to meet in annual Convention at St. Louis, Statler Hotel, March 24 to March 29, 1919, inclusive.

In 1869, Wyoming led all the world by the grant of full suffrage to its women. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this event.

In 1869, the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations were organized—to be combined twenty years later into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization which without a pause has carried forward, during half a century, the effort to secure the enfranchisement of women.

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Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President.  
Katherine Dexter McCormick, First Vice-President.  
Mary Garrett Hay, Second Vice-President.  
Anne Dallas Dudley, Third Vice-President.  
Gertrude Foster Brown, Fourth Vice-President.  
Helen Gardener, Fifth Vice-President.  
Emma Winner Rogers, Treasurer.  
Nettie Rogers Shuler, Corresponding Secretary.  
Justina L. Wilson, Recording Secretary.  
Jane M. Brooks, Director.  
Florence B. Cotnam, Director.  
Harriet Burton Laidlaw, Director.  
Henrietta W. Livermore, Director.  
Nonie B. Mahoney, Director.  
Esther G. Ogden, Director.  
Mary A. Safford, Director.  
Olga B. Stilwell, Director.  
Maud Wood Park, Chairman Congressional Committee.  
Rose Young, National Press Chairman.

Public Dinner--Statler Hotel, Tuesday evening, March 25

Public Meetings--Odeon, Thursday and Friday evenings, March 27-28

Suffrage Headquarters

755 Century Building,

St. Louis, Missouri





# LESLIE WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMISSION, INC.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT

## BUREAU OF SUFFRAGE EDUCATION

ROSE YOUNG, DIRECTOR

### DEPARTMENTS

#### FIELD PRESS WORK

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER, CHAIRMAN

#### NEWS

MARJORIE SHULER, CHAIRMAN

#### MAGAZINE DEPARTMENT

### THE WOMAN CITIZEN

### DEPARTMENTS

#### FEATURES

MARY OGDEN WHITE, CHAIRMAN

#### RESEARCH

MARY SUMNER BOYD, CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE: 4818 MURRAY HILL



*Sent first  
Mar. 18, 1919*

171 Madison Avenue

NEW YORK, February 13, 1919

Mrs. Andreas Ueland,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Ueland:

You will soon be sending to Mrs. Catt a list of the delegates from your State Association to the National Convention at St. Louis.

At the same time will you mail us a duplicate list of the delegates? We wish to use this in connection with the pre-convention publicity. The time is growing short and we will appreciate receiving the list at the earliest possible moment. If there are any changes or additions, will you keep us informed?

Very sincerely yours,

RLG/D

*Rose Geyer*

February 17th, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Gentlemen:-

Please reserve a room and bath for me  
in your hotel for the Woman Suffrage Convention  
to be held in St. Louis, March 24 - 29th

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



February 17th, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Gentlemen:-

Please reserve a room and bath for  
Miss Marguerite Wells in your hotel for the  
Woman Suffrage Convention to be held in St.  
Louis, March 24 - 29th.

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Weland)



THIS LETTER WRITTEN AT ST. LOUIS

MANAGER'S OFFICE

February 20, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Pres.  
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Assn.,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Madam:

We will be pleased to place at your disposal a pleasant room with bath, for the Woman Suffrage Convention. Same to be ready for occupancy on March 24th.

Assuring you that we will do everything possible to make your visit on this occasion pleasant.

Yours very truly,

HOTEL STATLER,

*R. L. Meyer*  
Asst. Manager.

RIM/HM

Acknowledging your letter of February 17th.

*Minnesota*

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 50

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

SUBJECT:  
CONVENTION

February 21, 1919.

POSTERS - We are sending you 2 convention posters. Most of these go to St. Louis, but if you can display to advantage more than the number assigned you, let us know.

CALLS and PRINTED MATTER - We are sending you 50 calls, 50 folders and 50 tentative programs. Please put them in your letters used to work up delegation. We will send more if you can use them.

DELEGATION - Please send a FULL delegation. One way to interest new and influential people is to get them to come to the National Convention. Therefore we shall send a special letter of invitation which we ask you to mail to such men and women as you may desire to invite, writing on each the address of your own Headquarters.

JUBILEE - The Convention by the number of its delegates, the wisdom of its counsels and the earnestness of its proceedings should not fail to prove a true memorial to the progress of our great cause. A full delegation from your state will be your contribution.

VISITORS - One way to interest new and influential people is to get them to attend the National Convention. The war work has converted many women who were not interested before. Do not forget them. We shall try to pay special attention to the visitors.

THE FUTURE - As the length of the suffrage struggle will depend upon the conclusions reached in St. Louis, I need not remind you that the liveliest and wisest women of your association should form your delegation.

February 24, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sirs:-

Please reserve a room and bath for Mrs.  
A.E. Zonne in your hotel for the Woman Suffrage Con-  
vention to be held in S t. Louis, March 24 - 29th.

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

BULLETIN NUMBER 51

Issued by

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

SUBJECT:  
PARTISANSHIP

February 24, 1919.

Several inquiries have come from State Presidents asking whether it will conflict with our non-partisan principles as an organization if they accept invitations which have been extended them to become members of the National Republican or Democratic Committee or their State Democratic or Republican Committee.

This question is so serious and so complicated by the extensive enfranchisement of women, that I beg each President to withhold her reply to any such invitation received until after the convention where I hereby promise that the question shall have full and free discussion and be determined by vote of the delegates.

—————oOo—————



February 26th, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sirs:-

Please reserve a room for Miss Hope McDonald  
in your hotel for the Woman Suffrage Convention to be  
held in St. Louis, March 24 - 29th.

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

# The Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis

HEADQUARTERS:

755 Century Bldg.

Telephone, Olive 5493

MRS. FREDERIC BLAINE-CLARKE  
Executive Secretary.

## OFFICERS

MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN  
President.

MISS MARY LIONBERGER,  
First Vice-President.

MRS. ROBERT McKITTRICK JONES,  
Second Vice-President.

MRS. DAVID O'NEIL,  
Third Vice-President.

MRS. J. ALEX GOODWIN,  
Secretary.

MRS. FRED L. ENGLISH,  
Treasurer.

MRS. W. C. FORDYCE,  
Auditor.

February 26th 1919.

My dear Madam President:

These quotations from two letters of Mrs. Catt's under date of February 10th and 13th are self-explanatory. "The boxes at the Odeon should be sold to cover the cost of the theatre. The price should be \$10. per box per night, and unless there is objection to this we shall announce this in our printed folder, which we are about to issue". "I wrote you that I thought we should advertise the boxes at \$10. each. I think all of them can be sold. Some of the delegates will probably buy them and also St. Louis people".

I am writing to ask whether you wish to reserve a box for one or both evenings of the large public meetings to be held during the Suffrage Convention on Thursday and Friday nights, March 27th and 28th.

We wish to give the states first choice in reserving the boxes, and shall hold them for such reservation until March 8th, after that we shall sell the boxes to individuals. If you desire to reserve a box for your State for either or both meetings, will you write immediately and make reservation and send a check to Mrs. Fred English, 755 Century Building, who will reserve the boxes in order of the application filed.

We trust that you will bring your state banner and display it at the meetings.

Looking forward to meeting you at the Convention, I am,

Very cordially yours,

Edna Fischel Gellhorn

President

[ca March, 1919]

CONVENTION BULLETIN

Issued by

MRS. ANDREAS UELAND.

We enclose marked program of St. Louis Convention. Please note the Public Dinner for Tuesday evening. If you have not already done so, please write at once reserving plates.

Believing that we would want to sit together at the two mass meetings, we have engaged two boxes for Minnesota at the Odeon Theatre. Mrs. Troendle will collect from each of us the per capita expense while we are in St. Louis.

IMPORTANT

To those who are leaving Saturday evening:

Your hotel room probably is reserved from March 24th.

We arrive in St. Louis Sunday March 23rd; so you should write at once making reservations a day earlier.

Your credentials will be given to you later.

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, HONORARY PRESIDENT

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. STANLEY MCCORMICK, MASS.

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY, NEW YORK

3D VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY, TENN.

4TH VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN, NEW YORK

5TH VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. HELEN GARDENER,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

TREASURER

MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS, CONN.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

MRS. FRANK J. SHULER, NEW YORK

RECORDING SECRETARY

MRS. HALSEY W. WILSON, NEW YORK

DIRECTORS

MRS. CHARLES H. BROOKS, KANSAS

MRS. T. T. COTNAM, ARKANSAS

MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW, NEW YORK

MRS. ARTHUR L. LIVERMORE, NEW YORK

MRS. NONIE B. MAHONEY, TEXAS

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN, NEW YORK

DR. MARY SAFFORD, FLORIDA

MRS. HORACE C. STILWELL, INDIANA

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
171 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN, PRESIDENT

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PRESS DEPARTMENT

MISS ROSE YOUNG, CHAIRMAN

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, CHAIRMAN

HEADQUARTERS

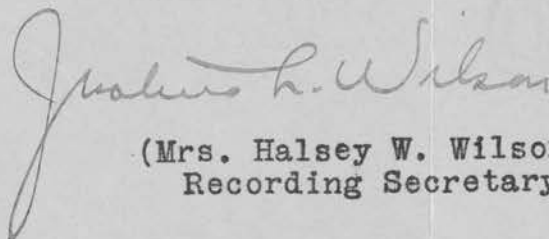
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 3, 1919.

Dear Madam President:

There has come a request from Mrs. Frederic Blaine-Clark for speakers to take charge of overflow meetings, noonday street meetings and meetings before clubs and other organizations during convention week. We desire that you send the name of any women from your state attending convention who would be able to fill such engagements. Please do not include the name of any woman who has not given her consent to do this kind of speaking. Send names to Mrs. Frederic Blaine-Clark, 755 Century Building, St. Louis, Missouri.

Sincerely yours,



(Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson)  
Recording Secretary



March 5th, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Gentlemen:-

Please reserve a room and bath (\$2.00 if possible) for Miss Florence Monahan in your hotel for the Woman Suffrage Convention to be held in St. Louis, March 24 - 29th.

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



March 5th, 1919.

Mrs. George Gellhorn,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. Gellhorn:-

In reply to your letter of February 26th,  
I will say that the Minnesota Delegates will undoubtedly  
want at least one box - we may want two. We hope to have  
a full delegation (fifteen).

Please let me know at once how many persons can  
be seated in one box. May we have a ground floor box or  
at least one that is so placed that we may hear well.

Hoping for a prompt reply, I am,

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

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2ND VICE-PRESIDENT

MISS MARY GARRETT HAY, NEW YORK

3D VICE-PRESIDENT

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MRS. T. T. COTNAM, ARKANSAS

MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW, NEW YORK

MRS. ARTHUR L. LIVERMORE, NEW YORK

MRS. NONIE B. MAHONEY, TEXAS

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN, NEW YORK

DR. MARY SAFFORD, FLORIDA

MRS. HORACE C. STILWELL, INDIANA

## NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

171 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK

TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN, PRESIDENT

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

PRESS DEPARTMENT

MISS ROSE YOUNG, CHAIRMAN

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, CHAIRMAN

HEADQUARTERS

1626 RHODE ISLAND AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 5, 1919.

My dear President:-

I am writing to you with a feeling of desperation in my heart to urge you not only to be present yourself in St. Louis, but to send a full delegation from your state.

For some states the journey is long and expensive, but it must be remembered that this is always true for some states. The western women have not been treated fairly in the matter, since more often the convention has been held in the East. This has been necessary owing to the fact that we have tried to reach Congress. If it is expensive for your state this time, it has many times been very inexpensive so I beg of you to bear that in mind.

We are certainly in the most crucial and trying period of the entire suffrage movement. Everything, except the Senate, seems to be coming our way. Victories are ours upon every side. To a superficial observer, it would seem that the end of our movement is very nearly at hand. I hope that this is true. There are, however, signs of warning. In every state a little group of reactionary, conservative stand-patters, whether Republicans or Democrats, are fighting hard to get control of the political machines and the political conventions. The wets are now going to make their last desperate fight to secure non-enforcement laws and they will make a struggle more or less successfully to secure the elections of the 1921 legislatures. This year the Anti-Saloon League had elected those legislatures and without a question we could have secured ratification in the necessary number of states. It was partly because this was so well known that the Senate showed such determination not to let the amendment through.

Every war has been followed by an immediate period of radicalism, followed shortly by a corresponding period of conservatism. We must move with great precision and energy now lest we be caught in that slump of public sentiment. For this reason I regard the coming convention as the most imperatively necessary one in all our experience. The wisdom of the conclusions there, will certainly determine the length of time that we must continue the struggle.

I went to my first suffrage convention in 1888 and was disappointed because it was so small. I have never attended a convention since that date which has not disappointed me in point of numbers and fighting qualities. I am going to be down right broken-hearted, if this convention does not come up to the scratch. We are expected to be full of fight. We are expected to make a big, rousing protest against the conditions which have prevailed in Washington and if we do not have numbers from the states to voice that protest, it will be ineffective.

I beg of you find a way to come and to send your full delegation.

Yours cordially,

*Carrie Chapman Catt*

President

March 8th, 1919.

Mrs. L.B. Wilson;-  
Rochester,  
Minnesota.

My dear Mrs. Wilson:-

The Annual Convention of the National Suffrage Association is to be held in St. Louis March 24th to 29th. Mrs. Catt urges that we try to get a full and strong delegation and we would like very much to have you go as one of our delegates.

These meetings are very fine indeed, really notable, and this one should be unusually good as it celebrates fifty years of suffrage work in this country and is also a convention of women from voting states called together to make plans for work that women as enfranchised citizens can undertake in states and nationally. I am enclosing information.

I do wish you would go and if you can consider it at all will you not send in your reservation for room at the Hotel Statler? I am also writing to Mrs. Malone and Mrs. Mayo.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



March 8th, 1919.

Mrs. Chas. Mayo,  
Rochester,  
Minnesota.

My dear Mrs. Mayo:-

The Annual Convention of the National Suffrage Association is to be held in St. Louis March 24th to 29th. Mrs. Catt urges that we try to get a full and strong delegation and so would like very much to have you go as one of our delegates.

These meetings are very fine indeed, really notable, and this one should be unusually good as it celebrates fifty years of suffrage work in this country and is also a convention of women from voting states called together to make plans for work that women as enfranchised citizens can undertake in states and nationally. I am enclosing information.

I do wish you would go and if you can consider it at all will you not send in your reservation for room at the Hotel Statler? I am also writing to Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Melone.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 8th, 1919.

Mrs. J.A. Helone,  
419 South Glencoe St.,  
Rochester, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Helone:-

The Annual Convention of the National Suffrage Association is to be held in St. Louis March 24th to 29th. Mrs. Catt urges that we try to get a full and strong delegation and we would like very much to have you go as one of our delegates.

These meetings are very fine indeed, really notable, and this one should be unusually good as it celebrates fifty years of suffrage work in this country and is also a convention of women from voting states called together to make plans for work that women as enfranchised citizens can undertake in states and nationally. I am enclosing information.

I do wish you would go and if you can consider it at all will you not send in your reservation for room at the Hotel Statler? I am also writing to Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Mayo.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 8th, 1919.

Mrs. C.L. Atwood,  
St. Cloud,  
Minn.

My dear Mrs. Atwood:-

We are very anxious and Mrs. Catt is also anxious that Minnesota shall have a full and strong delegation to the Annual Convention of the National Suffrage Association to be held in St. Louis March 24th to 29th. I do wish you could go with us. This is to be in celebration of fifty years of work.

These conventions are always splendid meetings and this one, I should think, would be better than usual. I enclose the "Call". If you can consider it at all I want to urge you to reserve rooms at Hotel Statler at once, before they may all be taken. Can you not make your plans to go? I am also writing to Mrs. Clark.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 8th, 1919.

Miss Charlotte Clark,  
St. Cloud,  
Minnesota.

My dear Miss Clark:-

The Annual Convention of the National Suffrage Association is to be held in St. Louis March 24th - 29th. Mrs. Catt urges that we try to get a full and strong delegation and we would like very much to have you go as one of our delegates.

These meetings are very fine indeed, really notable, and this one should be unusually good as it celebrates fifty years of suffrage work in this country and is also a convention of women from voting states called together to make plans for work that women as enfranchised citizens can undertake in states and nationally. I am enclosing information.

I do wish you would go and if you can consider it at all will you not send in your reservation for room at the Hotel Statler? I am also writing to Mrs. Atwood.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



# The Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis

## HEADQUARTERS:

755 Century Bldg.

Telephone, Olive 5493

MRS. FREDERIC BLAINE-CLARKE  
Executive Secretary.

## OFFICERS

MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN  
President.

MISS MARY LIONBERGER,  
First Vice-President.

MRS. ROBERT MCKITTRICK JONES,  
Second Vice-President.

MRS. DAVID O'NEIL,  
Third Vice-President.

MRS. J. ALEX GOODWIN,  
Secretary.

MRS. FRED L. ENGLISH,  
Treasurer.

MRS. W. C. FORDYCE,  
Auditor.

March 8th, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland,  
c/o Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Ass'n.,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Ueland:-

Mrs. Gellhorn has handed me your letter of March 5th in reference to boxes at the Mass Meetings. The boxes each seat six, but the Manager tells me it is quite possible to put in two extra chairs. The boxes are arranged in a single tier around the auditorium.

We have a number of boxes still on hand, and shall be glad to reserve one or two as you may direct, for either or both nights. If you will be kind enough to let us know when and how many you desire, we shall send you the tickets immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

*Marian Lewis English*

(Mrs. Fred English)

Chairman of Boxes.

721 4094

March 10th, 1913.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Gentlemen:-

Please reserve a room for Mrs. Albert Strong  
in your hotel for the Women Suffrage Convention to be  
held in St. Louis, March 24 - 29th.

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

MARCH 10th, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Gentlemen:-

Please reserve a doubleroom with bath for  
Miss Nellie Merrill and her mother Mrs. A. F. Merrill  
in your hotel for the Woman Suffrage Convention to be  
held in St. Louis, March 24 - 29th.

Yours very truly,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 11th, 1919.

Mrs. P.L. De Voist,  
10 N. 12th Ave.,  
Duluth, Minn.

My dear Mrs. De Voist:-

Have you definitely made up your mind to go to the Convention in St. Louis? I do hope you will be able to go. We want to have at least one delegate from St. Louis County. If you find you can go, will you please let me know at once, because quite a number of women from the Twin Cities are making tentative plans to attend.

We are entitled to fifteen delegates only and naturally, everyone who goes prefers to go as a delegate. I hope I may be able to say that you expect to be there as one of our fifteen delegates.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



March 12th, 1919.

Mrs. Fred English,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. English:-

Please reserve two boxes for the Minnesota delegation. We hope to have a full delegation. We are entitled to seventeen delegates so we may be glad to have the two chairs put in as you suggest but are not certain about that.

Cordially yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.  
Mrs. Andreas Ueland, President.

403 Essex Building,  
Minneapolis, Minnesota.

PRESS DEPARTMENT  
Mrs. Walter Thorp, Chairman

March 12th, 1919.

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE CONVENTION

A number of Minnesota women will attend as delegates the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association which will be held in the Statler Hotel, St. Louis, March 24th to 29th inclusive. This Convention is also a double Anniversary Celebration marking the fiftieth year since Wyoming, the first State in the Union, gave its women full suffrage; and the fiftieth birthday of the organization now calling itself the National American Woman Suffrage Association. During these fifty years this organization has carried on an unbroken campaign for the enfranchisement of women.

At the coming Golden Jubilee it is planned to reconstruct the old organization into a powerful and solid group which shall also include the women who have already been enfranchised by the Constitutions of the full suffrage states into the Women Voter's League. There are already some thirteen million women voting in the United States.

The opening note of the Convention will be the address by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National Suffrage Association. The address will present Mrs. Catt's idea of the power inherent in the coalition of women voters and women would-be voters and will kindle a general discussion on the question "Why has the United States lagged behind other Nations in granting votes to women?"

Two entire days of the Convention's sitting will be given up to a Conference of Women Voters who are now integral parts of the political life of sixteen States of the Union.

.....



# HOTELS STATLER

THIS LETTER WRITTEN AT ST. LOUIS  
MANAGER'S OFFICE

March 12, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Madam:

We regret to advise that we have booked  
our capacity for the National Suffrage Convention.

We would be pleased to reserve a room  
at one of the better hotels in the city for you-  
(as near as possible to Hotel Statler)-on request.

Awaiting your reply.

Yours very truly,

HOTEL STATLER,

*R. L. Meyer*

Asst. Manager.

RLM/HM



## NATIONAL OFFICERS

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW - Honorary President  
 MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT - President  
 MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK - First Vice-President  
 MISS MARY GARRETT HAY - Second Vice-President  
 MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY - Third Vice-President  
 MRS. RAYMOND BROWN - Fourth Vice-President  
 MRS. HELEN GARDENER - Fifth Vice-President  
 MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS - Treasurer  
 MRS. FRANK J. SHULER - Corresponding Secretary  
 MRS. HALSEY W. WILSON - Recording Secretary

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 MRS. DAVID O'NEIL - First Chairman  
 MRS. HUGH C. WARD - Second Chairman  
 MRS. WM. D. STEELE - Third Chairman  
 MRS. WM. R. HAIGHT - Corresponding Secretary  
 MRS. ELMER A. McKAY - Recording Secretary  
 MRS. FRED J. TAUSSIG - Treasurer

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 MRS. DAVID O'NEIL - Third Vice-President  
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 MRS. J. ALEX GOODWIN - Corresponding Secretary  
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 MRS. W. C. FORDYCE - Auditor

## Teachers' Division

MISS T. C. GECKS - Honorary Chairman  
 MISS ANNIE WAYNEY - Chairman

BUSINESS WOMEN'S EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE  
 MRS. HUGH E. MOORE - President  
 MISS CLARA HOUSUM - Secretary

## CONVENTION COMMITTEES

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 MISS MARY GARRETT HAY  
 Chairman of Program Committee from the National Board  
 MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK  
 Chairman of Local Arrangements  
 MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN  
 Secretary to Chairman  
 MISS IRENE LOEB

STATES AND CITY RELATIONS  
 Chairman, MRS. WALTER McNAB MILLER  
 Vice-Chairman, MRS. FREDERICK D. GARDNER  
 MRS. B. F. BUSH  
 MRS. GEO. A. STILL  
 MRS. NELLIE BURGER  
 MRS. J. W. McKNIGHT  
 MRS. S. F. O'FALLON

BUREAU OF INFORMATION (Union Station)  
 MRS. WM. R. HAIGHT

HEADQUARTERS (Statler Hotel) MRS. A. E. RETON

INFORMATION (Statler) MRS. JOHN S. PAYNE

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REGISTRATION, CREDENTIALS AND ELECTIONS  
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 MRS. N. A. McMILLAN  
 MRS. DAVID O'NEIL  
 MRS. E. W. STIX  
 MRS. ROBT. McK. JONES  
 MRS. MORRISON FULLER  
 MRS. A. BRUEGGEMAN

BANQUET  
 MRS. DAVID THOMPSON

ODEON MEETINGS  
 MRS. FRED. J. TAUSSIG  
 MRS. HENRY LODGE  
 MRS. E. W. PATTISON  
 MRS. ROBT. ATKINSON  
 MRS. FRED ENGLISH  
 MRS. HARRY JANUARY  
 MRS. HUGH E. MOORE  
 MRS. EUGENE T. SENSENEY

PRESS  
 MRS. F. B. CLARKE

PUBLICITY  
 MRS. E. M. GROSSMAN

CHURCHES  
 MRS. CLAY JORDAN

STREET SPEAKING  
 MRS. FRED ENGLISH

ORGANIZATION MEETINGS  
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COMMITTEE FOR "WOMAN CITIZEN"  
 MRS. B. F. BURCH

COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
 PUBLISHING CO. MISS LETTITIA PARKER

POST OFFICE  
 MRS. A. BUSCHMAN

MRS. FRANK P. HAYS

# The Fiftieth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

ST. LOUIS : : : : : MARCH 24 to 29

## Headquarters:

STATLER HOTEL

## MASS MEETINGS

ODEON - - - March 27 and 28, 8 p. m.  
 For information call Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis  
 Olive 5493; Headquarters: 755 Century Bldg.

March 14, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Pres.,  
 Minnesota Woman Suffrage Ass'n.,  
 403 Essex Bldg.,  
 Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Ueland:-

Thank you for your letter of  
 March 12th. I do not quite understand whether  
 you wished to engage two boxes for each of the  
 two Mass Meetings.

Will you be kind enough to wire  
 me whether you wish them for both nights, or  
 for only Thursday or Friday?

Hoping to hear from you at  
 your earliest convenience, I remain

Very sincerely,

Marian English  
 (Mrs. Fred L. English)

E/D



[cc Mar 15, 1919]

NIGHT LETTER

Wate?

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Very important that Mrs. A.W. Strong  
have room during Suffrage Convention in Statler. If  
you have nothing now please put her on list for first  
room given up and wire us what you have done.

Clara Ueland.

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Assn.,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

March 15th, 1919.

Mrs. Leslie Thompson,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. Thompson:-

Please reserve a plate for me at the Public Dinner, Tuesday evening, March 25th. I expect that Minnesota will have a full delegation (17 women) and I am practically certain they will all want to reserve places at the dinner. I am writing them asking them to send word to you at once if they have not already done so, but if some of them are a little negligent, will you please hold the places for seventeen Minnesota women as long as you possibly can.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 15th, 1919.

Mrs. P.L. De Voist,  
10 North 12th Ave.,  
Duluth, Minn.

My dear Mrs. De Voist:-

I am very glad indeed that you and your sister (your sister is Miss Clara Le Duc, isn't she) are going with us to the Convention at St. Louis. I want to give you some information.

We have reserved two lower berths for you on the M. & ST. L. train leaving 7:50 Saturday evening March 22nd. To make doubly sure, I advise you to send your check at once to Mr. J.G. Rickel, Ticket Office, 6th St. & 2nd Ave. So. The price of a single ticket is \$18.93, berth \$3.50. Mr. Rickel is very accommodating in your case and says he will reserve the berths for you although Minneapolis women must pay for theirs by Monday noon he says. The ticket office will be closed at 3 o'clock on Saturday.

The Committee writes us from St. Louis that different states are reserving boxes. These boxes cost \$10.00 each and holds six or eight people. We have reserved two boxes and our Treasurer, Mrs. Troendle will collect from each of us when we get to St. Louis. There are to be two large evening meetings in the Odeon Theatre. We all think it is worth while to sit in these boxes.

You will see by your program that there is to be a public dinner at the Statler Hotel Tuesday evening at \$2.00 per plate. I advise you to write at once to reserve a plate.

You have probably reserved your rooms at the Statler Hotel. We arrive Sunday afternoon. You should make sure that your reservation dates from the 23rd rather than the 24th.

Looking forward with pleasure to meeting you and your sister, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

State President.

March 15th, 1919.

Mrs. George Gelhorn,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. Gelhorn:-

Miss Theodora Troendle, a pianist who has played in concert in St. Louis last year, would probably be willing to play at sometime during the Suffrage Convention if you desire to have her. Her mother, Mrs. Victor Troendle is the Treasurer of our Association and volunteers this information.

Miss Troendle is a finished artist. She is a pupil of Mme. Zeisler. You may very likely have heard of her playing as a soloist in St. Louis. Her mother tells me she thinks she would be very glad to give her services at the Convention but thinks she would probably ask to have her expenses paid from Chicago to St. Louis. She has a studio in Chicago.

Cordially yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Heland)



March 15th, 1919.

Mr. R.L. Meyer, Asst. Manager,  
Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mr. Meyer:-

I have a note from you stating that you have reserved a room for me to be ready for occupation March 24th. I wish to tell you that I shall arrive on Sunday afternoon March 23rd. Will you be so kind as to have my room ready for me on that day?

In addition I want to inform you that I expect sixteen or seventeen women from Minnesota. They will leave on Saturday also, arriving in St. Louis Sunday afternoon. I hope you will be able to accommodate them upon their arrival. However, I am asking each one of them to write you in regard to this so in a few days after receiving my letter you should hear from them.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

BRANCH OF INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, PRESIDENT

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3D VICE-PRESIDENT

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MRS. HELEN GARDENER  
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NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
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TELEPHONE, 4818 MURRAY HILL

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171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

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HEADQUARTERS  
1626 RHODE ISLAND AVE., WASHINGTON, D. C.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN, PRESIDENT  
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

March 15, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Ueland:

On Wednesday morning of the convention Mrs. Park will give her report on the Federal Amendment. We have put a topic on the program following her presentation---"And Now What?"---an informal discussion led by state presidents. The state presidents to whom we have assigned this task are:

Miss Katharine Ludington-----Connecticut,  
Mrs. Andreas Ueland-----Minnesota,  
Miss Anna B. Lawther-----Iowa,  
Mrs. Leila Mead Valentine---Virginia,  
Mrs. Leslie Warner-----Tennessee.

We are expecting you to open up the general subject as to what is the trouble and what is wrong with us all--if anything--and what we must do next. We are making no time limit on these speeches but the convention doubtless will.

Anticipating the pleasure of seeing you on Monday morning, the 24th, I am,

Yours most cordially,

*Carrie Chapman Catt*

CCC--FF.

March 17th, 1919.

TELEGRAM

Mrs. Fred L. English,

755 Century Bldg.,

St. Louis, Mo.

Reserve two boxes for both nights.

Clara Meland.

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Assn.,  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

March 17th, 1919.

Mrs. Leslie Thompson,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. Thompson:-

Please reserve a plate for me at the Public  
Dinner, Tuesday evening March 25th.

Sincerely yours,

State Press Chairman.

(Mrs. Walter Thorp)



## NATIONAL OFFICERS

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW - Honorary President  
 MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT - President  
 MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK - First Vice-President  
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 MRS. FRANK J. SEULER - Corresponding Secretary  
 MRS. HALSEY W. WILSON - Recording Secretary

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 MRS. LESLIE THOMPSON  
 MRS. PHILIP B. FOUKE  
 MRS. N. A. McMILLAN  
 MRS. DAVID O'NEIL  
 MRS. E. W. STIX  
 MRS. ROBT. McK. JONES  
 MRS. MORRISON FULLER  
 MRS. A. BRUEGGEMAN

BANQUET  
 MRS. DAVID THOMPSON

ODEON MEETINGS  
 MRS. FRED. J. TAUSSIG  
 MRS. HENRY LODGE  
 MRS. E. W. PATTERSON  
 MRS. ROBT. ATKINSON  
 MRS. FRED ENGLISH  
 MRS. HARRY JANUARY  
 MRS. HUGH E. MOORE  
 MRS. EUGENE T. SENSENEY

PRESS  
 MRS. F. B. CLARKE

PUBLICITY  
 MRS. E. M. GROSSMAN

CHURCHES  
 MRS. CLAY JORDAN

STREET SPEAKING  
 MRS. FRED ENGLISH

ORGANIZATION MEETINGS  
 MRS. FANNIE BONNER PRICE

BADGES  
 MRS. A. RAUH

PROGRAM  
 MRS. J. ALEX GOODWIN

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE  
 MRS. A. RAUH

COMMITTEE FOR "WOMAN CITIZEN"  
 MRS. B. F. BURCH

COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
 MISS LETTITIA PARKER

PUBLISHING CO.  
 MRS. A. BUSCHMAN

POST OFFICE  
 MRS. FRANK P. HAYS

# The Fiftieth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

ST. LOUIS : : : : : MARCH 24 to 29

Headquarters:

STATLER HOTEL

MASS MEETINGS

ODEON . . . March 27 and 28, 8 p. m.  
 For information call Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis  
 Olive 5493; Headquarters: 755 Century Bldg.

March 17, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland,  
 Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association,  
 403 Essex Bldg.,  
 Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Ueland:

Miss Josephine Berry of Minnesota is  
 visiting in St. Louis at the present time. It has  
 been suggested that if a full delegation is not  
 coming from Minnesota it might be supplemented  
 by Miss Berry who is on the spot.

Please do not think that we are in any  
 way trying to direct your delegation to you, but  
 occasionally such information is valuable.

Miss Berry's address is, 5610 Enright

Ave.

Cordially yours,

*Madeline Lygett Clarke*

Executive Secretary.

March 18th, 1919.

Mrs. Leslie Thompson,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. Thompson:-

Please reserve plates at the dinner on Tuesday  
evening for Miss Marguerite Wells, Mrs. James Paige and  
Mrs. Milton Purdy.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 18th, 1919.

Mrs. Milton Purdy,  
416 Franklin Ave. W.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

My dear Mrs. Purdy:-

I am reserving places at the dinner for Tuesday evening for Mrs. Paige and Miss Wells. I included your name as I thought you undoubtedly would want to go to that.

You see by the enclosed marked program that there are to be two mass meetings. We have engaged two boxes for both evenings at a cost of \$10.00 each. Mrs. Troendle will collect from us the per capita expense in St. Louis. I am awfully glad you are going.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

[ca March 18, 1919]

ALTERNATES & DELEGATES

To  
NATIONAL CONVENTION  
St. Louis, Mo.  
1919

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Mrs. Andreas Ueland

Miss Marguerite Wells

DELEGATES

St. Paul

✓ Mrs. Stiles Burr

Mrs. Walter Burr - Alternate

— Miss Cornelia Lusk

Duluth

Mrs. F.L. De Voist

Miss Clara Le Duc

Minneapolis

2 Mrs. H.G. Harrison

3 Mrs. Walter Thorp

4 Mrs. Victor Troendle

5 Miss Hope McDonald

6 Miss Florence Monahan

7 Mrs. Milton Purdy

8 Mrs. A.E. Merrill

9 Miss Nellie Merrill

10 Mrs. James Paige

11 Mrs. A.W. Strong

12 Mrs. R.H. Passmore -

— Mrs. O.J. Evans - Alternate

Mrs. Earl Spencer - Alternate

Miss Josephine Berry - Alternate

see Credentials Com.  
will do.



March 18th, 1919.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,  
171 Madison Ave.,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Catt:-

In regard to Dr. Mabel Ulrich; she is to be in St. Louis the week after the convention to speak at the College Women's Convention. To be at Dr. Parker's meeting would mean that she would have to be in St. Louis five days earlier than she otherwise would. Unless she can be of really important service at that time, she does not feel justified in giving the time as she is very busy indeed.

I do not know what Mrs. Thorp told you about Dr. Ulrich, but we feel sure that she is altogether the leading woman of the country in social hygiene. For some years she was the official worker for the Y.W.C.A. and gave courses of lectures under their auspices in very many of the colleges and universities of the country, giving, I am sure, universal satisfaction. She gave up that work only to take charge of special state work in Minnesota, which she has done with such success.- really I think, making Minnesota unique along this line that now the National Government has appointed her director of woman's work in social hygiene. She receives a salary of \$5,000. She is to continue her work in Minnesota and to live here but to have general direction of the work, inaugurating the same plan in other states. She is a very handsome woman and a fine dynamic speaker. She treats the question of social hygiene in a very satisfactory way in her lectures, without sentimentality or gush but with enthusiasm and earnestness. I tell you all this to see if you cannot find a place for her on the program that is really suitable to a woman of such importance and distinction. If you think Dr. Ulrich can have an opportunity to make a worth while contribution at the convention, will you not telegraph her and I am sure she will come.

over

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt--#2.

In reply to your letter of March 15th, saying that you have put me upon the program for Wednesday, to discuss the subject "And Now What" I will say that I will do what I can, but I think I will be in a better position to discuss this after the convention.

About our Presidential Bill, we are very hopeful it may be acted upon this week in the Senate and we are expecting a favorable vote. If they do not reach it this week, it is going to be a hard problem for me to decide whether I can go to the convention but I am hoping for the best.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

(over)

March 18th, 1919.

Mrs. Halsey Wilson,  
171 Madison Ave.,  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Wilson:-

I am sending you a list of our delegates and alternates and have checked those that are in the habit of speaking for the use of Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clark. I put a double check after those that might be able to speak out of doors.

About our reports, I am awfully sorry that we are remiss in this. I turned it over to Mrs. Stevens first and she has gone to Omaha and then to Mrs. Stockwell and she is sick. I will try and mail it to you tomorrow.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



March 18th, 1919.

Mrs. Earl Spencer,  
Wayzata,  
Minnesota.

My dear Mrs. Spencer:-

I am enclosing material about the St. Louis Convention. Note the marked program. Will you not write at once to Mrs. Thompson if you wish to go to the dinner on Tuesday evening and remember that Minnesota is to have boxes for both evening meetings. I am very glad indeed that you are going.

I am sorry I cannot make you a delegate. The only disadvantage of being an alternat~~ive~~ instead of a delegate is that you are not allowed to vote. I am enclosing your credentials.

Cordially yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



March 18th , 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sirs:-

Miss Marguerite Wells reserved a room  
for the Suffrage Convention, March 24th - 29th.  
She will arrive with others of the Minnesota delega-  
tion Sunday March 23rd. Please reserve her room from  
that date.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 19th, 1919.

Statler Hotel,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sirs:-

Replying to your letter of March 12th, we regret very much that you cannot reserve a room for Mrs. and Miss Merrill at the Statler but we shall be greatly obliged if you will reserve one as near by as possible. From our slight knowledge of the city, the Hotel Maryland seems to be the nearest and we suggest therefore, a similar reservation, namely; a room with two single beds and bath at \$3.00 or \$4.00 for two people, from Sunday March 23rd.

If it is possible to give us accommodations at the Statler, we very greatly prefer it. If there is time we would appreciate a reply,

Sincerely yours,



# HOTELS STATLER

THIS LETTER WRITTEN AT ST. LOUIS

MANAGER'S OFFICE

March 19, 1919.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Pres.  
403 Essex Bldg.,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Madam:

We would be pleased to see that the date of your reservation is changed to Sunday, March 23rd, and will have your room in readiness at that time.

We cannot promise any room for the Minnesota Delegation, unless they have made definite arrangements before. Should any of your party wish rooms reserved, we beg to advise that a few double rooms are still available, and if reservations are made promptly, we will be able to take care of them.

Yours very truly,

HOTEL STATLER.

*R. L. Meyer*

Asst. Manager.

RLM/HM

Acknowledging your letter of March 15th.

March 20th, 1919.

Miss Josephine Berry,  
5610 Wright Ave.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Miss Berry:-

Mrs. Clarke, Secretary of the St. Louis Suffrage Association, informs me that you are visiting in St. Louis at present and suggests that we might make you a delegate to our Suffrage Convention to be held there next week.

I wrote her that we are most pleased and proud to have you as an alternate from Minnesota and am only sorry that we have our full quota of delegates and have already planned to go. As an alternate, I think you will have all of the privileges except voting.

It will give us very great pleasure indeed to see you and to have you one of our party. I am enclosing your alternate credentials.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)



March 20th, 1919.

Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke,  
755 Century Bldg.,  
St. Louis, Mo.

My dear Mrs. Clarke:-

We are very pleased and proud to make Miss Josephine Berry an alternate from our Minnesota delegation. I am awfully sorry I can't appoint her as delegate but we have more than a full quota of delegates from our State.

We admire Miss Berry very much and consider her leaving Minnesota a great loss. I am writing to Miss Berry.

Sincerely yours,

State President.

(Mrs. Andreas Ueland)

March 20th, 1919.

Hotel Statler,  
St. Louis, Mo.

Replying to your letter reserve one double room  
Mrs. and Miss Merrill. Three or four dollar rate if possible.

Clara Ueland.

WOMEN VOTERS CONFERENCE. St. Louis, March 22-28, 1919

SECTIONAL THEME:--WHAT MAY WOMEN VOTERS DO TO FURTHER THE WELFARE  
OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chairman.

SUGGESTED PROGRAM TO MEET INCREASING PROBLEMS IN INDUSTRY.

The struggle by force of arms for world democracy ceased with the armistice. The right of free peoples to govern themselves politically has been vindicated. But the impact of the war on men's minds has been so great that questionings rise everywhere as to the meaning of that democracy for which they fought and suffered and for which millions died. The challenge of the hour is for understanding, that every sacrifice of the past years may bear fruit.

Of the countries engaged in the war, from America, greatest in resources, least has been required. Possibly from America the future will demand full payment, placing on us the burden of proving by self mastery that vaunted idealism has not been a mere boast.

We women of America face overwhelming responsibilities; it is for us to read the signs of the times with minds free from prejudice and preconceived conceptions, and with fearless determination, map a path ahead that will lead to a realization of the fundamental beliefs for which our country stands.

The attention of thoughtful groups everywhere is centered on an examination of the social and economic order which keeps so large a body of citizens on the brink of destitution, thru insecurity of employment, thru sickness, and industrial disease, old age and industrial accident; an order which permits children to be stunted in occupations without future, and exhausts women who toil an order which questions the workers demand for leisure, and considers their desire for a voice in determining conditions of work an unwarranted assumption.

Industrial and social reconstruction programs in the United States have been studied and presented by two groups -- those of Labor notably in California, New York and Illinois, and by Religious Social and Civic Organizations. The National Catholic War Council has issued a general review of problems and survey of remedies, and the Episcopal and Methodist Churches, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, have prepared summaries of present tendencies. In the findings and decisions of the National War Labor Board, and of the War Labor Policies board are to be found intelligent efforts at a solution of the issues between employers and workers.

However, the most significant statement is that of the Church of England which, in its report of the Archbishop's committee, presents a searching indictment and a positive program.

"We cannot therefore agree with the view sometimes expressed which would allow Christians to take for granted the general arrangements of society, and would confine their attention to supplementing incidental shortcomings and relieving individual distress, in the belief that if men will live conscientiously within the limits of established industrial arrangements, without seeking to modify them, the result will be such a society as can be approved by Christians.\*\*\*\*It is not enough merely to cope with those defects in our economic life which have become so clamorous or sensational as to attract general attention, for by the time that they are



sensational they may have become almost incapable of peaceful removal. It is necessary to make such changes in the normal organization of society as may prevent them from arising. The solution of the industrial problem involves, in short, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself."p52

And again:

"The question today is not simply why nature is niggardly or why individuals fall into distress. It is why large numbers of men and women, who have not fallen into exceptional distress, derive a meagre and precarious livelihood from industries which appear to yield to another and a smaller number considerable affluence."p61

"We think that it is the duty of the nation to take without delay such steps as may be necessary in order to secure a full living wage and reasonable hours of labor to all workers in industry, and that it is the duty of Christian men and women to press for the establishment of such conditions by all means in their power. By a living wage we mean not merely a wage which is sufficient for physical existence, but a wage adequate to maintain the worker, his wife and family in health and honor, and to enable him to dispense with the subsidiary earnings of his children up to 16 years. By reasonable hours we mean hours sufficiently short not merely to leave him unexhausted, but to allow him sufficient leisure for home life, for recreation, for the development through study of his mind and spirit, and for participation on the affairs of the community."

p75

The note of the new democracy is struck in this statement, which recurs again and again thruout the report:

"The social movement of our day is in short, incorrectly understood when it is assumed to seek only an improvement in the material conditions of industrial life. It represents at bottom a demand, which is growing in volume and intensity, for the gradual replacement, thru some form of representative and responsible government of the industrial autocracy which, if it played an indispensable part in the earlier stages of industrial development, is believed to be neither necessary nor desirable in a democratic and educated community." p89

Among the English reconstruction programs, which include such Government reports as those of the Whitley committee on relations between employer and employee, statements of aims of the British Labor party and the English Church Socialist League; and the suggestions made by C G Reynold, G D H Cole, S G Hobson, and others, the summary of conclusions reached by a group of twenty Quaker employers is of special significance. Discussing Wages, Security of Employment, Working conditions, and Status of Workers, this passage indicates the spirit of the whole report:

"We cannot regard human beings as if they were so many units of brain power, so many of nervous or muscular energy. We must cooperate with them, and treat them as we ourselves would wish to be treated. This



position involves the surrender by capital of its supposed right to dictate to labor the conditions under which work is to be carried on. It involves more; the frank avowal that all matters affecting the workers should be decided in consultation with them, when once they are recognized as members of an all-embracing human brotherhood."

And it is in this spirit, in the spirit which recognizes in the challenge of today, the call to a greater human brotherhood, that I ask you to consider the industrial program presented to you by the Committee appointed by Mrs. Catt.

DEALING WITH CERTAIN PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Eleven million wage earning women in America is a recent estimate. Of these, possibly two million have been engaged in war work, and, though many will leave industry voluntarily with the return of peace, the continued high cost of life's necessities will lead others to earn for the first time.

In the past, woman's industrial status has been determined by economic pressure, modified by the development of the particular industry, by demands of organized workers, and by the social legislation called for by public opinion. War experience has emphasized the necessity for adapting industrial to the woman worker, in the name of efficiency, of economic justice, and of social well-being. Effective organization among women workers is rendered difficult by the temporary light in which many of them regard employment; progressive practices of enlightened employers are combatted by unscrupulous competitors; standards of employment established as a war measure are far from being the accepted legal requirements throughout the forty-seven states.

Recognizing therefore, the need for bridging the wide gap between existing social and industrial practices, and the ideals for which this nation stands, we earnestly recommend the following measures:-

- 1 Abolition of child labor, and  
Compulsory education of all children to the age of 16 years.
- 2 Eight-hour day, and  
Weekly day of rest.
- 3 Abolition of night work for women and minors except in cases  
of rare emergency.
- 4 Minimum wage commissions.
- 5 Equal pay for men and women doing equal work.
- 6 Insurance against sickness, accident and unemployment, and  
Provision for old age and invalidity pensions and maternity benefits.
- 7 Right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively through  
their chosen representatives.
- 8 System of public Employment Bureaus.
- 9 Adequate appropriation and inspection force in each state department  
of labor, and a special bureau of women in industry in each.
- 10 International Labor Commission.

## ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR

The federal revenue bill passed at the last session of congress contains a clause aimed to tax out of existence goods made by child labor, as defined in the Keating-Owen Bill which was declared unconstitutional in 1918. Work of children under 14 in manufacturing, and under 16 in certain dangerous trades is penalized by a tax of 10%.

There are other forms of child labor unregulated still in many states such as paper selling, office work, agricultural pursuits and so forth, that will continue to present a problem to those of us who are concerned with creating a fuller citizenship. The whole system of education will, moreover, call for vast strengthening, for poor schools, and badly graded classes have caused an immense amount of the "child labor" that has given us unintelligent and dwarfed men and women.

### CHILD LABOR HAS INCREASED DURING THE WAR.

Increase in number of work permits issued in 1917-1918,--

In Baltimore. . . . .33%  
In Washington. . . . .164%  
In Wilmington. . . . .61%  
In Lexington, Ky. . .100%

Pennsylvania-Number of children legally employed, Oct. 1918 --- 39,952  
" " " " " " 1916 --- 25,628

Connecticut:: Number of employment certificates issued in the five cities of Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New Britain, and Waterbury-  
1913 - - - 3310  
1914 - - - 4012  
1918 - - - 8577

North CarolinaN: 40% of white children in Greenboro do not attend school. Of these, 442 are not enrolled. As there is no room in the schools, there is no effort made to enforce attendance. As things are now, schools are running with double shifts of three hours each.

(from Child Labor Bulletin, Feb.1919)

### ONE ASPECT OF THE CHILD LABOR PROBLEM

Report of the Chief, Childrens Bureau, Washington, June 30, 1918

It is not irrelevant to add in conclusion that while child labor is a poverty problem in part, it is also a school problem, and in a large measure can be solved only by the provisions of full time, well-equipped, adequately staffed schools, which can prove to parents and children alike their economic value....The immediate and universal development of the public schools is of national, rather than of local importance.

NOTE: We have in this country 5,516,163 illiterates ten years old and over. Of these 4,000,000 are native born.



"APPENDIX"

THE EIGHT HOUR DAY: FORTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK.

The whole trend of the times calls for a shortening of daily and weekly hours of labor to the point that will bring every worker to the highest pitch of efficiency, by eliminating excessive fatigue with its consequent reduction of health and energy. Such shortening of hours has been begun by organized demand of workers, by voluntary action of individual employers, and by legislation. We believe that the time has come when everyone working to further the interests of good citizenship should stand for the eight-hour work period, with a short day on Saturday, and a Sunday for rest, and that every effort to establish such an hour schedule should receive support.

In view of the difference between the meaning given to the eight-hour day as a health measure, and to the eight hour day as a basis for figuring pay, we define our meaning as referring to a straight eight hours with no overtime.

TWENTY STATES NOW LIMIT THE DAILY HOURS OF WOMENS WORK TO 8 or 9:

STATES WITH 8-HOUR DAY:

	# women employed
*Arizona	10,589
California	174,916
*Colorado	53,641
*Montana	18,851
*Nevada	4,373
*Washington	66,126
Dist. of Columbia	52,921

\*Seven of these states  
allow a seven day week.

STATES WITH 9-HOUR DAY:

	# women employed
Arkansas	161,993
*Idaho	13,038
Kansas	80,694
Maine	63,282
Michigan	186,183
Minnesota	145,605
Missouri	211,564
Nebraska	63,303
New York	983,686
Ohio	346,712
*Oklahoma	78,253
Oregon	40,473
Texas	328,444
Utah	18,427

NOTE: Census of 1910. In this census there were reported 1,800,000 women employed in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits alone, and the number in all occupations has been constantly and rapidly increasing. The provisions of the hours of labor laws in these states do not effect women in all occupations. Industries covered include manufacturing, mercantile and laundries in 13 states; all manufacturing not specifically covered in 4 states; laundries not covered in 3 states; mercantile not covered in 2 states. "While 23% of all women are employed (ie in census of 1910), the proportion for women between the ages of 16 and 21 is 40 per 100. Rhode Island in 1910, employed 67% of all its women between these ages of 16 and 21; Massachusetts, 60%; South Carolina, 60%; Connecticut, 59%; New York, 57%; New Jersey, 54%. In other words, the draft upon the female labor force was already heavy. Older women and Married women were also engaged. In 1910 over one and a quarter million women above the age of 44 were gainfully employed, and probably no less than 1,100,000 married women..." New Republic, January 25th, 1919.



SIX STATES HAVE NO LEGAL LIMIT TO THE HOURS OF WOMENS WORK

Alabama	Employing	314,330	women
Florida	"	73,161	"
Indiana	"	155,731	"
Iowa	"	131,514	"
New Mexico	"	15,079	"
West Virginia	"	54,100	"

THE EIGHT HOUR DAY IS ESTABLISHED BY LAW FOR MEN AND WOMEN:

in 29 States and District of Columbia,  
on public works for the national, state and municipal government.

29 States and District of Columbia,  
on private contract labor for the national, state and municipal government.

14 States  
for work in mines.

10 States  
for certain industries dangerous to the health.

8 States  
in railroad, telegraph and telephone service.

WHERE NO LAWS PREVENT LONG HOURS, OVERTIME IS FREQUENT

"Indiana is one of the six states having no law limiting the hours of women over 18 years of age.

The lack of such limitation makes possible abnormally long hours of employment for women. (a) In 34 establishments, 30 per cent of all investigated, the regular working day without overtime was ten hours or more for 2,817 or 23% of the women employed. (b) Reports of overtime were made for 53 establishments employing 8,331 women, and of these, 13 establishments, employing 1993 women, had a working week of 65 hours or more. (c) Specific instances of overtime legally possible in Indiana showed women working as long as 65 hours a week in a clothing factory, 73 hours in one cannery and 84 hours in another, 75 hours in a seven day week manufacturing caskets, and 88 hours and 40 minutes in an establishment manufacturing automobile parts."

Report of a Survey by the Women in Industry Service U.S. Department of Labor, Dec. 31, 1918.

REGULATION OF HOURS OF WORK A PROTECTION FOR THE COMMUNITY

"The experience of manufacturing countries has illustrated the evil effects of overwork upon the general welfare. Deterioration of any large portion of the population inevitably lowers the entire community physically, mentally and morally. When the health of women has been injured by long hours, not only is the working efficiency of the community impaired, but the deterioration is handed down to succeeding generations. Infant mortality rises, while the children of married working women who survive, are injured by inevitable neglect.

The overwork of future mothers thus directly attacks the welfare of the nation." LOUIS D. BRANDIES, Brief for the state of Oregon in Muller vs Oregon, ps 18 and 47.

"There is a consensus of opinion among those who have longest observed girls and women at work that the burdens of industrial life press much more heavily upon them than upon men. Wherever statistics of the morbidity of both workingmen and workingwomen exist, the morbidity of women is found to be higher."

Wherever the legal regulation of women's working hours has been long enough established to show any effect on their wages, statistical evidence tends to show that wages are not decreased, but increased by the limitation of hours. In some cases there may be temporary decrease for a short time, before industry adjusts itself to change of hours, but after a short period the gain in the workers efficiency from shorter hours and their consequent increase in output completely balances the curtailment of their working time. Women's wages are universally higher in the industries subject to legal limitation of hours than they are in the unprotected trades."

JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK, Fatigue and Efficiency.

#### MORE OUTPUT FROM A SHORTER DAY

1. "About three years ago, before war conditions had unsettled production, I had in charge time study and rate setting work in a plant making automobile wheels. At the outset the plant was working on a ten hour shift. For a number of reasons it was decided to change to an 8-hour working day, and I assured the management that I believed it was possible to turn out as many wheels from our mechanical equipment in the shorter time as were then being delivered.  
In shortening the working day from ten to eight hours no change was made in Mechanical equipment. However most careful time studies were made of the producing operations and the rates were revised-the purpose being to make them fair and equitable where formerly some had been obviously too high and others too low. Not only did we produce as many sets of wheels in 8-hours as we formerly did in 10, but there was a saving of 7 1/2¢ per set in the labor cost.  
The earnings of the workmen for the shorter day were 5% greater than for the longer shift. So shortening the working day combined with the resetting of the rates gave the workmen more wages and the factory the same amount of output." C.A. MARSTON, Industrial Management, February, 1919.
2. "I gave my girls a Saturday half holiday. My output was the same. Then I changed from 10 to 9 hours a day because business was slack, and after 5 weeks the output was again equal to the old 10 hour day."  
Another firm has kept record of output of the same girl on the same job by day and week. When she worked 47.9 hours a week her output was 59.2 and her productive efficiency rated at 123.8. When this same girl worked 7.5 hours a week longer, or 55.4 hours, her output was 4.1 less, or 55.1 and her productive efficiency was lowered from 123.8 to 96. A similar experience is shown in the report of the British Ministry of Munitions in which it is stated that "for women engaged in moderately heavy late work a 50 hour week yields as good an output as a 66 hour week, and a considerably better one than a 77 hour week." LABOR LAWS FOR WOMEN in INDIANA, Women in Industry Service, Bulletin #2, p 20.



WHAT MANUFACTURERS ARE SAYING WITH REGARD TO SHORTER HOURS.

Endicott, Johnson and Co. (Manufacturers of Shoes, employing 12000 workers)

"We think the 8-hour day has arrived. We agree with President Wilson, 'Society has set its seal of approval on the 8-hour day.' So far as we are concerned it was the greatest pleasure of our lives to grant the 8-hour day voluntarily, without reduction in wage." Mr. H.B. Endicott, Survey, Jan. 1917.

"In former years when one man or woman did a lot of different work on shoes they could work longer hours with less fatigue; but now that everything is specialized, and one person does one thing all day, the monotony is such that eight hours, we believe is the utmost we can work them and get the best there is in them....To sum it all up, our experience is that we get a better article and it has not cost us any money to reduce the hours."  
Mr. H.B. Endicott

Letter to Women's Trade Union League  
March 26, 1918.

Hamilton Garhardt Cotton Mills, Detroit, Mich.

"It has been proven conclusively that our production has not been decreased in any way, but on the contrary it has increased because the girls in our employ seem to be in position to work harder during the shorter work day than they did previously on longer hours, and instead of waiting for the bell to ring at the end of the day, they now work right up to the very limit."

Sweet-Orr and Co. Inc. New York City

"Considering Physical conditions, we believe that a forty-eight hour week is the most practical solution for factory or mechanical labor for women, and under such hours a better standard of health can be maintained."  
Letter to National Women's Trade Union League.

FORD MOTOR CAR CO.

"We feel that the 8-hour day has particularly dominated the increased production, degree of efficiency and the reduction of labor turnover. It is our candid opinion that working year in and year out, a man can do more work in eight hours per day than in a larger number." Survey, Jan. 6, 1917

"But I cannot refrain from expressing my very deep conviction that the straight 8-hour day is much better practice than the so-called '8-hour basic day', where the latter is continually and almost uniformly being practically exceeded in the number of working hours...My experience and also my reason, teaches me that very few emergencies ever exist in a manufacturing business justifying the practice of exceeding eight working hours per day. The strain of eight hours is enough, and the hours should never be increased except under the most extraordinary circumstances I cannot dwell too much on this. For the good of the men, for the good of the employer-and for the general results, I would admonish those interested to adhere to the straight 8-hour day." Henry Ford.

Oct. 30, 1918, in Decision of the Umpire to War Labor Board.

PUBLIC OPINION BEHIND THE SHORTER HOUR MOVEMENT

Young Women's Christian Association Nat'l War Work Council

Industrial Program, Sept. 1918, Hours of Labor:

"..Even when the law permits a 9 or 10 hour day, efforts should be made to restrict the work of women to 8 hours."

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

"The churches stand for--

Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life."

Social Ideals of the Churches.

United States Army: Offices of Chief of Ordnance and Quartermaster-

Suggestions for Arsenal Commanders and Manufacturers:

"Existing legal standards should be rigidly maintained, and even where the law permits a nine or ten hour day, efforts should be made to restrict the work of women to eight hours to enable them to bear the increased burden brought by new tasks and by greater speed in their accustomed occupations."

Extract from General Orders #13-Hours of Labor.

New York State Federation of Labor: Reconstruction Program:

"For health, for economy, and for citizenship we need shorter hours in modern industry. The eight hour day, the six day week, with the Saturday half holiday must be accepted as the minimum standards."

Reconstruction Programs including the 8-hour day

Endorsed by:

Consumers League

National Women's Trade Union League

New York State Women Suffrage party

American Federation of Labor

American Association for Labor Legislation

Young Women's Christian Association

State Federations of Labor, California, Ohio, New York

City Federations of Labor, Chicago, New York.

Women in Industry Service, U. S. Department of Labor

Standards recommended for the employment of women:

"No woman shall be employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one day or forty-eight hours in any one week." Bul.#1

Decisions of the National War Labor Board, and Federal Mediators

Federal statute has required an eight hour day for many years on certain classes of work done for the Government. Presidential proclamation made this an eight-hour basic day for the duration of the war. The National War Labor Board has rendered numerous decisions as to the application of this ruling, and has helped to clear away other misunderstandings at the bottom of which was the demand for the 8-hour day. The impetus given through the decisions to the acceptance of the eight hour principal cannot be



measured, but has been enormous. Feeling that if an issue were made of the question, the 8-hour day would be sustained, industries throughout the country have voluntarily gone on this basis. Among such, the US Steel Co, with 250,000 employees, and others.

#### ABOLITION OF NIGHT WORK FOR WOMEN AND MINERS

For fifty years the employment of women at night in manufacturing has been prohibited in Great Britain by the Factory Act. In 1906 twelve European countries, including Austria, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and Great Britain, entered into an International agreement abolishing night work for women. The agreement was based upon results of inquiries into the effects, economical, physical, and moral, of night work for women.

During the pressure of war, these restrictions have been let down. The report of the British Health of Munitions Workers Committee states, as a result of its study of the effects of night work, "The fact which emerges most clearly from the inquiry into the conditions of labor, is that night work is clearly unsuited to women."

So low is the efficiency of a night shift, that the U.S. Ordnance Department, when asked for permission to employ women at night contrary to state laws on work for the government, time after time decided that the possible advantages of such permission would be outweighed by the accompanying disadvantages to the workers health, and to the welfare of the community.

#### STATES PROHIBITING NIGHT WORK BY LAW

NEW YORK	* MASSACHUSETTS
OREGON	* CONNECTICUT
NEBRASKA	* PENNSYLVANIA
KANSAS	* INDIANA
WISCONSIN	* SOUTH CAROLINA

\*Prohibition in manufacturing or mercantile work only.

#### STATE LAWS PROHIBITING NIGHT WORK SUPPORTED IN WAR TIME BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

"Had the war gone on a plan was under consideration in Washington to take night work under federal control through clauses in contracts forbidding employment of women between 10pm and 6am, unless the plant held a special certificate granted for a temporary period by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor. With the signing of the armistice, the War Labor Policies Board passed a resolution declaring that only the emergency created by the war could have justified any consideration of the possibility of permitting night work for women, reaffirming its conviction that women should not be employed at night, and recommending the immediate cessation of night work in government owned plants." Report of the Women in Industry Service, Bul.#1, Nov. 1918.

#### Special Disadvantages of Night Work for Women Workers

"In our own country successful defense of the constitutionality of the New York statute resulted in bringing together a mass of evidence which may be summed up by saying that neither a man nor a woman is a nocturnal worker. Physiologically speaking, the vitality is lowered at night and this persists even after

the habit of night work has long been established. For women there are the added dangers due to loss of sleep by day because of home duties, and the moral risks of employment at night. For society there are also to be considered the bad effects of night work for women upon the welfare of children and upon family life".(same as above)

# MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSIONS

In the face of the readjustments that will take place in the reorganization of war industries, it is of the utmost importance that the whole question of women's wages receive unbiased consideration. The prevalence of the false assumption that the woman in industry lives at home, and has little economic responsibility, is largely responsible for the payment of wages in many trades far below an amount on which a woman can live independently.

The rise in cost of necessities, met by war work wages in some communities, together with the crowded state of the employment market, due to the demobilization of army and of industry, calls attention to the grave need for standardization. Minimum Wage Commissions, with subordinate wage boards for different occupations, comprising representatives of employers, employees and the public should be created in each state, to make careful investigation into wages paid in each trade, and to promulgate a legal minimum wage. Such a plan has already been adopted by 10 states and the District of Columbia, and has been declared constitutional by the Supreme court of the United States.

## WAGES WORKING WOMEN ARE EARNING in selected occupations.

New York State- Report of State Labor Department, February, 1919, 32881 Women:

Paper Boxes:	36%	earned less than \$10 for full time week.
	59%	" " " \$12 " " " "
Shirts and	38%	" " " \$10 " " " "
Collars	58%	" " " \$12 " " " "
Confectionery	54%	" " " \$10 " " " "
	72%	" " " \$12 " " " "
Cigars	17%	" " " \$10 " " " "
	32%	" " " \$12 " " " "

(10%)

Furthermore, in these 417 factories, 3,305 women were receiving less than \$6 and 20% were receiving Less than \$8.

Massachusetts-Report of the Minimum wage commission, Boston, 1918,-

Restaurants:	54%	earned less than \$6 for full time week
	85.7%	" " " \$9 " " " "
Hotels	82.2%	" " " \$6
	93.5%	" " " \$9
Millinery	21%	" " " \$6
	50%	" " " \$9
Building cleaners	30.3%	" " " \$6
	96.3%	" " " \$9

NOTE: Sickness, slack work, or absence from work would cut the earnings based on rates of pay.

SOME FIGURES AS TO INCREASED COST OF LIVING

Monthly review, US Bureau of Labor Statistics, Oct. 1918

Per cent of increase in retail prices, August 1918 above December 1914:

	Food	Clothing	All Items
Baltimore	83	111	80
Boston	61	118	65
Buffalo	59	89	56
Chicago	69	107	64
Cleveland	48	70	46
Detroit	56	84	58
Norfolk Va.	78	99	74
New York City	65	103	62
Portland Me.	68	85	62
Philadelphia	54	108	67

Wage increased proportionate to increased cost of living have been granted in those occupations where trade unions have been strong, or where competition has been keen. Such wage increases have not affected the large numbers of women workers in industries where women have always worked.

ACTION OF MINIMUM WAGE COMMISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

California:	Fruit and Vegetable packing,	- \$8 inexperienced worker
May 1918		\$10 experienced worker
	Mercantile establishments	- \$6-\$10 according to experience
	Fish canning	- \$10 for 48 hours
	Laundry	- \$8-\$10
	Manufacturing	- \$7.50-\$9 inexperienced worker
		\$10 experienced worker
	Unclassified	- \$7.50 inexperienced worker
		\$9.60 experienced worker
Oregon:	Mercantile establishments	- \$11.10
June 1918	Manufacturing, etc, etc.	- \$11.61
Washington:		
November 1918	Any occupation during period of war	- \$13.20

NOTE: These decisions define "experience", Hours, locality, etc, etc, and the above extracts merely indicate the results in some of the decisions. That these minimum rates do not tend to become the maximum is the experience everywhere.

Most of the states where commissions exist for fixing minimum rates provide by special rated for persons who are learners, or who because of physical or mental handicap are unable to earn the fixed minimum.

ATTITUDE OF PROGRESSIVE EMPLOYERS TOWARD MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

Associated Merchants and Manufacturers of New York State: Nov. 30, 1918-

"...the sense of the Associated Merchants and Manufacturers of New York State in convention assembled this day is hereby declared to be as follows:



- (1) We are in favor of the principal of an adequate wage for women and minors.
- (2) We favor the creation of a State Minimum Wage Commission which however shall be competent and properly representative of industry, labor and the public."

Merchants and Manufacturers Association of the District of Columbia -

"We like the commission plan, we like this form of arbitration, so to speak, we like this method whereby, as conditions change, either side can go to this commission and seek a rearrangement of the wage scale-- that is a minimum...I come here this morning to tell you that the Merchants and manufacturers Association is absolutely unopposed to this legislation and favors it." From the testimony of Mr. C.J. Columbus, Secretary, before committee of Senate and House of Representatives April 16-17 1918.

Referring to this testimony, the Senate committee said,-

"Their approval means that such legislation is recognized as being based on sound business principals, because it makes for a more efficient and more contented labor force. It also protects the fair and enlightened employer from underbidding competitors."

(NOTE: Minimum wage law for the District of Columbia was signed by the President in September 1918)

PUBLIC OPINION BEHIND THE PRINCIPLE OF MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

The City Club of New York, Reconstruction Program, 1919:-

"The City Club recommends that a bureau be established in the Industrial Commission to have charge of the fixing of living wages for women and children."

National Catholic War Council, Social Reconstruction, 1919:-

"The several states should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage rates that will be at least sufficient for the decent maintenance of a family, in the case of all male adults, and adequate to the decent individual support of female workers. In the beginning minimum wages should suffice only for the present needs of the family, but they should be gradually raised until they are adequate to future needs as well. That is they should ultimately be high enough to make possible that amount of saving which is necessary to protect the worker and his family against sickness, accidents, invalidity and old age."

Methodist Episcopal Church, General Conference, 1912

The churches must stand for "a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford."

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN DOING EQUAL WORK

National War Labor Board: "If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work."

Women in Industry Service: "Women doing the same work as men shall receive the same wages with such proportionate increases as the men are receiving in the same industry. Slight changes made in the process or in the arrangement of work should not be regarded as justifying a lower wage for a woman than for a man unless statistics of production show that the output for the job in question is less when women are employed than when men are employed. If a difference in output is demonstrated the difference in the wage rate should be based upon the difference in production for the job as a whole and not determined arbitrarily." Standards recommended for the employment of women, Dec. 1918.

#### HOW IT WORKS OUT

from: Wages for Women Workers, Mary Anderson, The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Science, Jan. 1919.

"In one city a manufacturer with very important war contracts wanted to employ women for night work. In that state the law forbids the employment of women between the hours of 10 pm and 6 am. The employer gave as his reasons for urging night work that women were far better workers than men, that they did more work, and better work, and came to the factory with greater regularity than he had a night shift of men who were inefficient and most of whose work had to be thrown on the scrap pile.

A casual inquiry was, "How much are you paying an hour for the work?"

"Oh," was the reply, "we are paying the men 40¢ an hour with a 15% bonus for night."

Another question was, "How much are you intending to pay the women for night work?"

Answer, "We will pay them 25¢ an hour."

The query went forth again, "You have said women are more efficient than the men, and that they do more work and better work. Don't you think that they ought to receive the same pay that these very inefficient men are getting?"

Reply: "But women have not the same family responsibility that men have."

Question: "But do you know how many of your men employees have family responsibilities?"

Reply: "Some do, and some do not."

The same question was asked as to the women. He said that he had in his employ widows who had children dependent on them, and he admitted that girls probably had the same responsibilities toward their families that young men had. "But", he said, "the manufacturers in this city are not paying the same wages to the women as to the men. If they did, it would bring a revolution."

He was asked, "Have the employers an understanding that equality shall not prevail as to wages for men and women?" His answer was, "Yes".

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE

An insurance system to which the state, the worker and the industry contribute would go far in removing the dread of destitution from the men and women who face the world with no other resources than their daily earnings. It has been estimated that the majority of our wage earners have not a weeks wages ahead. If sick, an ill-health is bred of fatigue and mal nutrition, -they cannot afford to take time to get well; if unwell, poor work brings less and less return; and always ahead the fear of unemployment, of slack seasons when only the best work-



ers are retained. Social insurance would provide a means of distributing the loss,- and, in return for weekly payments made by the worker when working, he would be assured of a fixed income while recovering from illness of finding other work.

Insurance plans should be developed in each state to include in time the following provisions:

HEALTH INSURANCE:-insurance against sickness

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE:

MATERNITY BENEFITS

INVALIDITY PENSIONS

OLD AGE PENSION.

#### EXTENT OF ILL HEALTH

1. Of 2,500,000 men examined for the national army in 1917, 33% were rejected on grounds of physical defects. (Report of Provost Marshall, p 44, 1917)
2. 284,750,000 days were lost through sickness by the 33,500,000 men, women and children engaged in gainful occupations in 1910, according to an estimate by the National Conference on Industrial Diseases (Occupational Diseases W Gilman Thompson, p10)

THIS AMOUNTS TO 8 1/2 DAYS PER WORKER

3. An annual wage loss of \$500,000,000--750,000,000 from sickness is estimated for the countries 40,000,000 wage earners. (Nat'l Ind. Conf. Bd Research report #6)
4. 40%-50% of cases of destitution treated by Associated Charities of Newark N.J. were due primarily to sickness. N J Commission on Health Ins. Same proportion reported in California. Cal. Commission on Health Ins

#### EFFECT OF LOSS OF WAGES ON HEALTH

Infant mortality rate in Montclair, N. J.,-

In families with income above \$1200 per year---46.9

In families with income below \$625 per year --115.8

AN INCREASE OF 146%

(Childrens Bureau, #11, 1915)

#### STATUS OF HEALTH INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

Commissions appointed to report on Health insurance in eight states:-

CALIFORNIA

NEW JERSEY

CONNECTICUT

OHIO

ILLINOIS

PENNSYLVANIA

MASSACHUSETTS

WISCONSIN

California commission in 1917, and New Jersey commission in 1918 unanimously reported in favor of the measure; Five other commissions are to report in 1919.

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANS HAVE BEEN INDORSED BY--

Labor representatives of 14 European countries, for inclusion in the Peace treaty by international agreement. (International Trade Union Conference, Berne, 1919)



Commission on International Labor Legislation of the Peace Conference,-  
(Report 1919)

Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada,- (Reconstruction Program, 1919)

American Association for Labor Legislation- (Program of Standards, 1919)

City Club of New York, - (Reconstruction Program, 1919)

National Catholic War Council, (Social Reconstruction, 1919)

National Women's Trade Union League,- (Industrial Reconstruction Program,  
December 1918)

State Federation of Labor, New York

CURRENT COMMENTS ON VARIOUS FORMS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

Henry Alexander, President, Henry Hughes Co, New York City

"As a manufacturer responsible for the welfare of several hundred capable and loyal employees, I want to see health insurance legislation put upon the statute books. No other measure now under discussion will contribute so powerfully to the health and prosperity of industry, workmen and the state."

Alexander Lambert, President, American Medical Association,

"Everything I have observed or learned in Europe during the past year as medical director of the Red Cross has strengthened my belief in the possibilities of health insurance in this country."

Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of New York City Women Suffrage Party,

"It is enlightened common sense to see that the workers of the country and the dependent members of their families are assisted thru the crises of sickness, since such a course of action benefits not only the worker, but by increasing his general efficiency benefits in the long run his employer and the business of which he is a part. Thru such devices as health insurance, we shall be able to substitute for the charity that takes away the self respect of the worker, a justice that will be more to his liking. This insurance is then a part of the program of the new age when the worker will receive more consideration from his employer and from the state. Since it had been tried out in several European countries and found to be advantageous, it should be speedily put into operation on our own land."

National Catholic War Council

"The state should make comprehensive provision for insurance against illness, invalidity, unemployment and old age."

RIGHT OF WORKERS TO ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY THROUGH CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES

No industrial issue today compares in importance with the trend towards the establishment of self government of the workers in industry. Whether

through trade union, or through shop committee, the movement is under way, and failure to grasp its significance, and to sense the relation ship, between autocracy and anarchy either in political or industrial government will spell failure to solve the problem. The unrest that is current may go even so far that the state itself will be undermined unless earnest efforts are made to understand the causes.

LABOR PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT, -some comments

National War Labor Board: The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. The right shall not be denied abridged, or interfered with in any manner whatsoever.

National Catholic War Council: The right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through representatives has been asserted...(by the War Labor Board). It is to be hoped that this right will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers. In addition to this labor ought gradually to receive greater representation in what the English group of Quaker employers have called the "industrial part of business management--"the control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of employees; hours of work; rates of pay, bonuses, etc; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade unions." The establishment of shop committees, working wherever possible with the trade union, is the method suggested.....There can be no doubt that a frank adoption of these means and ends by employers would not only promote the welfare of the workers, but vastly improve the relations between them and their employers, and increase the productiveness of each establishment. pl9

William Howard Taft :The group system of dealing between capital and labor is here to stay, and it is to your interests and the interests of all  
Chairman Nat'l employers to provide a system by which you can deal with labor  
War Labor under responsible heads and let the public know where it stands.  
Board Address before Philadelphia Wholesale Coal trade Associations.

Felix Frankfurter :It depends upon business men more than any faction of the coun-  
Chairman try whether the growth shall be wild or conservative. Upon your  
War Labor attitude toward trade unions depends the future of trade unionism.  
Policies How can the workman understand the difficulties that confront you,  
Board gentlemen? He has never had the experience. He does not know what  
it means to get credit and not to get credit, to carry the load  
that you carry. Nor have you the experience that will enable you to  
enter into the feelings of the other side. There is no better way  
to solve industrial problems than by consultation. Address before  
Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Jan.21, 1919.

Young Women's Christian Association: Industrial Program,-Eight hours day, Minimum Wage,  
and collective bargaining as expressed in trade unionism.  
War Work Council, Sept. 1918



National Industrial Conference Board: In the United States the movement toward some form of representation of employees has been given a powerful impetus by the voluntary action of several of the leading steel companies and by the frequent recommendations of the War Labor Board for the creation of shop committees. The number of works committees established during the war is unknown. In one hundred and sixteen awards made by the War Labor Board from its inception to December 31, 1918, provision was made for works committees in thirty seven...Without passing final judgement, it may safely be said that few suggestions for the readjustment of labor conditions seem more worthy of thorough going and candid consideration.  
Report #15, February, 1919

City Club of New York City: One of the fertile causes of the present widespread industrial unrest appears to be resentment on the part of many laborers at being excluded from participation and responsibility in the management of industry. Efforts of certain thoughtful employers have shown that with increased opportunity for the expression of the men's own individuality and sense of workmanship there comes greater interest and satisfaction, as well as larger and better output. In order that the results of existing experiments in the direction of developing initiative among the workmen may be better known, and any benefits arising therefrom be more widely secured, the City Club takes this opportunity to encourage a state investigation of democratic shop management.  
Reconstruction Program, 1919

Methodist Episcopal Church: We call upon our members as employers, investors or wage earners to do everything in their power to further measures such as trade agreements between employers and organized workers, minimum wage adjustments, profit sharing cooperative plans, which look toward the maintenance of a living wage, the correction of unjust inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the increasing democratization of industry, the Christianization of the worlds work in the name of that abundant life which our master came to promote. Episcopal address 1916.

Congregational Church: The workingman must be given some voice in the management of industry. The principle of "equal rights and complete justice for all men" involves the principle of democracy which all accept in government. It must now be applied to the industrial system. This principle is best applied through collective bargaining, which means that instead of each individual working man being forced to make his own contract with the concern for which he works, through a person or persons representative of his group, a bargain is made as to hours, wages and conditions of labor for himself and his companions. There can be no collective bargaining without some form of recognition of the right of the employee, as well as the employer to organize. It is only by organization that the workers can meet on any terms of equality with the representatives of organized capital. Until employers are willing to treat with their workers on this basis there can be little hope of improvement in industry.  
Congregational National Council, 1915.

#### PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

Within the last years public employment bureaus have been established in several of the larger industrial states. In 1917 the Federal Government created the United States Employment Service, to supplement and coordinate



the work of state employment bureaus where such existed, and to undertake employment work where no public offices had been started. Such a plan of public, non commercial employment exchanges is urgently needed, to lessen a local situation of unemployment or labor shortage, and to serve as the means of placing in industrial employment the men and women discharged from war work and from the military forces. At the last session of congress no appropriation was made for continuing this Employment Service. It is therefore important that the need for such a service be stressed by every group looking for a solution of the problems of industrial reconstruction.

#### WORK OF THE U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE DURING 1918

Total number placed in employment	3,495,403
Total number of cities in which offices have been opened	565

#### DEMAND FOR INCREASED FACILITIES FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

##### National Catholic War Council:

"The problem of unemployment is with us always. Its solution requires the cooperation of many agencies, and the use of many methods; but the primary and indispensable instrument is a national system of labor exchanges, acting in harmony with state, municipal, and private employment bureaus."

##### American Association of Labor Legislation:

"Unemployment prevention:- An adequate, permanent, national employment service efficient control of private employment agencies; adjustment of public works and the ordering of supplies by public authorities to secure increased activity during dull periods of private industry; regulation of the flow of workers from emergency undertakings to permanent positions so as to insure their orderly transference without confusion or suffering."

##### City Club of New York

##### American Federation of Labor

##### National Women's Trade Union League

##### International Labor Committee of the Peace Conference

#### STATE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR & WOMEN'S BUREAU, and ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS

"With the growing complexity of the problems of women's employment, and with the increase of their numbers in industry, it becomes important that state departments of labor should be equipped not merely to enforce laws regulating their employment but to steady their needs and to observe new conditions. To accomplish this task it is necessary that women should be in responsible positions, as members of industrial boards or as chiefs of divisions directly responsible to boards or to the labor commissioner. This is important, not merely to represent the interests of women workers, but to add the wisdom of new points of view to the labor department in dealing with all the problems of labor affecting, as they do, both men and women." Mary Van Kleeck, Labor Laws for Women in Indiana, Women in Industry Service, U.S. Department of Labor. p. 29.

## ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS

"Three distinct tendencies are marked in the administration of labor laws in this country. The first is the enforcement of specific statutes enacted into law by the state legislature. The second is the establishment of an industrial commission without statutes to enforce but with the power to establish safe and healthful conditions through regulations having the force of law. The Wisconsin plan is an example. The third is the combination of the two, as in New York State, where the industrial commission has definite laws to enforce but is instructed also to formulate codes, which, after public hearings become part of the labor law."

Same as above. p 12

## ATTITUDE OF WOMEN WAGE EARNERS

National Women's Trade Union League, .

"In order that the problems of women wage earners in the United States may be dealt with as intelligently as possible, we further urge,

That the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor be placed upon a permanent basis.

That in every state department of labor a Women's Bureau be established to care for the welfare of women workers.

That provision be made for increased appropriation for state factory departments, and for the appointment of women inspectors in the proportion of one for every 15,000 wage earners."

Reconstruction Program, December, 1918

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR MISSION

The Peace Conference now meeting in Paris emphasized at its opening the need for considering as one of its functions, the question of international labor legislation. The committee appointed to frame the proposal for such a clause in the treaty of peace reported to the conference in March, 1919.

The need for standardizing a labor code for acceptance by the civilized nations has been expressed on several occasions during the past 20 years. Abolition of night work for women by agreement between the leading European countries demonstrated the practicability of the suggestion. The economic forces governing industrial competition between nations necessitate that restrictions placed upon the industries of one country by a realization there of the need for maintaining safeguards to health, should bear upon all countries. As an example of the working of such an international agreement is shown in the abolition of the use of poisonous phosphorus on the making of matches.

A commission should be created by the treaty of peace to recommend to the governments for ratification certain minimum standards of labor which, when so gratified shall bear upon the industries of each country.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Summary: (From the 'Survey', March 15, 1919)

Prohibition of labor by children under 15 years of age; regulation of the employment of young persons; limitation of the working day in mines and factories where furnaces are continually heated to eight hours; uniform Saturday half holiday; weekly rest of at least 36 hours, normally to be taken from Saturday to Monday.

Motherhood protection and insurance; prohibition of women's work in mines and dangerous trades; equal pay for equal work.

Wage boards with equal representation of employers and employees to fix legal minimum rates of wages in cases where collective bargaining between workers trade unions and employers proves impracticable, unemployment insurance, and insurance against industrial accidents.

Note--Subjects merely suggested for discussion by larger international labor conference.



[March 24-29, 1919]

*Ueland*

National  
American  
Woman Suffrage  
Association



PROGRAM

1919

# JUBILEE CONVENTION

(1869-1919)

OF THE

## National American Woman Suffrage Association

HELD AT

### HOTEL STATLER

St. Louis, Missouri

March 24-29, 1919

Are there thunders moaning in the distance?  
Are there spectres moving in the darkness?  
Trust the Hand of Light will lead her people,  
Till the thunders pass, the spectres vanish,  
And the Light is Victor, and the darkness  
Dawns into the Jubilee of the Ages.

—TENNYSON.

## National American Woman Suffrage Association

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### MEMBERSHIP

CHAIRMAN.....MRS. ANDREAS UELAND

### PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

CHAIRMAN.....MRS. RAYMOND BROWN

### PRESS AND PUBLICITY

CHAIRMAN.....MISS. ROSE YOUNG

### ART PUBLICITY

CHAIRMAN.....MRS. ERNEST THOMPSON SETON

### WAR SERVICE

CHAIRMAN.....MRS. STANLEY McCORMICK

FOOD PRODUCTION.....MISS HILDA LOINES

CONSERVATION.....MRS. WALTER McNAB MILLER

AMERICANIZATION.....MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY

INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION OF WOMEN.....MRS. GIFFORD PINCHOT

CHILD WELFARE.....MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER

HOSPITAL UNIT.....MRS. CHARLES L. TIFFANY

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

PRESIDENT.....MISS ESTHER G. OGDEN

## MISSOURI STATE OFFICERS

MRS. WALTER McNAB MILLER.....President  
 MRS. DAVID O'NEIL.....First Vice-President  
 MRS. HUGH C. WARD.....Second Vice-President  
 MRS. WM. D. STEELE.....Third Vice-President  
 MRS. WM. R. HAIGHT.....Corresponding Secretary  
 MRS. ELMER A. MCKAY.....Recording Secretary  
 MRS. FRED J. TAUSSIG.....Treasurer

## CONVENTION COMMITTEES

President of St. Louis Equal  
 Suffrage League and Chairman of  
 All Local Arrangements  
 MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN

### Executive Secretary

MRS. FREDERIC BLAINE CLARKE

### Secretary to Chairman

MISS IRENE LOEB

### States and City Relations

Chairman,

MRS. WALTER McNAB MILLER

Vice-Chairman,

MRS. FREDERICK D. GARDNER

MRS. B. F. BUSH

MRS. GEO. A. STILL

MRS. NELLIE BURGER

MRS. JAMES W. MCKNIGHT

MRS. S. F. O'FALLON

### Bureau of Information

(Union Station)

MRS. WM. R. HAIGHT

### Headquarters (Hotel Statler)

MRS. A. E. RETON

### Information (Statler)

MRS. JOHN S. PAYNE

### Seating of Delegates

MRS. D. O. IVES

### Post Office

MRS. FRANK P. HAYS

### Credentials, Registration and Elections

MRS. JOHN P. HIGGINS

### Pages

MRS. JOHN BOOGHER

MRS. WALTER FISCHEL

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MRS. DAVID THOMPSON

MRS. ARTHUR PROETZ

Acting Chairman

### Hospitality

MRS. E. W. STIX

MRS. DAVID O'NEIL

MRS. ROBT. MCK. JONES

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MRS. PHILIP B. FOUKE

MRS. N. A. McMILLAN

MISS MARGARET MCKITTRICK

MRS. MORRISON FULLER

MRS. A. BRUEGGEMAN

### Odeon Meetings

MRS. FRED. J. TAUSSIG

MRS. HENRY LODGE

MRS. E. W. PATTISON

MRS. ROBT. ATKINSON

MRS. FRED. ENGLISH

MRS. HARRY JANUARY

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### Organization Meetings

MRS. FANNIE BONNER PRICE

### Badges

MRS. A. S. RAUH

MRS. J. ALEX GOODWIN

### Program

MRS. A. S. RAUH

### Distribution of Literature

MRS. B. F. BURCH

### Committee for "Women Citizen"

MISS LETITIA PARKER

### Committee for National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.

MRS. A. BUSCHMAN

### Committee for International News

MRS. EUGENE MEYER



## Pre-Convention Program

**SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1919**

### HOTEL STATLER

#### Evening

8:00 P. M. Meeting National Board of Directors.

**SUNDAY, MARCH 23, 1919**

### HOTEL STATLER

#### Evening

8:00 P. M. Informal reception to delegates by National Board of Directors.

**MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1919**

### HOTEL STATLER

#### Morning

9:30 A. M. Executive Council.

#### Afternoon

2:00 P. M. Executive Council.

## Convention Program

**MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1919**

### HOTEL STATLER

#### OPENING SESSION

##### Evening

I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more  
The best and the last.—BROWNING.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and  
DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Presiding.

8:00 P. M. Convention called to order:  
Invocation.....Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.  
Community Singing.....Led by Mrs. W. D. Steele.  
Welcome to Convention from  
City of St. Louis.....Hon. Henry W. Kiel, Mayor.  
Welcome to Convention from  
Missouri State Suffrage  
Association.....Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, President.  
Welcome to Convention from  
Daughters of Pioneers.....Mrs. B. Morrison-Fuller.  
President's Address.....Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.  
Message from the Southland..From Her Daughters.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 1919**

#### Morning

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and  
MRS. STANLEY MCCORMICK, First Vice-President, Presiding.

9:30 A. M. Call to order:  
Invocation.....Dr. Mary A. Safford.  
Reading of Minutes.  
Welcome to Convention from  
Equal Suffrage League of  
St. Louis.....Mrs. George Gellhorn, President  
and Chairman Local Arrangements for City of St. Louis.  
Announcements.....Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman Local Arrangements for N. A. W. S. A.  
Credentials.....Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Ex-officio Chairman.  
Appointments of Committees.  
Reports of Officers: A Survey  
of the Year's Work.....Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary.  
How the Money is Raised and  
Spent.....Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Treasurer.  
Recommendations of Executive  
Council.....The Secretary.  
Action by Convention.  
Report of Elections Committee.Mrs. J. P. Higgins, Chairman.

## General Information

### Check Room

No delegates will be allowed to wear hats during the Convention. Check room for hats will be provided at Hotel Statler.

### Post Office

A special Post Office conducted under the Post Office Department of the Government, will be kept open from Monday, March 24th to Saturday, March 29th inclusive, for the convenience of all delegates. Mail may be addressed to Hotel Statler for this period.

### Sessions

All morning sessions will be opened at 9:30 A. M., afternoon sessions at 2:00 P. M., and evening sessions at 8:15 P. M.

### Information Bureau

Two information bureaus will be opened for the convenience of delegates; one at the Union Station from Sunday morning until Tuesday evening, and one in the lobby of Hotel Statler continuously during the convention. Dinner tickets may be received at Information Bureau, Hotel Statler.

### Chairmen of Committees

The Chairmen of all committees, in order that they may be found when wanted, will be supplied with special seats to be occupied continuously during the Convention.

### Ushers and Pages

Ushers and pages will wear yellow sashes with "Usher" and "Page" printed thereon. The ushers will attend to the seating of the delegates and the taking of collections. The pages will carry messages.

### Location of Delegates

The location of each delegation may be ascertained by consulting a map which will be provided.

### Credentials

The Credentials Committee will be on duty at the Registration and Credentials Booth in the lobby of the Hotel Statler, Sunday afternoon and Monday and Tuesday from 10:00 A. M. to 6:00 P. M. No credentials will be accepted after Wednesday, March twenty-sixth.

## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

If you want information concerning the seats of individuals or delegates, concerning the platform or the general arrangements or comfort of the Convention, ask Miss Hay.

If you want information concerning admission of new societies, ask Mrs. Andreas Ueland.

If you want information concerning possibility of program change, ask Mrs. McCormick.

If you want information concerning finance, ask Mrs. Rogers.

If you want information concerning organization, field workers or campaigns, ask Mrs. Shuler.

If you want information concerning literature or suffrage publications, ask Miss Ogden or Mrs. Livermore.

If you want information concerning the business proceedings of the Convention, time for introducing motions, resolutions etc., ask Mrs. Brown.

If you want information concerning Congressional work, ask Mrs. Park.

If you want information concerning the elections, ask Mrs. J. P. Higgins.

If you want information concerning press work, ask Miss Young.

## Call to Convention

### Fiftieth Annual Convention and Double Anniversary

1869—1919

The National American Woman Suffrage Association calls its State Auxiliaries through their elected delegates to meet in annual Convention at St. Louis, Hotel Statler, March 24 to March 29, 1919, inclusive.

In 1869, Wyoming led all the world by the grant of full suffrage to its women. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this event.

In 1869, the National and the American Woman Suffrage Associations were organized—to be combined twenty years later into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Convention will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the organization which without a pause has carried forward, during half a century, the effort to secure the enfranchisement of women.

As a fitting memorial to a half century of progress, the National American Woman Suffrage Association invites the women voters of the fifteen full suffrage States to attend this Anniversary Convention, and there to join their forces into a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries. The Convention will express its pleasure with suitable ceremonials that since last we met the women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada and Germany have received the vote; but it will make searching inquiry into the mysterious causes which deny patriotic, qualified women of our Republic "a voice in their own government," while those of monarchies and erstwhile monarchies are honored with political equality. Suffrage Delegates, Women Voters, there is need of more serious counsel than in any previous year. It is not you but the Nation that has been dishonored by the failure of the 65th Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Let us inquire together. Let us act together.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Honorary President.

KATHERINE DEXTER McCORMICK, First Vice-President.

MARY GARRETT HAY, Second Vice-President.

ANNE DALLAS DUDLEY, Third Vice-President.

GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN, Fourth Vice-President.

HELEN GARDENER, Fifth Vice-President.

EMMA WINNER ROGERS, Treasurer.

NETTIE ROGERS SHULER, Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTINA L. WILSON, Recording Secretary.

JANE M. BROOKS, Director.

FLORENCE B. COTNAM, Director.

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW, Director.

HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE, Director.

NONIE B. MAHONEY, Director.

ESTHER G. OGDEN, Director.

MARY A. SAFFORD, Director.

OLGA B. STILLWELL, Director.

MAUD WOOD PARK, Chairman Congressional Committee.

ROSE YOUNG, National Press Chairman.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 1919—Continued****Afternoon****SUFFRAGE WAR WORK**

The war could not have been won  
Without the work of women.—LLOYD GEORGE.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and  
MRS. STANLEY MCCORMICK, First Vice-President, Presiding.

- 2:30 P. M. Call to order:  
General Survey of War  
Program.....Mrs. Stanley McCormick  
Chairman War Service Dept.  
Food Production.....Miss Hilda Loines, Chairman.  
Americanization.....Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley,  
Chairman.  
Child Welfare.....Mrs. Percy Pennybacker,  
Chairman.  
Industrial Protection of  
Women.....Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Chairman.  
Food Conservation.....Mrs. Walter McNab Miller,  
Chairman.  
Overseas Hospital Service.....Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany,  
Chairman of Committee.  
Mrs. Raymond Brown, Director  
General in France.
- 4:00 P. M. Automobile Drive tendered the delegates by the Equal Suffrage  
League of St. Louis, Mrs. P. B. Fouke, Chairman of Arrange-  
ments.

**Evening****INQUIRY DINNER****CONCERNING THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT**

Ours not to do and die  
Ours but to reason why!  
—With apologies to no one.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Presiding.

What is the matter with U. S.?

- Women want it!.....Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Illinois.  
Men want it!.....Rev. W. C. Bitting, St. Louis.  
Political Parties want it!.....Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, Washington.  
The Press wants it!.....Miss Rose Young, New York.  
The Old South wants it!.....Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, Alabama.  
Congress wants it!.....Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Massachusetts.  
The Legislatures want it!.....Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Arkansas.  
All other Countries have it!.....Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Tennessee.  
Who doesn't want it!.....Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio.  
Well then what is the matter!.....Mrs. Henrietta Livermore, New York.  
Making it right next time!.....Hon. Selden P. Spencer, Missouri.

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1919****Morning****THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT**

It is an absurdity longer to  
higgle about the matter.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and  
MISS MARY GARRETT HAY, Second Vice-President, Presiding.

- 9:30 A. M. Call to order:  
Invocation.....Dr. Ivan Lee Holt.  
Minutes read and approved.  
Credentials (additional).  
Announcements.  
The Federal Amendment.....Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Chair-  
man Congressional Committee.

And now—what?

Informal discussion led by:

- Miss Katharine Ludington, Connecticut.  
Miss Andreas Ueland, Minnesota.  
Miss Anna B. Lawther, Iowa.  
Mrs. Lila Mead Valentine, Virginia.  
Mrs. Leslie Warner, Tennessee.

**Afternoon****JUBILEE ANNIVERSARY**

Then and Now  
1869 — 1919

"Fifty years of ever-widening Empire!"

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and  
MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY, Third Vice-President, Presiding.

- 2:30 P. M. Call to order.  
Tribute to Pioneers of National Association,  
Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery.  
1869—1919  
Tribute to Pioneers of American Association,  
Miss Alice Stone Blackwell.  
1869—1919  
Finish the Fight.....Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.  
Make the Map White.....Miss Mary Garrett Hay.  
Reminiscences 1890—1919....Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

**Evening****SPECIAL CONFERENCES**

Executive Sessions for Delegates and Members Only.

- 8-9 P. M. How to use our organization  
to win.....Under direction of  
Mrs. Frank J. Shuler.  
9-10 P. M. How to do political work for  
suffrage.....Under direction of  
Miss Mary Garrett Hay.  
8-9 P. M. Conference Press Workers.....Under direction of  
Miss Rose Young.  
Resolutions Committee.  
Preliminary Meetings for Committees Women Voters' Conference  
Organization.  
Protection of Women in Industry.  
Moral Protection of Women and Girls.  
Unification of Civil Laws for Women and Children.  
Election Methods and Customs.  
General Topics.



**THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1919****Morning**

PRIMARIES HELD: 9-10 A. M., 12-2:30 P. M.

**Women Voters' Conference**

Let us march then, all together, not because our leaders call  
But at summons of the mighty soul of man within us all.—PERCY MACKAYE.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN, Fourth Vice-President, Presiding.

9:30 A. M. Call to order:

Invocation..... Rabbi Samuel Thurman.

Minutes read and approved.

Announcements.

Credentials, final report.

Consideration of recommendations of Executive Council.

Unfinished Business.

10:40 A. M. **Women Voters' Conference**, called to order:

Brief address by President, N. A. W. S. A.

Election temporary chairman and temporary secretary of  
Women Voters' Conference.

11-12:30. Sectional Program:

Protection of Women in Industry,

Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chairman President National  
Women's Trade Union League.Assisted by Miss Van Kleek of Federal Industries  
Board.

General Discussion.

**Afternoon****Women Voters' Conference (Continued)**

ELECTED CHAIRMAN PRESIDING

2:30-3:45 **Sectional Program:**How can the laws of the several States defining the legal  
status of women be unified and improved?Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch,  
Illinois, Chairman.**Sectional Program:**How can women voters assist the movement toward social  
morality and social hygiene?Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Field Secretary.  
Connecticut Society of Social Hygiene.**THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1919—Continued****Evening****THE ODEON**

Invocation..... Dr. J. W. MacIvor.

Community Singing, led by Mrs. W. D. Steele.

UNPUBLISHED RECORDS CONCERNING SOME RECENT VICTORIES  
TOLD BY PARTICIPANTS.

Honor the charge they made.—TENNYSON.

The Indiana Irritation..... Mrs. Richard S. Edwards.  
"Half a league onward."

The Vermont Vortex..... Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson.  
"Was there a man dismayed?"

The Nebraska Nightmare..... Mrs. W. E. Barkley.  
"Stormed at with shot and shell"

The South Dakota Sore Disasters... Mrs. John L. Pyle.  
"They that had fought so well."

The Michigan Mystery..... Mrs. Myron B. Vorce.  
"Right through the line they broke."

The Oklahoma Ordeal..... Mrs. Frank J. Shuler.  
"Flashed all their sabres bare"

The Texas Turmoil..... Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham.  
"O, the wild charge they made!"

All Roads Lead to Rome..... Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.  
"When can their glory fade?"

**FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1919**

POLLS OPEN FOR ELECTION: 9-10 A. M., 12-2:30 P. M.

**Morning**

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, and  
MRS. HELEN H. GARDENER, Fifth Vice-President, Presiding.

- 9:30 A. M. Convention called to order:  
Invocation.....Dr. G. Nussmann.  
Minutes read and approved.  
Greetings.....Mrs. Philip North Moore, President National Council of Women.  
The Packers Trust.....Miss Jessie R. Haver, Legislative Representative of National Consumers League and Executive Secretary of Consumers League of District of Columbia.  
Why we did not Win.....Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes, Louisiana.  
Why we did Win.....Mrs. Ben Hooper, Wisconsin.  
Unfinished Business.  
Resolutions.  
New Business.  
Welcome to New State Presidents.
- 11:12:30. **Women Voters' Conference** (Continued).  
Call to order:  
**Sectional Program:**  
Protection of Children....Mrs. Percy Pennybacker, Chairman.  
Miss Julia Lathrop.

**Afternoon**

- 2:30-3:45. **Sectional Program** (Continued).  
What can women voters do toward improvement of election methods and customs.—Mrs. Ellis Meredith, Chairman.
- 3:35. General Discussions:  
(1) Can women voters work more effectively as an independent non-partisan group or within the parties as partisans?  
(2) How can women voters become a more responsible part of political organizations?

**Evening****THE ODEON**

What we seek is the reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.—PRESIDENT WILSON.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Honorary President, Presiding.

- 8:00 P. M. Invocation.....Dean Carrol Davis.  
Community Singing.....Led by Mrs. W. D. Steele.  
Women and the Future.....Miss Helen Fraser,  
"Great Britain's foremost woman speaker."  
Woman's Place in War and  
Peace.....Hon. Henry Allen, Governor of  
Kansas.

**SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1919****Morning****SIMULTANEOUS MEETINGS**

- 9:30 A. M. **Women Voters' Conference** (Concluded):

Organization of Women Voters.  
Adoption of By-Laws.  
Election of Officers.  
Unfinished Business.  
New Business.

- 9:30 A. M. **National Convention:**

Call to order:  
Invocation.....Rev. Father Russell J. Wilbur.  
Minutes read and approved.  
Unfinished Business.  
New Business.  
Resolutions Committee.

**Afternoon****JOINT SESSION NATIONAL CONVENTION AND  
WOMEN VOTERS' CONFERENCE**

- 2:30 P. M. How may voters and non-voters best cooperate:

- (1) To secure the vote for all the women of the nation in the shortest possible time.
- (2) To secure the vote for women in all civilized countries.
- (3) To carry out the Women Voters' Legislative Program.

**Evening Session if Necessary for Completion of Business**



## HOTEL STATLER

### SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION HEADQUARTERS

Also at Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Pennsylvania and New York City

Supper Dances every evening 11 P. M.

Afternoon Teas, 3-5 P. M.

Special Dinners, Thursdays and Sundays, \$1.50 per plate. Cafeteria in basement open for Breakfast and Lunch.



[March 24-29, 1919]

THE GOVERNMENT  
AND  
THE MARKET BASKET

By JESSIE R. HAVER

ADDRESS

TO THE

JUBILEE CONVENTION

OF THE

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
ASSOCIATION

ST. LOUIS, MO.

MARCH, 1919

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.  
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK



## THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MARKET BASKET

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Madam President and Delegates:

I am here today to present a picture entitled *Food*.

This picture includes producers, packers, and consumers of food.

What persons among the great body of consumers are better acquainted with the buying and consuming of food than those whom the world until very recently has held strictly to the slogan, "Woman's Place is in the Home"?

In 1890 a committee of the United States Senate made an investigation into the relations of the meat packing corporations of the United States and after two years came to the conclusion that there was an agreement between the leading packers, Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., and Hammond & Co., to refrain from competition. This investigation was partly responsible for the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, but this law did not serve to keep the meat packing interests long apart. In spite of the years of legal attack which have followed the passage of the Sherman Act the menace of the growing power of the meat packing interests became so great that on February 7, 1917, the President of the United States wrote to the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission directing him "to investigate and report the facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of food stuffs," and stating that "while the population of the Nation has increased 26,000,000 since 1900, the production of the two leading cereals, corn and wheat, while tending to increase, has shown only a slight advance; and that of the meat products in the same period has shown an increase of only 3,500,000,000 pounds—a decrease of 29 pounds per capita."

At the direction of the President, the Federal Trade Commission undertook an investigation and on July 3, 1918, published

a summary of their findings. Copies of the Summary of the Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Meat Packing Industry can be obtained free of charge by writing to the Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D. C. It is a short report of 50 pages, written in a popular style for the voter to read. As was brought out at the Congressional hearings which were subsequently held, the Federal Trade Commission was obliged to secure evidence in much the same manner as that secured by a grand jury investigation, owing to the urgency of the President and to the limited amount of money given for the investigation. It has since been contended by the packers that they were not given a fair hearing at this investigation; that it was an *ex parte* investigation in which only one side could be heard. The following explanation made by Mr. Heney on this point is clear and has not been refuted:

"At the Boston hearing I made a statement at the hearing as to the nature of the hearings, and I want to call attention to that right now, because I want to say most emphatically that no packer at any time ever requested to be heard at any of these hearings, and if any packer had asked to be heard he would have been granted the privilege very promptly, but he would have been sworn and informed as to his rights under the criminal law, and would have been required to state whether he waived immunity or not before testifying, so the record would show; and if any one of his attorneys had asked permission to examine a witness it would have been granted readily by me."

At the Congressional hearings there was not one letter or printed evidence presented by the packers or their representatives to show that they had asked to be heard at the hearings conducted by the Federal Trade Commission. It is clear that the packers have attempted to becloud the situation by turning the attention away from the evidence to the personality of the men who have so courageously carried on this investigation; and, as a regular attendant at the Congressional hearings, I can bear witness that the case as presented by the Federal Trade Commission was strengthened, not weakened, by further evidence taken from the packers' files.

The startling facts revealed by this investigation, from the point of view of the consumer, are that the meat business of

this country is under the control of five corporations—namely, Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., Inc., and the Cudahy Packing Co.—known as the "Big Five"; that they also have a control similar in extent over the principal meat substitutes, such as eggs, cheese, poultry, milk, butter, fish, and all kinds of vegetable oil products; that within recent years they have gone into the breakfast food business and the canning of fruits and vegetables; and that they are now dealing in staple groceries and vegetables, such as rice, sugar, potatoes, beans and coffee. This control covers the price paid the producer of food at one end and the price charged the consumer of food at the other end.

The case of rice is an example of what happens when one of the Big Five undertakes its sale. Just at the time that you were asked to cook rice instead of potatoes so that potatoes might be sent to Europe, Mr. Armour went into the rice market and during 1917 he sold 16 million pounds of rice. The same year the wholesale price of rice increased 65 per cent.

The list of products or commodities commonly dealt in or held out in price lists as being regularly dealt in by the packing concerns (some 575 items in all) was read by Mr. Colver before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (see pages 127 to 135, Part 2 of the hearings), and includes, in addition to all the conceivable products relating to meat and meat by-products, the following items: Bearings for railroad cars, binding and twine, boxes, brass castings for recoil mechanism in heavy ordnance, combs, builders' hardware, builders' material, bumping posts for railroads, Chrystolon cloth, castings and appliances for use in manufacturing refrigerator cars, cement, doors and windows, packing house machinery, etc. Thus not only are these concerns selling their manufactured products but they enter the manufacturing business in products in which they enter the market as buyers. Through the control of the hide and leather markets and more recently the woolen markets they are now branching into the field of clothing.

The source of this control over ever increasing lines of produce has been possible because of the power exercised by such a



large volume of business and by the control of the stock yards, the private refrigerator car lines, the branch house system of wholesale distribution, the banks and real estate, and within recent times by the control of the press. It has been a control which has almost "killed the goose which lays the golden egg," as in the case of the raiser of livestock, and which has been largely responsible for the fact that the cost of living is ever running ahead of wages.

Owing to the confused and intricate systems of bookkeeping, the packers' profits have been only roughly estimated by the Federal Trade Commission; but in this connection the following conservative estimate is illuminating:

RATE OF ESTIMATED PROFIT ON NET WORTH<sup>1</sup>

Rate of estimated profit on net worth (capital stock and surplus) taken at beginning of fiscal year:	Armour.	Swift.	Morris.	Wilson.	Cudahy.
1912.....per cent..	6.0	8.6	6.9	(*)	7.1
1913.....do.....	6.1	8.7	6.9	(*)	7.8
1914.....do.....	7.3	8.5	7.5	(*)	7.9
1915.....do.....	10.2	19.8	7.5	(*)	4.0
1916.....do.....	19.2	19.1	15.0	14.5	19.4
1917.....do.....	<sup>2</sup> 19.8	33.4	22.6	29.6	23.2

<sup>1</sup> Hearings of House Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee, Vol. 5, page 2327.

<sup>2</sup> Rates not available.

<sup>3</sup> Not including South American business.

Mr. Stuart Chase, testifying for the Federal Trade Commission before the Senate Agricultural Committee (see page 166, Part I of the hearings) stated that the total profits of the packers as published by themselves in their annual reports and amended by such analysis as the Federal Trade Commission has made, were \$95,639,000 for the year 1917, as against \$18,715,000 in 1912. According to the Christian Science Monitor of December 24, 1918, statements made by the packers themselves on their stock dividends show that the amount of profits capitalized in a little over three years by three of the packers is very nearly as much as the capitalization of all five at the beginning of the world war. The total sales of the five packers according to their own

statements, as given by the same paper of March 11, 1919, amounted to about \$3,000,000,000 in 1918. This is half a Liberty Loan. For the year 1917 the total volume of business done by the United States Steel Corporation amounted to \$1,683,962,552.

We agree with Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, who says that "the future of the packing industry seems promising, and for some years to come it will be necessary for close co-operation among the producers, packers and the government (always keeping in sight the interest and welfare of the consumer) to properly take care of our share of the burden in helping feed the rest of the world."

Mr. Wilson's parenthetical remembrance of the consumer expresses very well his feeling of security as far as that apparently helpless, but important individual, is concerned, and he and the rest seem to have good reason for their security, since Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumers' League, is the only person whose voice was heard in behalf of the consumer during the month and a half of the hearings. In fact one Congressman frankly stated that he was interested only in the producer, and the consensus of opinion of many of the members of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, in the face of the above facts, was that no further legislation is needed at this time. Recent developments in Chicago tell us of a Packer-Producer co-operative plan to bring about a better feeling of good will between the packers and the cattle raisers. Thus, judging by what has happened among the cattle men's associations in the west where opinion ran high against the meat packers several years ago, to be followed by a marked change of attitude within a year or so, the poor consumer may well feel that he will soon be left in the cold to fight his own battle.

Evidence was submitted in the form of documents taken from the packers' files relating to joint funds maintained for the purpose of protecting themselves by employing lobbyists, by influencing legislative bodies, by electing candidates who would overlook violations of law, etc.; and in this connection, pages 1750 and 1751, Part II, of the hearings before the Senate Agricultural Committee are of particular interest to this audience:

(Mr. Veeder, Attorney for Swift & Co. is on the stand.)

Senator Kenyon: Have you contributed anything to any bureaus established for publicity purposes?

Mr. Veeder: No.

Senator Kenyon: You really mean that the packers do not contribute either to the Republican or Democratic National campaign funds? I am not criticising it. I am asking for the information.

Mr. Veeder: I do not remember that they have, Senator. Of course, I have not, and if there has been any it has been entirely personal.

Senator Gronna: Perhaps they contributed to the Bull Moose and the Socialist campaign.

Mr. Heney (who acted as Attorney for the Committee): Have they contributed to Mrs. Wadsworth's anti-suffrage campaign?

Mr. Veeder: I have a recollection that I saw a letter in which Mr. Swift was asked to contribute \$100 and I do not know whether he did actually do so or not.

Mr. Heney: You advised him by letter that, of course, Swift & Co. was against suffrage, but that it was going to sweep the country and that it would not be good policy for them to get in a position of being against it, and therefore, it would be better that it be contributed with the understanding that it be made not public, did you not?

Mr. Veeder: I do not remember, very likely. I think that is pretty good advice.

Senator Kenyon: Did you do it or did you not do it?

Mr. Veeder: I do not remember.

Senator Kenyon: Oh, you do remember. (To Mr. Heney): Have you got a letter on that?

Mr. Heney: I remember seeing a letter in Mr. Veeder's vault when I was there, that is, two letters, this letter and Swift asking whether he better do it, and the reply to that effect. That is the substance of it.

Mr. Veeder: If he did it, it was only a small amount.

Mr. Heney: That is what he was asking for, and he wrote Veeder to know whether he better do it.

Mr. Veeder: I do not know whether he actually did it.

The net weight situation is of interest to the housewife, and was summarized by Mr. Heney on page 2170, Part 5, of the House Hearings. According to the Pure Food Law, food sold in packages is sold according to net weight—i. e., not including the weight of the package or container. But here is what happened in regard to wrapped hams and bacon according to Mr. Heney:

"In the winter of 1914, it seemed likely that the Bureau of Chemistry would construe the pure-food act so that meats wrapped in paper would be considered as a 'package' in which case they would have to be sold at net weight. The alarm was sounded among the big packers and an arrangement was made by which Mr. George P. McCabe, a former solicitor of the Department of Agriculture, was sent to Washington to try to secure a ruling that wrapped meats are not packages. He was to receive a fee of \$1,000 and expenses to be divided among the big five. It was understood that if successful more was to be done for him. After several months' work he was successful in getting the decision he sought and his fee was doubled. In 1915, Mr. W. F. Bode caused the matter to be reopened acting for the Wholesale Grocers' Association. Again Mr. McCabe was sent to Washington by the big packers and again he was successful.

"The reason the packers were so anxious to get this ruling is disclosed by an investigation made at one of the packing plants in Chicago in January, 1918. It was found that the packers were selling these paper wrappings at from 225 per cent to 500 per cent profit, according to the meat inside the package. According to testimony taken by the commission this exaction caused an increase of price to the consumer of from one-half cent to three cents a pound, as the butcher had to throw this expensive paper away and advance the price to the customer to get out whole. Notwithstanding the Department of Agriculture ruling, the Government would not submit to this, and specified net weight in all Army and Navy contracts."

How do the profits quoted above check with the famous 2c on the \$1 which the packers say they make and about which we are all reading every day in lavish newspaper advertisements? On this point, Mr. Armour admitted when cross-questioned by Mr. Heney (see pages 601 to 608, Part 1, of the Senate Hearings), that in figuring his profits he had left out of his estimate \$10,000,000 made in South America and \$6,800,000 written off for income tax and excess profit taxes. The estimates were made on meat to which was charged undue overhead expenses for the by-products, the hoofs and horns, etc., according to a later statement made by the Federal Trade Commission.

As for the corner grocer who, we are told, makes all the profits, it was conclusively proven before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee that the packers can and do control to a large extent the retail prices charged the consumer by the corner grocer. He must depend on the big packers for

his steady supply of meat and so his prices must conform to their wishes in the case of the occasional supplies of food taken from the surrounding country.

That the revelations made are considered a serious menace to the meat packers is well demonstrated by the enormous advertising campaign which they have been conducting during the last year and which has greatly increased during and since the hearings. Mr. Swift stated on the stand that his firm spent \$1,700,000 last year and would spend \$2,500,000 this year in advertising. We are told by advertisers that their offices are simply flooded by packer ads. We know that this money is spent for a purpose and already seemingly well-informed people on all sides are quoting the familiar slogan of 2c on the \$1. They even forget to wonder how many times a year the 2c on the \$1 is made and the ads are silent on this point. We are told that every small farm weekly through the middle west and far west as well as every newspaper in most of the large cities has carried the packer ads, and so we can well believe that it will take brave and courageous Senators and Congressmen to undertake this fight in the next Congress unless backed by a strong and enlightened public opinion back home. The Christian Science Monitor is one of the large dailies we know of which did not take the packer ads.

In one of our large dailies in the east, there was an advertisement conspicuously placed and addressed to Dear Folks. It told what a fine man Mr. Thomas E. Wilson is, and about a little Bohemian girl who is in charge of his women employees whom they all love, etc., facts which are not questioned, but in the same issue of the same paper the following news story appeared:

#### "SHORT WEIGHT BRINGS FINE IN POLICE COURT"

"The first of a number of prosecutions in a campaign launched by George M. Roberts, superintendent of weights and measures, which will seek to put a stop to violation of the laws against the sale of groceries and other commodities in original packages short in weight was tried in the District of Columbia branch of Police Court yesterday and the local manager of the producing concern was convicted on two counts and fined \$5 in each case for selling goods in original packages represented to contain a certain quantity and which were shown to be short. The cases were against Joseph L. Beelman, the

Washington manager of Wilson & Co. of Chicago. The prosecution was based on the sale of four cans of catsup to an agent of the sealer of weights and measures purchased from the defendant agent of Wilson & Co. at their Washington agency, and represented to contain, according to the bill of sale offered in evidence, as 'two cans of tomato catsup, five gallons each, at 85 cents a gallon, \$8.50.'

"Evidence was given to show that one of the cans contained four gallons, two quarts, and fourteen ounces, or one quart and eighteen ounces short. The other can was shown to be one quart and seventeen ounces short. Another can was shown to be two quarts short. . . . It was shown to the satisfaction of Judge Robert Hardison, hearing the case, that the containers of the catsup would not hold five gallons of liquid as represented in the bill of sale. The cans were sold in separate containers, each packed in a box, the box stamped '5 gallons Wilson tomato catsup.'"

On February 19, 1919, a confidential report made by Mr. Hoover to the President six months ago was published, in which Mr. Hoover stated:

"I scarcely need to repeat the views that I expressed to you nearly a year ago, that there is here a growing and dangerous domination of the handling of the Nation's foodstuffs. . . . The problem we have to consider is the ultimate social result of this expanding domination and whether it can be replaced by a system of better social character, and of equal economic efficiency for the present and of greater promise for the future. It is certain to my mind that these businesses have been economically efficient in their period of competitive upgrowth, but, as time goes on, this efficiency cannot fail to diminish, and, like all monopolies, begin to defend itself by repression rather than by efficiency. The worst social result of this whole growth in domination of trades is the undermining of the initiative, and the equal opportunity of our people and the tyranny which necessarily follows in the commercial world."

We might add to Mr. Hoover's statement that the daily tragedy in the big city markets where poor people shop and vainly try to fill their market baskets with enough food for their children at home brings about equally serious social results.

Even the English Government, a large buyer of American food stuffs in 1914 and 1915, when the packers' profits began to climb, has become alarmed and ordered an inquiry into the "American Meat Trust."

The Smith-Sims bill was drawn by the Federal Trade Commission and sent by the President to Congress, and hearings took



place from December 19, 1918, to February 14, 1919. The printed hearings can be obtained free of charge by writing to the Clerk of the Senate Agricultural Committee, or the Clerk of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Washington, D. C., and I assure you that you would find them most interesting reading, especially the Senate Hearings where each witness was cross-questioned by Mr. Heney acting as an attorney for the Committee. If there is any trouble in securing these hearings from the clerks of the two above mentioned committees, letters should be written to Senators and Congressmen from your respective districts. Each Committee is allowed only 1,000 copies of a hearing, but more copies can be secured if the demand is large enough to warrant the passage of a special resolution through Congress calling for the printing of additional copies.

The proposed Smith-Sims bill to insure free competitive markets and to open a free channel of commerce for meat animals and the products derived from them does not contemplate the taking over of any of the packing house plants, but the bill carries authority to acquire and operate any or all rolling stock especially equipped for the transportation of livestock and its products, as well as of stock yards, cold storage and freezing plants and the necessary appurtenances thereto. Alternatively, the power is given to acquire and license the operation of such property, and the third alternative is to license the use of such facilities without acquiring them, and a final alternative looks to the licensing of all persons, partnerships, and corporations engaged in meat packing in interstate commerce with respect to the operation of that business and with respect to any interest direct or indirect which the licensee may have in any other sort of interstate commerce.

For 9 years the National Consumers' League has educated public opinion, diffused information and both promoted and defended before the Courts legislation for the purpose of establishing better conditions and more adequate wages to the worker while securing to the consumers exemption from the dangers resulting from unwholesome industrial surroundings. Minimum wage laws are now in force in 13 states and the District of Columbia and new minimum wage bills are before five state legisla-

tures this year. Minimum wage laws have served to keep the light constantly turned on wages until an enlightened public opinion has demanded remedies. The Consumers' League does not intend to cease its efforts in helping to secure further minimum wage legislation in states which do not have it, for in addition to the benefits derived from better wages, the education which precedes and follows the establishment of minimum rates is of inestimable value.

But with the sudden upward thrust of prices (according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, food alone has risen 85 per cent. since 1913) it has become necessary for the Consumers' League to supplement its work by advocating legislation tending to keep the prices of the necessities of life within the reach of the workers' wages. And so the Smith-Sims Bill commends itself to our purpose for it will serve, we believe, to keep the light turned on the meat packing industry so that the public may know the facts and more adequate methods may present themselves for finally conducting the packing industry. We believe that the men at present conducting the packing industry have themselves been victims of a vicious system which the public has allowed to develop, in spite of years of warnings, a system which is in danger of continuing unless the public becomes informed and demands relief from Congress. Congress has adjourned, the big publicity story from the point of view of the newspapers is over, and we are being drugged to further slumbers by many of our leading newspapers which permit the packers to educate public opinion in their advertising columns.

Are we going to be so foolish as to stand for this any longer?

The Congressional hearings have shown that the packers are not repentant and do not intend to reform their ways, and their advertising confirms this belief. The hearings have shown that the packers have used our Congress and our government to serve *their* interests. The power is in our hands to use this same government and this same Congress to serve *our* interests.

The Consumers' League believes that there are four important steps to be taken at once:

(1) We are going to get copies of the hearings and reports

of the Federal Trade Commission, which are free, and we are going to hold parlor meetings on *Meat*, and on *Food*, and on *Packers*, and on *Cattle Raisers*, and on *Consumers*, until we become thoroughly informed.

(2) We are going to call on our leading newspaper editors and ask them for their co-operation just as the suffragists have asked and received co-operation in their fight, and we are going to ask our newspaper editors to give us the assurance that they will help and will give us the news when the subject is again taken up in Congress.

(3) We are going to write Senator Cummins of Iowa, chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, and Congressman Esch, chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, to ask them how soon they intend to get a bill passed by Congress which will bring relief to the consumer. We not only want a *bill*, but we want *the bill* drafted by the Federal Trade Commission with such amendments as they think advisable. We shall also write to the other members of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to ask for their interest and support. The members of the House Committee are: Sims, of Tennessee; Doremus, of Michigan; Barkeley, of Kentucky; Rayburn, of Texas; Montague, of Virginia; Coady, of Maryland; Dewalt, of Pennsylvania; Dale, of New York; Sanders, of Louisiana; Esch, of Wisconsin; Hamilton, of Michigan; Winslow, of Massachusetts; Parker, of New York; Sweet, of Iowa; Stiness, of Rhode Island; and Cooper, of Ohio. Additional members for this Committee nominated by the Republican Conference and to be elected by the next Congress are: Watson, of Pennsylvania; Ellsworth, of Minnesota; Denison, of Illinois; Sanders, of Indiana; Merritt, of Connecticut, and Webster, of Washington. The members of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee are: Smith, of South Carolina; Pomerene, of Ohio; Myers, of Montana; Robinson, of Arkansas; Gore, of Oklahoma; Underwood, of Alabama; Cummins, of Iowa; Townsend, of Michigan; LaFollette, of Wisconsin; Poindexter, of Washington; McLean, of Connecticut; Watson, of Indiana, and Kellogg, of Minnesota.

(4) We are going to write our Senators and Congressmen

that we are shocked by the revelations made before the two committees of Congress and we are going to ask them for an assurance that they will look after the interests of the consumer when the bill comes before Congress. And when Congress convenes, we are going to keep writing until something happens. I shall be in Washington all summer in order to keep thoroughly informed on the situation and shall be glad to answer any letters of inquiry. My address is 610 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Will you help us in this fight? Will you get your organizations, your churches, and your clubs to take up this question with us? Alone we can do nothing but together we have infinite power.

The war has taught us that the time has come when we must look over the top of our own walls, for our happiness depends upon what is happening inside our neighbor's walls as well as in our own. We must indeed become the Nation's housekeepers if we are to be useful citizens along the lines laid down by President Wilson in his Suffrage Address to the United States Senate. The future is full of promise. Just as 12 million women voters are emerging from the home with ballot in hand, the situation has been completely laid open by a government department and by Congress. But the Federal Trade Commission can go no further and Congress must be encouraged by the voters at home. It is now up to the women voters to help carry on the fight.

In conclusion I should like to offer the following resolution for your consideration and adoption:\*

WHEREAS, The League of Women Voters in convention assembled on this 28th day of March, 1919, in St. Louis, Missouri, has heard some of the revelations recently made before two committees of Congress on the menace of the control of the food interests of this country, and

WHEREAS, This menace is of great importance to the future welfare of this country since increasing masses of people are unable by honest toil to live in health and comfort; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That this League of Women Voters call upon the Chairmen

\* The above resolution was referred to the League of Women Voters for action on Saturday morning, March 29th, and the following resolution adopted:  
**Resolved that the League of Women Voters support the Federal Trade Commission in its efforts to secure remedial legislation in the meat packing industry.**  
In addition, a Committee on Food Supply and Demand was formed within the League of Women Voters.

of the Senate and House Interstate Commerce Committees to reintroduce and pass the bill drafted by the Federal Trade Commission and introduced by Senator Smith in the Senate and Congressman Sims in the House, with the greatest possible expedition.

That a copy of this resolution be sent to all members of the Senate and House Interstate Commerce Committees before the next Congress assembles.

It is the sense of this League of Women Voters that remedial legislation as provided for in the Sims Bill (H. R. 13324) to control the stock yards and the refrigerator cars should be passed as soon as possible. One of the provisions of the Sims Bill provides for licensing and this involves assuring to the public continuous access to all facts about the industry. The legislation will, we believe, help to determine most economical methods for finally conducting the packing industry.

JESSIE R. HAVER,  
Legislative Representative of the National  
Consumers' League;  
Executive Secretary of the Consumers  
League of the District of Columbia.



CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Telegram	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a telegram. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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MRS ANDREUS UELAND

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DISAPPOINTED HOPED UNTIL TODAY TO COME LETTER FOLLOWS

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HOTEL STATLER

[ March 25, 1919 ]

REPORT  
OF THE  
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY  
NETTIE ROGERS SHULER  
JUBILEE CONVENTION  
OF THE  
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN  
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI  
MARCH, 1919

NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.  
171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK



## REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

### I. FOREWORD:

If as the proverb has it, "A good report maketh the bones fat," then the record of suffrage victories should strengthen and nourish all who read it.

In the past fifty years there has never been a time when we have had so much reason to rejoice because of suffrage victories chronicled all over the world and for the favorable attitude of the United States Press as evinced by the steady growth of editorial support.

Our suffrage year of fifteen months has seen the full franchise won by the women of Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota; Presidential suffrage granted in Indiana, Wisconsin, Vermont, Maine, Minnesota and Missouri; Primary suffrage in Texas and Municipal suffrage in some charter towns. It has seen the Federal Amendment go through the House, January 10, 1918, fail in the Senate, October 2, 1918, by two votes, and fail again February 10, 1919, by *one* vote. Even this reactionary body—the United States Senate—showed *some* progress. The one vote gained was that of Senator Pollock of South Carolina. You remember Deborah. The Bible says: "She was a prophetess who sat under the trees in Lebanon and judged Israel." She had an easier job than Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the head of the Washington front-door lobby. But in those days in Israel, as in Washington, the men did not seem to be able to do what they ought to be doing. They were oppressed by the enemy. Deborah said to Barach, "Go out and invite these people," and Barach went and finally sang a song of triumph. Senator Pollock spoke on that memorable February 10th, 1919, for a new South, for a South awake to the needs of its women and children. His stirring words in which he placed the responsibility on every man who voted against the Federal Amendment will echo down the ages in its



song of triumph over prejudice and conservatism just as surely as did Barach's in the Bible story.

1918 saw 1,000,000 women vote in New York State, between 40,000 and 50,000 in Arkansas at the first State primary open to women, and 386,000 in the Texas primaries.

January 24th, 1919, saw Nebraska emerge victorious from the battle fought since 1917 to retain Presidential and Municipal suffrage. The story is an astounding revelation of fraud, forgery and fiction in connection with the Anti end of the fight.

The past year has seen suffrage by Federal Amendment endorsed by 21 Democratic State Conventions, 20 Republican State Conventions and many State Central Committees, while many more have stood for the principle of Equal Suffrage.

The past year has seen, too, our Second Vice-President, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, made chairman of the Platform Committee of one of the political parties at the conference at Saratoga, New York, July, 1918, a distinct suffrage victory, inasmuch as the men of New York State realized in thus signally honoring her they were honoring the woman, who by winning the suffrage campaign in New York City, had made possible the victory in New York State. Miss Hay has since been made a member of the National Woman's Committee of that same party.

The work of the last fifteen months has been accomplished under most trying and difficult conditions. Many women under the allurements of war work dropped suffrage work altogether. Some suffragists could not be persuaded that suffrage work was necessary at this time; others were unable to endure the criticism that they would be slackers if they did anything beside war work; still others thought if they did their war work well that men, "seeing their good works," would "reward them openly" with the gift of the ballot.

## II. MOBILIZATION:

The mobilization of our suffrage army came April 18th and 19th with the call for the Executive Council meeting in Indianapolis. At that time Mrs. Catt, our chief, plainly stated that there could be no "go it alone" campaign, but that provincial shackles must be dropped, plans adopted must be nationwide

and constructive co-operation from all branches must be assured. The plans were adopted unanimously. A private report has been prepared with the summing-up of this work in the States. It can, however, be stated here that Indiana, Connecticut, Minnesota, Massachusetts and New Jersey are banner States for nearly completing one very necessary part of the plan adopted at Indianapolis.

On May 14th a Bulletin was issued asking for a nationwide protest campaign against further delay in passing the Federal Amendment. Resolutions were to be passed by State bodies and, in detail, points were given to be stressed at mass meetings and in publicity. Through the administrative department of the National, Resolutions poured in from—

The women of the Allied countries of Europe  
The President of the United States  
The National Republican Committee  
The National Democratic Committee  
General Federation Women's Clubs  
National Women's Trade Union League  
American Collegiate Alumnae  
American Nurses' Association  
National Educational Association  
National Convention Business Women  
Women's Christian Temperance Union  
American Federation of Labor (St. Paul, June, 1918)

Many States responded with Resolutions from State political parties, press associations, churches, granges, labor and business organizations, citizens and political leaders.

In retrospect, at the close of the year we should ask ourselves whether or not our fighting units have been mobilized to the best advantage. I am reminded of Kipling's Tomlinson as he stood before St. Peter, who admonished him thus.

"Stand up, stand up and answer loud and high,  
The good ye did for the sake of man  
Or ever you came to die."  
"This I have read," said Tomlinson,  
"And this has been told to me,

And this I have thought that another man thought,  
Of the Prince of Muskovee."  
Peter you will recall grew impatient and demanded,  
"Ye have read—ye have heard,  
Ye have thought,  
And the tale is yet to run  
By the worth of the body, that once ye had.  
What have ye done?"

### III. OUR FIGHTING UNITS:

From Honorary President to the last Director, every member of the Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had some part in war work. It covered a wide range from Chairman of the Woman's Division of the National Council of Defense, Liberty Loan, Oversea Hospitals to Canteen Service "over there." Our Service Flag representing suffrage officials in our branches carried twenty-five stars.

Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt and Mrs. McCormick were conscripted for the Woman's Committee National Council of Defense. In National list, Miss Hay, Mrs. Gardener and Mrs. Dudley for Congressional, and Mrs. Brown for Oversea Hospitals work. Mrs. Dudley also visited South Carolina and Florida. Other members of the Board were sent from time to time to various States on special missions.

*Congressional Work.* Mrs. Rogers went to New Jersey; Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Stilwell to Delaware, and Mrs. Livermore to New Hampshire for Congressional work.

Mrs. Wilson attended the State Suffrage Conventions in Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and made a longer stay in Florida and Vermont. Her effective assistance was recognized and appreciated by the suffragists in these States. Mrs. Shuler went to the three campaign States twice, spending five weeks in South Dakota, holding a suffrage school there, five weeks in Michigan and nearly five months in Oklahoma, later going to West Virginia.

Others who were sent by the National Association on special missions were Miss Hall, Mrs. Fitzgerald, Mrs. Tillinghast and Miss Eva Potter, to New Hampshire; Miss Willard, to Delaware. Mrs. Cunningham and Miss Marjorie Shuler, to

Florida, while Mrs. Brewer made a trip as special envoy to five of the Western States.

Our National organizers, nineteen in number, have during the past fifteen months been in 20 States. In 18 States some or all of the expenses have been borne by the National Association. At present we have ten organizers in the field.

To the woman who has made our victories possible, our National and International President, Mrs. Catt, the women of the world owe a debt of gratitude that can never be paid. Her strength and sagacity, her unerring judgment and masterful leadership have ever acted as a stimulus and inspiration, not only to those of us who have been privileged to work at close range, but to the women of the entire world.

Our Suffrage Headquarters has been a place of peace and happiness because of her patience, good nature and sympathy. Her battle for the past fifteen months has been with adverse conditions and with reactionary forces which are always the hardest to combat, but not once has her courage faltered nor her strength of purpose failed.

### IV. OUR AMMUNITION:

At National Headquarters in New York City our work is departmentalized and functions through the Bureau of Suffrage Education under three Department Heads:

1. The Woman Citizen.
2. Press Bureau.
3. Research Department.

These work in co-operation with a fourth department, the National Publishing Company, and all are so closely co-ordinated that they work as one.

#### 1. *The Woman Citizen—Our National Organ:*

Fifteen months ago Miss Young said in her report that she was beginning to "uncrinkle." She had been attending to the obsequies of three periodicals which had been buried, and at the same time the ceremonies attendant on the birth of one. The infant is now 21 months old. She has cut her teeth and thrown aside her teething ring. Since the war ended she has entered

upon a period of remarkably lusty growth. You will find her cradled on the tables in the lobby. Stop and see for yourselves the evidences of her development.

#### 2. *The Press Bureau:*

As you will remember, the Leslie Commission took over the Press Bureau March, 1917, and since then has paid all of its expenses. It is needless to say that the Bureau, because of this, has been able to materially widen its scope of usefulness. No request made at any time for help has been denied, and the resourcefulness and assistance of the Press Bureau have been placed unreservedly at our command. In times of Peace and War; in stress of State Referenda and Presidential campaigns, in answer to the thousand and one questions that find their way to our office every minute, the Press Bureau and the Research Department are invaluable. I believe the press clippings on suffrage this year would circle the globe.

This report would be incomplete without mention of the incomparable editorial work of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper. In two years about 8,000 letters and articles have gone out from her pen. In addition to the above, several pamphlets have been prepared and an article of about 2,500 words has been sent every month to the *International Suffrage News*. These letters have not only given valuable information but have illuminated the procedure of United States Legislators and Congress, which is so difficult for Europeans to understand.

The value of having some one continually on the lookout for utterances of editors and public men is self-evident.

#### 3. *The Research Department:*

The twin sister of the Press Bureau—the Research Department—in charge of Miss Mary Sumner Boyd, has also increased its facilities because of financial help from the Leslie Commission. Its well-stored fund of information is constantly in demand and those who have profited most by its existence are those who have made the greatest demand upon it. It is the endeavor of the Department of Research to see that we are up-to-date—correct to the minute—absolutely.

#### 4. *The National Publishing Company:*

Miss Ogden, President of the Publishing Company and a member of our Board of Directors, has supervised the printing of 5,117,400 pieces of literature this past year for the National Association, and 1,082,500 for the Stock of the Publishing Company, making 6,199,900 in all.

Closely associated with the work of this Department is the Chairman of Literature, Mrs. Livermore, who has frequently been called upon in great haste to "build to order" literature for special circularization.

It may interest you to know that since January, 1914, over 50,000,000 pieces of literature have been printed by the Publishing Company.

To keep our official machinery moving, there are about 50 people on the two floors at 171 Madison Avenue.

#### CIRCULARIZATION:

##### 1. *United States Senate:*

In the use of our ammunition, the United States Senate presented the most convenient target for practice. The *Woman Citizen* has been sent each week to members of Congress. January 5th, 1918, the Senate was circularized with a letter on the Question of Race Supremacy, and on February 9th, a communication was sent calling the attention of the members to the enfranchisement of the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. On thirty different occasions they received literature prepared in the most tempting fashion for their instruction and edification.

It was Mrs. Catt who put into operation the plan for Resolutions from the state legislatures calling upon the United States Senate to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. These Resolutions came from 24 state legislatures, while a twenty-fifth, Oklahoma, passed the resolution in the House. These Resolutions were read into the Congressional Record and while they did not put the Federal Amendment through they nevertheless were effective as showing the nation-wide urge by legislative bodies for favorable action in the United States Senate.



## 2. State Legislatures:

The Legislatures of the States were circularized with "Objections to the Federal Amendment," "Why the Federal Amendment," "Inside Information," "Fourteen Points," an "Address to the Legislatures," by Mrs. Catt. At Christmas the Legislatures of 25 states were sent "An Appropriate Christmas Gift."

## 3. State Organizations:

February 20th, 1918, a bulletin was sent to State Presidents offering one or more travelling libraries of 62 volumes. The Leslie Commission was to pay expenses to the state—the state association to pay expenses in the state. A library could be held for one year.

Quantities of literature have been sent to States for distribution while debating societies and requests for special literature have received prompt attention.

The activity regarding appointment of a woman or women on the Peace Commission originated in the National office and stirred the people of the entire country.

On December 8th, 1918, the National American Woman Suffrage Association held a meeting of war workers in the National Theatre in Washington, D. C., to protest against further delay in the Senate on Federal Amendment.

Twenty-seven delegates representing the National Association attended the eight Congresses held throughout the United States in the interests of the League of Nations.

## V. FIELD WORK:

### *The Five Salients.*

Democracy is our birthright and heritage. Shall all be given to its defense and naught be given to its interpretation and its meaning to the people of this great Republic? This was the thought in mind when the Resolution which committed the National Association to an aggressive policy was passed at the 1917 Convention. It read, "If the 65th Congress fails to submit the Federal Amendment before the next Congressional elections the Association shall select and enter into such a number of Senatorial and Congressional campaigns as will effect a change

in both Houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the Federal Amendment."

October came: The November elections were approaching. The 65th Congress *had* failed to pass the amendment. Possibilities had to be weighed and an adjustment made which in the last analysis would produce the necessary two votes if possible. It was decided therefore to enter the campaigns in New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Delaware.

The first two were at no time specially hopeful, as they were likely to poll Republican majorities in those districts and both Republican Senatorial candidates were against suffrage. However, as a result of the work done in New Jersey, Senator Baird fell behind his ticket, while in New Hampshire the women and the advertising made so strong a case for the pro-suffrage candidate that for a day or two the result was in doubt. It was finally declared that Moses had won by 1,200 votes.

Later another campaign was made in New Hampshire to secure Moses' vote on the Federal Amendment. The story of Moses' efforts to controvert the very action he had himself proposed as the necessary means of securing his vote has been printed in detail in the Woman Citizen. It is a story of intrigue and the use of the latest improved submarine of Wadsworthian manufacture. The story of Moses' duplicity makes me think of the teacher who said to her pupils one morning: "I am ready this morning to explain the unexplainable, to define the undefinable and to unscrew the inscrutable."

In closing the Chapter on Moses we are reminded of the story of Mr. Newrich who went to his architect and when the architect finally suggested mosaic pavements for his new sky scraper, said, "No; I won't have them. I have nothing against Moses but I am opposed to anything sectarian about this building."

We really had nothing against Moses but we were opposed to his voting against the Federal Amendment.

In Idaho a campaign was waged against Borah by circularization. Sixty thousand reprints of Borah's suffrage record were distributed. We did not expect to defeat him.

The two most important and successful contests were in

Massachusetts against the Republican, Senator Weeks; in Delaware, against the Democratic Senator Saulsbury. In Massachusetts a group of clever women calling themselves the Anti Weeks Campaign Committee put the campaign over. Here was a practical demonstration of real reciprocity, of which principle Weeks had always been an ardent supporter. While the women were seeking something of that menace of American politics—invisible government—and incidentally learning how to defeat a Senator, Senator Weeks in turn was learning what an organized group of suffragists can do when they are united against an enemy.

We call attention to the fact that a Democrat superseded the Republican in Massachusetts and that a Republican superseded the Democrat in Delaware, showing that the struggle was an absolutely non-partisan one.

#### VI. IN THE TRENCHES:

##### 1. *The Three Referenda Victories.*

(a) *Michigan.* The Referenda campaigns in Michigan, Oklahoma and South Dakota were carried on under the most difficult and distracting conditions. The handicaps of war work and the influenza epidemic, which alone was accounted a political disaster by New York politicians, affected all states equally. Michigan's campaign started unfortunately with the belief that the war work of women would win the campaign. It was the task of Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Shuler, who attended the Michigan State Suffrage Convention March 25th-28th, to destroy this sinister optimism. Michigan's campaign later became unique because of its co-operative basis. The Michigan State Suffrage Association under Mrs. Percy Farrell had the assistance of politicians and political parties. Professional and business men formed themselves into a federation to give more effective aid. The Women's Benefit Association of the Maccabees, Miss Bina West, President, rendered special service. Michigan's majority for suffrage was 34,506.

(b) *South Dakota.* South Dakota's 5th campaign was unique because Amendment E, as it was called, made citizenship the basis of participation in governmental affairs. Mrs. Pyle, state president, and other women offered to forego their pro-

posed campaign to devote their energies solely to war service, but the legislators said: We look to the women to wage the best campaign they have ever made, and they did—the suffrage majority being 19,716.

(c) *Oklahoma.*—The Oklahoma campaign was unique also but this was because of the many handicaps.

1st. There was the necessity of polling a majority of the highest vote cast in the general election—the silent vote being counted as a negative vote. The task of arousing every man to such a degree of interest that he would remember to mark his ballot on the suffrage amendment seemed a hopeless task. Those who know the general inattention given any constitutional amendment by the rank and file of voters can estimate how difficult it was to get a *majority correctly marked*.

2nd. The pessimism of suffragists themselves the country over who said, "It can't be done."

3rd. The fact that Oklahoma was a southern Democratic state—the first to be in a full suffrage campaign.

4th. The severe heat of the summer.

5th. A serious drought.

6th. The decision by the Board of Elections not to put the suffrage amendment on the ballot on the technical ground that the Secretary of State had failed to supply the official wording ninety days before election.

7th. The separate ballot.

8th. The failure to send ballots to seven camps, thus preventing many hundreds of Oklahoma soldiers from voting on the amendment. These were counted as negative votes.

9th. The attempt made by certain interests to hold back returns to get a new ruling on the meaning of the so-called "silent vote" to count mutilated ballots as silent votes; in short with the help of prominent State officials and a resort

to all kinds of political trickery an effort was made to steal the election won against such fearful odds.

When these failed the anti-suffragists filed a protest against certification with Elections Board. So much pressure was brought to bear on the Governor that after a month of dallying he finally called for the suffrage returns and without certification from the Elections Board proclaimed woman suffrage carried. The majority was 25,528 on our amendment and 9,791 over the silent vote.

In Oklahoma the silent vote has always been counted on to defeat any measure. Politicians now asked, "But where was the silent vote?" and the answer came when a map of Oklahoma was shown almost obliterated with tiny red stars. They were told "Every one of these represents a suffrage committee organized since January." When you have as any women as that working for a measure there can be no silence.

The women who fought this Oklahoma battle believe that many State campaigns have been won in the past and by use of the same methods tried in Oklahoma the women have been counted out.

One of the requirements of National assistance was that each state should secure signatures of women on petitions.

Michigan obtained .....	202,000
Oklahoma .....	58,687
South Dakota .....	50,000

The petition work in Oklahoma was under the direction of Miss Alice Curtis. Taking into consideration the intense heat of the summer and the almost impossible conditions under which the signatures were obtained, one only wonders that it were possible to secure so many.

All of these states acknowledge that the petitions were a controlling factor in the victory. A quotation from a typical letter from Grand Rapids, Mich., follows:

"We decided that our last shot should be the publication of the 14,000 signatures of the women in our town who had asked the men to vote 'yes.' It took three newspapers to run the

names and it was the talk of the town, resulting in carrying us over the top."

The National gave to these States 18 organizers, all of whom rendered valuable service—and worked unsparingly to win the suffrage amendment. It gave press helps—plate matter at a cost of \$4,599.94—100,000 posters, 1,528,000 pieces of literature, 18 street banners and 50,000 buttons. The National gave to South Dakota a suffrage school from June 3 to June 20. In 17 days schools were held in the day time in 7 cities, while street meetings were held in 10 of the nearby towns in the evenings.

The gift by the National of Miss Marjorie Shuler as Press Chairman in Oklahoma during the campaign made it possible for us to issue 126,000 copies of the suffrage supplement and supply 300 papers with weekly bulletins, information service and two one-half pages of plate.

These three campaigns cost the National \$30,720.31. This was the *financial* cost, but the terrific output of time and energy by the women cannot be computed. It is safe to say that all of the women as they emerged from this trench warfare again questioned the advisability of securing suffrage by the state route.

#### TWO DEFEATS:

In Louisiana suffrage sentiment had the backing of the Governor and other men of influence in the political life of the State. It lost by 3,504. This majority against was almost entirely confined to New Orleans. The National Association gave no assistance to Louisiana. That it so nearly won shows the tremendous increase in suffrage sentiment. Arkansas hoped to have full suffrage written into the new constitution but at the special election held in December the constitution was defeated, because of its drastic Prohibition clause, and of course suffrage with it.

#### VII. SEEING IT THROUGH:

Yes, of course we shall see it through, and it is hoped that every woman will do her share.

George Ade said during the recent war: "If you can't find anything bigger to do, hold the yarn for the Red Cross knitter



and when your arms ache, say to yourself, 'I am helping on a pair of socks for some soldier and when the time comes he will climb over the top of a trench. There will be a great victory and I will share in it because I held the yarn that knit the socks that warmed the feet that carried the man that chased the German that obeyed the Kaiser that has to be licked before the World can go back to housekeeping.'"

It will not be the drudgery of the pioneer, neither will it be glory, but the good hard team work of all that will take the last trench and give us final victory. We shall have to keep in mind, with apologies to Kipling, that

"It wan't guns, nor armament,  
Nor the funds that they could pay,  
But the close co-operation  
That made them win the day.  
It wan't the individual  
Nor the army as a whole,  
But the everlasting team work  
Of every bloomin' soul."

We have learned to say recently in speaking of this newly developed selflessness, the heroism, the willingness to pour out life—"Carry on." Where it will carry us we cannot see but we do know that it will be through service, suffering and sacrifice, for that way only lies victory and the freedom of the world.

NETTIE ROGERS SHULER.

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN  
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

May, 1919

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.  
171 Madison Avenue,

New York

## CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

### ARTICLE I.

#### NAME.

The name of this body shall be the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

### ARTICLE II.

#### OBJECT.

The object of this Association shall be (1) to secure the vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation, and (2) to increase the effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government.

### ARTICLE III.

#### STATUS.

Section 1. The National American Woman Suffrage Association shall be composed of state organizations of two classes: 1. Suffrage organizations in states where the right of suffrage is denied to women; 2. Organizations of women voters in states having universal or presidential suffrage.

Section 2. In order to further the second purpose of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, as outlined in Article II, i. e., "to increase the effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government," women from the enfranchised states shall form a League of Women Voters within the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

### ARTICLE IV.

#### MEMBERSHIP, DUES AND REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. There shall be four classes of members for both the voting and non-voting states: viz., Affiliated, Associate, Cooperating and Life Members.

Section 2. (a) Each State may have one Affiliated member only, provided this shall not apply to organizations already holding such membership in the year 1917. An Affiliated member shall have at least 500 dues-paying members or 5,000 non-dues-paying members and ten or more auxiliary groups in different towns. Any Association now affiliated and in good standing, but whose qualifications do not meet those herein prescribed, shall be given six months to meet those qualifications. The Affiliated members shall pay to the National American Woman Suffrage Association annual dues of ten cents per dues-paying member up to and including 5,000, or one cent per non-dues-paying



member up to and including 50,000 members, and may pay dues at the same rate on additional members.

(b) Representation at the annual convention will be on the basis of one delegate for every 100 certified dues-paying members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 5,000 members for whom ten cents per member has been paid to the National American Woman Suffrage Association; or one delegate for every 1,000 non-dues-paying members, or major fraction thereof, up to and including 50,000 for whom one cent per member has been paid.

(c) The number of delegates from affiliated organizations in any one state shall not exceed fifty. Where two or more suffrage organizations exist in one state, the number of delegates of each organization shall be in accordance with its proportion of the combined membership.

Section 3. Any full voting state which has at least one organization composed of one hundred members or more may become an Affiliated member by paying \$100 annually into the National treasury and \$100 for each additional 500 members.

Section 4. Any suffrage organization of 200 or more dues-paying members, or 2,000 non-dues-paying members, may become an Associate member by a vote of two-thirds of the Executive Council, upon the payment of ten cents per dues-paying member or one cent per non-dues-paying member. An Associate member shall be entitled to representation in the annual convention by its president, one delegate for the first 200 dues-paying members and one delegate for each additional 100 dues-paying members; or one delegate for the first 2,000 non-dues-paying members and one delegate for each additional 2,000 non-dues-paying members, but the representation of the Associate member shall be limited to nine delegates.

Section 5. The constitution and policy of Affiliated and Associate members shall be in harmony with the constitution and policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association as adopted by the annual convention or interpreted by the Official Board.

Section 6. The Official Board shall recommend to the Executive Council the expulsion from membership of any Affiliated or Associate member which fails to adhere to the policies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Section 7. Affiliated and Associate members shall, eight weeks prior to the National Convention, certify to the treasurer in writing, signed by three officers, the total membership at that date.

Section 8. Any organization which officially endorses woman suffrage may become a Cooperating member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon the payment of annual dues

of \$50 and shall be entitled to representation at the annual convention by one delegate.

Section 9. Any individual may become a Life member upon payment of \$100.

## ARTICLE V.

### THE ANNUAL CONVENTION AND PRIVILEGES.

Section 1. The annual convention shall be composed of the elected directors and ex-presidents of the Association, chairmen of standing committees, presidents of Affiliated organizations and members thereof elected to the Executive Council, and all delegates regularly chosen by Affiliated and Associate organizations and duly accredited to the convention, each of whom shall be entitled to vote thereat.

Section 2. A Life member shall be entitled to receive all reports published by the Association, to attend all of its public meetings and to participate in all of its discussions but shall not be entitled to vote.

Section 3. No representation shall be allowed to any member that has failed to pay annual dues according to Article III.

## ARTICLE VI.

### CONTROL OF POLICIES.

Section 1. At all conventions of the National American Woman Suffrage Association the general body of delegates shall be known as the HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Section 2. The House of Delegates shall be composed of all accredited delegates from voting and non-voting states and shall control the policies of the organization in working for the vote for those women now denied that right.

Section 3. When policies are under consideration involving the use of the vote by enfranchised women, delegates from states where women vote shall sit separately in a HOUSE OF VOTERS.

Section 4. The legislative and organization programs of the House of Delegates shall be directed by the elected officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The legislative and organization programs of the House of Voters shall be directed by the council of the League of Women Voters, the chairman to be ex-officio a voting member of the Board of Directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Section 5. There shall be one treasury for both Houses. A budget shall be made by each House for its own work.

## ARTICLE VII.

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Section 1. The Board of Directors of the Association shall consist of the honorary president and the officers of the Association as elected at the convention in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 2. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled for the unexpired term by a majority vote of the remaining directors at any special meeting called for that purpose, at any regular meeting or by correspondence.

Section 3. In case the entire Board of Directors shall die or resign, the secretary of the Executive Council shall call a special meeting of the Executive Council, by which body a Board of Directors shall then be elected for the unexpired term in the manner provided for their election at annual meetings.

Section 4. A person chosen to fill a vacancy on the Board of Directors shall serve until the close of the annual convention.

Section 5. The Board of Directors may adopt such rules and regulations for their meetings, the conduct thereof and the management of the affairs of the Association as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the laws of the District of Columbia, the Constitution of the United States or this Constitution. But in their management of the affairs of the Association the Board of Directors shall incur no financial obligations for which the annual convention shall not have voted the necessary funds unless they shall make themselves responsible for securing the means to meet such obligations.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### OFFICERS—DUTIES AND LIABILITIES.

Section 1. The officers shall be a president, five vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, a recording secretary and eight directors. In order that all members of the Board of Directors shall not go out of office the same year and in order that provision shall be made for alternate elections the nine general officers elected in 1917 shall serve until 1919, but the eight directors elected in 1917 shall serve for one year only (1918). Thereafter the general officers and the directors shall be elected at alternate conventions to serve two years beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention.

Section 2. The president shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Section 3. The vice-presidents in their order shall, in the absence or incapacity of the president, perform the duties of the president.

Section 4. The recording secretary shall keep the minutes of the

Association, a record of all its proceedings and shall perform all the duties incident to her office.

Section 5. The corresponding secretary shall attend to the general correspondence of the Association.

Section 6. The treasurer shall have the custody of all funds and securities of the Association, shall pay the bills of the Association and sign all checks and orders for the disbursement of the Association's monies, which shall be countersigned by another director, preferably the president, and shall collect all pledges and monies payable to the Association.

The treasurer shall keep an accurate account of receipts and disbursements and shall send a monthly summary to the directors.

The treasurer shall be ex-officio chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

## ARTICLE IX.

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—DUTIES AND POWERS.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the Board of Directors of the Association, the chairman of standing and special committees, the presidents of Affiliated suffrage organizations and one member from each Affiliated organization which pays dues on a membership of 1,500 or more, such member to have no proxy. Fifteen shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. No person shall be a member of the Executive Council who holds office in any suffrage organization which does not endorse the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The president of the Association shall act as president of the Council. A secretary other than a member of the Board of Directors shall be nominated and elected by acclamation at the post-convention meeting of the Council.

Section 2. Regular meetings of the Executive Council shall be held immediately preceding and immediately following the annual convention of the Association. Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the Board of Directors, or by the president upon the written request of fifteen members of the Executive Council.

Notice of a special meeting shall be mailed to each member at least two weeks before the date of such meeting.

Section 3. The Executive Council shall deliberate concerning the plans and policies of the Association and the opportunities and means for their advancement in the several sections of the United States as well as in the nation as a whole, and shall make recommendations and suggestions to the Association in regard thereto at the business sessions of the convention and to the Board of Directors from time to time as occasion or prudence may urge.

Section 4. The members of the Executive Council may also act by correspondence, a majority vote determining, upon all matters referred to the Council by the Board of Directors, and whenever requested or empowered by the Board of Directors, they or any of them shall advise or cooperate with the Board or advise, act or cooperate with or upon any of its committees for the transaction of the Association's business.

Section 5. The Executive Council shall at its pre-convention session give special consideration to the budget for the following year and shall make written recommendations to the convention in regard thereto.

Section 6. The Executive Council shall, at its regular post-convention session, elect from its own number a Committee on Membership, consisting of five members which shall pass upon the qualifications or organizations applying for membership.

## ARTICLE X.

### COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

#### DUTIES AND POWERS.

Section 1. The Council of the League of Women Voters shall consist of one woman from each state having universal or presidential suffrage. These shall be the presidents of the affiliated state associations or their proxies.

Section 2. This Council shall pass upon all policies of the League of Women Voters, and legislative programs must be approved by it.

Section 3. The chairman of the Council of the League of Women Voters shall be elected by the Council and must be approved by the Board of Directors of the N. A. W. S. A.

Section 4. The chairman of the Council of the League of Women Voters shall be the chairman of the legislative committees, shall conduct necessary correspondence, take direction of organization in unorganized states and have the complete responsibility for the work of the League.

## ARTICLE XI.

#### AMENDMENT.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of any annual convention, after one day's notice in the convention, provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given to the Board and said Board shall have made publication thereof in the National suffrage organ, not less than six weeks before the opening of the convention.



MINUTES  
OF  
THE JUBILEE CONVENTION  
(1869-1919)  
OF THE  
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN  
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
INCLUDING  
THE REGULAR SESSIONS OF CONVENTION  
AND  
CONFERENCES OF WOMEN VOTERS

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JUSTINA LEAVITT WILSON  
Recording Secretary

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI  
MARCH 24-29  
1919

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.  
171 Madison Avenue, New York

## CONDENSED MINUTES OF THE JUBILEE CONVENTION

St. Louis, Mo., March 24-29, 1919

### CONVENTION SESSION

Monday Evening, March 24th

Mrs. Catt, assisted by Dr. Shaw, presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 8 o'clock.

Invocation by Dr. Shaw.

Community singing led by Mrs. W. D. Steele.

The Chair introduced Hon. Henry W. Kiel, the mayor of St. Louis, who in welcoming the convention to the city pledged his support for the cause of suffrage.

The Chair presented in turn Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, president of the Missouri State Suffrage Association, who extended a welcome to the convention from the state, and Mrs. B. Morrison Fuller who, in a welcome from the daughters of pioneers, reminded the audience of a suffrage convention held in St. Louis in 1872, and introduced three suffragists present who had attended that meeting.

Dr. Shaw took the chair and introduced Mrs. Catt, whose address, The Nation Calls, was an appeal to the women of the nation to organize a League of Women Voters that shall be consecrated to three chief aims: (1) To use its utmost influence to secure the final enfranchisement of the women of every state in our own Republic and to reach out across the seas in aid of the woman's struggle for her own in every land; (2) To remove the remaining legal discriminations against women in the codes and constitutions of the several states in order that the feet of coming women may find these stumbling blocks removed; (3) To make our democracy so safe for the Nation and so safe for the world that every citizen may feel secure and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American republic to lead.

At the close of Mrs. Catt's address, Mrs. Dudley of Tennessee came to the platform and with the assistance of sixteen women from as many southern states presented Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt with framed parchments upon which President Wilson's speech before the Senate, September 30th, was wrought in illuminated letters by the artist Scapecchi.

At the request of the Chair, Dr. Shaw responded to the presentation.

The session adjourned at 10:30 o'clock.

## CONVENTION SESSION

Tuesday Morning, March 25th

Mrs. Catt, assisted by Mrs. Stanley McCormick, presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 9:30 o'clock.

Invocation by Dr. Mary Safford.

Minutes of the evening session of Monday, March 24th, were approved as read.

The Chair in introducing Mrs. George Gellhorn, president of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis and chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements, expressed warm appreciation of the efficient manner in which every detail of the convention had been looked after.

Mrs. Gellhorn extended a welcome to the convention from the St. Louis League and made some announcements for her committee.

Miss Hay, chairman National Committee of Local Arrangements made announcements concerning the seating of delegates.

Mrs. Rogers, Treasurer, chairman of Committee on Credentials, made a preliminary report.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to accept Mrs. Rogers' report.

The Chair explained the method of selecting one member of the Committee on Resolutions from each state and asked the chairmen of the state delegations to suggest names.

The Chair announced that for lack of time the usual separate reports of officers would be omitted but that a general report would be read by Mrs. Shuler, chairman of Campaigns and Surveys, embracing a survey of the year's field work. Mrs. Shuler's report followed.

Upon motion of Mrs. Venable, Delaware, duly seconded, it was voted that Mrs. Shuler's report be accepted and that it be printed and placed on sale.

The Chair called upon Mrs. Rogers, Treasurer, for her annual report.

Following a correction made by Mrs. Algeo, Rhode Island, upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted that Mrs. Rogers' report be accepted.

The Chair appointed Mrs. Perkins, Massachusetts, and Mrs. L. M. Warfield, Wisconsin, to assist the chairman of the Committee on Elections.

The Chair called upon Miss Katherine Pierce, Oklahoma, appointed secretary pro tem of the Executive Council, to report on the recommendations made to the convention by the Executive Council.

Miss Pierce made the following report:

The Executive Council, N. A. W. S. A., at its meeting held at the Statler Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., at 9 o'clock a. m., March 24th, 1919, made the following recommendations to the Convention:

1. That the N. A. W. S. A. continue to support and endorse the Federal Amendment which has been before Congress for the past forty years.

2. That the next convention be in the nature of a Centennial Celebration of the birthday of Susan B. Anthony and be held in February, 1920.

3. That the Board of Officers be asked to serve until February, 1920, thus confining the election of officers at this Convention to directors only.

4. That the Budget for 1919, as presented by Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, the Treasurer, consisting of \$120,000 if the voters' league is formed, and \$100,000 if the voters' league is not formed, be recommended as the budget for the ensuing year.

5. That the six war service committees appointed at the last convention be discontinued with the exception of the Oversea Hospitals Committee which shall be discontinued at the conclusion of its work, and the Americanization Committee which shall be continued.

6. That the Executive Council recommends to the Convention that the Post Convention Board be requested to reappoint Mrs. Maud Wood Park as chairman of the Congressional Committee and extend to her a vote of appreciation of her services.

7. In view of the fact that a request has been made for a new definition of "non-partisan" in relation to the national association as at present constituted, or as it may be constituted, the Executive Council recommends the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the National Association shall not affiliate with any political party nor endorse the platform of any party nor support or oppose any political candidates unless such action shall be recommended by the Board of Directors in order to achieve the ends and purposes of this organization as set forth in the constitution. Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to limit the liberty of action of any member or officer of this association to join or serve the party of her choice in any capacity whatsoever as an individual.

8. That the policy of the National Association in regard to state campaigns shall be that the National Board shall be empowered to enter any state to carry on work without the authority of that state if necessary.

9. That the policy of the National Association in regard to referendum campaigns be affirmed.

10. That an organization of women voters be formed.

11. The Executive Council recommends that the constitution, when



amended and made satisfactory to the needs of the association, shall be substituted for the present constitution and with this end in view the Chair was instructed to appoint a committee of five women from enfranchised states and five from the Executive Council to whom the constitution was referred. This committee will be prepared to present the constitution to the Convention.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to receive Miss Pierce's report and to consider the items as soon as convenient.

The Chair stated that some of the items might be considered at once, 2 and 3, for instance.

Upon motion of Miss Loines, New York, duly seconded, it was voted (Recommendation 2) that the next convention be in the nature of a centennial celebration of the birthday of Susan B. Anthony and that it be held in February, 1920.

Upon motion of Miss Van Hoesen, Michigan, duly seconded, it was voted (Recommendation 3) that the Board of Officers be asked to serve until February, 1920, thus confining the election of officers at this convention to directors only.

The Chair gave Miss Ogden a few minutes for announcements concerning new literature on sale in the lobby.

Miss Young was also allowed time to speak on the *Woman Citizen*.

The Chair added a word about the *International Suffrage News*, its service and value to suffragists the world over.

Consideration of the recommendations of the Executive Council was resumed.

Mrs. Raymond Robins moved that the convention confirm Recommendation 1 of the Executive Council that the National Association continue to support and endorse the Federal Suffrage Amendment which has been before Congress for the past forty years. The motion was seconded.

Miss Clay, Kentucky, expressed the opinion that the time has come to change the form of the Federal Amendment to meet the objections of the southern delegations to Congress.

Further discussion showed the preponderance of sentiment to be for the old bill.

Mrs. Park, chairman of the Congressional Committee, suggested that the amendment be allowed to go through as it stands but that the Congressional Committee be granted authority to make minor changes which may seem advisable before it is again presented for action.

Mrs. Robins' motion was carried.

Upon motion of Mrs. Holmes, Louisiana, duly seconded, it was voted that the Congressional Committee be empowered to authorize any change in the wording of the Federal Amendment which in the judgment of this committee seems advisable.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted (Recommendation 4) that the budget for 1919, as presented by Mrs. Rogers, the Treasurer, consisting of \$120,000 if the voters' league is formed and \$100,000 if the voters' league is not formed, be adopted as the budget for the ensuing year.

Mrs. Algeo, Rhode Island, moved (Recommendation 5) that the six war service committees adopted at the last convention be discontinued with the exception of the Oversea Hospitals Committee which shall be discontinued at the conclusion of its work, and the Americanization Committee which shall be continued. The motion was seconded.

Discussion followed. It was the expression of the convention to retain also the committee on Industrial Protection of Women.

Upon motion of Mrs. Nathan, New York, duly seconded, it was voted to amend the recommendation (5) by adding to the committees to be retained the committee on Industrial Protection of Women.

Mrs. Algeo's motion was so amended and carried.

Mrs. Raymond Robins moved that Recommendation 7 supplying a definition of "non-partisan" be adopted.

Upon motion of Mrs. Cunningham, Illinois, duly seconded, it was voted to amend Recommendation 7 by striking out the word "enfranchised."

Mrs. Robins' motion was carried as amended.

The Chair expressed the opinion at this point that the women in states which have not the vote have absolutely nothing to gain by lining up with a political party. She said that suffrage leaders in non-suffrage states, especially, ought to avoid party affiliations.

The Chair called upon Mrs. J. P. Higgins, chairman of the Elections Committee, to report.

Upon motion of Mrs. Dudley, duly seconded, it was voted to accept Mrs. Higgins' report.

Upon motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted (Recommendation 6) that the convention recommend to the post convention board the reappointment of Mrs. Park as chairman of the Congressional Committee and extend to her a vote of appreciation of her services.

Upon motion of Mrs. Cunningham, Illinois, duly seconded, it was voted (Recommendation 8) that the policy of the National Association in regard to state campaigns shall be that the National Board shall be empowered to enter any state to carry on work if necessary without the authority of that state.

Upon motion of Mrs. Farrell, Michigan, duly seconded, it was voted (Recommendation 9) that the policy of the National Association in regard to referenda campaigns be affirmed.

Following an announcement by Dr. Shaw that some of the fourth

## ARTICLE VI

### MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. There shall be five classes of members in the National Alliance of Women Citizens: viz., (1) Affiliated, (2) Associate, (3) Supporting, (4) Endowment and (5) Co-operating.

Sec. 2. *Affiliated*—Each State Alliance of Women Citizens or Women Voters in a state having 500,000 population or less, which has ten or more auxiliary groups in different towns, may become an affiliated member of the National Alliance of Women Citizens by subscribing to this constitution and paying the sum of \$100 into the National treasury annually.

Each State Alliance of Women Citizens or Women Voters in a state having a population of over 500,000 and under 1,500,000, which has twenty or more auxiliary groups in different towns, may become an affiliated member of the National Alliance of Women Citizens by subscribing to this constitution and paying the sum of \$250 into the National treasury annually.

Each State Alliance of Women Citizens or Women Voters in a state having a population over 1,500,000 which has forty auxiliary groups in different towns, may become an affiliated member by subscribing to this constitution and paying the sum of \$500 into the National treasury annually.

There shall be but one affiliated member in each state and that shall be recognized as the organization authorized to take charge of all state-wide and legislative work.

Sec. 3. *Associate*—In any given state wherein the largest auxiliary group is not qualified to become an Affiliated member, that body may become an Associate member for the term of one year, by subscribing to this constitution and paying the sum of \$50 into the National treasury.

In a state already represented by an Affiliated member, additional auxiliary groups may be received as Associate members by the National Alliance of Women Citizens when accepted by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council and by subscribing to this constitution and paying the sum of \$50 into the treasury annually. Such Associates must agree to confine their activities to special localities or special objects in order that they shall not conflict with the work of the Affiliated member.

Sec. 4. *Supporting*—Any individual may become a Supporting member by subscribing to the constitution and paying the sum of \$10 into the treasury annually when and if they are admitted by vote of the Membership Committee.

Sec. 5. *Endowment*—Any individual may become an Endowment member by subscribing to this constitution and paying the sum of \$1,000

for the support of the work, when and if they are admitted by vote of the Membership Committee.

Sec. 6. *Cooperating*—Any National, non-partisan organization which officially endorses woman suffrage may become a Cooperating member upon approval by two-thirds of the Executive Council and upon subscribing to this constitution and the payment of \$50.

## ARTICLE VII

### REPRESENTATION

Section 1. At all annual or called general meetings, State Affiliated Alliances of Women Citizens or Women Voters having paid \$500 may be represented by fifty delegates; those paying \$250 by twenty-five delegates and those paying \$100 by ten delegates.

Associate members may be represented by two delegates.

Supporting members shall be entitled to seats at the convention and a voice in its deliberations but shall have no vote.

Endowment members shall be entitled to seat and voice at all conventions and shall be entitled to vote in the year current with their gift.

Cooperating members shall be entitled to one delegate.

## ARTICLE VIII

### ANNUAL CONVENTION

Section 1. The annual convention shall be composed of the elected Directors and ex-presidents of the National Alliance of Women Citizens, chairmen of Standing Committees, presidents of affiliated Alliances and members thereof elected to the Executive Council and all delegates regularly chosen by affiliated, associate and cooperating organizations, together with supporting members who shall have no vote and endowment members who shall have a vote in the year current with their gift.

Sec. 2. No representation shall be allowed to any organization that has failed to pay annual dues according to Article VI.

Sec. 3. The time and place of convention shall be determined by a majority vote of the Board of Officers.

## ARTICLE IX

### DIRECTORS

Section 1. The Board of Directors of the National Alliance of Women Citizens shall consist of the Hon. President, a President, five vice-presidents, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, treasurer

volumes of the Suffrage History are still available, convention adjourned at 12:30 o'clock.

### CONVENTION SESSION

#### Tuesday Afternoon, March 25th

Mrs. Catt, assisted by Mrs. McCormick, presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 2:30 o'clock.

Following the reading of names recommended for the Committee on Resolutions the Chair turned the program over to Mrs. McCormick. Suffrage War Work was the subject of the afternoon session.

Mrs. McCormick, chairman of the War Service Department, presented a general survey of the war program which has been carried out by the National Association during the last year and a half.

At the close of her report Mrs. McCormick presented in turn Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, chairman of the Oversea Hospitals Committee, and Mrs. Raymond Brown, director general of the work of that committee in France. Mrs. Tiffany\* set forth the business side, the base-of-supply end of the Oversea Hospitals service—the mobilizing and booking of the sailing of groups of doctors, nurses, aides, etc., and the buying of equipment and supplies. Mrs. Brown\* told of the actual working of the units overseas.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Brown's report the convention adjourned for an automobile ride, the hour being 4 o'clock.

### CONFERENCE OF WOMEN VOTERS

#### Wednesday Morning, March 26th

Mrs. Catt presided.

The chair called the meeting to order at 9:30 o'clock.

The Executive Council had recommended the following constitution to the women voters for adoption:

### CONSTITUTION

#### ARTICLE I

##### NAME

The name of this body shall be National Alliance of Women Citizens.

#### ARTICLE II

##### OBJECT

The object of this Alliance shall be to secure the vote to the women citizens of the United States, by appropriate National and State legislation and to increase the effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government.

\*Report to be printed in Handbook of the Proceedings of Convention.

### ARTICLE III

#### POLICY

This Council shall be strictly non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-militant in all its organized work.

### ARTICLE IV

#### STATUS

The National Alliance of Women Citizens shall be composed of State Alliances of two classes: in states where the right of suffrage is denied to women the State Alliance shall be known as the State Alliance of Women Citizens; in states having universal suffrage the State Alliance shall be known as the State Alliance of Women Voters.

At all conventions of the National Alliance the State Alliances of Woman Citizens. The Legislative and Organization program of the State Alliances of Women Voters shall be represented by the House of Voters. All policies of national work must be agreed to by both Houses.

When a state adopts universal suffrage, its State Alliance of Women Citizens shall become a State Alliance of Women Voters and its representation shall be changed from the House of Delegates to the House of Voters.

### ARTICLE V

#### CONTROL OF POLICIES

Section 1. The House of Delegates and the House of Voters shall sit jointly except when questions of separate interest to either House are under discussion, in which case they may sit separately.

Sec. 2. The House of Delegates shall control the policies to be followed in working for the vote for those women now denied that right. The House of Voters shall control the policies of the organization in regard to questions involving the use of the vote by voting women.

Sec. 3. The Legislative and Organization program of the House of Delegates shall be directed by the elected officers of the Alliance of Women Citizens. The Legislative and Organization program of the House of Women Voters shall be directed by a council of ten to be selected by such method as the House of Voters may determine, the chairman to be *ex-officio* a voting member of the Board of Directors of the National Alliance of Women Citizens.

Sec. 4. All policies of National work, including the Legislative and Organization programs, shall be presented to the Houses in joint session for approval.

Sec. 5. There shall be one treasury for both Houses. A budget shall be made by each House for its own work.



and five directors as elected at the convention in the manner hereinafter provided.

Add last phrase of Section 1, Article VI, of old constitution.  
Sections 2, 3, 4, 5 as in present constitution.

#### ARTICLE X

##### DUTIES AND LIABILITIES OF OFFICERS

Sections 2, 3, 4, 6 of Article VI same as in present constitution.

Sec. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall attend to the general correspondence of the Alliance.

#### ARTICLE XI

##### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—DUTIES AND POWERS

Use Article VII cutting out "suffrage" in Section I and changing name of organization.

Omit also clause in Section I about Secretary.  
Omit Section 6.

#### ARTICLE XII

##### AMENDMENT

In Article VIII of present constitution change "at least three of the leading suffrage periodicals" to "The National organ."

Mrs. Devoe, Washington, was made chairman of a sub-committee to consider the foregoing constitution and report back to the Voters' Conference. This committee's draft was submitted and acted upon by the Voters' Conference as follows:

#### ARTICLE I

##### NAME

It was moved and seconded that the word "Council" be substituted for the word "Alliance." The paragraph to read: The name of this body shall be "National Council of Women Citizens." Motion carried.

#### ARTICLE II

##### OBJECTS

It was moved and seconded that Article II be recommended for adoption as submitted. Motion carried.

Articles III, IV and V were agreed upon as read.

#### ARTICLE VI

##### MEMBERSHIP

It was moved and seconded that Section 1 be recommended for adoption as submitted. Motion carried.

On motion of Mrs. Munson, Kansas, duly seconded, it was voted that Section 2 of Article VI be amended by addition as follows: Any full voting state may become an affiliated member by having at least one organization composed of 100 members or more, paying \$100 annually into the National treasury and \$100 for each additional 500 members.

On motion of Mrs. Cox, duly seconded, it was voted that in order to accord with the motion just adopted the words "or women voters" be eliminated from the paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Section 2.

It was moved and seconded that Sections 3, 4 and 5 of Article VI be recommended for adoption as submitted. Motion carried.

It was moved and seconded that Section 6 of Article VI be omitted. After discussion the motion was lost.

#### ARTICLE VII

It was moved and seconded that paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Section 1, Article VII, be recommended for adoption as submitted. Motion carried.

It was moved and seconded that paragraph 5 of Section 1 be omitted. After full discussion the motion was lost.

#### ARTICLE VIII

It was moved and seconded that Sections 1, 2 and 3 be recommended for adoption as submitted. Motion carried.

#### ARTICLE IX

##### DIRECTORS

It was moved and seconded that Section 1 be recommended for adoption as submitted, with the addition of the following phrase: "Thereafter the General Officers and the Directors shall be elected at alternate conventions to serve two years beginning immediately upon the close of each alternate convention." Motion carried.

It was moved and seconded to recommend for adoption Section 2, 3, 4 and 5 as in present constitution. Motion carried.

#### ARTICLE X

##### DUTIES AND LIABILITIES OF OFFICERS

No recommendation was made in Sections 2, 3, 4, 6 as in present constitution.

It was moved and seconded that Section 5 of Article X be recommended for adoption as submitted. Motion carried.

ARTICLE XI  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
DUTIES AND POWERS

It was suggested that Section 6 of Article VII of the old constitution be retained.

It was moved and seconded that the Executive Council shall, at its regular Post-Convention session, elect from its own number a committee on membership consisting of five members, which shall pass upon the qualifications of organizations applying for membership. Motion carried.

(Note that the motion as carried amends the wording in the old constitution by striking out "affiliated" and "in the Association.")

[Minutes for this session taken by Mrs. Baur, Illinois, Secretary pro tem.]

CONVENTION SESSION

Wednesday Morning, March 26th

Miss Hay presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 9:30 o'clock.

Invocation by Dr. Ivan Lee Holt.

Minutes of the sessions of Tuesday, March 25th, were read and approved.

Dr. Shaw rose to a point of privilege. She outlined clearly her attitude in reference to the change from the N. A. W. S. A. to the contemplated league of women voters. She expressed herself as wholeheartedly in favor of the proposed action and said that she wished the members to understand it from her own lips so that they would not be misguided by rumors and press notices which had been circulated to the effect that she did not favor it, but merely consented to the change because of her friendship for Mrs. Catt.

Mrs. Rogers presented a later report of the Credentials Committee. The report was accepted.

The Chair made a few announcements and then introduced Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the Congressional Committee. Mrs. Park reviewed the program of the Federal Amendment bill in the House and in the Senate during the fifteen months' struggle to put it through. At the close of her report there was a rising vote of thanks and several delegates asked permission to pay special tribute to the good work of Mrs. Park and her committee.

Miss Lawther, Iowa, Mrs. Lewis, Virginia, and Mrs. Warner, Tennessee, discussed the next step toward the Federal Amendment victory.

Mrs. Park was given five minutes for a summary, which she closed with special mention of President Wilson's efforts in behalf of the amendment, of Mrs. Catt's encouragement and constructive backing, of Mrs. Gardener's capable assistance and Senator Shafroth's unfailing efforts for the success of the amendment.

At this point Mrs. Catt, who had absented herself for a session of the women voters of the convention, came to the platform and took the gavel. She announced that only three names had been submitted by state delegations to assist the Committee on Elections—Mrs. Rosenberger, Missouri, Mrs. Garrett, Kansas, and Mrs. Hotchkiss, Illinois. She added Mrs. Post, Kentucky; Mrs. Tillinghast, Massachusetts; Mrs. Nesbit, Alabama; Mrs. Read, Vermont; Mrs. Brewer, New York; Mrs. Spencer, Alabama and Mrs. Roquet, Louisiana.

The Chair reported the Voters' Council meeting that had been held to consider the constitution for recommendation to the convention. She asked consent to eliminate the new basis of representation drafted by the committee on constitution and for the short period remaining leave the old conditions—the same dues, representation, etc. It was confirmed by voters in session.

Miss Blackwell moved (Recommendation 10) that an organization of women voters be formed and become a component part of the National Association. The motion was seconded.

During discussion that followed the question was asked whether partial suffrage states would be admitted to the voters' organization.

The Chair stated that this question would not be settled until the full suffrage states had had an opportunity to discuss it and come to a decision.

Miss Blackwell's motion was carried.

The Chair pointed out that there were only four fundamental changes made by the sub-committee in the constitution drafted for the new organization which need be considered: (1) a change of name which because of its controversial possibilities better be left to the last; (2) the basis of membership upon which the voting states might enter the proposed section; (3) the control of policies; (4) the relation between the two branches of the organization, the voters and the non-voters.

The Chair called upon Mrs. DeVoe, Washington, who had been made chairman of the preliminary meeting of the women voters of the convention, to read the proposed changes in the constitution which had been drafted tentatively by a committee appointed by the Chair some weeks prior to the opening of convention.

Article IV was read. On motion of Mrs. Smith, Nebraska, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Article IV as read.

Article V was read. On motion of Miss Clay, Kentucky, duly sec-

ended, it was voted that Article V relating to the control of policies be read section by section.

Mrs. Algeo, Rhode Island, moved that Article V, Section 1, reading: "The House of Delegates and the House of Voters shall sit jointly except when questions of separate interest to either House are under discussion, in which case they may sit separately," be adopted. Motion seconded.

Miss Clay, Kentucky, objected. She said that the states which had already gained suffrage would dominate the organization and, in her opinion, this domination would not always be to the advantage of the non-suffrage states. Mrs. Bates, New York, supported Miss Clay's position, as did Mrs. Algeo, Rhode Island. Others favored Section 1 in its present form.

Mrs. Rogers moved that the following be substituted for Article V, Section 1:

"The House of Delegates shall be composed of all accredited delegates, who may sit separately when matters pertaining only to voting states are under consideration."

The motion was seconded.

On motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to amend the substitution by adding to "accredited delegates," the words "from voting and non-voting states." Mrs. Rogers' substitution was carried as amended, reading:

"The House of Delegates shall be composed of all accredited delegates from voting and non-voting states, who may sit separately when matters pertaining only to voting states are under consideration."

Article V, Section 2, was read.

On motion of Mrs. Richards, Utah, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Article V, Section 2, as read.

Article V, Section 3, was read, which is as follows:

"The Legislative and Organization program of the House of Delegates shall be directed by the elected officers of the Alliance of Women Citizens. The Legislative and Organization program of the House of Women Voters shall be directed by a council of ten to be selected by such method as the House of Voters may determine, the chairman to be ex-officio a voting member of the Board of Directors of the National Alliance of Women Citizens.

It was agreed by consent to change the number of council members from ten to fifteen and to provide for the increase of the number of council members as other states become full suffrage states.

Upon motion of Mrs. Lewis, Virginia, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Article V, Section 3, as read and changed.

Article V, Section 4, was read, which is as follows:

"All policies of National work, including the Legislative and Organi-

zation programs, shall be presented to the Houses in joint session for approval."

Upon motion of Mrs. Ellicott, Maryland, duly seconded, it was voted to drop Article V, Section 4.

Article V, Section 5, was read.

Upon motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, Article V, Section 5, was adopted as read.

Article VI, Section 2, was read, referring to the basis of representation by which voting states are to come into the organization.

Upon motion of Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Article VI, Section 2, reading: "Any voting state may become an affiliated member by having at least one organization composed of one hundred members or more, paying one hundred dollars annually into the National treasury and one hundred dollars for each additional five hundred members."

The question of a name for the new organization was next considered.

Mrs. Dudley, Tennessee, moved that the name of the new organization be the National Woman's Alliance. The motion was seconded.

It became apparent that the matter of a name could not be decided quickly and, as the hour had arrived for adjournment and many wished to be heard, on motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to adjourn and resume the discussion of the name under unfinished business at the next regular session of the convention. The hour was 12:40.

## CONVENTION SESSION

### Wednesday Afternoon, March 26th

Mrs. Catt, assisted by Mrs. Dudley, presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 2:30 o'clock.

The program, in celebrating the jubilee anniversary of the organization of the National Association and the admission of Wyoming as a full suffrage state, was devoted to memories and reminiscences of pioneer suffrage leaders.

The Chair first presented Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who, for twenty-five years, was corresponding secretary of the National Association. Mrs. Avery lived close to Miss Anthony during those years and told of intimate associations in a private as well as a public way.

Miss Blackwell was next introduced and reviewed some of the incidents, picturesque and heroic, that fill her memory concerning the beginnings of the great movement that her mother, Lucy Stone Blackwell, directed so stoutheartedly. She spoke also of her father's loyal partnership in that early warfare.

At the close of Miss Blackwell's reminiscences Mrs. Breckenridge, Kentucky, moved to adopt the following resolution:



Be it Resolved, That we owe an undying and inextinguishable debt to Henry Blackwell and Lucy Stone Blackwell for their great service in behalf of suffrage for women, but that the greatest gift was their daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell who has kept us true to the great trust which they committed to the care of their followers.

A brief interlude was furnished by some lively sparring back and forth between Mrs. Catt and Miss Blackwell concerning a wayward moment in Miss Blackwell's life when too much suffrage and a Presbyterian tract were temporary stumbling blocks in her suffrage and spiritual progress. An anti-suffrage article saved the day for her.

On motion of Mrs. Nathan, duly seconded, it was voted that thanks be offered the anti-suffragists who have ever stimulated the suffrage movement successfully.

The Chair was scheduled for some advice on how to "Finish the Fight," but she adroitly turned over her privilege to Miss Hay, who briskly started out to make the map white—really to make it red with stars.

The state quotas of money were raised quickly, thirty-two states receiving the red star, which signified going "over the top" in their quotas. Before Miss Hay relinquished her task she accomplished what she had set out to do: viz., to raise \$120,000.

The Chair presented Dr. Shaw, who continued with the afternoon's reminiscences. Dr. Shaw gave a graphic account of an experience in a London mob where, we gather, her quick wit saved her from dire consequences. She claimed that the suffragist who has not been mobbed has nothing really interesting to look back upon. Among her memories of Miss Anthony was that connected with Miss Anthony's last convention in 1906. She told how the heart of Miss Anthony was set on a public triumph for Suffrage in Baltimore, where that convention was held, and how her hopes and plans succeeded.

The jubilee portion of the program at an end, the Chair proceeded to the consideration of a name for the Women Voters' organization.

Mrs. Dudley's motion was brought up.

Miss Hay moved that the new name to be adopted by this body shall not become operative until after the next convention, but that meanwhile state presidents shall present it for adoption to all state conventions and that it shall in turn be passed on to local groups to be applied to the organizations of women voters. The motion was seconded.

Questions and discussion followed.

Miss Hay's motion was carried.

The Chair then turned again to the matter of a name.

For more than an hour an attempt was made to settle on a suitable and satisfactory name for the new organization. The following objec-

tions were made to Mrs. Dudley's suggestion of National Woman's Alliance: (1) No mention is made of women voters around whom and for whom the whole organization was planned, without mention of whom in the name the strength of the organization is lost sight of; (2) Woman's Alliance is not explicit, it may apply to any kind of woman's organization.

A suggestion was made that National Alliance of Women Citizens is the name that we should choose because it looks to a future when, the vote having been won, we shall naturally and normally be voters and shall have transcended the necessity of stressing the word "voter"; and because an organization of women voters suggests a woman's political party and so creates antagonism.

Discussion continued and new names were suggested until Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, moved that a small committee be appointed to consider the names suggested and report. The motion was seconded and lost.

Miss Hay stated that she wished the convention might agree to keep the old name until we celebrate Susan B. Anthony's hundredth anniversary, also until we are safely through the passage of the Federal Amendment.

The suggesting of new names continued. Further names offered were:

American Woman's Alliance of the United States

Alliance of Women Citizens

National Woman Citizens' Alliance

National Alliance of American Women

Mrs. Laidlaw, New York, stated that it is useless to get away from the word voter.

Mrs. Tiffany, New York, suggested Council of Women Voters as a name most easily adaptable to the national (when the time comes for applying it nationally) state and local organizations.

Mrs. Dudley withdrew her motion.

Upon motion of Mrs. Dudley, duly seconded, it was voted that the national name shall not be changed but that the voters' section shall be called the Council of Women Voters.

There arose the question as to whether it will be compulsory for states having the vote to adopt the scheme of renaming the state and local organizations.

The Chair asked if it was the wish of the convention to postpone or avoid or eliminate the idea of getting a common name for local, state and national organizations.

Upon motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to secure a common name for local, state and national organizations.

At the hour of 6:20 it was voted to adjourn, as the delegates were too tired to do justice to further consideration of the question.

## CONVENTION SESSION

Thursday Morning, March 27th

Mrs. Catt, assisted by Mrs. Brown, presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 9:30 o'clock.

Invocation by Rabbi Samuel Thurman.

The minutes of the sessions of Wednesday, March 26th, were read and approved.

The Chair called the attention of the convention to the fact that of the new voters' section which had been admitted, consisting of fifteen states in all, eight states, New York, Michigan, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, Utah, Oregon and Kansas, pay dues; the other seven, Wyoming, Montana, Washington, California, Nevada, Arizona and Idaho, do not pay dues for the reason that they have no regular state organizations in position to do so at the present time. She asked if it was the convention's wish to allow the ten or twelve representatives of the latter group among the delegates to vote.

Upon motion of Miss Van Hoesen, Michigan, duly seconded, it was voted that the delegates from states having no regular state organizations be permitted to vote at the coming election.

The Chair called for the final report of the Committee on Credentials. Mrs. Rogers, chairman, reported 17 officers, 3 chairmen of standing committees, and 329 delegates,—a total of 349.

The Chair asked for a report of the Committee on Elections, Mrs. J. P. Higgins, chairman. Mrs. Higgins presented the complete ballot, asking that two names omitted be added—Mrs. George Piersol, Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Hugh Ward, Missouri—making a total of thirteen candidates from which eight directors were to be elected. She announced that the polls would open at 11:30 A. M. and close at 2:30 P. M.

Mrs. Cotnam, Arkansas, asked to have her name withdrawn.

Miss Hay announced the arrangements for the evening meeting at the Odeon Theatre.

The Chair turned to unfinished business, to the matter of a name for the voters' section of the National Association.

The Chair said that opinion conveyed to her overnight indicated the desire to leave the state and local names of organizations as they are until the next convention and to confine efforts to secure a name to the voters' section.

Upon motion of Mrs. Algeo, Rhode Island, duly seconded, it was voted that the state and local names be allowed to remain as they are until the next convention and that the efforts to secure a name be confined to the voters' section.

The Chair reminded the convention that when the session adjourned the previous day there was pending Mrs. Dudley's motion to the effect

that the national name shall not be changed but that the voters' section shall be called the Council of Women Voters.

Mrs. Tiffany, New York, rose to state that the first part of the motion had been taken care of in Mrs. Algeo's motion, which had just been carried, and that she moved to substitute for the second part of it the name Allied Women Voters. Other names were also suggested. The Chair then ruled that Mrs. Tiffany's motion was out of order for the reason that she, through error, had allowed another motion, that of Mrs. Algeo, to be considered before action had been taken on Mrs. Dudley's motion which was pending when the last session adjourned and that she would now give Mrs. Dudley the privilege of the floor to finish.

Mrs. Dudley withdrew her motion.

Mrs. Nathan moved that the women voters' section be called League of Women Voters. The motion was seconded.

Mrs. Tiffany moved to substitute for the name suggested by Mrs. Nathan the name Allied Women Voters of the N. A. W. S. A. The motion was seconded.

Upon request the names suggested at the last session were read again.

The Chair took a moment to explain the difficulty for the press of names growing out of our present name, N. A. W. S. A. She said what we need is a name that will leap out at one and stick in the mind. That is the test.

Mrs. Tiffany's substitute motion was lost.

Mrs. Nathan's motion was carried, adopting as the name for the new women voters' organization *League of Women Voters*.

The Chair read telegrams from Helen Ring Robinson and Clara B. Burdette congratulating the National Association upon the formation of a voters' section and referring to the new section as a League of Women Voters.

The Chair read a message from President Wilson sending his greetings and best wishes for the passage of the Suffrage Amendment.

Upon motion of Dr. Shaw, duly seconded, it was voted that the National Association send to President Wilson an expression of appreciation for his support.

The Chair announced that suffrage organizations had been formed in a number of the dependencies of the United States and suggested that the organization in Porto Rico, in Cuba, in the Philippines and in Hawaii be extended official invitations to join the N. A. W. S. A. without the payment of dues. Miss Loines made a motion to that effect, which was seconded.

Upon motion of Miss Clay, Kentucky, duly seconded, it was voted to amend it to include Guam.

The motion was carried as amended.

Inasmuch as the program was moving along faster than scheduled



the Chair took a few moments at this point for some queries. She asked the following groups to rise in turn: (1) Women who had had a vote and had then lost it by moving to another state; (2) women who had acted as delegates to national political conventions; (3) women who had served in state legislatures; (4) doctors of medicine; (5) lawyers; (6) doctors of divinity. The response was as follows: To the first question, twelve; second, four; third, one; fourth, eight; fifth, twelve; sixth, two.

Miss Hilda Loines, chairman of department of Food Production, made a report which was delayed from the War Service Program.

Mrs. Rogers moved to accept the report. The motion was seconded and after discussion regarding equal pay for equal work on the farm, was carried.

The Chair introduced Mrs. Raymond Robins, who conducted the first sectional program—Protection of Women in Industry.\* Mrs. Robins presented Miss Van Kleeck, Director of the Woman in Industry Service, under the direction of the United States Department of Labor. Miss Van Kleeck\* reviewed the whole industrial problem in its bearing upon an approved standard of living for women. At the close of her address, upon motion of Mrs. Calkins, New York, duly seconded, it was voted to print Miss Van Kleeck's address and place it on sale.

Mrs. Edson, California, at the request of Mrs. Robins, made a report of the meeting held Wednesday evening, March 26th, to discuss "What May Women Voters Do to Further the Welfare and Development of Women in Industry?" She offered the following preamble:

"In presenting to the convention this report on the ways and means of protecting and developing women in industry, the Committee submits that the first essential of a democracy is a standard of life for the citizens of a commonwealth. We declare for a standard of life which shall ensure to citizens, both men and women, free opportunities to work with hand and brain and secure to them a full measure of health, education, recreation and fruitful leisure."

Upon motion of Mrs. Calkins, New York, duly seconded, it was voted that the foregoing preamble be adopted.

Mrs. Edson read the ten articles of the program recommended to bring about the proposed standard of life. One after another the ten points were adopted as follows:

Upon motion of Mrs. Vorce, Michigan, duly seconded, it was voted that Point 1: viz., The abolition of child labor and the compulsory education of all children from the age of 6 to the age of 16, be adopted.

Upon motion of Mrs. Hutchinson, Kentucky, duly seconded, it was

\*Full report to be printed in Handbook.

voted that Point 2: viz., An 8-hour day, a 44-hour week, and one day's rest in seven, be adopted.

Mrs. Nathan, New York, moved that Point 3: viz., The abolition of night work for women and minors except in cases of emergency, be adopted. The motion was seconded.

Miss Gordon, Louisiana, suggested that "war" be placed before "emergency."

Upon motion of Miss Clay, Kentucky, it was voted to amend Mrs. Nathan's motion to read "war emergency." The amendment was seconded.

Dr. Yarros, Chicago, spoke from the physician's point of view of the harm to women from night work.

Miss Fraser, London, stated that in England there had been a law against night work for women in industrial plants since 1844; that it had been strictly enforced until the outbreak of the war; that during the war night work had been permitted only under strictest government regulation; that no one in England had any idea but to return to the old order of things now that the war is over.

Mrs. Nathan, New York, moved a substitute amendment for that of Miss Clay's, making it "national emergency" instead of "war emergency." The motion was seconded.

Mrs. Nathan's motion for substitute amendment was lost.

Miss Clay's amendment was lost.

Upon motion of Mrs. Martin, Missouri, duly seconded, it was voted to amend the original motion by striking out "except in cases of emergency," making the Point 3 read: "The abolition of night work for women and minors."

Upon motion of Mrs. Vorce, Michigan, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Point 4: viz., The establishment of minimum wage commissions in every state, with representation for employers and employees and with both men and women commissioners.

Miss Hay rose to a point of information in behalf of the Committee on Elections. After inquiring of the Chair and being assured of the the propriety of a change, she moved that the time for the elections be extended to three o'clock in order that delegates filling noontime speaking engagements might return to vote. The motion was seconded and carried.

Miss Van Hoesen, Michigan, moved that Point 5: viz., Equal pay for equal work, be adopted. The motion was seconded. Miss Van Kleeck suggested adding "and wages based upon occupation and not upon sex." Miss Van Hoesen accepted the suggestion, making her motion read: "Equal pay for equal work and wages based upon occupation and not upon sex." The motion received the second's sanction and was carried.

Upon motion of Mrs. Avery, Pennsylvania, duly seconded, it was



voted that Point 6: viz., Recognition of the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives, be adopted.

Upon motion of Mrs. Lewis, Virginia, duly seconded, it was voted that Point 7: viz., The establishment of Federal and State employment systems, be adopted.

Upon motion of Miss Haver, Colorado, duly seconded, it was voted that Point 8: viz., The establishment upon a permanent basis of the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor (it is further recommended that in every State Department of Labor there be appointed both men and women commissioners, and that in every State Department of Labor there be also established a women's bureau for the protection and welfare of women workers), be adopted.

Upon motion of Miss Clay, Kentucky, duly seconded, it was voted to refer Point 9: viz., Insurance against sickness, accident, unemployment, provision for old age, invalidity pensions and maternity benefits, to the House of Voters.

Upon motion of Miss Clay, Kentucky, duly seconded, it was voted that Point 10: viz., Inclusion of women as duly constituted members of any international labor commissions, be adopted.

Upon motion of Mrs. Ellicott, Maryland, duly seconded, it was voted that the report as a whole with the recommendations of the convention be presented to the House of Voters.

Upon motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to adjourn, the hour being 12:35.

## CONVENTION SESSION

### Thursday Afternoon, March 27th

Mrs. Catt was in the chair and called the convention to order at 2:30 o'clock.

The Chair announced changes in the program for the following day and then introduced Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, who took charge of a sectional conference on Unification and Improvement of Laws defining the Legal Status of Women.

Mrs. McCulloch\* stated that her committee had tabulated laws to be considered (1) by non-voting states; and (2) by voting states.

The program for non-voting states included (1) Joint guardianship of children; (2) Marriage and divorce laws; (3) Property rights.

Miss Katherine Starbuck, New York, was introduced. She urged the importance of the program and the need of having each state contribute constructive help in organizing a general committee to push the standardization of laws for women.

\*Full report to be printed in Handbook.

Miss White, Indiana, was introduced. Miss White made a plea for cooperation of organizations in (1) Completing this committee; (2) Securing model laws; (3) Securing endorsement of women's organizations; (4) Putting laws through legislatures.

The Chair made a point of asking the women of the country to use their influence to support financially women in their professional capacity.

For the voting states the Chair suggested laws relating to Industry, Civil Service, Morality, Child Welfare and Elections.

At the close of the hour allotted, the Chair asked the states in turn to list, in the order of their need, laws which ought to be passed. The information will be used by the permanent committee in forming a working basis.

Mrs. Catt took the chair and announced a second time the change in Friday's program.

Upon motion of Mrs. Brewer, New York, duly seconded, it was voted that the program as outlined by the Chair be made the order of business of the next day.

The Chair called upon Mrs. J. P. Higgins, chairman of the Elections Committee, for a report on the results of the election. Mrs. Higgins announced the election of the following eight directors: Mrs. George Gellhorn, 241 votes; Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, 237 votes; Mrs. C. H. Brooks, 210 votes; Mrs. Ben Hooper, 206 votes; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, 192 votes; Mrs. J. C. Cantrill, 167 votes; Miss Esther Ogden, 162 votes; Mrs. George Piersol, 162 votes.

The Chair introduced Dr. Valeria Parker, Connecticut, who conducted the sectional program on Social Morality and Social Hygiene. Dr. Parker made a plea for education as the surest means of abolishing commercial vice. Dr. Yarros, Chicago, spoke at length on the need of education. Dr. Windsor, Boston, connected with the Y. W. C. A. committee on sex education of girls, spoke of the work done in this field as a part of the war efficiency program. She said that now the committee is stressing less the efficiency program of the government than efficiency as a servant of the moral ideal.

Dr. Parker outlined a constructive scheme of moral and health education for boys and girls, men and women.\*

Briefly: (1) Mrs. Laidlaw, New York, said that there ought to be no further temporizing with this great question but faces ought to be set towards complete abolition of the social evil; (2) Miss Blackwell, Massachusetts, made a plea against high-handed abuses following the legal right to arrest and examine young women upon whom suspicion falls; (3) Dr. Horton, Vermont, made a plea for illegitimate mothers and the legitimatizing of babies born out of wedlock.

\*Full report to be printed in Handbook.

Dr. Parker brought her program to a close at 5:10, whereupon the convention adjourned.

### CONVENTION SESSION

Friday Morning, March 28th

Mrs. Catt presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 9:30.

Invocation by Dr. G. Nussmann.

The minutes of the preceding day's sessions were read and approved.

Mrs. Edson, California, announced that, although California has no regular suffrage organization, Northern and Southern California had telegraphed announcing a contribution of \$500 each for the National Association.

There being no further business before the general convention, the Chair declared a convention recess and the House of Voters was called into session.

### CONFERENCE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Friday Morning, March 28th

Mrs. Catt was elected chairman of the House of Voters.

The appointment of Miss Pierce, Oklahoma, was confirmed as secretary.

The Chair read twenty-two questions which had been submitted to her previous to the opening of the convention relative to the organization of the House of Voters and its duties. The first one was, "Shall 'Presidential' States Be Admitted to the League of Women Voters?"

Mrs. Laidlaw, New York, moved that women who had the right of partial *political* suffrage should be included in the League of Women Voters. She stated she did not mean by this to include those having the right merely to vote upon school matters. Her motion was seconded.

Mrs. Munson, Kansas, objected to the motion, until the constitution which the general convention had adopted had been amended striking out the word "universal" as applied to suffrage. The Chair ruled that no amendment could be made to the constitution during the session of the House of Voters; that this matter would have to be referred to the convention as a whole, as the convention as a whole had adopted it.

Mrs. McCulloch, Illinois, was recognized by the Chair. She expressed an opinion against the admission of the partial voters to the voters' section, although she herself was not yet a member of the House of Voters. She contended that even though the admission of partial voters would increase the numbers, a consideration to be desired, the partial voters would indulge in a certain self satisfaction, thinking that they had attained their goal

and would not continue to work for full suffrage as strenuously as before.

Mrs. Trout differed with Mrs. McCulloch on the ground that the aim of the House of Voters would be to effect the passage of the Federal Amendment and that greater numbers would mean greater influence upon political parties.

Miss Roberts, Idaho, amended Mrs. Laidlaw's motion to embrace all partial voters. Her motion was seconded.

Mrs. Devoe, Washington, said that she understood all delegates to the convention were sitting together in considering the same matters and that the House of Voters was not an auxiliary, as so many people were inclined to believe, but they were a part of the general convention, taking up a legislative program other than suffrage.

After more discussion as to the right of the partial voters to be admitted to the voters' section, Mrs. Laidlaw's motion was carried, providing that all states in which women vote for presidential electors shall be included in the House of Voters.

Miss Hay announced that a Star reporter had given her the news that the Senate at Jefferson City had just passed the Missouri bill for Presidential Suffrage. Applause.

On motion of Miss Clay, it was voted to express thanks to the Star correspondent for the news of Missouri's victory.

On motion of Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted to refer the question of the selection of a chairman of the Voters' League and the remainder of the questions under discussion to a committee of the president or her proxy from each of the twenty-six enfranchised states, to be reported back to the voters' conference.

On motion of Mrs. Munson, Kansas, duly seconded, the League of Voters adjourned, the hour being 11:40.

### CONVENTION SESSION (Continued)

Friday Morning, March 28th

The business of the House of Voters being disposed of, the convention reconvened.

Upon motion of Mrs. Munson, Kansas, duly seconded, it was voted to amend the new constitution, striking out the word "universal" and substituting "presidential."

The Chair introduced Mrs. Philip North Moore, who brought greetings to the convention from the National Council of Women.

The Chair presented Miss Jessie R. Haver, of the District of Columbia, who read a paper on the Packers' Trust,\* after which she presented a resolution from the League of Women Voters urging the chairman of

\*Full report to be printed in Handbook.

the Senate and House Interstate Commerce Committee to reintroduce the bill drafted by the Federal Trade Commission in reference to the Packers' Trust.

The resolution was withdrawn and referred to the League of Women Voters.

Upon motion of Mrs. Robins, duly seconded, it was voted to have Miss Haver's report published and distributed.

Miss Lawther, Iowa, presented a resolution calling upon the Jubilee Convention of the N. A. W. S. A. and the League of Women Voters to appeal to the Iowa Legislature to give the Iowa women Presidential Suffrage as twenty-six states, including Missouri and all surrounding states have done.

On motion of Mrs. DeVoe, Washington, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt the resolution.

Miss Bulkley, Connecticut, and Mrs. Dudley, Tennessee, requested that the same be done for their state.

On motion of Mrs. Locke, Michigan, duly seconded, it was voted to comply with Miss Bulkley's and Mrs. Dudley's requests.

The Chair introduced Miss Julia Lathrop, the head of the Bureau of Child Welfare, who made some practical suggestions for the League of Women Voters in the work of Protection of Children.\* Miss Lathrop said that there can be no democracy if we cannot care for those who take our places to-morrow. In the care of the people of to-morrow value should not be set on the wage market but on what human beings need for life and opportunity. The public must shoulder the care, lives, education and equipment of children. The child problem must no longer be beslobbered with sentimentality but treated with sense.

A conference was arranged with Miss Lathrop for those interested in Child Welfare.

Upon motion of Miss Hay (which she said she presented for Mrs. Gellhorn), duly seconded, it was voted that the N. A. W. S. A. in convention assembled, send greetings and expression of appreciation to the 50th general assembly of Missouri for the passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill.

Mrs. Holmes, Louisiana, corrected the statement made in Mrs. Shuler's report that Louisiana was not given aid from the National in its campaign because it was not wanted. Mrs. Holmes called Mrs. Shuler's attention to the several requests made to have Mrs. Catt go to Louisiana. Mrs. Shuler answered that owing to the two organizations in Louisiana the error had been made and that she would gladly correct it.

Mrs. Nathan, New York, was given a few minutes in which to present the project of the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association and to urge support from suffragists.

\*Full report to be printed in Handbook.

Upon motion of Mrs. Livermore, New York, duly seconded, it was voted to adjourn, the hour being 12:40.

## CONVENTION SESSION

### Friday Afternoon, March 28th

Mrs. McCormick presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 2:45.

The Chair recognized Miss Hay who stated that Mrs. Munson's motion substituting "presidential" for "universal" in the constitution necessitated a change in Article VI, Section 2.

On motion of Miss Hay, duly seconded, it was voted to amend "Any voting state" in Article VI, Section 2 of the constitution to "Any full voting state."

Miss Hinaman, Connecticut, announced Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker's citizenship lectures which may be booked in the Middle West now for April and May.

The Chair introduced Mrs. Ellis Meredith, Colorado, who took charge of the Sectional Program on what can women voters do toward Improvement of Election Methods and Customs.\* Mrs. Meredith discussed the best primary law, the best ballot law and the best technical election method. Mrs. Meredith was assisted in the discussion of advantages and evils of the direct primary law by Mrs. Cotman, Arkansas; Miss Tyer, Idaho; Miss Hay, New York; Mrs. Edson, California, and Mrs. Weller, South Dakota. The discussion pointed to the need for constructive modification of present laws to insure better democratic and moral results.

The Chair called upon Miss Blackwell, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, for her report. Miss Blackwell submitted the following fourteen resolutions:

1. "WHEREAS, Women can now vote for President in twenty-six states of the Union, and for all elective officers in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and throughout the largest part of Europe; and

"WHEREAS, Our eastern and southern states are now the only communities in the English-speaking world in which women are still debarred from self-government; and

"WHEREAS, Our nation has just emerged from a war waged in the name of making the world safe for democracy and ought in consistency to establish real democracy at home; and

"WHEREAS, Every political party in the United States has endorsed woman suffrage in its national platform; therefore, be it

\*Full report to be printed in Handbook.



*Resolved*, That we call upon the 66th Congress to submit the Constitutional Amendment for nation-wide woman suffrage to the States at the earliest possible moment."

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 1.

2. WHEREAS, One-fourth of the men examined for the army were unable to read English or to write letters home to their families, be it

*Resolved*, That we urge the establishment at Washington of a national department of education, with a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 2.

3. WHEREAS, The world conflagration of the great war has brought indescribable wrongs to women and children, an enormous wastage of treasure and life, and incalculable misery and grief, leaving civilization in ruins and millions of human beings on the verge of starvation; and

WHEREAS, The advance of science would make future wars even more terrible and destructive; and

WHEREAS, The world's best intelligence ought to be enlisted to ward off the recurrence of this colossal calamity; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association earnestly favors a League of Nations to secure a worldwide peace based upon the immutable principles of justice.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 3.

4. WHEREAS, a large number of women doctors and other professional women in our country have demonstrated their ability in their professions; and

WHEREAS, In a democracy there should be no discrimination because of sex, be it

*Resolved*, That we protest against the unfair treatment of professional women by the United States authorities in declining the services of women physicians, surgeons and dentists in the recent war, thus compelling loyal, patriotic women to serve instead under the flag of a foreign government, the authorities of our sister French Republic having been glad to avail themselves of their valuable services. Furthermore, be it

*Resolved*, That we recommend that in future our Government recog-

nize the fitness of accepting the services of professional women for work for which their training and experience have well qualified them.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 4.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve the plan of the George Washington Memorial Association for a National memorial to the boys of 1917, as well as those of '76, in the form of a George Washington Memorial building to be erected in Washington, D. C.

Miss Blackwell moved the adoption of Resolution 5. It was seconded.

The motion was objected to on the grounds that the women serving in the late war should be included. The motion was withdrawn.

Upon motion of Mrs. McCormick, duly seconded, it was voted to refer Resolution 5 to the Board of Officers.

6. WHEREAS, Revolution is rife in Europe and may spread to America, and

WHEREAS, We desire that all needed improvements in the United States shall be made by peaceful and legal means instead of by violence and bloodshed, therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we urge our Government to bring about the prompt redress of all legitimate grievances, as the removal of the sense of injustice is the surest safeguard against revolution by violence.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 6.

7. WHEREAS, The latest report of the Provost Marshal General shows that nearly one-third of the men examined for the army were rejected as physically unfit and that more than one-third were found unfit for full military service; and

WHEREAS, The nation is aroused to the need of giving constructive attention to the physical well-being of our citizenship, be it

*Resolved*, That we urge Congress and the State Legislatures to enact legislation providing for the physical education of children.

That we endorse the educational campaign for social morality now being carried on throughout the country by the United States Government and other agencies, and that we offer our hearty co-operation.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 7.

8. WHEREAS, The Woman in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor was established as a result of the war emergency and without provision for its permanence, and

WHEREAS, The problems now presented regarding women workers are even more difficult than they were during the war and require continuous study and adjustment which can only be assured through a permanent bureau; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we call upon Congress to establish the Woman in Industry Service as a Permanent Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor with adequate funds for the continuance and extension of its work. And furthermore be it

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent to all members of the United States Senate and House.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 8.

9. WHEREAS, During the war women have entered a great variety of occupations, achieving a reputation for competence in them, and

WHEREAS, There is danger that these wider opportunities may not be assured to women now that the war emergency is past; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That it is of the utmost importance that women shall be free to choose their occupations without restriction through custom or prejudice and that opportunities for advancement shall be opened for them equally with men; and we further urge that girls shall be given the same opportunities as boys in all vocational training.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 9.

10. WHEREAS, The United States Government has erected in Washington buildings housing about two thousand women in government employ; and

WHEREAS, Women understand better than men the requirements that go to make comfortable homes and the kind of food that women like; and

WHEREAS, There are available women of business ability who could manage these residence halls successfully and economically, be it

*Resolved*, That we ask that the policy and administration of government residence halls for women be placed in the hands of women.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 10.

11. *Resolved*, That we ask the United States Government in its next census definitely to classify the unpaid women housekeepers as homemakers, thus recognizing their important service to the nation.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 11.

12. *Resolved*, That we call upon Congress to give military rank to army nurses.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 12.

13. *Resolved*, That we tender to our National President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, our deep appreciation of her sagacity, good judgment, fairness and indefatigable devotion to the cause of equal rights; and that we pledge our best efforts to carry out her wise and far-reaching plans to ultimate victory.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to adopt Resolution 13.

14. *Resolved*, That we tender our grateful thanks to Mrs. Walter McNab Miller and Mrs. George Gellhorn and their innumerable co-workers for their generous hospitality, untiring labors and their gracious and never failing courtesy which has made this 50th Anniversary Convention such a success; to the entire press of St. Louis for the liberal space given to the Convention reports; to "Betty Boyd" for her helpful pre-Convention hospitality; to the St. Louis churches, synagogues, ethical societies and the schools of St. Louis, the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the City Club, the Rotary Club, the Town Club, the Wednesday Club, the Woman's Trade Union League, and other organizations for opportunities given our speakers; to the management of the Hotel Statler, our Convention headquarters, for its care of our delegates; to Postmaster Colin M. Selph for the convenience of a special Convention post office; to the Terminal Association for space and assistance at the Union Station; to the Red Cross Motor Corps for untiring attention; to the Convention Bureau and Mrs. Charles Hatfield; to those who contributed and arranged the delightful automobile ride around the city; to Mrs. Higgins and her committee for their able conduct of the election arrangements; and to all the many others who have contributed in various ways to the pleasure and success of this Convention.

The Chair introduced Mrs. Gellhorn's little daughter, who had just organized a Junior Suffrage League including thirty-two members. She told the convention how happy the passage of the presidential suffrage bill in Missouri had made her for her mother's sake.

Upon motion of Mrs. McCormick, duly seconded, it was voted to call the convention on Saturday after the adjournment of the Women Voters' Conference, in order to dispose of any unfinished business.

The Chair recognized Mrs. Shuler, who read greetings from the following: Dora F. Dubois and Harriet L. Bond, granddaughters of Mrs. Esther Morris; Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard; California Civic League; San Francisco Center; Editor Wyoming State Tribune.

Upon motion of Dr. Shaw, duly seconded, it was voted to send a telegram of greeting to Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to send letters to Dr. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Miss Rhoda Palmer, Mrs. Charlotte Pierce, Miss Emily Howland and Mrs. Mills.

Upon motion of Mrs. Shuler, duly seconded, it was voted to send a telegram to Mrs. Gardener.

Upon motion of Mrs. Stuart, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to send a telegram of sympathy to Mrs. Elizabeth Harbert, whose husband has recently died.

The Chair recognized Dr. Valeria Parker who presented the following resolutions adopted at a special meeting of the Social Hygiene Section:

*Resolved*, That the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association be requested to make permanent provisions for the study of Social Hygiene.

*Resolved*, That the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association be requested to suggest to the Committee on Social Hygiene, should such be appointed, that it shall consider the necessity of increasing the number of women medical students in order that the growing need for women physicians in private and public capacity may be met.

Upon motion of Dr. Parker, duly seconded, these resolutions were referred to the Saturday morning conference of the League of Women Voters.

## CONFERENCE OF LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Friday Afternoon, March 28th

The Committee of the League of Women Voters consisting of one delegate from each voting state met at 2 p. m. on Friday, March 28th.

Mrs. Catt presided.

The twenty-one questions referred to the committee from the morning session were read.

After informal discussion and recommendations, the Chair appointed the following committee to draft the recommendations and report them to the full meeting of the voters' conference on the following day:

Mrs. Raymond Brown, New York.

Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, Washington.

Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Kansas.

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Chicago.

Dr. Blanche Haines, Michigan.

On motion of Mrs. Hooper, Wisconsin, duly seconded, Mrs. Charles

H. Brooks, Kansas, was elected Chairman of the League of Women Voters.

There being no further business, the committee adjourned.

## CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Saturday, March 29th, 10 o'clock

Mrs. Catt presided.

The report of the Committee to which had been referred the twenty-one questions relative to the policy of the League of Women Voters was read by Mrs. Raymond Brown as follows:

### *Recommendations of Sub-Committee*

1. The Council of the League of Women Voters shall consist of one woman from each state having the full, presidential or primary suffrage vote. These shall be the presidents of the present auxiliary state associations or their proxies, and the chairmen of the Ratification Committees in the seven states of Montana, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona and Wyoming, until such time as a more definite organization is established in those states.

2. This Council shall pass upon all policies of the League of Women Voters and legislative programs must be approved by them.

3. The permanent chairman shall be the chairman of the legislative committees, shall conduct necessary correspondence, take direction of organization in unorganized states and shall visit states with the view of stimulating organization and clarifying the objects of the league. She shall take the complete responsibility of the work of the League, except that of suffrage work which shall remain in the National Congressional Committee and the State Ratification Committees.

4. On being duly nominated Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, Kansas, was elected permanent chairman.

5. The State League of Women Voters under the State Chairman shall consist of individual members and organized committees with the addition of organizations already established which subscribe to the principles of the League.

6. We recommend that at the regular state convention or at a special state conference to be called, the object of the League of Women Voters shall be set forth and each department presented, with publicity and advertising to bring it to the attention of the public.

7. We recommend the appointment of the following committees with



national chairman and one woman from each state on each committee:

American Citizenship—Mrs. Frederick C. Bagley.

Protection of Women in Industry—Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Child Welfare—Miss Julia Lathrop or someone to be recommended by her.

Improvement in Election Laws and Methods—To be filled by Mrs. Catt.

Social Hygiene—Dr. Valeria Parker.

Unification of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women—Catherine Waugh McCulloch.

Food Supply and Demand.

Research Department—Mary Sumner Boyd.

8. These committees shall become familiar with all laws on the subjects under consideration; shall recommend legislative programs; shall prepare and issue literature on their subjects and shall work in the states through the state committees.

9. We recommend the following budget which we have approved:

Seven committees, \$1,000 each.....	\$7,000
Organization of seven states, \$500 each.....	3,500
Conference in ten states, \$500 each.....	5,000
Secretary, postage, stationery, etc., for the Chairman .....	2,500
Incidentals .....	2,000
	<hr/>
	\$20,000

(Signed) MRS. RAYMOND BROWN, Chairman, New York.  
MRS. EMMA SMITH DEVOE, Washington.  
MRS. CHARLES H. BROOKS, Kansas.  
MRS. GRACE WILBUR TROUT, Illinois.  
DR. BLANCHE HAINES, Michigan.

On motion of Mrs. Nathan, New York, duly seconded, the report was adopted as read.

The Chair announced that the program as outlined by Mrs. Robins of the Committee on Women in Industry, had been adopted by the convention except one item which had been referred to the Voters' Conference, this being item No. 9.

On motion of Mrs. Robins, duly seconded, this item was recommended to the Committee on Women in Industry for further consideration.

The Chair presented the program as outlined in her annual address, including ten points as follows:

#### FIRST AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS\*

1. Compulsory education in every state for all children between six and sixteen, nine months of each year.
2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools.
3. English made the national language by making it compulsory in all public and private schools where courses in general education are conducted.
4. Higher qualifications for citizenship and more sympathetic and impressive ceremonials for naturalization.
5. Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote.
6. Naturalization for married women to be made possible.
7. Compulsory publication in foreign language newspapers of lessons in citizenship.
8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such schools to be a qualification for naturalization and for the vote.
9. An oath of allegiance to the United States to be one qualification for the vote for every citizen native and foreign born.
10. An educational qualification for the vote in all states after a definite date to be determined.

On motion of Mrs. Robins, Illinois, duly seconded, the years of compulsory education were changed from five to fourteen to six to sixteen.

Mrs. McCulloch, Illinois, asked for the reading of the clause of naturalization.

On motion of Mrs. Brown, New York, duly seconded, an additional clause was added as follows: "The Federal Naturalization Laws be so amended as to make it possible for a married woman to be naturalized on her own qualifications.

On motion of Mrs. Robins, duly seconded, the recommendations were adopted as read.

On motion of Mrs. Richards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to recommit to the various committees their recommendations for a more definite report to be submitted at the next convention.

On motion of Mrs. Edson, California, the name of the Committee on Social Morality was changed to "Social Hygiene."

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Chicago, was granted the floor on personal

\*Corrected list of First Aims.

privilege and extended an invitation to the Convention to meet in Chicago in 1920.

The following resolution offered by Dr. Parker was read:

*"Resolved, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association be requested to suggest to the Committee on Social Hygiene the necessity of increasing the number of women students in medical colleges in order that the number of women physicians might be increased."*

On motion of Dr. Haines, Michigan, duly seconded, the resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mrs. Devoe, Washington, the invitation was extended to the women voters of Alaska to become members of the Voters' League.

Mrs. Devoe suggested the advisability of placing a permanent memorial at the place in Wyoming where the first woman cast her vote.

On motion of Mrs. Brown, New York, duly seconded, it was voted that the Chair appoint a committee to make recommendations to the next convention on this matter.

The Chair appointed on the committee Mrs. McCormick, of Massachusetts, Mrs. Jenkins, Wyoming and Mrs. Stuart, Illinois.

The Chair called attention to a resolution introduced by Miss Lape, endorsing a certain bill which had been before the last session of Congress but failed of passage.

On motion of Mrs. Hooper, Wisconsin, duly seconded, it was voted that resolutions on legislative subjects should be considered only when they come through the regularly established committees and if introduced in other ways they should be referred to these committees, this resolution to become operative at the next convention.

Miss Fraizer, Colorado, on behalf of the Consumers' League, asked that a resolution be passed endorsing the work of that League in its work in regulating the packing industry.

On motion of Miss Fraizer, duly seconded, it was voted that the League of Women Voters support the Federal Trade Commission in its effort to secure remedial legislation in the meat packing industry.

On motion of Miss Lape, duly seconded, the following resolution was adopted:

*"Resolved, That this convention endorse the principle of Federal Aid to the States for the removal of adult illiterates and the Americanization of the adult foreign born."*

There being no further business, the League of Women Voters adjourned.

KATHERINE PIERCE, Secretary.

## CONVENTION SESSION

Saturday Morning, March 29th

Mrs. Catt presided.

The Chair called the convention to order at 11:40.

The Chair summed up the Legislative Program of the League of Women Voters to be twofold:

- (1) Industrial program already endorsed by convention.
- (2) Education of citizenship of the country.

Upon motion of Mrs. Stuart, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted that the Educational program presented by the League of Women Voters be adopted.

The Chair referred to the fact that no action had been taken to waive the six weeks' notice required by the constitution of the N. A. W. S. A. for amending the constitution.

Upon motion of Mrs. Edwards, Indiana, duly seconded, it was voted to waive the six weeks' notice required by the constitution of the N. A. W. S. A. for amending the constitution.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to authorize the Board of Officers to re-arrange the order of the constitution in order to insert the provisions adopted at the convention.

Upon motion of Miss Blackwell, duly seconded, it was voted to leave all unfinished business to the Board of Officers for disposition.

The Chair called the new directors to the platform and introduced them.

The Chair stated that the generous use made of Board members and delegates for outside speaking had increased the educational value of the convention; that the inside sectional conferences in addition to regular sessions had been helpful and that as a result of the by-products of the convention delegates would take home more actual close knowledge than ever before.

Miss Hay introduced Mrs. George Gellhorn, chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements, who in turn presented her chairmen of local committees.

The Chair thanked the representatives of the press, committees and individuals for their untiring assistance in making the convention an unprecedented success.

Upon motion of Miss Hay, duly seconded, the convention adjourned at 12:35.