

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

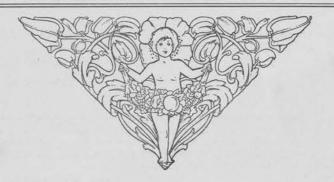
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Votes for Women On the Home Stretch



Mass Meeting

under the auspices of the

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Carnegie Hall

Monday, February 17, 1913



Some Opinions on Woman Suffrage

No class can legislate for another class as well as that class can legislate for itself.

PRESIDENT TAFT.

As a matter of political justice I have always favored equal suffrage for men and women, and have recommended in my message that the legislature pass as soon as possible a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the State of New York.

WILLIAM SULZER,

Governor of New York State.

A great movement is on foot in behalf of women's suffrage, and it will not be many years now until it will be universal throughout the States.

JOHN F. SHAFROTH,

Governor of Colorado.

The woman's organizations have always been on the right side of every public question. This is good proof that their votes would be cast the same way, and that clean politics, the protection of women and children, the advancement of sanitary measures, the protection of our food and drug supply, would all receive an impetus by woman's suffrage. For these reasons, I am for it.

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY.

Because I have always believed that just government depends for its sanction upon the consent of the governed, I am opposed to any system which subjects civilized men and women anywhere to laws which they have no hand in making. Hence I favor the voluntary participation in government of all men and women.

Economically, the exercise of the suffrage by women would help to redress the balance between the consumer and the producer, which has long been overweighted on the production side. Men have been, broadly, sellers, and women, buyers. I believe that the fallacy of protection has found one of its principal supports in that fact.

J. J. MURPHY,

Tenement House Commissioner of the City of New York.

I am unqualifiedly in favor of woman suffrage.

CALVIN TOMKINS,

Commissioner of Docks of the City of New York.

As I have been a champion of woman suffrage for at least ten years, openly avowing myself at a time when it was either a joke or a reproach to be identified with the movement, it is hardly necessary for me to say that I favor the extension of the suffrage at a time when the prospects for realizing our hopes are so bright.

SAMUEL UNTERMYER.

That women have a moral right to the franchise is beyond question. So far as I know, the field of activity for women, industrial or political, has never been extended without substantial benefit to the body politic.

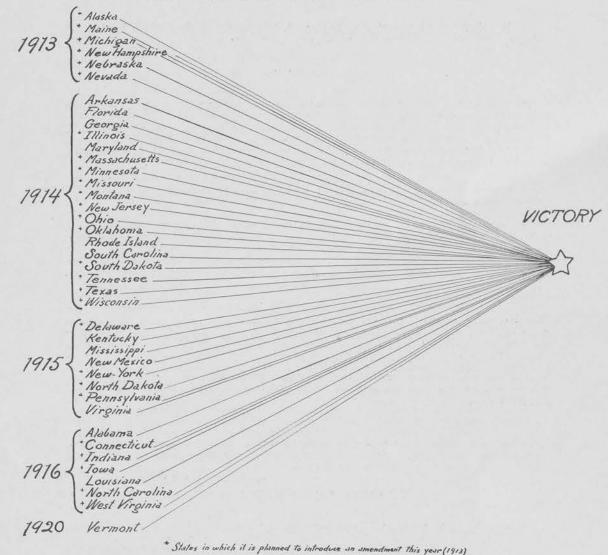
W. BOURKE COCKRAN.

I see no reason why the laws for the government of men and women should not be made by men and women,

A. MARIX,

Rear Admiral, U. S. N. (Retired).

SUFFRAGE POSSIBILITIES



Morever striving for whate'er is best, Women must fling aside the veil and chain, Never to lapse into the slave again— And lo, a new Dawn rising—in the West?

From the Persian
by Ethel Watts Mumford

Some Opinions on Woman Suffrage

It is unjust not to extend the suffrage to the women of the United States. To suppose that merely casting the ballot can have any serious evil effect upon the sex is absurd.

CLARENCE D. ASHLEY, Dean of New York University Law School.

In my opinion, extending the suffrage to women would be a good thing for the community, a good thing for women and a good thing for men. The community needs the moral earnestness which women would bring into our political life. Women need this serious interest to take the place of their diminishing household cares, and men would be better for the co-operation of their wives and daughters, sisters and mothers, in politics as in other fields of activity.

HENRY R. SEAGER,
Professor of Political Science, Columbia University.

Some say we should wait until women know how to vote. To tell woman to wait until she knows how to vote is like telling a boy not to go into the water until he has learned how to swim. Let no man look for support from fair-minded men for a system that denies one-half of our population the rights that belong to them under the Constitution and proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.

PROF. JAMES C. MONAGHAN.

It is good Catholic doctrine that human governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. This was taught by theologians and doctors of the Church long before it was formulated in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. No qualification for voting, based upon sex, is just or moral, any more than would be a qualification based upon wealth. The poorer the citizen, the greater need he has of the protection of the ballot. The weaker sex has more need of it than the stronger. Manhood needs it for his protection, womanhood for hers.

JUDGE JOSEPH F. DALY.

There are two sets of forces at work in this great movement—courage, hope, optimism, altruism, on one side; on the other, timidity, doubt, pessimism, selfishness.

JAMES LEES LAIDLAW,
President National Men's League for Equal Suffrage.

I am heartily in favor of woman suffrage. I have yet to hear one good reason advanced as to why one-half of the human race should be disfranchised. We will not have a real democracy until women are permitted to take their full share of the responsibility of government.

ALFRED J. BOULTON.

I believe that the cause is the most vital issue now before the people, and wish that I might be free to devote a good portion of my time to presenting the issue to the voters of New York State.

I think the only means which will be effective to maintain a really rational and true sentiment of chivalry on the part of men is to recognize the full equality of woman's mind, heart and ambition by making sure her equal responsibility in the functions of government. Any other course is a denial of democracy.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, President of Men's League for Equal Suffrage.

It seems to me that we men who, as a sex, try to be fair and honest with women in our private lives, should now be ready to show the same honesty in our civic relations with them.

BAYARD VEILLER, Author of "Within the Law."

I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage.

In the light of history, which is bound to win?

ARNOLD BENNETT.

Votes for Women Inaugural Parade

Washington, D. C., March 3, 1913.

The procession will form on the Plaza, facing the Peace Monument, at base of Capitol.

Line of March: Pennsylvania Avenue, past Treasury Building and White House

to Continental Hall, where a mass meeting will be held.

WHY YOU MUST MARCH.

Because this is the most conspicuous and important demonstration that has ever

been attempted by suffragists in this country.

Because this parade will be taken to indicate the importance of the suffrage movement by the press of the country and the thousands of spectators from all over the United States gathered in Washington for the Inauguration.

Because by marching in Washington you will help the cause of votes for women

Because by marching in Washington you will help the cause of votes for women in every State where suffrage has not yet been won.

WHERE YOU CAN MARCH.

Cut out the accompanying pledge ship and send to the Congressional Parade Committee, 1420 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. If you are going to march with one of the local New York organizations, send in your name also to the head-quarters of that organization in New York City. If you wish to walk with a special division of the parade, as Lawyers, College Women, Homemakers, Teachers, or other professional or occupational group, indicate the fact on the slip.

PLEDGE TO MARCH WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION

Washington, D. C., Monday Afternoon, March 3, 1913.

A special grandstand will be erected opposite the Treasury Building for viewing the continuous tableau to be enacted as the procession passes. The price of seat tickets, available by reservation, in advance only, is five dollars each for the grandstand for both Tableau and Procession. The price for seat tickets on the Avenue Grandstand, for the Procession only, is one dollar each.

Grandstand, for the Procession only, is one dollar each.

Apply to 1420 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., for tickets.

Special Votes for Women Trains: The National American Woman Suffrage Association expects to have two special trains for the convenience of suffragists going to the parade. (If less than 120 applications are received for each train, special cars will be attached to the regular trains for parties of 50 or more.) One train will leave New York at 11 o'clock Saturday morning, March 1, reaching Washington about 4:30 in the afternoon; the other at midnight, Sunday, March 2, reaching Washington about 7 o'clock Monday morning. Sleepers may be occupied from 10 o'clock P. M. Arrangements will be made for suffragists to leave Washington on special cars (or special train) at midnight on March 3d and midnight on March 4th, reaching New York early in the morning of March 4th and 5th respectively. If a sufficient number of suffragists wish to leave Washington on the morning of March 5th, it will be possible to make arrangements for a special car.

sible to make arrangements for a special car.

Rates: A special rate of \$6.80 will be made for parties of 50 or more, going and returning together on the special trains or cars. Those paying the regular Inauguration rate of \$9.00 can go on one of the special trains or cars and return at their own

Accommodations: Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, 1420 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., is Chairman of the Committee on Hospitality. All arrangements for hotel or boarding-house accommodation or for suffrage dormitories must be made directly with

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her. Suffragists going on the special train Sunday and returning on the special train Monday night will, of course, not need accommodation in Washington.

Pullman Rates: Upper berth, \$1.60; lower, \$2.00; drawing-room, \$7.00. The train leaving Saturday morning will be made up of comfortable special steel coaches, and no Pullman fare will be charged. Application has been made for a special diner.

IF YOU ARE GOING TO WASHINGTON, CUT OUT THE ACCOMPANYING SLIP AT ONCE AND RETURN TO THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City, with a cross indicating which train you will take.

Name		
Address		
Leave New York { Saturday, 11 A. M. Sunday Night	Leave Washington	Monday Night Tuesday Night Wednesday Mornin

Some Opinions on Woman Suffrage

When the light shone on Bethlehem, a neighbor was one who lived in the next house and of the same religion; all other men were aliens. Today all men are kin, and they that suffer at the ends of the world are one's neighbors. When Christ came, the world was a vast fortress; today it is a neighborhood; tomorrow it will be a HAMILTON MABIE.

All the people must be governed either by themselves or by someone else. It is the first interest of the governed to become self-governing. It is, therefore, the first duty of the government, whether of the parent over his children, the teacher over his pupils, or the American nation over peoples which have come under its sovereignty, to make them at the earliest possible moment self-governing.

(Where do women come in?)

LYMAN ABBOT.

My conviction that women should have the suffrage is largely the result of my my conviction that women should have the suffrage is largely the result of my experience in endeavoring to solve social, economic and political problems as they presented themselves from time to time. Each year I have become more and more impressed with the difficulty and the perplexity of these problems, and more fully convinced of the power of society to solve them. They will be solved, however, democratically—not by the few, but by the many. For their solution we need co-operation of all the people—the women as much as the men; and in the solution of many of the problems were will be a more potent factor even than the men. Certain problems problems women will be a more potent factor even than the men. Certain problems on which we have worked, but which we have failed to solve, women will doubtless enable them to solve for us.

Women need the ballot for their own sakes, but perhaps even more for the sake of the men. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.

Women should certainly have the vote on all questions involving the education of their children, on all moral questions and on matters affecting their work. It is only right, and it is expedient, too. Woman is the moral force of the world, and this movement is part reduction of waste and equalization of wealth, and part just plain THOMAS EDISON.

I favor woman suffrage because I believe it will promote better womanhood, bring woman into closer touch with the world, broaden and strengthen her mentally, and make her more serviceable in all branches of life's work. I do not expect the millenium to come with woman suffrage, but man will benefit because he will have for a mother a woman better equipped mentally through her study of public questions, made necessary to exercise the duty of suffrage and through the responsibilities suffrage will impose upon her.

Such a mother will be a closer companion to her sons; she will have more in common with them, and her influence over them, growing out of her companionship with them, will be more effective. The same will be true of the relationship between husband and wife.

In my judgment, woman will benefit directly from suffrage, man indirectly, but TOWNSEND SCUDDER. both will benefit, and I therefore favor it. Justice of Supreme Court, State of New York.



8 o'clock':

Photo Play "VOTES FOR WOMEN"

8.30 o'clock

SPEAKING

Rev. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Presiding Officer

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION?

Mary Ware Dennett.

THE SCOPE OF NATIONAL OBLIGATION.

Susan Walker FitzGerald

THE INSPIRATION OF CONSECRATION.

Harriet Burton Laidlaw

NEW YORK IN 1915.

Carrie Chapman Catt

THE CORNER STONE OF THE FIRST NATIONAL SUFFRAGE BANK.

Katharine Dexter McCormick

A CLOUDLESS MAP IN 1920 (illustrated by slides).

Anna Howard Shaw

... COLLECTION ...

THE HOME WOMAN'S NEED AND POWER. Louise de Koven Bowen THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL SUPPORT.

Jane Addams



THE SUFFRAGE OUTLOOK

	Can an amen introduced the In the Legislature?		Must it pass one or two legislatures	How large a vote mut it receive in the kyislature?	How often dus the legislature meet?	What is the explicit election at which it could be submitted?	How large a vote must it receive at the election?	Constitutional Convention Remarks.
Na 27 Na			One	1/5 in each House	Quadrennially	Nov. 3-1916	Majority on the amendment	
Alabama	No session till 1915		One	Majority in each House	Biennistly	Does not have to be submitted to the voters.		Amendment becomes low by rote of the territorial Legislature if approced by Congress.
* Alaska	Yes Yes	Yes-8%	One	Majority in each House	Biennielly	Sept 14-1914	Majority on the amendment (Is submitted by petition)	If submitted by the Legislature it must have a majority of all votes cast at the election.
Arkansas		165-0/0	Two	Majority of Representatives If in each House Second Time	Biennielly	Nov.3-1916	Majority on the amendment	
* Connecticut	Yes		Two	1/3 In each House	Bicanully	See last column		Amendment becomes law by rote of the Legislature. It does not had to be submitted to the roters
*Delaware	Yes		One	%-in each House	Biennistly	Nov. 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	Constitutional Convention may be held in ever voted by the majority of electors
Florida	Yes			2/3 in each House	Annully	Nov. 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	Constitutional Convention may be held whenever voted by 1/3 in each the
Georgia.	Yes		One.	13 14 Each 11005C	Biennially			The consent of Congress is necessary to an entranchismo act
Hawaii	See last column					Nov 3-1914	Majority of votes cast at the election	Only one smendment may be sub- mitted at a time, and the same or not offener than once in four year
* Illinois	Yes		One.	2/3 in each House	Brennistly	360 00		not offener than once in four year
* Indiana	Yes		Two	Majority meach House	Biennully	Nov.3-1916 or when prescribed by the Legislature Nov 3-1916	Majority on the amendment	
* Iowa	Yes		Tuo	Majority in each House	Bicanielly	Nur 3 -1916 or when prescribed by the Legislature	Majority on the amendment	Only two amendments may be sur
Kentucky	No session till Jan. 1914		One	1/5 in each House	Brennally	Nov 1915	Majority on the amendment	Only two smendments may be sub- milled at a time and the same or not offener than once in fire years
Louisiana	No session till May-1914		One	3/3 in each House	Brennully	April-1916	Majority on the smendment	William Market
* Maine	Yes	Yes	One	2/3 concurrent vote in	Biemixlly	Sept 1913	Mujority on the amendment	Prohibition State
* Maryland	No session till Jan. 1914		One	3/5 in each House	Brennilly	Nov. 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	
* Massachusetts	No session Till Jan. 1914 Yes		Two	Majority in Senate	Annually	Nov. 4-1914	Majority on the amendment	
AND THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF	Yes		One	2/3 in each House	Biennully	April-1913	Majority on the umendment	Michigan undoubtedy carried in 1912, but was fraudulently counter out.
* Michigan			One	Majority in each House	Biennially	Nov. 3-1914	Majority of votes cost at the election	Harak Land
* Minnesota	Yes No _	41:	One	3/3 in each House	Biennistly	Nor. 7-1915	Majority of votes cast at the election	Prohibition State
Mississippi	No session till Jan.1914	Yes 8 % in at least 3/3 of the Congressional Districts.	One.	Majority in each House	Biconcelly	Nov. 3-1914 or when prescribed by legislature tollowing an inative petition	Majority on the amendment (Is submitted by Legislature)	If submitted by petition, it must have a crity of all votes east at the election Constitutional Convention possible any time
* Missouri	Yes Yes	the Conpressional Districts. Yes	One	3/3 in each House	Biennielly	Nov. 3-1914	Ay ty Samendment	Not more than three amendments me be submitted at any one election
* Montana	Yes	Yes -15%	One	3/5 in each House	Biennistly	Probably Nov 3-1914	Majorily of all votes cast at the election	If submitted by petition the amendments receive at least 35% of the total vote cast at the election
* Nebraska	200	Yes	Two	Majority in each House	Biennially	Special Election Probably Oct 1913	Majority on the amendment	Tristing notifier 10%-tiled 30 days before
* Nerada	No constitution amended		7.00		Biennially	If Constitutional Conven- tion of 1912 is re-conven- ed, smendment may be submitted in 1913.	2/3 of all votes cost.	Legislature can extend preside and municipal suffices to women, out on amendment to the constitute
* New Hampshire	No constitution amended by convention only, once in I years, if a phroved by majority of rolers.		Two	Majority in each House	Annually	Special Election Possible in 1914	Majority on the amendment	No amendment may be submittee oftener than once in 5 years.
* New Jersey	Yes	V		3/4 in each House	Biennielly	As prescribed by the leg isluture. Next gener- at election, Nor. 1915	3/4 of all valing in the whole state, and at least 1/2 of all roting in each county.	
New Mexico	Yes	Yes	One	Majority in each House	Annually	As prescribed by the legislature. Not before.		
* New York	Yes		Two	% in each House	Brennelly	Nov 1916	Majority on the amendment	7
North Carolina	Yes		One		Biennrelly	Nov. 3-1915	Majority on the amendment	
* North Dakota	Yes	Yes 10% submitted next	Two	Majority in each House	Biennally	Nor.3-1914		3% petition possible if filed 10 days before to fature meet. It possed this subject to responent of not, 3% more signalizes with secure submiss.
Ohio	Yes	Yes, 10%, submitted next peneral election if filed go days previous.	One One		Bionnally	Nov 3-1914	if submitted by Legislature. Majority on the amendment, if submitted by Legislature, thajority of all votes cast, (if submitted by petition)	
* Oklahoma	Yes	Yes-15%	One	Majority in each House A 3/s vote would secure a special election.	27,33,137			
* Pennsylvania	Yes		Two	Majority in each House	Biennially	As prescribed by the legislature Not before	Majority on the amendment	Voters will decide in 1913, as it whether Constitutional Conventions shell be held in 1914.
Rhode Island	Yes		Two	Majority in each House	Annually	Town and Ward Elections	% of those voting	Constitutional Convention may be hel
South Carolina	Yes		One	3/3 in each House	Annually	Nov 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	a majority tring at heat
* South Dakota	Yes	Yes	One	Majority in each House	Biennielly	Nov 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	Constitutional Convention any time approved by is note in legislature & ority voting at next dection of legisla
* Tennessee	Yes		One	2/3 in each House	Biennially	Nov 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	Constitutional Convention in 19 Prohibition State
* Texas	Yes		One	2/3 in each House	Biennially	Nov 3-1914	Majority on the amendment	There is some authority for the claim that women can be entre chised by act of Legislature are
Vermont	Not till 1920, except for pertial suffrage	,	Two	House, majority } jet time Senate - 1/3 Najority in each House } 2nd time	Biennielly	As prescribed by the Legislature	Majority on the amendment	Constitution may be amende only once in 10 years
Virginia	No		One	Majority in each House	Biennially	Nov 4-1915	Majority on the amendment	
* West Virginia	No session till 1914 Yes		One	3/3 in each House	Biennally	Nov1916	Majority on the amendment	Prohibition State
* Wisconsin	Yes		Two	Majority in each House	Biennially	As prescribed by the leg islature . Next general	Majority on the amendment	Legislature may submit suffrage refer um to voters at next general electron Must have majority of all volcs cast at a
Wisconsin	76.0			is planned to introduce				

Some Opinions on Woman Suffrage

Men have always had the idea that voting was in some way connected with fighting. Now, in every country calling itself civilized, the chief use of the ballot is to express ideas of peace—justice. The ballot that was once the expression of men's fighting quality is now the expression of his BETTER NATURE, AND FOR THAT REASON IT IS TIME TO GIVE THAT BALLOT TO THE BETTER HALF OF THE HUMAN RACE, TO THE WOMEN THAT HAVE CIVILIZED IT.

ARTHUR BRISBANE.

From twenty-five years' observation of the voting of my mother and my wife I have become convinced that other men's wives and mothers—although not so nice as mine—may safely be allowed to go to the polls. Women can't throw stones straight, but they can cast a ballot as straight as any man. No way has yet been invented by which women can express their opinions so effectively and quietly as by the vote. For preserving pages in the family there is nothing like it, and no hyphand who has preserving peace in the family there is nothing like it, and no husband who has experienced its benefits will try to keep house without it.

EDWIN E. SLOSSON, Associate Editor The Independent, New York City.

There are several reasons why I believe women should vote. Not the least of them is that I don't see why they should not. W. E. LEWIS,

Editor Morning Telegraph.

I have ceased to argue heatedly for suffrage because recently I have associated almost wholly with successful business men, and it seems that in their conduct of big affairs they are in every case so dependent upon shrewd women confidential secretaries that they take suffrage as one of the things bound to come, just like improved sanitation and reformed tariff.

GEORGE BARR BAKER, Editor of The Delineator.

I am wholly in favor of woman suffrage, and am always glad to support the movement in any way I can, ELIZABETH JORDAN, Editor of Harper's Bazaar.

The question of woman suffrage is a question of democracy, and one's attitude on it is a test thereof. LINCOLN STEFFENS.

I would as soon think of making a plea for next Spring as for equal suffrage. They are both inevitable. WILLIAM HARD, Author of "Women of To-Morrow."

We have set the slave free and freed the beasts of burden. Isn't it about time to

set the women free? The movement for the emancipation of women is only part of the great ideal of universal human liberty that is coming nearer and nearer to realization every year. You could no more stay the coming of the ballot to women than you could stop the coming of the day after the dawn has commenced to break.

DOROTHY DIX.

New York, February 17, 1913.

Dear Comrade in Suffrage:

Tonight, Monday, February 17, the National American Woman Suffrage Association is holding in Carnegie Hall a great meeting that is unique in the Association's history. The National Association's work is vitally connected with that of the smallest local unit. The numerous States which are to submit our suffrage amendment in 1913 and 1914 cannot hope to win without the powerful aid of the National's efficient Press Bureau and Literature Department, to say nothing of the financial assistance which the National has always given to campaign States. In 1912 its cash distributions and gifts amounted to more than \$18,000. But the National cannot maintain its Press and Literature Departments without financial help from the suffrage public, and so it determined to hold this great money-raising meeting. Study the charts in this program, showing the Suffrage Outlook and Suffrage Possibilities.

Realize that there may be campaigns on in six more States this very year, and that in 1914 there may be as many as twenty-three States submitting the amendment all at once. These States will all need the National's advice and money. Try to realize what the National's help of other States means to YOU. If all of them win, how can New York fail? Even if only half of these States give the vote to their women in 1914, think of the tremendous influence that such a result will have upon public opinion in New York and upon the minds of the men who are to vote on our freedom in 1915.

It is impossible to estimate the number of votes that will be made for us in New York by successes in other States, but we know from events of the past two years how far-reaching are the effects of a single victory. If California had not enfranchised her women in 1911, we might not have won Arizona, Kansas and Oregon in 1912. Certainly we should not have seen our bill in New York gallop through the legislature in record-breaking fashion this Winter. The money we sent to California was well spent. By helping her we helped ourselves. Today by helping the National Associations of the past two years and the past two years are the past two years. spent. By helping her we helped ourselves. Today, by helping the National Association, we shall help ourselves. To think otherwise is to convict ourselves of utter lack of perspective as well as stupid short-sightedness.

Therefore the committee that has arranged this meeting begs you to help the National, and help it now.

1. Make the Collection Worthy of a New York Audience.

At the big mass meeting during the recent National Convention in Philadelphia the collection was \$900. Don't let Philadelphia beat New York. Determine now on a Thousand Dollar Collection. Do YOUR share toward it and we'll have it.

2. Make a Pledge at Promise Time.

Don't be timid about pledging small sums.

Remember it's the dimes of the many, not the dollars of the few, that support the suffrage movement. Even ten dimes a year are worth while to

Do your pledging in groups. If what you can give seems too small to you to announce by itself. Why not get half a dozen of those sitting near you to join in, then stand up and read out bravely, "From a group of friends,

Pledging in meeting is contagious. Won't YOU help others to catch the giving germ?

Faithfully yours,

New York Men on Woman Suffrage

The protest against woman suffrage on the ground of Catholic tradition is about as sensible as would be a protest against automobiles or the telephone, for universal suffrage is a product of recent times, even as has been the use of electricity. As a matter of fact, however, so far as there is any tradition at all in the Catholic Church regarding suffrage, it is in favor of woman suffrage rather than opposed to it.

REV. JOSEPH H. McMAHON, Church of Our Lady of Lourdes.

Citizenship is not to be the end of the woman's movement, and will in truth be no more than a beginning in the campaign for the newer, larger life of womanhood. The vote is nothing more than a symbol, one of the agencies through the use of which woman demands that she be permitted to express herself. Women today do not so much demand citizenship as a right, as refuse to be exempted any longer from bearing the burdens of citizenship.

STEPHEN S. WISE.

STEPHEN S. WISE, Rabbi of Free Synagogue.

I am unreservedly in favor of woman suffrage, and uncompromisingly enlisted in the fight on its behalf. Women are entitled to the ballot—society must put the ballot in their hands for its redemption—and the cause of democracy cannot be fulfilled with this undone.

REV JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Church of the Messiah.

Woman suffrage is a part of advancing democracy. In any society in which the government is not an expression of the will of the many there is bound to be neglect and oppression. For the sake of woman, that she may become morally autonomous—for the sake of society, that it may become free—I hope and work for woman suffrage.

THOMAS C. HALL, Union Theological Seminary.

Through the ballot women could protect themselves against many of the evils to which they are exposed by their new industrial tasks and surroundings. They could hasten the enactment of legislation for decent wages and for better conditions of employment generally.

REV. JOHN A. RYAN,

REV. JOHN A. RYAN, Author of "The Living Wage."

We want the woman's ballot at the polls now because the issues we are debating there are moral issues. They group themselves about the protection of the home, against the social evil, against contract labor in the tenements of the mothers and children, against the ravages of reckless industrial waste; for their labor does not ease the problems of poverty, but adds to them. We want the women's moral and political backing in the fight for social justice in shop and store, in court and commonwealth; for only with their help can we win. And win we must, or perish in our greed and folly.

JACOB A. RIIS.

Perhaps I have been fortunate in the women I have known, since there are very few of them who do not know enough to vote as intelligently as nine hundred and ninety-nine and nine-tenths out of one thousand of the men that I know.

Women certainly have a right to make as many mistakes as the men. Modesty compels the men to admit that they could not do any worse.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH, Executive Secretary New York Congestion Committee.

I believe in womanhood suffrage for the same reason that I believe in manhood suffrage.

I have no interest in the plea that women should vote because they are taxpayers. I have every sympathy for the plea that they should vote because they are human beings. I am more interested in what the ballot will do for women than I am in what women will do for the ballot.

FREDERIC C. HOWE,

People's Institute.

A woman's simplest duty is to keep her house clean and wholesome and to feed her children properly. Yet she is utterly dependent upon the city administration for the conditions which render decent living possible.

JANE ADDAMS.

It is the daughters of the poor who chiefly fall victims to the basest crimes. Poor, young, ignorant, unorganized, they depend for protection upon laws framed and enforced by persons older than themselves. Is it safe or sane to exclude from a full share of power and responsibility the mothers and teachers, the older women whose first care is for the welfare of the young?

FLORENCE KELLEY,
Secretary National Consumers' League.

Social workers all recognize the necessity of stimulating interest among the voters on matters which they consider vital to the physical and moral health of the community. They feel that while good men are equally interested with good women, a tremendous force has been lost to the community, and a great deal of service essential to the well-being of the state has never been made articulate, because women have been unable to express themselves directly, in the only possible direct way—namely, the vote. They believe that men and women are equal, but not identical, and that women have a special contribution to make to society, based upon tradition and centuries of experience. They ask that these contributions may be mingled with the traditions and experiences of men to make a more perfectly governed society.

LILLIAN D. WALD, Nurses' Settlement.

Women will be able to make the fight against the white slave traffic and prostitution more effective when they have power to help, not only in lawmaking, but in electing public officials who shall be responsible to the people for the management of city government and for the honest and efficient enforcement of laws.

MAUDE E. MINER,

Secretary New York Probation and Protective Association.

The entrance of women into industry, the professions and public service makes their entrance into politics a necessary corollary. For politics is nothing but the expression of the community's choices, and the most obvious mode of community expression is through the exercise of the franchise. As the choice of the community becomes increasingly vital and domestic, women's interest and political self-expression will become more and more important.

The state needs us, and we have no right to refuse to bear our part in the political and social reconstruction now under way.

MARY SIMKHOVITCH, Greenwich House.

Just as the bullet was the symbol of governments based on force, the ballot is the symbol of government based on the consent of the governed. There can be no true democracy so long as one-half of the people are deprived of participation in governments.

Lecky has said that nothing has helped so much as political responsibility to broaden and develop men. The enfranchisement of women would mean not only the development of the one sex, but the further development of men as well, since children having a highly developed mother as well as a highly developed father would naturally attain greater heights.

MAUD NATHAN,
President Consumers' League of New York.

"When Argument Fails-Try Laughter"

MOTHER, MAY I GO OUT TO SWIM?

Yes, my darling daughter. Hang your clothes on a hickory limb And don't go near the water.

WHY, DEAR MOTHER, CAN'T I GO IN?

Because, my darling daughter— Because—because—because— Because you hadn't ought ter.

BUT, MOTHER, I'M A SUFFRAGETTE, WITH EQUAL RIGHTS TO THE WATER.

Tut, tut, my dear—you've a right to TALK;
But remember you're still my daughter.
And remember all the trouble we've took,
Me and your poor, dear Popper,
To teach you how things ought to be did,
And what's proper and what ain't proper.
You've a right to TALK—we agree with you there,
My darling suffragette daughter;
But whenever it comes to DOIN' a thing—
Hold back, for you hadn't ought ter.

-PARKER H. TILMORE.

Sing a song of suffrage, equal right for all; More than plenty "antis" need not us appal. When the polls are open, the antis all will go— Won't it be a pretty joke to say, "I told you so."

-EMILY SARGENT LEWIS.

A voice without a vote—a pipe without tobacco, a thirst without a drink, a cause without a result, an automobile without gasoline.

—SAM BLYTHE.

"The Ladies!" God bless them, when they're quiet. Our offspring, they dress 'em and tend to their diet; They train our young daughters; they tutor our heirs; And what should they know about public affairs? The duck in his puddle, the dove in its cote—Should birdies like these be entitled to vote?

"The Ladies!" God bless 'em! Our troubles they share 'em. So lock 'em away in the parlor or harem.
We give them ideas, we pay for their chains,
And what is so sweet as a wife without brains?
So here's to the darlings we foster with elegance—
Bless their sweet eyebrows, but damn their intelligence!

-WALLACE IRWIN.

PROCEDURE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Must pass one legislature.	Must pass two legislatures	Must have a majority on the amendment only, when submitted to roters	Must have a majority of all the votes cast at the election.	
Alabama † Alaska Arkansas ‡ Florida ‡ Georgia Illinois Kentucky Louisiana Maine Maryland Michigan Minnesota Mississippi ‡ Missouri Montana Nebraska New Mexico North Carolina Ohio Oklahoma South Carolina South Dakota Tennessee Texas Virginia West Virginia	o Connecticut to Delaware o Indiana o Iowa + Massachusetts o Nevada + New Jersey + New York o North Dakota o Pennsylvania + Rhode Island o Vermont o Wisconsin	Alabama * Arkansas Connecticut Delaware Florida Indiana Iowa Kentucky Louisiana Maine Marylana Massachusetts Michigan * Missouri Montana † Nevada New Jersey New York North Dakota * Ohio Ooklahoma † Pennsylvania † South Dakota † Tennessee Texas # Vermont Virginia West Virginia Wisconsin	Illinois Minnesota Mississippi Nebraska New Hampshire New Jersey Rhode Island.	
* Constitutional Convention possible at any time: † Does not have to be submitted to the paters.	Legislature media bremining	+ If submitted by petition, If submitted by legislature, majority of all yotes cart at electron. O Is submitted by legislature, It submitted by position, majority of all yotes cut at electron. 1 Constitutional Convention possible of any time. I Constitution may be amended only once in 10 years.		

Campaign Meeting Committee of Arrangements

Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, Chairman

Miss Lucy E. Anthony
Miss Frances Arnold
Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman
Mrs. Raymond Brown
Mrs. Bertha Carter

Miss Elsie Clapp

Mrs. Homer A. Dunn
Miss Eleanor Garrison
Miss Florence Greer
Mrs. Walter L. Hervey
Mrs. F. W. McLaughlin
Miss Henrietta Prentiss

BOX HOLDERS

First Tier

- 1. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
- 3. Mrs. Richard M. Bent
- 5. Mrs. A. W. Howell
- 7. Mrs. Arthur Hodges
- 9. Mrs. Raymond Brown
- 11. Mrs. Homer A. Dunn
- 13. Mrs. Laura Botsford
- 15. Miss Harriet Phillips
- 17. Woman Suffrage Party
- 19. New York State Equal Suffrage Association
- 21. Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton
- 23. Mr. Andrew Carnegie
- 25. Equal Franchise Society
- 27. Mrs. Herbert Carpenter
- 29. Mrs. William Curtiss Demorest
- 31. Norway, Mrs. Gudrun Lochen Drewsen
- 33. Mrs. Himes Cox
- 35. Finland, Miss Martha Ullengren
- 37. Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey
- 39. Professional Women's League
- 41. Women Lawyers' Club
- 43. Women's Political Union
- 45-47. Women's Democratic Club
- 49-51. Progressive Party Women
- 53. Women's Republican Club
- 55. Mrs. W. Holden Weeks
- 57. Mrs. Townsend Scudder
- 59. Mrs. Leigh French, New Rochelle League
- 61. Miss Eleanor Garrison
- 63. Miss Elizabeth M. Greenfield
- 65. Mrs. James F. Secor, Pelham Manor League

Second Tier

- 2. Mrs. Alfred W. Stone, Cooperative Equal Suffrage League
- 4-6. Miss Eliza MacDonald
- 8-10. Miss Edna B. Lewis
- 12. Borough of Richmond, Woman Suffrage Party
- 14. Miss Anna Constable
- 16. Greenwich Equal Franchise League
- 18. Mrs. F. B. Dunston
- 20. Miss Major
- 22. Mr. Sidney Newborg
- 24. Collegiate Equal Suffrage League
- 26-28. 23rd Assembly District, Woman Suffrage Party
- 30. Miss Florence Greer
- 32. Sweden, Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard
- 34. Pennsylvania State Equal Suffrage Association
- 36-38. Mrs. Himes Cox
- 40. Miss Fitzmaurice
- 42. Mrs. Elizabeth Lee Morton
- 44. Mrs. Frederick Peterson
- 46-48. Miss Henrietta Prentiss
- 50. Miss Sarah G. Duer
- 52. Miss Miriam F. Selby
- 54. Miss Caroline Swartout
- 56. Rev. Mabel M. Irwin
- 58. Miss Mabel Boyd
- 60. Mrs. J. Willard Travell
- 62. Dr. Mary Halton

Adopted by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist party. Address 111 N. Market St. Chicago. Price, 50c per 100; same rate in any quantity.

Plan of Work for Women in Socialist Locals

The Woman's National Committee of the Socialist party indorses the following statement of the aims and methods of the woman's local committees, and urges upon the locals of the party prompt activity in accordance with this plan.

It is earnestly requested that all national, state and local organizers aid in the inauguration of such committees, to the end that a larger party membership, wider experience, fuller knowledge of Socialism and increased activity in propaganda may be secured among the women of the working class.

THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEES IN LOCALS.

Each local of the Socialist party should have a Woman's Committee. In the ideal local there are as many women as men and their work in the local is the same in extent and character. Yet even in such a local there are opportunities for special propaganda and education among women.

In most locals the need to make distinct efforts to reach women is marked and imperative.

ELECTION OF COMMITTEES.

The woman's local committees should be formally elected by the local. This is not a mere form but vital to the solidarity of the movement.

Clubs or classes already in existence with the approval of the party may put themselves right in this respect by having the officers and members of such club or class (if members of the party) elected a woman's committee of the local by the local.

DUTIES OF COMMITTEES.

To make intelligent Socialists, unionists and suffragists of women and to secure their active membership in the Socialist party are the general duties of the committee.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

That you may understand the nature and purpose of the work of the woman's committees, the explanation is herewith given in detail.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

Woman's National Committee.
We now have a Woman's National Committee composed of seven women. This committee has a General Correspondent, whose duty it is to serve as their secretary and to take charge of the Woman's Department in the National office.

Woman State Correspondent.

1. Each state should elect a State Correspondent whose duty it is to act as secretary of the work women's committee in the State Organization.

2. She should receive reports of the local woman's committees, and render every possible assistance toward the advancement of propaganda and organization of the women in her state.

3. She should report monthly, the progress and conditions of the work among women in her state, to the State Secretary, and the General Correspondent of the Woman's National Committee.

4. In order that harmony and co-operation shall exist between the Woman's Department of the state and the state organization, it is necessary that this department should be directly under the supervision of the state office. To this end we recommend that the State Correspondent shall be an ex-officio member of the State Executive Committee. She should attend all meetings of the committee, her expenses being paid from the state treasury.

5. The State Secretary should co-operate with the State Correspondent by supplying her with a list of the local secretaries, members at large and sympathizers with the woman's work. He should pay all expenses of her department from

the state treasury.

Woman State Organizer.

At least one of the organizers or lecturers employed in each state should be a woman, who, in addition to the regular propaganda work, should make a special effort to bring women into the party as active dues-paying members, and to or-

ganize them into working committees of their respective locals.

Local Committees on Propaganda Among Women.

1. Every local should elect a Committee on

Propaganda Among Women.

2. The purpose of this committee should be to make intelligent Socialists, unionists and suffragists of women and to secure their active membership in the Socialist party.

3. This committee may be composed of both women and men. Where there are no women in the local committee a committee of men should be elected until such time as the committee shall have brought women into the organization.

4. This committee should elect a local correspondent whose duty it is to act as secretary of the committee. She should be an ex-officio member of the local executive committee and should attend all meetings, making reports to them of work accomplished by her committee. She should make monthly reports of her work to the State Correspondent.

Let us make this point clear. Our work is NOT TO FORM SEPARATE ORGANIZATIONS for women. The Woman's National Committee has never favored separate organization. Just as a local has a literature committee, a program committee, etc., so, also, it should have a special committee on propaganda among women, whose duty it is to reach women with the propaganda of Socialism and bring them INTO THE PARTY and to form them into active committees OF THE PARTY.

Women need the education along political lines which can only be gained through participation in the work of the locals. The locals need the social life which women's activity ever assures

an organization.

We feel that by following the above plan of organization, the local will be stronger and more interesting and we will be assured of an active, intelligent body of women within the Socialist party.

PLAN OF WORK.

In response to the ever increasing demand from the women throughout the country for something definite to do, the Woman's National Committee has prepared work along three distinct lines.

Past experience has proved the three following methods of work for the Woman's Committees

to be the most sucessful.

First, the committees should strive to make the local meetings of interest to those women and young people who, because of the membership of the men of the family, naturally belong within the party.

Second, the committee should plan a thorough distribution of literature for women. Whenever the local makes a general distribution of literature, leaflets for women should be included.

Third, the committee should arrange entertainments of an educational nature that will interest the non-Socialist women and young people who would not attend Socialist lectures.

Local Meetings.

To a large extent the local conditions must govern the plans for making the local meetings interesting. We can mention only two or three

plans that are being used with success.

1. Local comrades are secured to make talks or read papers of about twenty minutes, on subjects of educational value to Socialists these to be followed by general discussion. Such subjects as the high cost of living, which is always of interest to women; cause and results of war in its relation to the working class; shoddy clothing and adulterated foods in relation to the private ownership of factories; railroad accidents and the private ownership of railroads, and many others, may be treated in this manner.

Whenever a crisis or local situation arises pertaining to the class struggle or the general social welfare in which the Socialist party takes an active part, such as a free speech fight, or agitation for the opening of public schools as social centers, when a strike is in progress, or when an election is on, then the woman's committee should be assigned its share of the work. Reports of all such work are of educational value.

Distribution of Literature.

We recommend that locals supply themselves with these leaflets. They should be distributed free at all propaganda meetings. They should be enclosed in every house to house distribution of literature. The woman's committee should distribute them at the doors of factories, department stores churches—wherever women are

gathered in large numbers.

We further recommend that a special distribution of appropriate literature be made upon the following days: Woman's Day (last Sunday in February), May day (May 1st), Fourth of July, and Labor Day (first Monday in September).

We recommend that all state, district and national organizers carry literature for women with them and assist in reaching the women through

their distribution.

We call attention to the Progressive Woman, and urge upon the locals the necessity of placing this Socialist woman's magazine in every working

class home in the United States.

We recommend that a press entertainment of some kind be given quarterly, the proceeds to be used to send the Socialist publications to women whom the local desires to educate to an understanding of Socialism.

EDUCATIONAL ENTERTAINMENT.

To assist the local woman's committees in carrying on educational work, either as lessons to be studied in class, or as public evening entertainments, the Woman's National Committee publishes monthly programs in the Progressive Woman. These programs are arranged so that they can be used in the branches of our large cities, as well as in isolated country locals.

They may be used either as lessons to be stud-

ied in class, or as public entertainments.

A brief lecture is prepared upon the subject chosen for each month's program. About this lecture are grouped songs, recitations, and readings from the best Socialist literature. Through them we are educating men, women and children to an understanding of Socialism. We are developing capable women workers into organizers and lecturers. We are instilling within our boys and girls a spirit of unwavering loyalty to their class.

Newspaper Articles.

To assist in developing each subject from many standpoints some of our foremost Socialist writers are furnishing the Woman's Department with short articles, and these are mimeographed and copies sent each month to the Socialist and Labor press. Upon request they will be sent free for publication in local papers.

Strike Committee.

That Socialist women in large cities may be prepared for quick action in industrial crises, the local Woman's Committee should elect a strike committee whenever a strike occurs. This committee should continue the work of agitation and organization after the strike is ended.

Socialist Schools.

The increased interest and activity of women in the Socialist movement have developed a new line of propaganda. There is an ever increasing demand that the children of the working class be educated in the principles of Socialism. To this end many locals have established Socialist schools.

The Woman's Department in the national office is gathering information and data as to the best methods of organizing and managing these Socialist schools. An outline to assist in the organization has been brepared and can be se-

cured from this office.

It should be clearly understood that it is not the purpose of Socialist schools to interfere with or enter into competition with the public school system, neither is it our intention to compete with any established church or religious institution.

Socialist Study Classes.

Classes should be formed, whenever possible, for the systematic study of economics, social conditions and Socialism. Better results are obtained by including both men and women. For mothers who find it difficult to attend at night, afternoon classes should be formed.

SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN.

"Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women,"—(Socialist Platform, 1912.)

The Socialist party should enter heartily into the campaign in those states where suffrage is the issue.

Any attempt to limit or qualify the right or suffrage should meet with the solid opposition of the party and any attempt to extend the right should meet with the heartiest indorsement and co-opera-

The plan of work to be adopted in such a suffrage campaign must necessarily depend upon the local conditions, the strength of the party, and the amount of harmony existing between the party, the unions and the suffrage organizations. So we deem it advisable that local organizations work out their own plans according to the local conditions.

We suggest, however, the following general

lines of work:

First, that the Socialist party prepare and distribute educational literature on suffrage which will show the need of the ballot from the working class viewpoint.

Second, secure speakers (women whenever pos-

sible) to lecture upon suffrage.

Third, insist upon all speakers, whenever possible, devoting considerable time to this issue.

Fourth, co-operate with the unions, suffrage associations and other NON-POLITICAL organizations in public demonstrations, mass meetings, the distribution of literature, manning the polls, and in every other way which does not violate our principles or compromise us as an entirely separate and independent political party.

PLAN OF WORK FOR LARGE CITIES.

Where a city local is divided into ward branches the following plan of work may be applied:

There should be a Central Woman's Committee composed of delegates from each ward branch

committee.

This Central Woman's Committee should have charge of propaganda, organization and educational work only in those cases where the conditions are such that the work cannot be carried on by the ward branch committees. For instance, in the case of the distribution of literature at the doors of factories, stores and shops; in the selling of special editions of publications; in elections; in special suffrage elections and demonstrations; in the arrangement of large propaganda meetings and social affairs, and in assisting in strikes, etc.

In order that harmony, sympathy and co-opera-

tion shall exist at all times between the Woman's Central Committee and the local, the Woman's Central Committee should elect one or more delegates to the regular party Central Body. It should be the duty of these delegates to report all important actions taken by the Woman's Central Committee for the indorsement of that body. These delegates should have a voice but no vote in the deliberations of the Central Body.

WARD BRANCH COMMITTEES.

The regular Plan of Work for Locals may be

applied to the branch organizations.

Each branch should elect a committee for propaganda among women. This special committee should carry on its work in the ward, distributing literature, giving lectures, entertainments, plays, and social affairs.

Each branch committee should elect one or more delegates to the Woman's Central Commit-

tee.

All expenses of the Woman's Central Committee and the woman's branch committees should be paid from the local and branch treasuries.

Both the committees and the branch and local organizations should understand that the woman's committees are simply committees of the party organization and as such are under the complete jurisdiction and control of the ward and Central Body of the local, just as is any other special committee.

SUMMARY.

The above plans are general and will apply to all sections of the United States. However, each state has its own problems and this plan can be

adapted to meet local conditions.

If you have no local woman's committee, you should bring this matter before the next meeting of your local, and urge the local to elect such a committee. Write to your State Correspondent and get further instructions from her. If you have no State Correspondent, urge your State Executive Committee and State Secretary to elect one at once.

For further information apply to the

WOMAN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

Socialist Party.

205 111 N. Market Street, Chicago.



Political Rights of Illinois Women

By Catharine Waugh McCulloch

The political rights of Illinois women have been chiefly secured through three different

The School Suffrage Law of 1891

has, under the decisions of the Supreme Court, allowed women to vote for all school officers except State and County Superintendents of Schools, viz.: for Trustees of the University of Illinois, members of high school boards and district boards of education for school directors and township trustees of schools. As women have been voting under this law many years, every voter is well informed as to its provisions.

The Suffrage Law of 1913

provided that women might vote for presidential electors, member of the state board of equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county surveyor, members of board of assessors, members of board of review, sanitary district trustees, all officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrates), supervisor, town clerk, assessor, collector and highway commissioner and also vote upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of any municipality or other political division of the state.

municipality or other political division of the state.

The wording of the law is such that some officers, like city judges, municipal court judges, commissioners in cities under a commission form of government, forest reserve president and commissioners, park commissioners and road district clerk, not common to every city, district or town are really covered by the law, because such officers are city officers or town officers, or to be voted for by "legal voters."

The Primary Law of 1913

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provided that women might vote at the primary for the officers for whom they might vote at elections. Women may also vote for certain semi-official persons, like delegates and alternates to national nominating conventions, members of state central, precinct and ward committees. Women may hold any of these official or semi-official positions as the word "male" is not used to describe the qualifications of any of these officials. Women may also hold any deputyship or appointive position where the word male is not used.

Constitution of U. S. or Illinois

must be amended before women may vote for the remainder of the officers who govern them. Among such officers for whom women do not yet vote are: the most of the state officers, county officers, judges and clerks of court, members of Congress and the General Assembly

Assembly.

Under the three suffrage laws the qualifications of women voters are like those of men voters. They must be twenty-one years of age, and reside in precinct, county and state thirty days, ninety days and one year, respectively. Problems as to absence from home for visits, confinement in asylum, poorhouse or penitentiary or detention abroad in government service, would be solved the same for both sexes. same for both sexes.

Must Be Citizens

Women voters, like men, must also be citizens, that is, either born in the United States or naturalized here. An unmarried alien woman, eighteen years old, and a resident, may be naturalized just as her brother is. She must file her "Declaration of Intention," generally called first papers, and if in Chicago, in a United States District Court, in a Cook County Circuit Court, or in a Superior Court. This declaration, containing date and place of birth, occupation, size, color, height, etc., last foreign residence and allegiance, with date, place and steamer of arrival, must be made at least two years before application for "second papers," but is invalid if not proceeded under within seven years.

seven years.

When she has resided continuously for five years in the United States and one year in the state, she must bring to the clerk of the court witnesses who are citizens and

personally know her to have resided here five years and to have a good moral character. If she arrived in the United States after June 29, 1906, she must attach to her petition a certificate from the department of commerce and labor as to certain facts, and she must be able to speak the English language, read and sign her own petition. Ninety days after filing her petition, she has a hearing before the judge, and will then be questioned as to the fundamental principles of a republic.

be questioned as to the fundamental principles of a republic.

But a minor son or daughter may be naturalized through the naturalization of the father as he gives the names of fils children and wife in his "second papers." A wife is thus naturalized through the naturalization of the husband. But an American woman marrying an unnaturalized foreigner is thus denaturalized or expatriated.

No Race Test

No Race Test

Neither the Illinois suffrage laws nor the constitutional provisions have any race test, not even a grandfather clause, though the United States does not now allow Mongolians to be naturalized (U. S. Act, May 6, 1882). Therefore, few Chinamen will vote in Illinois. However, native born persons of Mongolian ancestry are citizens and need no naturalization when they are twenty-one years of age. Illinois has no educational test, though to master the intricacles of the present method of voting is itself an education, and those who cannot do it thus disfranchise themselves. We need not now fear the political influence of any incoming ignorant foreigners, for since 1906 the United States keeps out of our country those who cannot read their petitions and write their own names and speak English. Naturalization Act, June 29, 1906. Illinois has no religious test for voters, nor any property test except under the agricultural drainage law of 1885, where "adult property owners" vote, and the drainage act of 1879, where land owners of lawful age are petitioners. Unpardoned criminals and those guilty of election frauds are not voters.

The Suffrage Law of 1913

The Suffrage Law of 1913

may seem a peculiar conglomeration relating to a few state officers, a few county, town, city and drainage officials, besides propositions of every sort, with no sort of logical sequence or even the excuse that women are more interested in these than in other officers. There was, however, one rule which guided the author of the law and that was to put in everything she could find which was not named in the constitution, whether the officers were important or not. The annoying part of the law is the provision for separate ballots and boxes. The author readily confesses that it will be inconvenient to have separate ballots and ballot boxes at every election for the women's accommodation. But this was the only way by which the women's small ballots could be prevented from being mixed with the men's large ballots. If inconvenience and mistakes, sure to occur soon, force full suffrage upon us, the scripture will be fulfilled in that "no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous, nevertheless, afterwards it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby." Heb. 12:11.

Presidential Electors

Presidential Electors

right to be included to anything done or omitted to be done in the Illinois constitution or statutes, but to Section 2 in Article II of the United States Constitution, which provides, "Each state shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct a number of electors, etc." Every state legislature has this power regardless of its own constitution. These electors in Illinois will be twenty-nine in number, equal to the sum of the two U. S. Senators and the twenty-seven Representaives to which Illinois entitled in Congress. They are excepted from the operation of the Primary Election Law, as are the Trustees of the State University, school officers and officers of town-

ships not consolidated. Sec. 1, page 311, Sess. Laws, 1913. So Presidential Electors are nominated at a state convention held on the first Friday after the first Monday after the April Primary (page 315, Sess. L. 1913), and preceding a Presidential election. At this time three Trustees of the State University are nominated biennially for a sixversity are nominated blennially for a six-year term and a platform is adopted. The next election for these electors for President and Vice-President will be in November, 1918. The position is still held an honor-able one, and yet only traveling expenses are paid. Women have filled such positions, chosen by other states.

State Board of Equalization

The members of the State Board of Equalization, one from each Congressional district, twenty-five in all, are to be elected in November, 1916, for four years. Sec. 26, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. They are previously nominated on the first Wednesday after the second Tuesday in September preceding the election in 1916. Sec. 101, Chap. 120, R. S. 1911, and Sec. 6, p. 312, Sess, L. 1913. Women are eligible as the statute provides, "The qualified electors, elect one of their number as member." Their duty is to equalize the assessments in Illinois and to assess the capital stock of corporations and railroads. Their salary is one thousand dollars per year and traveling expenses (Sec. 116, Chap. 120, R. S. 1911). The members of the State Board of Equal

Appellate Court Clerk

The Clerk of the Appellate Court is elected for six years and the next election will occur November, 1914. Sec. 20, Chap. 37, Sec. 11, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. There are four Appellate Court districts, the first of which is in Cook County. Sec. 18, Chap. 27, R. S. 1911. The two branch Appellate Courts now helping the first district Appellate Court, have the same clerk. The clerk of the Appellate Court is nominated at the September Primary preceding his election. His compellate Court is nominated at the September Primary preceding his election. His compensation has been the same fees as those for the Clerk of the Supreme Court. Sec. 20, Chap. 37, R. S. 1911. These fees sometimes gave the clerk more than the judges, and so the last Legislature (p. 255, Session Laws 1913), provided that the next elected Supreme Court Clerk's annual salary should be \$7,500.90. The next Appellate Clerk will probably also be obliged to skimp along through his six years on this pittance. If men are eligible to this clerkship, then women also are, for the statute prescribes no necessary qualification, and there are women as well as men with no qualifications.

County Surveyor

The County Surveyor nominated at the September Primaries preceding his election (Sec. 6, p. 312, Sess. Laws, 1913), and elected in November, 1916, for a four-year term (Sec. 23, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911), is to receive six dollars per day for each day employed, and also certain expenses (Sec. 24, Chap. 53, R. S. 1911). No qualifications are named.

Boards of Assessors and Review

Boards of Assessors and Review

Boards of Assessors in counties having a population over 125,000—only Cook County—are composed of five persons elected for six years each, two in November, 1914, one in November, 1916, and two in November, 1918. They each receive \$5,000.00 per annum, though the salary is \$3,500 by statute, and they shall hold "no other lucrative public office or public employment." Sec. 297. Chap. 120, R. S. 1911. They are nominated at the September Primaries preceding election. Women are eligible as assessors, as the only qualification is "Five persons, not more than four of whom shall be residents of any one city." Sec. 297, Chap. 120, R. S. 1911. In all other counties except Cook, the County Treasurer is County Assessor or Supervisor of Assessments, but as women may not vote for County Treasurer nothing in relation to him is stated here. Secs. 295, 296, Chap. 120, R. S.

In counties with a population over 125,000, that is, in Cook County, a Board of Review is elected consisting of three persons, who

In counties with a population over 125,009, that is, in Cook County, a Board of Review is elected consisting of three persons who each hold office six years. Sec. 226, Chap. 120, R. S. 1911. One member is to be elected November, 1914, one November, 1916, and one November, 1918. Their nominations occur at the preceding September Primary. Here again the qualification is "persons" who "shall hold no other lucrative public office or public employment." Women are

eligible. The salary is fixed by the County Board and is now \$7,000.00 per year. Their duty is to review the assessment fairly and duty is to review the assessment fairly and impartially. The statutes provide details of the method of procedure and the method of making and hearing complaints. The Boards of Review in counties not under township organization (seventeen in all, not including Cook County, which is mixed), Sec. 325. Chap. 120, R. S. 1911), are the Board of County Commissioners, for whom women may not vote, and, in the eighty-four counties under township organization, are the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors (for whom the women of the respective townships may vote and who may be a woman) with "two citizens of the county" who may be women but probably will not be, as they are appointed by the County Judge. Sec. 325, Chap. 120, R. S. 1913.

Sanitary Commissioners

Of the Sanitary Commissioners and Sanitary District Trustees the most powerful and the best paid are those of the Sanitary District of Chicago. There are nine trustees, three elected at the same time in the even numbered years in November, to hold office for six years. There was formerly a variety of the cumulative method of voting for these trustees, but by the law of 1907 no electors may now give more than one vote for any candidate. Sec. 345, Chap. 24, R. S. 1911. These Trustees are to be nominated at the September Primary preceding their election. No special qualifications are named in the statutes and so women are eligible. The duties are important and the salary for the President is not to exceed \$3,-000.00. This Board, up to January 1, 1913, had had in its hands over \$80,000,000,000. According to a statement Issued by the Board it is evident that \$100,000,000 will probably be expended. The statute should provide that these trustees should have no other occupation. Eighty millions is a good deal of money to intrust to men who give so much of their time to their own personal occupations. Of the Sanitary Commissioners and Saniso much of their time to their own personal occupations.

Drainage Laws

The drainage laws specially applicable to the rest of the state make a chapter of 243 sections in the Illinois Statutes. Whatever petitions or consents or propositions or elections are named, concerning all these, Illinois women are now legal voters eligible to sign petitions, to give consent and to vote on propositions and at elections. The agricultural and sanitary drainage law of 1885 always provided for the power to be in the hands of the adult owners of lands. "Every adult owner of land shall be a voter, and if a resident of the county... eligible to the office of drainage commissioner." Sec. 75 to 152, Chap. 42, R. S. 1911. So women under this special act were eligible to hold office and to vote six years before our School Suffrage Law was passed. As these elections are conducted much as are school elections, no intricate primary law complicates matters.

Officers of Cities, Villages and Towns, Except Police Magistrates

Police Magistrates

These are generally Mayor, Aldermen, City Clerk, City Attorney and a City Treasurer (Sec. 79, Chap. 24, R. S. 1911) with varying salaries. They are elected biennially, except that in cities under a commission and in Chicago the Mayor is elected for four years. If the new law, Sec. 2, p. 141, Sess. L., 1913, is approved by Chicago voters, the Aldermen, City Clerk and Treasurer to be elected later will hold office four years each.

The Mayor must be a United States citizen, a resident and qualified elector. Sec. 14. Chap. 24, R. S. 1911. Aldermen must, in addition, have some negative virtues. They must not be in arrears on taxes, nor directly interested in a city contract, nor previously convicted of malfeasance or bribery or other corrupt practices or crimes. Sec. 33, Chap. 24, R. S. 1911. By crimes the law doubtless means to intimate that great offenses are disqualifications, but not misdemeanors, such as exceeding the speed limit, being drunk, etc. Sec. 77 also provides that no one should be eligible to any office who is a defaulter to the corporation, except in case of City Engineer. Does any one know why a City Engineer should be allowed to be a defaulter? The City Council has power also to provide far the election instead of appointment of certain other officers. Collector, Marshal, Superintendent of Streets,

Corporation Counsel, Comptroller and such Corporation Counsel, Comptroller and such other officers as the Council may deem necessary. Sec. 73, Chap. 24, R. S. 1911. For all these additional city officers women may vote, and as the word male is not used in naming the qualifications, women are eligible to hold the offices. Much of the election law relating to cities is applicable to villages gible to hold the offices. Much of the election law relating to cities is applicable to villages where there are six Trustees elected for two years each, one of the number being chosen by them as the President of the Board of Trustees with a salary not to exceed \$2,060 per year. The date of election of these trustees of villages and of officers of cities where their corporate limits do not include a town or towns occurs on the third Tuesday of April in each year (Sec. 48, Chap. 24, R. S. 1911), and are preceded by the primaries on the second Tuesday in March. Fage 312, Sess. Laws 1913.

Another city election date is provided by statute for cities which include wholly within their corporate limits a town or towns, and that date is the first Tuesday in April. Sec. 48, Chap. 24, R. S. 1911. The primary for this election is held on the last Tuesday in February preceding.

Some of the most important matters concerning our community affairs are dealt with by the city officials—note in your copy of city ordinances the topics listed under the A's—Annexation, Amusements, Abusing Animals, Areas and Basements, Arcests, Assault, Attic, Ashes, Auctions, Auditing, Automobiles, Awnings.

biles, Awnings,

Some Township Officers

The last group of officers named in the

The last group of officers named in the law are township officers—Supervisor (ex officio overseer of the poor), Town Clerk, Assessor, Collector and Highway Commissioner, the first four of which are to be elected annually on the first Tuesday in April for the term of one year each. Sec. 61, Chap. 139, R. S. 1911, passed 1901. One Highway Commissioner is elected every year for a term of three years. Sec. 16 and 28, Chap. 139.

Assistant Supervisors thay be elected in townships having 4,000 or more inhabitants. Sec. 61, Chap. 139, R. S. 1911. Section 154, Chap. 139, R. S. 1911, also provides for these assessors, clerks and collectors holding office two years, and as this was passed in 1909, later than the act providing for one year, this is probably the law for the last three officers. The duties of these officers are well understood. The qualifications are "a legal yoter and have been for one year a resiunderstood. The qualifications are a legal voter and have been for one year a resident, etc." Sec. 84, Chap. 139, R. S. 1911. Women are eligible. The fees for township officers are small. Sec. 36 to 39, Chap. 53. Sec. 130, Chap. 139, R. S. 1911.

Town Meetings

The old fashioned town meeting so famed The old fashioned town meeting so fauned in New England annals prevails the first Tuesday in April at 2 o'clock in our eighty-four counties under township organization and in about twenty-seven townships our of the thirty-seven townships in Cook County not yet consolidated into some city. Much important town business concerning streets, bridges, taxes, can be transacted. At this time Pound Masters may also be elected by "the electors present" or be appointed. Sec 40, Chap. 139, R. S. 1911.

Propositions

But the greatest of all powers granted by the suffrage bill is the vote granted women on all propositions. This is more far reaching than the vote on tax matters allowed the women in Louisiana, Michigan, Montana, New York or Iowa, for no city or village bonds can be issued without a referendum (Sec. 697. Chap. 24, R. S. 1911), and the words cover the location of a school house, the annexation of territory, the issuance of saloon licenses and many other matters.

Women will also doubtless be held eligible to sign all sorts of petitions to be signed by "legal voters for the office or proposition" if they have the qualifications "registered voters." Sec. 428, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. Independent petitions and primary petitions for officers for which women have a vote can all be signed by women. Note that the recent Primary Law, which it is fashionable to criticise, takes no old right away from any one. No independent voter loses anything he ever had, and even the party voter has now some voice as to his candidates.

The Short Ballot

The new fad for a short ballot has some merit, but it should not be approved by a

suffragist until she is fully enfranchised. suffragist until she is fully enfranchised. She needs all her present power, to help her secure full suffrage in the constitution. A shorter ballot now would result in having some or all of the officers named in our new suffrage law be appointed instead of elected. The constitutional officers for whom women may not vote could not be eliminated from the ballot without an almost impos-

sible constitutional amendment. So any shortening of the ballot would lessen wom-

Election Crimes

Women are also eligible for punishment for committing any crime under the election laws, for the words "whoever," "any person," "any member" (Sec. 79 to 93%, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911), are not restricted to males, nor ever have been, even though "he," "his and "him" are freely used and never "she," "bers" or "her."

Other City Officers

There are some city officers who are not common to all cities, but yet come under the phraseology of the law. The municipal court judges of the city of Chicago heretofore have been elected in November for six years each. The chief justice and nine associates were elected last year, ten more associates were elected last year, ten more associates were elected last year, ten more associates were elected on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1914, and annother ten in 1916. Three associates were authorized by recent ordinance of the city of Chicago. The nominations have not heretofore been made when other city officers are at the February Primary, but at the September Primary. The number of these judges is now thirty-one, and by the new arrangement (Sec. 217, Session Laws 1913), if ratified by the voters, the terms of office of those to be elected later are to expire on the third Monday in April, 1921, 1923, 1925, respectively, with varying election dates. This must change also the date of their nominations to correspond to the general rule. These judges must be thirty years of age, citizens of the United States, residents of Cook County, and engaged for five years in the practice of law or in the discharge of judicial duties. The salary of the chief justice is not less than \$10,000 and of the associates \$6,000. Sec. 9 and 10, Sess, Laws 1913. The clerk of this court was elected last in November, 1912, and holds office for six years. He will be nominated next at September Primaries, 1918, be elected in November following, and hold office till the third Monday in April, 1925. His salary is fixed by the City Council and shall not be less than \$6,000. Sec. 14, p. 219, Sess, Laws 1913. The Clerk and Bailiff of the Chicago Municipal Court are other officers for whom women may vote, as the words of the statute are "elected by the qualified voters of such city in the same manner that the city officers of such city are elected, but not at the same time, and shall hold office for the term of four years." S

Park Commissioners

Park Commissioners for the great parks Park Commissioners for the great parks are appointed by the Governor (Sec. 58, Chap. 105, Session Laws 1911), or by Circuit Court Judges in Cook County, but in some cities or towns may be elected, and if so, may be voted for by women as city or town officers, as Sec. 47, Chap. 105, R. S. 1911, refers to "authorities of such park district or town."

or town."

Sec. 108. "All legal voters residing within any such ... park district shall have the right to cast one vote," and the election proceeds as do city elections.

The President and six Trustees must be legal voters, residents and hold office one year. Sec. 210 of this same Chap. 105 refers to Park Commissioners for three towns and "the legal voters of such three towns." Sec. 211 again refers to the submission to "the 211 again refers to the submission to "the

legal voters" of certain park questions. Sec. 290 provides for city councils in cities of less than 50,000 inhabitants establishing parks. So when the park official is a city officer or a town officer, women may vote for him under the new law. When he is only designated as a Park Commissioner elected by the "legal voters" courts will be apt to follow Judge Owen's opinion that women may not only vote to establish such a district, but may also vote under the description "legal voters" for the Commissioners, to complete the matter.

Forest Preserve Districts

The newly authorized Forest Preserve Distriots, p. 385, Sess. L. 1913, "legal voters" petition for, vote for and are eligible to the office of President with a salary of \$2,500, and Commissioners with a salary of \$1,500. Elections for these varying kind of Commissioners will be properly advertised according to law.

The last Legislature created a new officer in the District Clerk of the road districts in counties not under township organization (sixteen in all), to be elected at the "annual elections" the first Tuesday in April. P. 521, Sec. 42, Session Laws 1913. By Sec. 45 all persons possessing the qualifications of voters are entitled to vote.

Registration

Women shall register in the same manner as male voters. The law generally applicable provides that the Board of Registry shall meet on Tuesday, three weeks before any state election (Sec. 135, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911), and on the Tuesday preceding the state election (November in the even numbered years). Sec. 138, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. The registry officials make a list of all "qualified to vote" without having them personally apply for registration. This is not the rule if the city and village act of 1891 has been adopted for any city. Then the applicant must apply personally for registration and tell his name, age, residence, nativity, etc. Chicago and a few large cities have adopted this act. The registration days in these cities are the Saturday before the Tuesday four weeks preceding the general city, village or town election or general state or county election in every year in which a congressional election occurs (the even numbered years), and the Tuesday three weeks before such election. Sec. 197, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. New registration days, three weeks before the primaries, are provided for cities with populations over 200,000. Page 323, Sess. L. 1913.

Primaries

The Legislature provided on p. 322 of Seson Laws 1913, for women voting at pri-

marles.
The various times of holding Primaries are: Last Tuesday in February, second Tuesday in March, second Tuesday in April, first Wednesday after the second Tuesday in September, and three weeks before election of any other officer not provided for pabove. P. 312-314, Sess. Laws 1913.
Schedule for primaries for principal officers named in the bill for year 1914:
Last Tuesday in February, 1914. Annually. For officers to be elected first Tuesday in April.

in April.

Second Tuesday in March, 1914. Annually. For city and other officers who are to be elected, third Tuesday in April, where townships are not consolidated with city. Second Tuesday in April, 1914. Biennially. Member of State Central Committee for each Congressional District, ward committeemen in Chicago, precinct committeemen elsewhere.

where.
First Wednesday after second Tuesday in September, 1914. Sextennially. Clerk of Appellate Court, one member Cook County Board of Review, two members of Cook County Board of Assessors, three Chicago Sanitary District Trustees, ten Chicago Municipal Court Judges, the judges to serve until the third Monday in April, 1921.

Independent Nominations

Besides the method of placing candidates in nomination by means of primaries, the statute provides that nominations may be made by any convention of delegates, any

caucus of qualified voters, or by certain numbers of individual voters in the manner prescribed by the statute in Sec. 290 to 292. Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. Independents are not disfranchised by the primary law, which was enacted not for them, but for party voters. One thousand independents may sign the nominating petition for a state officer. Two per cent of the voters in cities with a population over 5,000 (200 in a city of 10,000) and 5 per cent in a city with less than 5,000 population, with fewer in small wards, are not impossible numbers to secure.

These petitioners may take any title to represent their political principles (Sec. 293), but if they do not Sec. 301 provides for some suitable title to be attached.

Other Officials

Besides the officials expressly or impliedly covered by the law, there are other persons whose elections can be participated in by women because of the law or because of the amendment to the Primary Elections law made in 1913, or because the words "party voters," "qualified electors," "primary elector," "legal voters" are used. Among them are delegates and alternates to National Nominating Convention, members of State Central Committee, Precinct and Ward Committee. Sec. 6 to 9 of Elections, Sess. Laws 1913. Women may also hold these positions for the description of the persons qualified for such places are only such general statements as "member," "person," "qualified elector" and "one candidate of his party." Sec. 9, Elections, Sess. Laws 1913.

of his party. Sec. 9, Elections, Sess. Laws 1913.

Judges of Election should be "capable and discreet electors." "legal voters" (Sec. 32 and 33, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911). "persons—fair character, approved integrity, well informed, who can read, write and spell English, and have resided in election precinct one year preceding election." Clerks of Election must have the same qualifications. Sec. 37, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. The fees are \$5.00 per day in Cook County, and \$3.00 in many other places. Election Commissioners must be "legal voters and householders residing in such city, etc., of well known political convictions and of approved integrity and capacity." Sec. 171, Chap. 46, R. S. 1911. Some women are householders and so, if legal voters, etc., are also eligible.

Jury Service

Jury service is open to some women because the qualifications are legal voters, persons, inhabitants, between the age of 22 and 65 years, possessed of natural faculties, not infirm or decrepit, free from legal exceptions, fair character, approved integrity, sound judgment, well informed and who understands English. Sec. 2, Chap. 78, R. S. 1911. Women jurors have been already called in Illinois with satisfactory results. Women may also be Jury Commissioners where the qualifications are "competent and discreet electors," Sec. 26, Chap. 78, R. S. 1911. While women are eligible to these varied positions named above, and even to other elective positions where sex is not made a qualification, this may not make many practical changes, for most women are too absorbed in family cares to be able to devote all their time to the work of a public office. It will not take so much time to vote. But when the voters want to elect some woman to a place which needs her, it will be well that there are no legal prohibitions. Although few women may be in office, the vote of women will represent the women's point of view.

Note.—Since the first edition of this pamphlet there have appeared three excellent treatises with many more details. The Handbook by Mrs. L. Belle Goodman, of Champaign, contains 72 pages and costs 15 cents; the one by Miss Alice Greenacre, of School of Civics and Philanthropy, 116 S. Michigan avenue, Chicago, has 128 pages and costs 50 cents, and the one by Miss Mary L. Childs, of Evanston, will have 224 pages, be covered in cloth and cost 50 cents. While the information in this cheap pamphlet may be all the busiest laywomen may desire, yet those who wish more detailed information should buy the more extended treatises.

For extra copies of this leaflet, send 16 cents per dozen and \$6,00 per thousand to Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, 1320 Glenlake avenue, Chicago.

OF INTEREST TO LEGISLATORS

WHY LEGISLATURES SHOULD SUBMIT THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT TO THE VOTERS

IN VIEW OF THE FOLLOWING FACTS, IS IT POLICY FOR STATE LEGISLATURES TO PREVENT VOTERS FROM EXPRESSING THEIR WILL ON THE SUBJECT OF VOTES FOR WOMEN?

- 1. TEN STATES HAVE ALREADY PASSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS GIVING WOMEN ALL THE VOTING RIGHTS OF MEN—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, and Michigan, aggregating a population of more than ten millions and with an adult female population of nearly three millions. In Michigan the amendment was counted out by fraudulent methods, but it will be re-submitted in the Spring elections, when it will almost undoubtedly triumph.
- 2. THE QUESTION HAS PASSED OUT OF THE STAGE OF ACADEMIC DISCUSSION AND INTO THE REALM OF PRACTICAL POLITICS. During the last presidential campaign, following close upon the enfranchisement of over half a million women in California, every one of the great political parties instituted special measures for enlisting the interest of the million and a half women at that time entitled to vote, and for appealing to women in general. Each maintained a special women's committee and special women workers. One, in addition to the smaller parties which had endorsed woman suffrage in previous years, incorporated a plank in its platform definitely committing it to advance the measure by every possible means. In five states,

all the political parties adopted the woman suffrage plank in their state platforms; and in a number of other states, at least one party in addition to those already committed to suffrage by their national platforms, took similar action.

- 3. THE MEN VOTERS WANT A CHANCE TO EX-PRESS THEIR WILL ON THIS MATTER. There is now an International and a National Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and something like fifty state and local men's leagues. It is impossible to give exact figures because of the rapidity with which new leagues are forming.
- 4. IT HAS A LARGE AND WIDESPREAD BODY OF ORGANIZED SUPPORT OUTSIDE THE SUFFRAGE MOVE-MENT. Approximately 600 organizations, other than suffrage associations—state, national and international—aggregating approximately 50,000,000 members, have voted to give the full weight of their official support to securing the enfranchisement of women. Among these are the International Congress of Women, the World's W. C. T. U., the National Grange, the American Federation of Labor, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Educational Association, and many of the state federations of women's clubs.
- 5. THERE IS ENORMOUS PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT. During the past year, the press of the country gave more space to woman suffrage than to any other one public question. Numbers of newspapers and periodicals have instituted suffrage departments. The press is usually credited with giving the public what it wants.
- 6. THERE IS A LARGER ORGANIZED DEMAND FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE THAN FOR ANY OTHER ONE SO-

CIAL REFORM, whereas the organized opposition—aside from that of the vicious interests—is practically negligible. There are now in this country more than 1,000 suffrage organizations, in some of which the registered membership amounts up as high as 50,000. In the National American Woman Suffrage Association there are forty-five branches organized in thirty-eight states and having approximately 47,000 dues-paying members and 171,000 registered members. There are nine periodicals devoted exclusively to suffrage propaganda. Last year the National American Woman Suffrage Association circulated some three million pieces of literature.

- 7. ACTION ON THE MATTER IS LONG OVER-DUE. Although the question has been before the public for more than sixty years, and although more and larger petitions have been sent to legislatures asking for votes for women than for any other single *reform in the history of the country, the legislators of a number of states have never yet submitted the measure to the voters. Even though the matter may have been submitted once, the rapid advance of suffrage sentiment—even within the past year—makes resubmission only just and right.
- 8. SUBMITTING THE QUESTION TO THE VOTERS DOES NOT COMMIT LEGISLATORS TO ITS SUPPORT, but merely shows their sense of justice and their deference to the wishes of their constituents. Fair play demands nothing less.



NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue - - - - New York City

On November 5, 1912, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona and Michigan passed constitutional amendments granting suffrage to women. In Michigan the amendment was counted out by fraudulent methods, but it will be resubmitted in April, 1913.

Facts and Dates to Remember

Women Have Full Suffrage

Country	Date granted Number of women eligible to vote		Percentage of women who do vote		
New Zealand	1893	300,000	74 to 85.		
*Federated Australia	1902	1,100,000	40 to 60		
**Norway	1907	300,000	20 to 55		
Finland	1906	40,000	55 to 60		
Wyoming	1869	34,000	80 to 90		
Colorado	1893	160,000	75 to 85		
Utah	1896	55,500	85 to 90		
Idaho	1896	68,000	75 to 85		
Washington	1910	170,000	85 to 95		
California	1911	670,987	90 to 99		

In the Isle-of-Man, women who pay rent or taxes have had the full Parliamentary Franchise since 1892, woman property owners since 1881.

^{*} Of the six states composing the Australian Federation, two, South and West Australia, had already granted the state suffrage to women at the time the Federal franchise was extended—South Australia in 1895 and West Australia in 1900. The four other states soon followed—New South Wales in 1902, Tasmania in 1903, Queensland in 1905, and Victoria in 1908.

^{**} Norway gave the municipal franchise to tax-paying women in 1901. In 1907, the full frrnchise was extended to all women who already had the municipal franchise. In 1910, the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise, so that at the present time, all Norwegian women—in number about 500,000— have the municipal franchise while only the tax-paying women have the full franchise. However, a movement is on foot to have the tax-paying qualification removed from the Parliamentary franchise also, and it is only a matter of time until all Norwegian women have full suffrage.

Women have Municipal Suffrage

Women have School Suffrage

Country Date England Ireland Scotland Wales Ontario	granted	Place	Date granted	Place	Date granted
England Ireland Scotland Wales					
Scotland	1869	Oregon	1878	Wisconsin	1900
Wales	1898	Arizona	1887	Illinois	1891
	1881	New Mexico	1910	Minnesota	1875
Ontario	1869	Oklahoma	1907	North Dakota	1887
	1884	New Jersey	1887	South Dakota	1887
Nova Scotia	1887	Connecticut	1893	Nebraska	1883
Manitoba	1887	Massachusetts -	1879	Michigan	1875
British Columbia	1888	New Hampshire	e1878	New York	1880
Quebec	1889	Vermont	1880	Montana	1887
Northwest Territory	1888	Kentucky	1838	Delaware	1898
Kansas	1887	Ohio	1894	Mississippi	1880

Women are equal guardians with the fathers over their children in Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Washington. The guardianship laws of Utah and Idaho although not equal by express definition, are practically so interpreted in most cases.



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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue New York City

TESTIMONY FROM IDAHO

Idaho extended the franchise to women in 1896. After sixteen years, her public men are practically unanimous in declaring it to have been an unqualified advantage to the State. Statements, unsolicited, from some of them are herewith given.

HON. JAMES H. HAWLEY, ex-Governor of Idaho-I have stood for woman suffrage for forty-one years. Woman exercises the frauchise quite as intelligently as man, and with a higher degree of conscientiousness. All our best women vote, and, by so doing, exert a powerful influence for good in the administration of public affairs.

HON. JAMES H. BRADY, ex-Governor-Politically, the effect of woman suffrage has been immeasurably uplifting and beneficial. Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success, not only in Idaho, but in all the other Western states that have adopted it. The West has but set the pace for the rest of the country in giving justice to women.

HON. FRANK W. HUNT. Late ex-Governor-Woman suffrage has purified politics. The woman vote compels parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.

HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH, U. S. Senator-The presence of woman in politics, armed with the power to enforce her demands, has been substantially for the benefit of society. It is sometimes argued that women will vote largely with their brothers or husbands, but I have observed that there comes a time upon certain questions when the husband and brothers vote with the women.

HON. JOHN M. HAINES, Governor of Idaho-I am clearly of the opinion that woman suffrage has brought us much that is good in politics and very little, if anything, that is bad or even questionable. The influence of women in politics has been good and always in favor of clean candidates and honest administration.

HON. WELDON B. HEYBURN, Late U. S. Senator—The general tone of political affairs in the State has been improved since the adoption of woman suffrage. In particular, greater care is exercised in the selection of candidates for office. While the women of Idaho do not, as a rule, participate personally in the primaries and conventions, the fact that they are able to express their will with respect to men and measures at the polls exercises a powerful influence.

HON. BURTON LEE FRENCH, Former U. S. Congressman—I confess that I was not in favor of woman suffrage at the time it was adopted by the State, in 1896. From practical experience with it, however, I have become a convert. I believe it has raised the moral tone of political life throughout the State, particularly in county politics. Forty per cent. of the voters are women (although women form a minority of the population). They are much more independent than men. They won't vote the straight ticket unless they approve the individual candidates. They are free from blind party loyalty, which sometimes leads men to vote for a man whose record is bad simply because he is on their party ticket.

HON. S. H. HAYS, Former Attorney-General—Woman suffrage has exercised a good and considerable influence over conventions, resulting in the nomination of better men for office, and it has had weight in securing the enactment of good laws.

HON. RALPH P. QUARLES, Former Justice of the Supreme Court— Equal suffrage has resulted in much good in Idaho. The participation of women in the conventions of our various political parties and in elections has a tendency to relegate the professional politicians and bring forth a better class of people.



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Address

National American Woman Suffrage Association 505 Fifth Avenue New York City

SUFFRAGE AND SOLDIERING

By Edwin D. Mead.

Once in so often nowadays somebody rises to say that no woman should be allowed to vote unless she is able and ready to become a soldier or a policeman, and use a gun or a billy upon occasion to preserve order or defend the State. We suddenly learn that only potential fighters are proper citizens, and that the true State is a latent army. "Government is based on force," is the fashionable phrase which seems to be giving very considerable glee to a little coterie of opponents of woman suffrage. "Eliminate from government this element of force," writes one of them recently to a Boston newspaper, "and its sole excuse for existence is removed. All public functions requiring merely voluntary concerted action of citizens, without force, can be and are performed by private or non-governmental agencies."

This notion is to most democratic people at this time of day a little surprising. We are accustomed to think that the conception of the State as the voluntary co-operation of the people for promoting their common ends in an efficient and adequate manner, as could not be done individually or by little groups, is the true conception. This would appear to be not only an "excuse" for the existence of the State, but most modern men would certainly agree that it was its real end and definition. That governments require police and military force for various purposes is unquestionable; nobody certainly ever heard of woman suffragists questioning it. Boston has a few thousand policemen. and the United States has perhaps a hundred thousand soldiers, quite enough for every need of its ninety million people. It has many more butchers and bakers, equally indispensable to every people, and rendering services equally necessary to all citizens, men and women, although, in the proper division of labor, the service, like the police service, is the service of men. Neither the one thing nor the other has anything to do with the voting system, or with qualification for voting.

The curious thing is that it is only nowadays and for the sake of opposing woman suffrage that this silly contention has made its appearance. Nobody ever heard eligibility for military service urged as a condition or qualification for man's suffrage. There is no nation on earth where a man is allowed to vote because he can fight, or where he is not allowed to vote because he cannot fight. The mere proposition to subject voting men to such a test or definition would produce a popular outcry about military despotism from the very men now urging the test against women. Yet the only possible excuse or

pretext for such a test belonged to the military past, when war was often the regular and almost the chief business of nations. It has no relevancy whatever to the present, when war has long ceased to be that. No contingency is conceivable when even a tithe of our able-bodied young men would be required for national defence. If ever such exigencies should arise as once arose at Harlem and Leyden, we have no doubt that the women in the besieged cities of America would do their part as "manfully" as those women in Holland.

I have said that no man ever escaped military service because he was not a voter, or was allowed to vote because he was a soldier. I wonder how many of our people know how many of our soldiers in the Civil War were voters? Out of less than three millions who enlisted more than two millions were not twenty-one years old; there were about 600,000 voters. The millions were literally "boys" in blue.

By curious and rather grateful irony, at a time when we were hearing frequently that women should not vote because they are not good fighters, along came Rudyard Kipling with probably the worst of his many bad pieces of doggerel proclaiming that the trouble with woman is that she is so many kinds of a fighter, and such a dangerous fighter. "The female is more deadly than the male." So the Kilkenny cats may be left to fight it out and destroy each other, while rational men and women go on together in the patient and confident work of organizing the world upon a rational basis, which is not the basis of battle or the barracks.—The Woman's Journal.



For further information on the history, extent and results of Woman Suffrage, the endorsements and general arguments, and for specific answers to anti-suffrage objections see

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Summing Up the Case for Woman Suffrage

By Justice David J. Brewer of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The real question is a practical one. How does woman's suffrage work when tried? In this nation, nine States—Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, California, Washington, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon, and the territory of Alaska—have granted full suffrage,* and in at least the first six of them it has been in existence long enough for substantial results.

One thing is true of all; there has been no organized effort to repeal the grant. Whatever may be isolated opinions, the general mass of the voters are satisfied. Indeed, few have expressed antagonistic views. If the citizens of these states find nothing objectionable in woman's suffrage, a natural conclusion is that no injury has resulted. Especially is this true when the declarations of its friends in its favor are many and strong.

Doubtless some opposition may come from personal ambition defeated by the woman voters. Thus Judge Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court in Denver, who has attracted much attention by his good work in that court, after having been denied a renomination by each of the great political parties, came out as an independent candidate, and was elected mainly, it is said, by the votes of women who appreciated his labors and determined that the young culprits of that city should not be deprived of the benefit of his judgment and experience. It would be strange if the defeated candidates did not feel and express themselves against woman's suffrage. But their complaint is really testimony to its value.

The change in the position of woman in the past fifty years must be noticed. Then the only vocations open to her were teaching and sewing. But within the last half century she has entered into active outdoor life and is no longer a necessary home-body. Not that home has lost its charms, or that it will ever cease to be the place which she most loves and where she reigns supreme, but choice or necessity has driven her into varied pursuits, many of them calling for familiarity with public affairs and executive ability.

You see them not only doing clerical work in offices, but acting as shopgirls in stores, or laborers in a factory. Many have charge of large administrations, are presidents of colleges, heads of corporations, and indeed engaging

^{*} In 1913 the legislature of Illinois passed a law extending to women all the franchise rights within the power of the legislature to bestow, including all municipal offices, some state and some county offices and presidential electors.

[1913]

Votes For Women A Success

PROVEN BY THE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES



WHITE STATES . . FULL SUFFRAGE
SHADED . . PARTIAL ..
DARK . . NO

Object 1869.

Stake 1896.

Mark-1910.

Object 1896.

Cal-1812.

Kan-1912.

Dric-1912.

By MINNIE J. REYNOLDS

Legislative Secretary Suffrage Organizations of New Jersey; formerly of Colorado.

It is absolutely proven by the inexorable logic of geography, that equal suffrage works well. No one who looks at the map of the United States can deny that proof.

The women of Wyoming got the vote in 1869. We got it in Colorado in 1893, twenty-four years after. Does anybody suppose that if there had been any bad effect, in any way, shape or manner, of that twenty-four years of women voting just north of us, that the men of Colorado would ever have given it to us? Does anybody suppose that if the position of women had been lowered, by even a hair's breadth, that we Colorado women would not have fought this thing, instead of asking for it, as we did?

The next states to give it were Utah and Idaho, which border Colorado and Wyoming on the west.

Next came Washington in 1910, and Washington borders Idaho on the west. The women of Idaho had been voting for fourteen years when Washington enfranchised its women. After fourteen years' trial, Idaho did not abandon her equal suffrage law in favor of the better workings of the man suffrage law of her neighboring state of Washington. Instead, Washington abandoned her man suffrage law in favor of the law which had been tried out for fourteen years in the adjoining state of Idaho.

in almost every avocation of their brothers, and doing so with success. There is a host of female doctors. Women have invaded the pulpit and are pastors of churches. They are found in the court room, and not a few are efficient and successful practitioners. Indeed, it may truly be affirmed that they have fully entered into the active life of the world.

Female suffrage will come. Not fully at once, but by varying steps. Woman's broader education, her increasing familiarity with business and public affairs, will lead to it. And why not?

The chief reply is the home. God forbid that it should be jeopardized. But female suffrage will not debase the home or lessen its power and influence. On the other hand, it will introduce a refining and uplifting power into our political life.

Union in effort is the growing lesson of the times. Our first parents, guilty of a mutual sin, were, according to the allegory in Genesis, driven out of Eden, that garden which gave men all things to live with and nothing to live for. Hand in hand they went out of Eden; hand in hand they must enter the new paradise, grander and nobler than the pristine Eden, because wrought out of the thorn-growing earth by their united labors.—Condensed from Article in The Ladies World.



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National American Woman Suffrage Association 505 Fifth Avenue New York City In 1911, for the first time since its birth in Wyoming, the suffrage germ showed that it could jump. It jumped across the state of Oregon and gave us California. But one year later, in 1912, Oregon filled the gap, and joined hands with her sister states of Washington on the north and California on the south.

On the same day Kansas and Arizona came in, and both of them bordered states

in which women had been voting for years.

Up to this time in our history it has not been distant states, which had no personal knowledge of the workings of equal suffrage, which enfranchised their women. It has been the nearest states, which from their very geographical position must necessarily have known what was going on just across the border.

Supposing that forty-three years ago some law concerning the method of taxation, or the criminal code, or any other subject on which men legislate, had been passed for the first time in the history of the world in a remote and unknown territory like

Wyoming. It is greeted with laughter or silence.

Years pass, and a neighboring state adopts this law. Then another, then another, until three states bordering the original one have adopted the measure. Then from these three states, the law begins to spread until nine, all contiguous territory, have adopted it. Would not any reasonable being admit that, no matter how people at a distance may regard it, this law must work well and to the satisfaction of those who know most about it?

You may at times hear charges made against the workings of equal suffrage in some state in which it had been adopted. You may not be able to answer these charges. You may not have the information at command which will enable you to know whether they are true or not. But there is one answer which you can always make to your opponent. Ask him why it is then, if equal suffrage works so badly, that it has always been the nearest states, which knew best what was going on in their neighboring commonwealths, which extended the franchise to their own women.



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Votes For Women A Success

Proven by the map of the United States.



White States: Full Suffrage Shaded States: Taxation, Bond, School Suffrage

Dotted State: Municipal, Presidential, Partial County and State Suffrage Black State: No Suffrage

By Minnie J. Reynolds.

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Up to this time in our history it had not been distant states, having no personal knowledge of the workings of equal suffrage, which enfranchised their women. It had been the nearest States, which from their very geographical position must necessarily have known what was going on just across the border.

But in 1913, the men of Alaska—perhaps because so many of them came from the equal suffrage States along the Pacific Coast—enfranchised their women; and a little later in the same year the legislature of the State of Illinois passed a law extending to women all the franchise rights it was within the power of the legislature to bestow. This includes about two-thirds of the electoral offices of the State—all municipal offices except police magistrates, some county and some state offices, and presidential electors, everything in fact, but the offices created by the State Constitution. To remove this disability the women of Illinois will have to secure an amendment to their State Constitution, and this they are now preparing to do.

Suppose that nearly a century ago some law concerning the method of taxation, or the criminal code, or other subject on which men legislate, had been passed for the first time in the history of the world in a remote and unknown territory like Wyoming and had been greeted with laughter

or silence.

Years pass, and a neighboring state adopts this law. Then another, then another, until three states bordering the original one have adopted the measure. Then from these three states, the law begins to spread until nine, all contiguous territory, have adopted it. Would not any reasonable being admit that, no matter how people at a distance may regard it, this law must work well and to the satisfaction of those who know most about it?

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Business versus The Home

By Caroline Bartlett Crane.

The interests of business are habitually given the preference over the interests of the home. In one city there was an outbreak of typhoid, but it was hushed up on the ground that the necessary repairs would make the water roily and render it unfit for use by a great photographic concern! We discharge sewage without scruple to pollute the water supply farther down the river, thus bringing sickness into numberless homes; but as soon as it hurts trade—such as the oyster industry—a strong effort is made to correct it. I cannot help wishing there were oyster beds all up and down the country! All these things are matters of vital consequence to women in their homes, yet we are allowed no voice in the matter.

In Kalamazoo, a thousand housekeepers petitioned the city council to abate the smoke nuisance. Six factory owners protested, and the women's petition was put on file and still remains there.

A woman who lived near a flour mill had to wait to do her washing until a day when the wind blew the smoke from the mill's chimneys away from her home. Sometimes, when the wind blew the right way and she had done her washing and got the clothes all out on the line, the wind suddenly changed, and the clothes were covered with soot. After a time her husband's business led him to move away. A few years later it became convenient for him to move back, but his wife declared that she would never again try to keep house in the neighborhood of that flour mill; she would get a divorce first! Now, housekeeping is business, and is deserving of as much protection as any other kind of business.

Politics governs the purity of the milk, and the efficiency of the medical department and of the truant officer.

It is laughable to see the reverence that people pay to a successful business man. Again and again the women's clubs will protest against something which is injuring the children. And then some "business man," who knows nothing about children, will come before the City Council and speak in opposition, and the Council will pay more regard to his opinion than to that of all the women, even in questions on which women are experts. In one instance the women were asking that the cars in which milk cans were transported should have their temperature kept down to a certain degree. A "business man" came and declared that it would cost too much to keep milk as cool as that, whereupon the women's petition was dismissed. I often think of Sidney Lanier's lines:

"O Trade, O Trade, would thou wert dead! The time needs heart—'tis tired of head."



Mothers and housekeepers should read:

Why Women Should Vote, by Jane Addams.

Why Women Want to Vote, by Frances Maule Bjorkman.

Votes and Babies, by Annie G. Porritt.

The Political Duty of Mothers, by Annie G. Porritt.

Why the Housekeeper Needs the Vote, by Anne O'Hagan.

Woman's Place, by Mary Alden Hopkins.

Women in the Home, by Susan Walker FitzGerald.

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Dorothy Dix on Woman's Ballot

WOMEN OUGHT TO VOTE because taxation without representation is tyranny, whether the individual who pays the taxes wears trousers or petticoats, and because all just government must rest upon the consent of the governed.

Women form one-half of the population, and as long as they have no voice in the government they are held in serfdom. It is not just that, merely by reason of sex, one-half of the people of the country should rule the

other half.

It is folly to say that women are represented by the votes of the men of their family. No man is willing to sacrifice his suffrage and let his father or brother vote for him.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because they are unlike men, because they have different aspirations, different needs, a different point of view, a different way of reaching conclusions. Feminine talents, which are invaluable

everywhere else in life, should be equally useful in politics.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because every question of politics affects the home, and particularly affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the beef trust, and the milk trust, and the sugar trust and the canned goods trust. If women had a say-so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because their vote would supplement man's, and, while he looked after the big things, they would look after the little things. The man might interest himself in making his country a world power, the woman voter would see that the street-cleaner did his duty so that her

children might not be killed by diphtheria.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because they would look just as much at the candidate as they would at the platform upon which he stood. It is practically impossible to put the party yoke on women. This has been proven in the States in which women have suffrage. When a clean man was put upon either the Democratic or the Republican ticket and a corrupt man named on the other ticket, the woman vote invariably has flopped over to the good man. It was the women of Denver, irrespective of party, who kept Judge Lindsey in office after the party committees had turned him down, and thus enabled him to continue his great work of child-saving.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE, if for no other reason than because women,

if they had a chance, would be just as potent a factor in politics as they are in

religion. They would compel men's interest in the subject.

Everybody knows that if women ceased going to church, shut up all the missionary societies and preachers' aid societies, nine-tenths of the churches would have spider webs growing across their doors inside of a month. Practically all of the men who go to church and contribute to religious causes do so at the instigation of wife, mother, sister or sweetheart.

The majority of good men are responsible for the rottenness of politics and for our plundered and misruled cities, because they are careless about voting, and often do not trouble to vote at all. Women would have a better civic conscience, and if they were given the ballot they would not only vote

themselves, but see that their husbands and brothers and sons did.

It is often said that if women had suffrage, it would increase the number of votes cast without affecting the result, as every woman would vote like her husband, or her brother, or her father. The chances are that the influence

would work the other way, and men vote with their women folks.

In America the majority of girls are given a better education than boys. They go to school longer, and they read more after they are out of school than young men do. There are also millions of middle-aged women banded together in all sorts of study clubs all over the country, and it is folly to claim that these women are not as well qualified to understand any political question as their husbands are.

That all women would not vote wisely, that they would be swayed by eloquence, by the personal charm of the candidate; that even the ballot would not bring the millennium to women, is freely conceded. But the majority of men are Republicans or Democrats for no better reason than that their fathers were before them, and this is still a very badly governed world. Yet no one would advocate that man's most precious right—the right of suffrage—should be taken away from him.—Dorothy Dix, in San Francisco Examiner.



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Have We A Democracy?

By Susan W. Fitzgerald.

We call our country a democracy, and pride ourselves upon its being one. What is a democracy? A democracy is a form of government where the final power rests in the people. Not a part of the people; that makes an oligarchy or a monarchy; but where it rests in the whole people.

Are the men of this country the whole people? No. Therefore, so long as the men alone are the source of power of the government, it is not a government of the people, for the people and by the people, it is not a democracy. It is merely a country under class rule, the class being men, who, after all, represent but half of the population; half of those who live under the laws they make.

You may say that women are just as well off without the right to vote. Some are; others are not. Many of the slaves in the South were better off, in material ways, before the Civil War than they were afterwards, but that did not make it right for the owners to hold them in slavery. Just so, the men of this country have no right to hold the women in political slavery. And one of the worst things about slavery was the bad effect it had upon the masters. The political slavery of women is not uplifting to the masters.

This is the day of progress. A country must progress, or it will fall behind and another will take its place. A democracy cannot progress unless its people are growing in intelligence and moral force. We who believe in democracy claim that the use of the ballot is the chief means of developing in the citizens this intelligence and moral force. The women are deprived of this great means of development and therefore must fall behind. Can the race advance and develop as it should, when one-half hangs like a millstone

about the neck of the other half? Give women the vote, and let them grow with the men.

You may say that women don't want to vote. Some do not; others do. And many of these others not only want to, but need to, for the protection of themselves and their children. Is it right that those that do not want to should say to these others that need to, "We do not want to vote, so you shall not vote?"

Do you know who are the only women against women's voting? The women of means, in comfortable circumstances, who do not need it for the good of their bodies, and do not realize that they need it for the good of their souls, and who are afraid to let their working sisters have it. Why? Because they are afraid of the people, afraid of the workingman, afraid of democracy. They think that the women's vote will strengthen the workingmen's vote—the popular vote—and they are afraid. And they may well be afraid, if they do not trust in the people, for the real people are going to win, and the day of their victory will be hastened when women can vote.



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WHY THE HOUSEKEEPER NEEDS THE VOTE

By Anne O'Hagan.

I am a housekeeper—even the antis will allow that that is a perfectly proper thing for me to be. I live—to be quite intimate—during the winter in an old-fashioned apartment house. I am quite sure that the tenement house law of the city of New York is not infrequently violated by the owner of that apartment house in the matter of lighting the halls. As guests almost break their distinguished necks in rounding the corner of the stairs to the hall on which my apartment is situated; as I myself, familiar though I am with the turns of the stairs, make missteps and go plunging through the hems of my best skirts; can anyone imagine that I am so stupid as not to wish I had a voice in the framing of tenement-house laws and in the choice of tenement-house commissioners.

I am aware, dear anti-suffragists, that the tenement-house commissioner of New York is appointed by the mayor, and is not directly elected by the ballots of the voters; but I am also aware that I have no part in electing that mayor, and have no political claim upon his consideration when I wish to complain of the action, or the lack of action, of his appointee.

I am a housekeeper. I am vitally interested in the matter of pure food. It rejoices my soul when I read a sullen, hard-won label, remarking: "The contents of this bottle are artificially colored." It would rejoice my soul a thousandfold more could I know that every bottle containing an artificial coloring matter, or a chemical preservative, was as plainly labeled. It would rejoice my soul exceedingly could I have a voice in appointing the men who inspect the foodstuffs, the weights and measures, the cold-storage plants, and all the institutions in which I, as a housekeeper, am vitally and—even if I were an anti-suffragist—legitimately interested.

I am a housekeeper, eager to have my family's surroundings as healthful and pleasant as may be. What part have I had in framing the tenement-house laws of the city of New York, the building laws of the city? What part have

I had in determining the building code? Homemaking is not an art which has its beginning and end in the selection of wall-papers and the thrifty and nutritious cooking of inexpensive meats. You cannot have a safe, secluded home under building laws which allow paper-thin partitions between you and your neighbors. You cannot have safe, comfortable homes in fire-traps. You cannot have healthy homes unless you have an adequate allowance of light and air space.

Of course, you may tell me that men are as vitally interested in the building code and the choice of building inspectors as are women. They are, that is true—but they do not seem to realize it. Generations of regarding the franchise as a right exercised for large, vague, far-away reasons—tariffs, and the maintenance of a gold standard, and the building of armories, and the national triumph of the Republican or the Democratic party—have clouded them to the close, personal, homely reasons for its exercise.

But women, whose duties are, for the most part, within the four walls of their dwellings, bring another point of view to bear upon the situation. They are less interested in whether the election of X will strengthen "the party" in 1916 than they are in the question of whether his election will insure clean streets until 1916. And I don't think that even the besotted adherent of either of the parties will claim that that is a less important consideration than the other.—Reprinted from Smith's Magazine.



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Judge Lindsey on Suffrage

The results of woman suffrage in Colorado ever since its establishment have been so satisfactory that it is hard to understand how it encounters opposition in other States. I have never observed one evil as the result. I have never heard a criticism directed against woman suffrage that ever worked out in practice, or, if it did, was not equally applicable to male suffrage.

It used to be said that the women would not vote—that they were not intelligent. I believe, in proportion to population, nearly as many, if not more, women voted at the last city election as men. In no important election has less than forty per cent. of the entire vote been cast by women, and, considering that there are more men than women in this Western city, it is no more than fair to say that the women are equally interested in the affairs of government, and vote as intelligently and as independently as the men.

One of the greatest advantages which has come to us from woman suffrage is the fear on the part of the machine politicians to nominate for public office men of immoral character or to defeat those who have maintained a reputation for honesty and decency. Again, at critical times and in important elections when some great principle is at stake, especially with reference to local conditions where the home and family are involved, the women of the State have always come to the rescue. The powers of evil realize that they have a powerful moral force to deal with when it is once aroused, and they also realize that, when it is aroused, it has the power to strike a blow.

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of the women, which, at all times, has been back of them and those who have conscientiously and faithfully administered them.

19

I know that the politicians in both parties reckon seriously with the woman vote, and I know that men of immoral character have been refused places upon party tickets because of the fear inspired by the woman vote if it is aroused; and when it is aroused, as it generally is in proper cases, it can always be counted upon to be on the side of righteousness.

We believe we have the best juvenile court law, the best child-labor law, the best compulsory education law, the best laws for the prevention of cruelty to children and the enforcement of the obligations of fathers to support wife and child, and the best administration of these laws when once upon the statute books, of any city in the Union. I believe I only voice the general impression of the best informed as to such matters when I say that we owe this condition more to woman suffrage in Colorado than to any other cause.



For further information on the results of Equal Suffrage read:

Testimony from Wyoming.
Testimony from Idaho.
Testimony from Colorado.
The Truth About Colorado.
Some Common Questions Answered.
Ministers on Votes for Women.
Laws Resulting from Equal Suffrage.
What Difference Does it Make to the Women?
The Truth vs. Richard Barry.

The Truth About the Wage Earning Woman and the State, by Pauline and Josephine Goldmark and Florence Kelley.

The Wage Earning Woman and the State. A Reply to Minnie Bronson, by Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckenridge.

Where Women Vote, by Frances Maule Bjorkman.

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[1913]

The Question of Fitness

By Florence W. Richardson Usher.

So often we suffragists receive in reply to our question, "Are you interested in the woman suffrage movement?" the answer, "No, but I think it is coming." Why is it that people who have never given suffrage even a thought, at once have that instinctive feeling that it is coming? It is because suffrage is such an integral part of democracy, so inseparable from it, and is such a logical "next step" in the democratic working out of national and community development, that nearly everybody, adherents and antis alike, feel intuitively that the culmination of the movement is merely a question of time.

The claim that suffrage is an integral part of democracy is based on the irrefutable argument of Jefferson and Jackson—that the whole community should participate in the governing, because the whole community is governed. Never was the reason advanced that all men were thought wise enough or capable enough to rule the State, for if an understanding of actual political conditions was the test required, surely not more than 1 per cent. of the men could be permitted to vote. Fitness is not now and never has been the test for suffrage. American democracy is not based upon the assumption that individuals are wise or virtuous, but upon the idea that "two heads are better than one"—that the whole is greater than any of its parts—that the whole community is wiser than a part of the community.

* * *

Inasmuch as women are fully one-half of the population, and if all the men are wiser than half the men; men and women together must be wiser than the men alone. The whole history of the government of our country has been an undeniable throwing off of qualifications for voting wherever they existed. The reason for this is clear, and one example will suffice to prove it. In early Colonial days, property and religious qualifications were prevalent. No man could vote who did not own a certain amount of property and who was not a member of the particular church recognized by that colony. In most cases the electorate was a closed corporation, consisting mainly of those few settlers who owned stock in the company which sent them over, and they themselves decided who among the others were qualified to vote. The number of the electorate did not increase in propor-

tion to the increase of population for the simple reason that those in power were in power as an organized minority, and so were afraid to let the rest share in the franchise, well knowing that if they did, theirs would be a minority in very truth.

The result was nearly always the same. Those who were not allowed to become freeholders left to form a settlement to suit themselves. After a while the older colonies woke up to the fact that the new ones were growing much more rapidly than they were, and they were forced in self-defense gradually to let down the bars. The past has shown us that wherever qualifications for suurage have existed, of any kind whatever, it has inevitably resulted in the elimination of the very life-blood of the community which is DISSIMILARITY of views.

* * *

The present can profit by the experience of the past. It is because women are one-half of the community and are different from men that we can look to them to bring to our modern governments the dissimilarity of ideas which furnishes the spur for the development of governments and of their component parts, men and women. Suffrage, then, "is coming"; it is more than coming—it is upon us now, as all of us know—those large cohorts of workers who are giving their time, strength and money to the speedy realization of the movement, and also those who so far have not been with us. The ranks of the latter are weakening fast and daily, and will soon join hands with us in a joyous but reverent welcome to "Votes for Women," as that vitalizing energy which society literally cannot afford to lose—the lack of which is fatal to the healthy existence of governments based even partially on democracy.



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omen Do Not Want It"

By Alice Stone Blackwell

It is often said that when the majority of women want the ballot, they will get it. Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of

women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

When a merchant in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted the store, and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Miss Anthony in 1854 circulated a petition to give married women the control of their own wages, many women slammed the door in her face, with the statement that they "had all the rights they wanted." When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, the women at her boarding-house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. Mary Lyon's first efforts for the higher education of women were received with ridicule, not only by the majority of men, but by the majority of women as well. When Vassar College was opened, a woman of more than ordinary education and intelligence voiced the general feeling when she said, "The mere fact that it is called a college for women is enough to condemn it. Of one thing, we may be sure: no refined Christian mother will ever send her daughter to Vassar College!"

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer wrote: "The objections to the political woman and to the educated woman present some instructive analogies. Fifty years ago it was seriously believed that knowing the classics would ruin her morals, philosophy her religion, and mathematics her health. In general a college education would take away the desire to be a good wife and mother. To protect a being so frail, the colleges were

carefully closed against her."

When the Oxford examinations were thrown open to women, the Dean of Chichester preached a sermon against it. He said: "By the sex at large, certainly, the new curriculum is not asked for. I have ascertained, by extended inquiry among gentlewomen, that, with true feminine instinct, they either entirely distrust, or else look with downright disfavor on so wild an innovation and interference with the best

traditions of their sex."

In Eastern countries, where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. Pundita Ramabai tells us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons who take a strong interest in any reform are generally few, whether among men or women, and they are habitually regarded with disfavor by most of those whom the proposed reform is to benefit.

Before the suffrage movement in England began, but when an agitation had arisen against woman's exclusion from education and the professions, and (if married) from personal and property rights, Mrs. Taylor, afterwards the wife of John Stuart Mill, published in the Westminster Review of July, 1851, a noteworthy article, describing the lamentable position of women as regarded civil rights. Mrs. Taylor wrote: "A few words must be said on one plea which in England is made much use of for giving an unselfish air to the upholding of selfish privileges, and which, with unreflecting people, passes for much more than it is worth. Women, it is said, do not desire what is called their emancipation. On the contrary, they generally disown such claims when made in their behalf, and fall with acharnement upon any one of themselves who identifies herself with the common cause. The literary class of women, especially, are ostentatious in disclaiming the desire for equality, and proclaiming their complete satisfaction with the place which society assigns them." This was a place which the most extreme anti-suffragist would today regard as intolerable. Mrs. Taylor added: "Custom hardens human beings to any kind of degradation; and submission is inculcated on women from childhood as the peculiar attraction and grace of their character."

It is a simple historical fact that the majority of women have never rebelled, no matter how unfair the conditions in which they have been placed. James Bryce says,

in "Transcaucasia and Ararat":

"Nothing strikes a Westerner with more disgust than the way he sees women treated in Mohammedan countries. It is not so much the enforced seclusion that revolts you as the tacit assumption that women are inferior creatures altogether, unfit to be companions for man, but rather to be reckoned a link between him and the brutes, and treated with little more regard than the latter. That they acquiesce uncomplainingly in this view, and assert their power in hidden and crooked ways,

does not make the sight less offensive, or the results less mischievous.'

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, because they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. In the light of history, the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has not more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.



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Woman Suffrage

ITS RELATION TO WORKING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

By Florence Kelley

Never before in the history of the human race have children and young women formed, as they do to-day, an important part of the working force of great industrial communities wholly apart from their parents and the family life.

In the telephone and telegraph service something like a revolution would be caused if suddenly all the young people under the age of twenty-one were withdrawn. In retail trade the cash children, bundle-girls, wrappers and junior clerks are an extremely important part of the whole working force.

Every improvement in machinery and in industrial organization tends to summon to the ranks of industry an increasing number of young recruits.

How long these young workers shall be employed in a day may be literally a matter of life and death for them. Within my own acquaintance more than one young girl has died of pneumonia, rheumatism, tuberculosis, due directly to overtime work with the accompanying exhaustion and loss of power to resist disease.

Now the health, morals and intelligence of the rising generation are peculiarly objects of solicitude of women. To deprive women of an equal share of power to determine the laws for these young workers is to give cruelly unequal power to sordid employers.

In manufacture, older men form a larger part of the total working force than in retail trade. And the older men are voters. Factory laws are obtained, therefore, with greater ease than workable laws for safeguarding the health and welfare of children and young girls.

A sinister chapter to which too little attention has hitherto been paid is the failure of our legislatures and courts to afford to young girls protection from seduction, assault and enslavement in infamous houses. The difficulty involved in obtaining the conviction of malefactors is known only to the few faithful souls who have attempted to obtain due punishment of these grave offenses. Mothers in any community are more deeply stirred by these offenses than by any others, but judges and juries vary beyond belief in their treatment of criminals guilty of crimes against girls.

In one Western state a woman worked fourteen years to obtain the enact-

ment of a workable statute to punish crimes against female minors. At last such a law was passed and vigorously enforced. Fourteen criminals were sent to the penitentiary. Then a young lawyer offered his services to one of the criminals to free him by showing that the law was unconstitutional, because the title should have read "to define and punish crimes against female minors"; whereas in fact the two words "define and" were missing from the title, the necessary definition was contained in the body of the statute. Upon this frivolous ground the Supreme Court of the State held the statute invalid and nine of the fourteen criminals were forthwith freed. The remaining five were too poor or too ignorant to obtain counsel and remained in the penitentiary. The patient woman whose work was thus frustrated continued the agitation. The legislature, after great effort on her part, re-enacted the statute with the title complete. But the nine criminals could not again be tried for the same offense, and remained at liberty. It is hard to believe that such weary effort would be needed if the mothers and the teachers were a part of the voting constituency upon whom judges and legislators depend for their political careers.

It is the children of the poor who form the working contingent in retail trade. It is the daughters of the poor who chiefly fall victims to the basest crimes. Poor, young, ignorant, unorganized, they depend for protection upon laws framed and enforced by persons older than themselves. Is it safe or sane to exclude from the full share of power and responsibility the mothers and teachers, the older women whose first care is for the welfare of the young?



If this interests you send for "THE ABOLITION OF CHILD LABOR," by Florence Kelley.

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WOMEN AND THE SCHOOLINGOTE, " MINN.

By Alice Stone Blackwell.

A curious example of the misleading use of statistics is shown in a recent anti-suffrage pamphlet. The figures of the women's school vote in Boston and Massachusetts are given by Dr. Edward M. Hartwell. He says that the average number of women voting in Boston during the first decade after school suffrage was granted was 2,759, during the second decade 7,646, and during the third decade 9,258. In the State at large the average number voting for the 20 years from 1890 to 1910 was 15,600. The number voting in 1911 was 22,755, and in 1912, 46,716. From these figures he argues that women's interest in the school vote is declining!

How does he get at so extraordinary a conclusion? He holds that women's interest is to be measured not by the number who actually vote, but by the proportion of those who vote to those who are registered. The fallacy of this can best be shown by a concrete illustration: suppose that in 1879 only one woman in all Massachusetts had registered, and she had voted. Suppose that in 1912, 100,000 women had registered, of whom 90,000 voted. According to Dr. Hartwell's reasoning, Massachusetts women would have shown more interest in school suffrage in 1879 than 1912, because in 1879 the women voted 100 per cent. of their registration, while in 1912 they did not.

The smallest vote ever cast by Boston women was in 1882, when only 498 voted. But Dr. Hartwell finds their minimum interest in 1908, when

4,363 voted!

A great many more women in Massachusetts vote now than in the early days, but in the early days the women voted more closely up to their registration. They did so because the conditions of registration in those days were expensive and troublesome. For one thing, women had to be registered afresh every year. Col. T. W. Higginson, whose wife was an invalid, and who attended to the business for her, said it cost him more time and trouble to keep his wife's name on the school voters' register than to attend to all his own political duties. No woman's name was on the register in any year unless she had applied that year to have it put there, for the express purpose of voting at that year's election. In those days almost all the women who were registered voted. Later the registration law for women was changed, and made more like that for men. A woman's name, once placed on the register, is now kept there until she dies, moves or marries. When a town or city shows a large registration of women and a small vote, it means that on some occasion-perhaps ten years ago-there was an exciting contest at the school election, and many women registered and voted. When the contest was over, most of the women ceased to vote, but their names staved on

the register. This is the simple explanation of the lessened proportion of women voters to registration, despite the increase of women's actual vote.

It is idle to infer that few women would use the full vote because few use the school vote. In the case of men, everyone knows that a large vote is cast at large elections and a small vote at small elections. In New York, throughout the country districts, school elections are held separately, and the State Commissioner of Education (Mr. Skinner) several years ago pointed out that the men's school vote is about as small as the women's Toronto many years ago ceased to hold its school election at a separate time from the municipal election, and one reason given for the change was that a mere handful of men turned out to vote.

In Kansas, women obtained school suffrage in 1861. Their vote was small. In 1887 they obtained municipal suffrage, and their vote at once became very much larger; and since they gained full suffrage there has been no complaint of lack of interest. In Colorado women gained the school vote in 1876. Their vote was small. In 1893 they gained full suffrage, and the Colorado Legislature, by a practically unanimous vote of both Houses, has declared that "the women ever since have exercised the privilege as generally as the men." In Oregon, women got school suffrage in 1878. Their vote was small. In 1912 they got full suffrage, and, though women constitute considerably less than 50 per cent of the total population, the press despatches from a whole series of local elections report the women as casting from 30 to 40 per cent of the total vote. Washington's experience has been the same.

It is to be regretted that women do not turn out in great numbers at school elections; but it is only a new proof of the truth of Mrs. Poyser's immortal saying: "I'm not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty

made them to match the men!"

The experience of women's school vote in more than half the States of the Union has completely disproved two of the favorite anti arguments: (1) that the bad women would outvote the good ones; and (2) that the women opposed to suffrage would feel under a conscientious compulsion to vote. Iulia Ward Howe wrote, in The Woman's Journal of Jan. 23, 1909:

"With rare exceptions, the ladies who make a specialty of opposing equal suffrage do not use the school ballot. With what consistency, then, can they object to full suffrage on the ground that it would impose on them 'an added duty'? By actions which speak louder than words, they every year declare their conviction that the right to vote carries with it no duty or obligation whatever."—From The "Woman's Journal," for March 1, 1913.

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Do Men Represent Women?

By Anne O'Hagan

NO—no class has ever, in the history of the world, proved itself equal to legislating justly—continuously justly—for any other class. And man legislating as a class for women as a class has been no exception to the universal rule.

Men, making and interpreting laws for women as well as for themselves, were over a hundred and fifty years in deciding that the word "youth" might include girls as well as boys, and the free-school system of the country might be as widely utilized by girls as by boys. It took a period much longer for the beginning of the doctrine of equal pay for equal work to be even lisped.

Men, making and interpreting laws for women as well as for themselves, were an astonishingly long time in reaching the doctrine that a woman's property is ever so remotely her own. It was less than twenty years ago—in 1894—that a sheriff, waited at the church door of a certain town in Kentucky for the conclusion of a marriage ceremony; that ceremony would make the woman's property the man's without any further ado about it—any fuss and feathers with deeds and signatures—and the sheriff, having a judgment for debt against the man, waited in order to be able to seize at once the most readily available piece of the bride's property. It happened to be the bridal coach and horses.

Men, legislating for women as well as for themselves, have not at all universally decided that a mother's guardianship rights in her children are equal to a father's. In not all the states are the rights of parents equal yet; and it was not until 1893 that the law in New York State recognized the mother's rights in her children as equal to the father's.

Men, legislating for women as well as for themselves, were responsible for the unspeakable statutes declaring the age at which girls might be consid-

ered as responsible for their own ruin. In twenty-nine of the states this age was originally ten years, and amendment has been laboriously slow and inadequate throughout.

Men, in short, legislating as a class for women as a class, have done exactly what every ruling class has always done throughout the history of the world—they have discriminated against the class which had no legal voice. That is the condition that democracy aims to correct; and democratic governments are founded as much upon the long roll call of the failures, on the part of aristocracies, oligarchies, and monarchies, to deal justly with the classes not represented in their governments as upon the glorious words about liberty, equality, and fraternity, to which the ardent hearts of the world were thrilling at the time the Declaration of Independence was written.—From "Why I Am a Suffragist," in Smith's Magazine.



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National American Woman Suffrage Association 505 Fifth Avenue New York City laws have their votes passed? Is woman suffrage considered a success by the states that have it?" The Sun summarized the results of the investigation made by its correspondents, as follows:—"Women who have the vote do vote. Their ballot has already passed a considerable body of law. The suffrage states seem to be satisfied to have women go on voting." A summary of the many splendid laws for women and children directly attributed to the ballots of women was printed by the Evening Sun.

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Fact No. 13.—The legislatures of the two oldest suffrage states—Colorado and Wyoming—have formally adopted resolutions declaring woman suffrage to be an unqualified success. The legislature of California has passed a resolution calling upon Congress to pass an amendment enfranchising all of the women of the United States.

Fact No. 14.—Both Houses of the Australian Parliament have passed resolutions

declaring woman suffrage an unqualified success in that country.

Fact No. 15.—Arizona, California, Colorado and Washington are the only states

in the Union which have eight-hour laws for working women.

21,00 markete.

Fact No. 16.—California, Colorado, Oregon and Washington have commissions with power to fix a minimum wage in industry. Utah has a minimum wage law. Of the other four equal suffrage states, three have practically no women employed in industry, and the fourth has been an equal suffrage state only one year. The only non-suffrage states with minimum wage commissions are Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska and Wisconsin.

Fact No. 17.-In all the equal suffrage states women teachers and women in

public service get equal pay for equal work.

Fact No. 18.—California, Kansas, Utah, Washington and Oregon has passed the "Red Light Abatement and Injunction Law"—admitted by authorities to be the best law so far tried for combatting commercialized vice. The only non-suffrage states which have passed this law are Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Women voters are given the credit for the recall of Police Magistrate Weller of San Francisco because of his protection of commercialized vice interests, and also for forcing the abolition of segregated districts in Salt Lake City, Denver, and other large cities of the equal suffrage states.

Fact No. 19.—In all the equal suffrage states the age of consent for girls is eighteen except in Oregon where it is sixteen. In seven non-suffrage states the age of consent is only fourteen; in one state twelve, and one only seven; while only eight

non-suffrage states have the age as high as eighteen.

Fact No. 20.—California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Oregon and Washington have passed mothers' pension laws. California, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Utah have splendid child labor laws far in advance of the legislation in most of the non-suffrage states.

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403 ESSEN

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Twenty Facts About Woman Suffrage

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

Fact No. 1.—Over three million six hundred thousand women in the United States can vote for president.

Fact No. 2.—In nine states—Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming—and in the territory of Alaska, women have full suffrage on exactly the same terms as men.

Fact No. 3.—Every equal suffrage state is adjacent to another equal suffrage state—that is, every state except Wyoming which had granted votes for women previously had an opportunity to know how equal suffrage worked in one or more neighboring states.

Fact No. 4.—In Illinois women can vote for presidential electors and for all officers and on all questions not provided for in the State Constitution. In nineteen states of the United States women have school suffrage; and in five states limited suffrage on questions of taxing and bonding.

Fact No. 5.—Norway, Finland, Australia, New Zealand and the Isle of Man have given full suffrage to women. These are among the most progressive and enlightened countries of the world.

Fact No. 6.—In every one of the above countries the municipal suffrage was granted first and the full suffrage granted only after the smaller measure had been thoroughly tested.

Fact No. 7.—In Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and nine of the provinces of Canada women have municipal franchise. Denmark and Iceland are on the point of extending the full suffrage to women. In the cities of Belize in Honduras, Bombay in India and Rangoon in Burmah, the women share hatever municipal franchise rights the man have.

Fact No. 8.—In November, 1914, equal suffrage amendments will be submitted to the voters in North and South Dakota, Nevada, Montana, Nebraska, and probably n Missouri, Ohio and Oklahoma.

Fact No. 9.—The legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Iowa have passed suffrage bills which must be approved by the 1915 legislatures before they can be submitted to the voters.

Fact No. 10.—Wherever any country, state or community has granted women a measure of suffrage, women are still enjoying it, although in many cases the original franchise right has been enlarged and extended,

HOW WOMEN VOTE

Fact No. 11.—In answer to a set of questions sent out by suffragists, one hundred and forty mayors of cities and towns in the four oldest equal suffrage states—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—and in Kansas, where women had municipal suffrage at the time, unanimously replied; first, that the women do vote in large numbers; second, that the women are public spirited and take an intelligent interest in public affairs; third, that the vote of disreputable women is a negligible factor.

Fact No. 12.—The gist of an extensive questionnaire recently sent out by the Evening Sun (of New York City) was, "Do women who have the vote, vote? What

Equal Suffrage is Helping to Bring Equal Pay for Equal Work. The salaries of the women clerks in public service have been increased. The general recognition of political equality helps toward economic equality.

The Eight-Hour Law for Women Has Been Extended to include nurses in training and workers in apartment houses.

The Juvenile Court Law Has Been Improved by separating dependent from delinquent children.

Pensions for Teachers Who Have Served Thirty Years are provided.

The Age of Consent Has Been Raised From 16 to 18 years of age.

A State Training School for Girls Has Been Provided, separating the girls from the boys and giving vocational training.

The Community Property Law Has Been Amended to be more just to women.

The Guardianship of Children is Divided Between Mother and Father. Previously fathers were the sole guardians of minor children.

Funds for Needy Mothers Are Provided under careful supervision. An investigation into the subject of Mother's Pensions has been voted.

The So-Called "Bad Woman" Does Not Register except in very small numbers. All persons in registering must swear to their residence and occupation, and this class of people does not wish to make public record of these things.

The Vote in the Segregated Districts is Very Light. The heaviest vote is always in the home districts.

Women Vote in Nearly the Same Percentage as Men. A careful examination of voting in the cities of Southern California shows practically the same ratio of voting to registration. In some places women outvote men.

Women Are Working for Parks, Playgrounds, Cleaner Streets, better milk, better garbage collection and cleaner amusements. Unfranchised women are working for the same things but under far greater difficulties.

Women Did Not Promise to Institute Any Reforms or to support any party. They owe the ballot to the progressives of the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties, and to the general intelligence of the men of California.

[Reprinted from The Woman's Bulletin which is published at Monrovia, California. Facts in support of the statements made above may be obtained from The Woman's Bulletin.]



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National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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Two Years of Equal Suffrage in California — Its Results

Women Do Not Neglect Their Homes. Political activity and service are carried on by women whose children are grown, by women without children or by unmarried women, just as club activities are carried on.

Suffrage Has Proved to be Another Bond of Common Interest between husband and wife. They do not always agree in opinion, but discussion has added to their information and has not broken up any homes.

Women Seldom Seek Political Office. No women ran for the Legislature and none has been elected to any but minor positions. Many have been appointed to political positions. As a whole women have shown a remarkable desire to fit themselves for office before seeking its responsibilities.

Women Do Not Pay a Poll Tax. The Poll Tax is not a voting tax but a school and military tax imposed upon men only, citizens and aliens alike.

Women Are Registered in Their Homes. The regular biennial registration is largely made by house-to-house visits of Deputy County Clerks. There is no trouble or inconvenience about registering.

Women Attend Political Meetings, Often Taking Their Children with them.

Women Conduct Schools of Voting and Teach Men as well as women how to vote correctly.

Polling Places Have Been Made Entirely Desirable. Schools, churches, libraries, club houses and tents are now used extensively. The use of livery stables, barns, barber shops and similar places has been stopped. No man now would question the desirability of having his wife go to the polls.

Women Frequently Serve As Election Judges. They are interested, conscientious and reliable. Several of the county clerks have stated that they prefer to have women as Judges.

As a Rule Women Do Not Vote Unless They Understand a Question. Men frequently vote "No" on all propositions they do not understand, but women refrain from voting.

Women Vote More Rapidly and With Fewer Mistakes than men. This is generally commented upon by election officials. It is due to the fact that women study the sample ballots and know exactly how they are going to vote.

A Petition to Appeal the Suffrage Amendment Was Stopped as soon as the first few elections demonstrated the sensible way that women would vote.

Those Who Were Anti-Suffragists Register and Vote as faithfully as the Suffragists. Most of them honestly believed that women were not ready for the responsibility of the ballot, but since they have a duty to perform they have accepted their share.

Women Formerly Opposed to Suffrage Have Served as delegates to Suffrage Conventions.



[1913]

9

LIQUOR VERSUS SUFFRAGE

The liquor dealers paid for the circulation of literature issued by the "Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage." Clear proof of this was given by the sending out of the following letter and advertisement, which were published in the Kalamazoo Telegraph-Express of April 5, 1913, and in other Michigan papers:

Macomb County Retail Liquor Dealers' Association.

Office of the Secretary, Mt. Clemens, Mich., March 31, 1913.

To the Publisher:

I enclose herewith copy of an advt. which I wish you would insert in this week's issue of your paper, making ten inches in depth, double column, on your local page or front page, if possible.

I will thank you to see that this is done, and mail statement of charges, and also marked copy to me, and we will remit for the same.

Thanking you in advance for your attention to this matter, I am, yours truly,

Joseph Matthews, Secretary.

And here is the enclosure for the publication of which the Macomb

County Retail Liquor Dealers' Association guaranteed payment. It is called "An Appeal to Men," and reads as follows:

"You should vote against woman suffrage for ten thousand reasons.

"We mention but six.

"We women are not suffering at the hands of our fathers, husbands and brothers, because they protect us in our homes.

"Keep mother, wife and sister in the protected home. Do not force us into partisan politics.

"Put a cross before the word "No" on April 7, and win our gratitude."

VOTE NO, APRIL 7

Issued by Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, office 1128 Majestic Building, Detroit. Phone, Cherry 4726; President, Mrs. Henry F. Lyster, the Pasadena Apartments; treasurer, Mrs. James Cosslett Smith, the Palms Apartments; secretary, Miss Helen E. Keep, 753 Jefferson avenue; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Wm. S. Jerome, 84 Prentis avenue; vice-presidents, Mrs. L. E. Clark, Mrs. C. A. Kent, Mrs. Chas. W. Casgrain, Miss Stella Ford.

In Montana, too, the liquor interest is fighting woman suffrage. Collier's Weekly says (April 12, 1913):

"In a recent issue we published por-

tions of a letter written by the Montana Protective Association (of the liquor interests) to a Detroit firm which manufactures steam fixtures sometimes used in barrooms. The letter was a request for funds to wage the campaign against woman suffrage. The funds not being forthcoming, a further, more frantic, appeal has been received from the liquor interests. It reads:

"Our State Legislature has just closed its session, and our association has been very successful in defeating many measures which would have harassed the trade in Montana. It has been a difficult task, for Montana, like all other States, is feeling the effect of the great reform wave which is sweeping the country. The battle we have been fighting during the last sixty days has depleted our treasury, and we are not through yet. Besides this, the great question of woman suffrage will be submitted to the elec-

tors at an early date. We are now preparing a State-wide campaign against woman suffrage in this State, because the leaders have avowed that one of the principal reasons why they desire women to vote is that it will afford them the best means of sweeping the saloon business out of Montana. Our local retailers are doing all they can, but the burden is too heavy for them to carry it alone, and it is only right that those who are enjoying and making a profit from the sale of their goods should help us in conserving for them their accounts and business."

Woman suffrage and reform, reform and woman suffrage, the agents of evil find it very hard to distinguish between the two. They are firmly and unshakenly convinced that when women have the ballot the success of the liquor interests in "defeating measures which harass the trade in Montana" will be brought to an end.

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For news of the suffrage movement all over the world, read the only national suffrage newspaper, The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. \$1.00 per year.

[1913]

Do You Know?

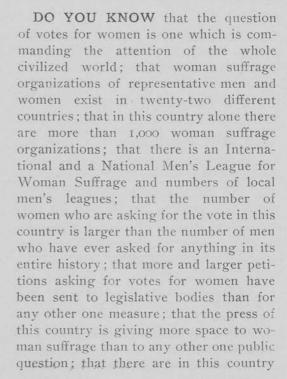
By
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Revised and Extended

National American Woman Suffrage Association
507 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

DO YOU KNOW?

By
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT





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no less than nine periodical publications devoted exclusively to winning votes for women?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of New Zealand and the women of Australia possess all the political rights accorded to men?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Finland vote in all elections upon the same terms as men, and that since their enfranchisement in 1906, from sixteen to twenty-five have been elected to the different Parliaments?

DO YOU KNOW that in Norway all women have the municipal franchise and tax-paying women the full Parliamentary vote, and that the last small political disability will probably be wiped out in the near future; that in 1910, one woman sat in the Norwegian Parliament and 222 women were elected members and alternates to city councils?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of Iceland have the municipal franchise equally with men, that since 1902 one-fourth of the members of the council of the capital city have been women, that in

1911 a bill giving the full franchise to women on the same terms as men passed the Icelandic Parliament and that this will undoubtedly pass a second time at the next Parliament so that Icelandic women will shortly be voting equally with men?

DO YOU KNOW that in Sweden women have had some measure of suffrage since the eighteenth century, that in 1862 unmarried women who had to pay taxes were given the municipal franchise, and that in 1909 this right was extended to all women; that, furthermore, it is only a matter of a little time before women will have the full Parliamentary vote? The measure has already twice passed the Lower House of the Swedish Parliament and is known to have the support of the King and the Prime Minister. It is opposed only by the aristocrats of the Upper House who are against all democratic measures, but it is admitted that even they cannot long keep back so popular a cause.

DO YOU KNOW that in Denmark all women who pay taxes and the wives of men who pay taxes were given the municipal franchise in 1908, and that, as in

Sweden, the measure to extend to them the full Parliamentary vote has passed the Lower House in two successive sessions of Parliament, and that, as in Sweden, it has the support of the King, the Prime Minister and the people in general, and is opposed only by the aristocrats of the Upper House who cannot long continue to stand out against the popular will?

DO YOU KNOW that in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales women vote in all elections except for members of Parliament; that in England women are eligible and have been elected to office as mayors and members of city and county councils; and that on the Isle of Man women who pay rent or taxes can vote for members of the Manx Parliament?

DO YOU KNOW that in six of the provinces of Canada—Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Quebec and the Northwest Territory—unmarried women who pay taxes have the municipal vote, and that in British Columbia and Manitoba the municipal suffrage is held by all tax-paying women?

DO YOU KNOW that women have the municipal vote in Burma, and in the cities of Baroda and Bombay in British India; that in certain provinces of Austro-Hungary they hold more or less political rights; that in Java they share the small measure of suffrage possessed by men; and that, under the recently-granted constitution, they have the municipal vote in Siam?

DO YOU KNOW that in Austro-Hungary and in Portugal electoral reform measures are pending which, if passed, will extend a generous measure of suffrage to women; that the Spanish Parliament has proposed to give certain voting rights to certain women householders; and that the revolutionary government in China stands pledged to woman suffrage, and that women have already voted in one province; that in France a special commission appointed to investigate the question has recommended that the full franchise be extended to women as rapidly as may be deemed feasible and that the municipal franchise be granted immediately?

DO YOU KNOW that in our own

country women have been voting on the same terms as men in Wyoming since 1869, in Colorado since 1893, in Utah and Idaho since 1896; that in 1910 the state of Washington voted three to one to extend the full suffrage to women; that in 1911, California doubled the number of voting women in this country by giving the full suffrage to more than half a million women citizens; that in 1912, the men of Kansas, Oregon, Arizona and Michigan voted to give votes to their women? In Michigan the measure was defeated by a fraudulent count of the ballots, but it will be re-submitted in the near future when it will almost undoubtedly win.

DO YOU KNOW that wherever women have got the vote they have used it in large numbers—larger, frequently, than the men of the same city, state or country; that in the first election after the New Zealand women were given the franchise, seventy-eight per cent of the women voted as opposed to sixty-nine per cent of the men, while in subsequent elections the proportion of both men and women voting steadily rose until now it is about eighty per cent of the qualified

persons of both sexes; that in the equal suffrage states of our own country from seventy to ninety per cent of the women vote, whereas in most states of the Union only sixty to sixty-five per cent of the qualified men voters actually cast their ballots; that in some of the equal suffrage states almost half the vote is cast by women, although they do not nearly constitute half the population; that in the first elections after the Washington women were enfranchised, women's votes secured the recall of corrupt city governments in Seattle and Tacoma; that in the first election after the women of California were enfranchised, taking place in Los Angeles in 1911, ninety-five per cent of the women voted, outnumbering the men voters in many wards.

DO YOU KNOW that, on the other hand, large numbers of men are utterly indifferent to their rights as voters; that in the presidential election of 1912, the total vote cast was only 14,720,038, while the number of men eligible to vote was 24,335,000; that in the presidential election of 1908 the total vote cast was only 14,888,442, while the number of men

eligible to vote was fully 22,000,000; that in the presidential election of 1904 the total vote was only 13,961,560 while the total number of men eligible to vote was 21,000,000?

DO YOU KNOW, moreover, that in every state and country where the franchise has been extended to women, the vote of the men has steadily risen? In Australia in the first elections in which women voted, taking place in 1903, 53 per cent of the men eligible cast their ballots, whereas, in 1906, 56 per cent, and in 1901, 67 per cent cast their ballots. In our own country the vote of the men is larger in the equal suffrage states than in most of those in which women are unenfranchised.

DO YOU KNOW that extending the franchise to women actually increases the proportion of intelligent voters; that there is now and has been for years, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, one-third more girls in the high schools of the country than boys; and that, according to the last census, the illiterate men of the country greatly outnumbered the illiterate women?

DO YOU KNOW that extending the suffrage to women increases the moral vote: that in all states and countries that have adopted equal suffrage the vote of the disreputable women is practically negligible, the slum wards of cities invariably having the lightest woman vote and the respectable residence wards the heaviest; that only one out of every twenty criminals are women; that women constitute a minority of drunkards and petty misdemeanants; that for every prostitute there are at least two men responsible for her immorality; that in all the factors that tend to handicap the progress of society, women form a minority, whereas in churches, schools and all organizations working for the uplift of humanity. women are a majority?

DO YOU KNOW that extending the suffrage to women increases the number of native-born voters; that for every one hundred foreign white women immigrants coming to this country there are 129 men, while among Asiatic immigrants the men outnumber the women two to one, according to the figures of the census of 1910?

DO YOU KNOW that there are in the United States about 8,000,000 women in gainful occupations outside the home who need the protection of the ballot to regulate the conditions under which they must labor; and that the efforts of working women to regulate these conditions without the ballot have been practically unavailing?

DO YOU KNOW that the laws of many states discriminate unjustly against women; that, for instance, in only sixteen is a mother equal guardian with the father over her own children; that for fifty-five years the women of Massachusetts worked for an equal guardianship law and then succeeded in getting it only when a dreadful tragedy had shocked the public into a realization of the injustice of the old law, whereas in Colorado women had themselves made equal guardians with the fathers over their children in the very next year following their eniranchisement?

DO YOU KNOW that wherever women, the traditional housekeepers of the world, have been given a voice in the gov-

ernment, public housekeeping has been materially improved by an increased attention to questions of pure food, pure water supply, sanitation, housing, public health and morals, child welfare and education?

DO YOU KNOW that the movement for woman suffrage is just a part of the eternal forward march of the human race toward a complete democracy; that in the American colonies only a very small proportion of the men could vote; that even after the revolution only property-holders could vote; that it was only by slow and hard-fought stages that all men finally won the right to vote; and that in most foreign countries the franchise for men is still heavily loaded with restrictions?

DO YOU KNOW that the legislatures of some of the suffrage states, the Australian Parliament, and numbers of the most representative people, both men and women, in all the suffrage states and countries have testified time and again in print and over their own signatures, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which its opponents fear, but has, in-

stead, been productive of much positive good; that it has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, rendered homes happier, ennobled men and dignified politics; that in all the places where women vote, the opponents, thus far, have not been able to find a dozen respectable men to assert, over their own names and addresses, that it has had any bad results; that more than five hundred organizations-state, national and international other than woman suffrage associations, aggregating approximately a membership of over 50,000,000, have officially endorsed woman suffrage.

DO YOU KNOW one single sound, logical reason why the intelligence and individuality of women should not entitle them to the rights and privileges of self-government?

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An Anti-Suffrage Monologue

MARIE JENNEY HOWE

LEASE do not think of me as old-fashioned. I pride myself on being a modern up-to-date woman. I believe in all kinds of broad-mindedness, only I do not believe in woman suffrage because to do that would be to deny my sex.

Woman suffrage is the reform against nature. Look at these ladies sitting on the platform. Observe their physical inability, their mental disability, their spiritual instability and general debility! Could they walk up to the ballot box, mark a ballot and drop it in? Obviously not. Let us grant for the sake of argument that they could mark a ballot. But could they drop it in? Ah, no. All nature is against it. The laws of man cry out against it. The voice of God cries out against it—and so do I.

Enfranchisement is what makes man man. Disfranchisement is what makes woman woman. If women were enfranchised every man would be just like every woman and every woman would be just like every man. There would be no difference between them. And don't you think this would rob life of just a little of its poetry and romance?

Man must remain man. Woman must remain woman. If man goes over and tries to be like woman, if woman goes over and tries to be like man, it will become so very confusing and so difficult to explain to our children. Let us take a practical example. If a woman puts on a man's coat and trousers, takes a man's cane and hat and cigar and goes out on the street, what will happen to her? She will be arrested and thrown into jail.

Then why not stay at home?

I know you begin to see how strongly I feel on this subject, but I have some reasons as well. These reasons are based on logic. Of course I am not logical. I am a creature of impulse, instinct and intuition-and I glory in it. But I know that these reasons are based on logic because I have culled them from the men whom it is my privilege to know.

My first argument against suffrage is that the women would not use it if they had it. You couldn't drive them to the polls. My second argument is, if the women were enfranchised they would neglect their homes, desert their families and spend all their time at the polls. You may tell me that the polls are only open once a year. But I know women. They are creatures of habit. If you let them go to the polls once a year, they will hang round the polls all the rest of the time.

I have arranged these arguments in couplets. They go together in such a way that if you don't like one you can take the other. This is my second anti-suffrage couplet. If the women were enfranchised they would vote exactly as their husbands do and only double the existing vote. Do you like that argument? If not, take this one. If the women were enfranchised they would vote against their own husbands, thus creating dissen-

sion, family quarrels, and divorce.

My third anti-suffrage couplet is-women are angels. Many men call me an angel and I have a strong instinct which tells me it is true; that is why I am an anti, because "I want to be an angel and with the angels stand." And if you don't like that argument take this one. Women are depraved. They would introduce into politics a vicious element which would ruin our national life.

Fourth anti-suffrage couplet: women cannot understand politics. Therefore there would be no use in giving women political power, because they would not know what to do with it. On the other hand, if the women were enfranchised, they would mount rapidly into power, take all the offices from all the men, and soon we would have women governors of all our states and dozens of women acting as President of the United States.

Fifth anti-suffrage couplet: women cannot band together. They are incapable of organization. No two women can even be friends. Women are cats. On the other hand, if women were enfranchised, we would have all the women banded together on one side and all the men banded together on the other side, and there would follow a sex war which might end in bloody revolution.

Just one more of my little couplets: the ballot is greatly over-estimated. It has never done anything for anybody. Lots of men tell me this. And the corresponding argument is—the ballot is what makes man man. It is what gives him all his dignity and all of his superiority to women. Therefore if we allow women to share this privilege, how could a woman look up to her own husband? Why,

there would be nothing to look up to.

I have talked to many woman suffragists and I find them very unreasonable. I say to them: "Here I am, convince me." I ask for proof. Then they proceed to to tell me of Australia and Colorado and other places where women have passed excellent laws to improve the condition of working

women and children. But I say, "What of it?" These are facts. I don't care about facts. I ask

for proof.

Then they quote the eight million women of the United States who are now supporting themselves, and the twenty-five thousand married women in the City of New York who are self-supporting. But I say again, what of it? These are statistics. I don't believe in statistics. Facts and statistics are things which no truly womanly woman would ever use.

I wish to prove anti-suffrage in a womanly way that is, by personal example. This is my method of persuasion. Once I saw a woman driving a horse, and the horse ran away with her. Isn't that just like a woman? Once I read in the newspapers about a woman whose house caught on fire, and she threw the children out of the window and carried the pillows downstairs. Does that show political acumen, or does it not? Besides, look at the hats that women wear! And have you ever known a successful woman governor of a state? Or have you ever known a really truly successful woman president of the United States? Well, if they could they would, wouldn't they? Then, if they haven't, doesn't that show they couldn't? As for the militant suffragetttes, they are all hyenas in petticoats. Now do you want to be a hyena and wear petticoats?

Now, I think I have proved anti-suffrage; and I have done it in a womanly way—that is, without stooping to the use of a single fact or argument or a single statistic.

I am the prophet of a new idea. No one has ever thought of it or heard of it before. I well remember when this great idea first came to me. It waked me in the middle of the night with a shock

that gave me a headache. This is it: woman's place is in the home. Is it not beautiful as it is new, new as it is true? Take this idea away with you. You will find it very helpful in your daily lives. You may not grasp it just at first, but you will gradually grow into understanding of it.

I know the suffragists reply that all our activities have been taken out of the home. The baking, the washing, the weaving, the spinning are all long since taken out of the home. But I say, all the more reason that something should stay in the home. Let it be woman. Besides, think of the great modern invention, the telephone. That has been put into the home. Let woman stay at home and answer the telephone.

We antis have so much imagination! Sometimes it seems to us that we can hear the little babies in the slums crying to us. We can see the children in factories and mines reaching out their little hands to us, and the working women in the sweated industries, the underpaid, underfed women, reaching out their arms to us—all, all crying as with one voice, "Save us, save us, from Woman Suffrage." Well may they make this appeal to us, for who knows what woman suffrage might not do for such as these. It might even alter the conditions under which they live.

We antis do not believe that any conditions should be altered. We want everything to remain just as it is. All is for the best. Whatever is, is right. If misery is in the world, God has put it there; let it remain. If this misery presses harder on some women than others, it is because they need discipline. Now, I have always been comfortable and well cared for. But then I never needed discipline. Of course I am only a weak, ignorant woman. But there is one thing I do understand

1

from the ground up, and that is the divine intention toward woman. I know that the divine intention toward woman is, let her remain at home.

The great trouble with the suffragists is this; they interfere too much. They are always inter-

fering. Let me take a practical example.

There is in the City of New York a Nurses' Settlement, where sixty trained nurses go forth to care for sick babies and give them pure milk. Last summer only two or three babies died in this slum district around the Nurses' Settlement, whereas formerly hundreds of babies have died there every summer. Now what are these women doing? Interfering, interfering with the death rate! And what is their motive in so doing? They seek notoriety. They want to be noticed. They are trying to show off. And if sixty women who merely believe in suffrage behave in this way, what may we expect when all women are enfranchised?

What ought these women to do with their lives? Each one ought to be devoting herself to the comfort of some man. You may say, they are not married. But I answer, let them try a little harder and they might find some kind of a man to devote themselves to. What does the Bible say on this subject? It says, "Seek and ye shall find." Besides, when I look around me at the men; I feel that God never meant us women to be too

particular.

Let me speak one word to my sister women who are here to-day. Women, we don't need to vote in order to get our own way. Don't misunderstand me. Of course I want you to get your own way. That's what we're here for. But do it indirectly. If you want a thing, tease. If that doesn't work, nag. If that doesn't do, cry—crying always brings them around. Get what you

want. Pound pillows. Make a scene. Make home a hell on earth, but do it in a womanly way. That is so much more dignified and refined than walking up to a ballot box and dropping in a piece of paper. Can't you see that?

Let us consider for a moment the effect of woman's enfranchisement on man. I think some one ought to consider the men. What makes husbands faithful and loving? The ballot, and the monopoly of that privilege. If women vote, what will become of men? They will all slink off drunk and disorderly. We antis understand men. If women were enfranchised, men would revert to their natural instincts such as regicide, matricide, patricide and race-suicide. Do you believe in race-suicide or do you not? Then, isn't it our duty to refrain from a thing that would lure men to destruction?

It comes down to this. Some one must wash the dishes. Now, would you expect man, man made in the image of God, to roll up his sleeves and wash the dishes? Why, it would be blasphemy. I know that I am but a rib and so I wash the dishes. Or I hire another rib to do it for me, which amounts

to the same thing.

Let us consider the argument from the standpoint of religion. The Bible says, "Let the women keep silent in the churches." Paul says, "Let them keep their hats on for fear of the angels." My minister says, "Wives, obey your husbands." And by husband says that woman suffrage would rob the rose of its fragrance and the peach of its bloom. I think that is so sweet.

Besides did George Washington ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did the Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Did Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Hezekiah,

Obadiah and Jeremiah ever say, "Votes for women?" No. Then that settles it.

I don't want to be misunderstood in my reference to woman's inability to vote. Of course she could get herself to the polls and lift a piece of paper. I don't doubt that. What I refer to is the and on her highly wrought sensitive nature. Have you ever pictured to yourself Election Day with women voting? Can you imagine how women, having undergone this terrible ordeal, with their delicate systems all upset, will come out of the voting booths and be led away by policemen, and put into ambulances, while they are fainting and weeping, half laughing, half crying, and having fits upon the public highway? Don't you think that if a woman is going to have a fit, it is far better for her to have it in the privacy of her own home?

And how shall I picture to you the terrors of the day after election? Divorce and death will rage unchecked, crime and contagious disease will stalk unbridled through the land. Oh, friends, on this subject I feel—I feel, so strongly that I can not think!

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[Masch 6, 1913]

The Union Signal

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Vot. XXXIX

EVANSTON, ILL., MARCH 6, 1913

No. 10.

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The Veto of President Taft of the Kenyon-Webb Bill has been overridden by both houses of Congress. On February 28, the Senate, by a vote of 63 to 21, repassed the measure, and, on March 1, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 244 to 95, took similar action.

I thank God I have lived to see the day, when the representatives of the American people will answer on the roll call with their votes, the entreaties and imploring prayers of millions of country-serving, God-fearing, home-loving men and women. This day, O men, we who hold high station, can dedicate one vote to liberty, country, God, and home and re-dedicate the Constitution to the people and withdraw it forever as a bulwark for that conglomeration of cormorants who debauch manhood, slaughter womanhood, butcher childhood, and crucify babyhood on the cross of alcohol.—Representative Redateberry of Georgia.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENT

OF

MRS. A. J. GEORGE OF BROOKLINE, MASS.

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNITED STATES SENATE

APRIL 19, 1913



ARGUMENT OF MRS. A. J. GEORGE, OF BROOKLINE, MASS., BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE, UNITED STATES SEN-ATE, APRIL 19, 1913.

Mrs. George. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appears before this committee, which is understood already to be committed to a favorable report, in order that it may place on record the principles which are held by what is undoubtedly the majority of the women of this country, in regard to the distribution of the duties of life among men and women. The vote is far from being the whole story in this

The question of recommending an amendment to the Constitution of the United States interferes with our State system of determining the electorate—a system which up to the present time has been shown to advantage; particularly where those most concerned are not able to vote upon the question it is desirable that the State should hesitate to confer the franchise upon an electorate the majority of which is acknowledged to be indifferent or opposed to the exercise of the franchise, and it is desirable that the State should wait until the actual balance of opinion is shown to be with those who demand the extension of the franchise before so extending it.

Since the days of the Mayflower compact to the time of the Arizona constitution we have been a people bound to obedience under what is undubtedly the will of the majority; that the majority of the women of this country do not desire the suffrage, and that in no selfish way, but do not look upon the ballot as the best means of contributing their social efficiency to the body politic is shown by the fact that when the question is submitted to women a very small percentage of women go on record as in favor of woman suffrage.

The figures of the National Suffrage Association show that a scant 8 per cent of the women of voting age in this country are enrolled as suffragists, and surely we can reasonably assume that if an American

woman wants a thing she is quite likely to ask for it.

The only State which has had a poll of all the women of the State made possible is my own State of Massachusetts. In 1895 all persons who were eligible to vote for school committee were eligible to vote on the question submitted at the general election in November, Is it expedient that municipal suffrage should be granted to the women of Massachusetts?

Many people are in favor of municipal suffrage who do not advocate full suffrage for women. The suffragists had a splendid organization, 50 years old. They did everything they could during that summer of 1895 to bring out a large vote in favor of municipal suf-

frage for the women of Massachusetts.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

5

Our association was organized only in May of that year. There was also a man suffrage association, with Hon. Eben S. Draper as president, which worked to bring out the men's vote against the question, but urged the women who were opposed not to go on record, but to let the stay-at-home votes show the indifference of the average woman of Massachusetts. What was the result? Four per cent of the women of Massachusetts cared enough about municipal suffrage to go to the polls and register in favor of it at that November election.

The majority given by the men was the largest majority ever given to any question submitted to the people of the State. Every county and every congressional, councillor, senatorial, and representative district in the Commonwealth cast a majority against the proposition. The majority against woman suffrage in Massachusetts was more than twice as great as that against either prohibition or biennial elections.

That was in 1895, and you may say the world has moved rapidly since those days and that we should have another vote of the women now. It is an extraordinary thing that wherever you suggest to the suffragists that this measure should be submitted to the women they make lively opposition. In other words, they say that woman must have the ballot on every other question save this one in which she is most vitally concerned; and they contend that an electorate of men can properly decide this question, although an electorate of women must be enfranchised in order to properly decide all other questions.

There is nothing that so frightens a suffragist as a suggestion that this question be submitted to a vote of the women. They remember our vote in Massachusetts of 1895, where only 4 per cent of the women went on record in favor of woman suffrage, and they also remember that the membership of the National Suffrage Association is a small percentage of the women of the country, and they know, too, that where women have the opportunity to vote, when the novelty of the thing is passed, we find a small proportion of women voting.

In my State women have had the right to vote for school committees since 1879. A woman need only tell her age, which is a difficult proposition sometimes to make to the woman. You may smile, but you must remember that the first legislation put through in Colorado and the first legislation put through in California after women were enfranchised was a bill that a woman need only declare that she is of voting age. That is not equal rights; that is special privilege. But in my State if a woman is brave enough to tell her age and is a citizen she can register and vote for school committee without paying any poll tax. She paid a poll tax from 1879 to 1884. In 1884 the prepayment of a poll tax by men as a qualification for voting was done away with. It is not necessary now for anyone to show a receipt of payment of poll tax. It is only necessary to show that the voter has been assessed a poll tax, and a woman does not have to pay any poll tax whatever. Yet in Massachusetts in the last 17 years we have had a registration of women amounting to 4.8 per cent throughout the State of all the women who could register and vote, and of those only 2.1 per cent, less than 50 per cent of those registered, got to the polls on election day.

In 1879 the suffragists, eager and zealous and sincere women, who looked upon the ballot as the best means of showing woman's social

efficiency, said, "Evidently we can not hope for the full franchise at present, but give us the school vote and we will show you what we will do with it." And they have made a clear case for the antisuffragists.

You may say that this is a peculiar situation, that men would not vote if they could vote only on school matters, but the women said, "Give it to us as a test of our interest, and we will show you what

we will do."

In Boston last year, where the situation was very clear, we had a candidate of the machine and we had a woman candidate for the school board. We had not had a woman member of the school board for seven years. In passing it is interesting to note that we have had as strong women, if not stronger women, on our school boards in Massachusetts under the votes of men than we have had under the votes of men and women. But this year the issue was very clear. We had a machine candidate against a woman. The suffragists refused to indorse the woman because she would not indorse woman suffrage. She did not say she was opposed to woman suffrage, but she did not indorse woman suffrage. There was no question of her fitness; there was no question of her ability, because of her long training in educational work; but the suffragists refused to indorse her because she would not indorse the special means by which they proposed to better the conditions of our educational system.

Yet we found that under these conditions in this year 1913 fewer women went to the polls on election day than have gone any time since 1879, with two exceptions, and the votes of the men elected that

woman

We have never had so much agitation for woman suffrage in Boston and we have never had so little exercise of the suffrage which the women now hold.

The same holds true in Connecticut. From $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent of the women who can register and vote do so. The very day before the Connecticut women went before the Legislature of Connecticut to ask for the full vote there was a school election in Hartford, Conn. Eighteen thousand women were entitled to register and vote at that

election, and 95 women cast their vote on election day.

A current magazine widely circulated (The Outlook of Apr. 19, 1913, p. 839) cites the vote in the town of Dedham, Mass. Dedham is a fortunate town, and a particularly fair town to cite in evidence of woman's readiness to use the school suffrage. This magazine citation, however, does not take the actual number of votes cast, but does take the number of registered voters, and gives 49 as the number of the women voters in Dedham this year. As a matter of fact this was the number of women registered, for not a single woman has remembered it was election day for 11 years—for 11 years in the town of Dedham. I will leave with the clerk the figures furnished by the town clerk of Dedham:

Office of the Town Clerk, Dedham, Mass., April 12, 1913.

List of male and female voters in Dedham from the year 1879 to 1912, and also the number of men and women who voted between the years 1879 and 1912.

	Voters.		Actually voted.			Vot	ters.	Actually voted.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900	1,264 1,359 1,367 1,505 1,534 1,573 1,665 1,423 1,476 1,471 1,574 1,574	91 74 41 116 116 101 102 91	756 766 916 1,001 1,078 1,264 1,201 1,311 1,306 1,189 1,194 1,186 1,249	154 58 34 10 32 19 2 37 43 59 17 2 32	1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1908 1909 1910 1911 1911 1912 1913	1,642 1,643 1,670 1,634 1,687 1,710 1,681 1,793 1,803 1,884 1,948	74 72 69 65 65 63 60 56 55 55 49	1,271 1,240 1,113 1,326 1,422 1,340 1,354 1,260 1,439 1,540 1,587 1,609	

1 1879-1888, no record of number of voters or vote cast.

It is very difficult to give the figures in regard to the woman's vote in the suffrage States, because we are told by the secretaries of state of those States, that the votes of men and women are not segregated, they are not kept separate. I have it, however, on the authority of the commissioner of elections in San Francisco that "about two-thirds" of the registered women voted at the election of November 5, 1912. The commissioner reports that two-thirds of the registered women voters and two-thirds of the registered men voters voted. But he gives figures which show that only 39 per cent of the women registered. Therefore if only two-thirds of them got to the polls on November 5, only 26 per cent of the women of San Francisco availed themselves of the opportunity to vote for the first time in the history of their State for presidential electors on November 5, 1912.

Three years ago here in Washington you were told that there was to be a petition signed by a million women presented to Congress, and when that petition was presented it contained in round numbers the signatures of 160,000 women, of 122,000 men, and, according to suffrage reports, official reports, 119,000 unclassified. If they are not men or women I hardly know in what class we shall put that 119,000.

A Voice. Children.

Mrs. George. Some one suggests children. I have a photograph of the youngest member of the National Suffrage Association, and it is a baby 6 weeks of age. We saw in the parade last May babies wheeled up the street with the sign, "I wish mother could vote" on the perambulators. We also saw boys 12 years of age carrying banners, "I wish our schoolteacher could vote"; but, gentlemen, the matter of the extension of the suffrage to women is a more serious matter than questions of tariff or finance, and I fancy that the members of this committee would not give great weight to babies' arguments in regard to tariff or finance, or would not even take the experience of 12-year-old boys as a safe guide in a fundamental principle of government. [Applause.]

In Ohio in September last there was a majority of 87,000 against woman suffrage, and that majority was rolled up not because the special interests were opposed to women suffrage, not because men wished to withhold from women something which the men had, but because the average voter in Ohio voted as he believed the women he knew wished him to vote, and only 19 out of 88 counties in Ohio voted "yes" on the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage.

In New Hampshire a vote of the constitutional convention of that State was taken on June 20, 1912. The measure to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage had gone through the constitutional convention 10 years before, and had been defeated at the polls. Last June a similar measure did not even get through the constitutional convention, but was there defeated by a vote of 208 to 149, and, largely, we believe, because of the organized opposition of the women of New Hampshire, who believe that woman can best do her work apart from party politics. In three weeks the women of New Hampshire who had been roused to the dangers of the woman-suffrage propaganda, in three weeks those women collected one-half as many names of women 21 years of age and over—that is, possible voters—opposed to woman suffrage as the suffragists had gathered of men, women, and minors in 40 years of agitation. They reported about 3,500 signatures collected in three weeks as against 7,000 signatures collected "with great effort" by the suffragists in 40 years.

In 1848 the first woman's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, N. Y., and at that time a long list of grievances was drawn up, known as the "Declaration of sentiments." It forms interesting reading. I quote briefly:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpation on the part of man toward woman, having as the indirect object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

Man has endeavored in every way he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

And so the citation of "grievances" goes on, and always "her inalienable right to the elective franchise" is urged as the means to free women and girls from the yoke of men.

In 1848 there were many injustices and inequalities for women before the law still existing from the common law which we had inherited from England. It is a curious thing, however, that while all this agitation for woman suffrage has gone on, with the attempt to show that woman must have the ballot in order to be an equal with man, woman has had an increasing recognition of her legal and civil rights

Since 1848 the civil and legal rights of women have been so fully recognized that in the movement for woman suffrage we forget that the procession has passed and woman does not need the ballot as a means of justice.

There is no need to call to the attention of this committee the various rights and exemptions which woman enjoys to-day before the law. We were told last February in an edition of a New York daily that a certain woman would march up Pennsylvania Avenue in the parade of March 3 with hands shackled to show the condition

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

of the unenfranchised woman of this country. Curiously enough the same paper which gave us that information told us that a measure had been introduced in the Assembly of New York providing for a constitutional amendment which should forbid any distinction before the law on account of sex and should make inoperative on its passage

all such existing laws.

Which is the true picture of the condition of unenfranchised woman in this country—the woman who chooses to have her hands tied with rope and represent the state of the unenfranchised woman in this country, or the splendid recognition of woman's service to the State, which she alone can perform, and because of which a great State like New York gives her special rights and exemptions in order that the motherhood of the race may be protected and that our citizens shall have the birthright and the inheritance of a strong and vigorous childhood? [Applause.]

I have met a few suffragists who say that this is all wrong and we should have equal rights, responsibilities, and duties for all, and

special privileges to none.

Mr. Henry B. Blackwell said repeatedly before the Massachusetts Legislature that he believed women should have equal rights, responsibilities, and duties; and on one occasion he said, "And the wife should be equally responsible with the husband for the financial maintenance of the household." [Applause.]
They said back there in 1848, "Man has denied woman the facili-

ties for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed

It is a curious thing that there are to-day more institutions which grant degrees to women in this country than there are institutions which grant degrees to men-largely because of the fact that the men's colleges grant degrees from their graduate departments to women, while I know of but one woman's college which has granted even an honorary degree to a man, and that was within the last four months.

A great many things in life are coincident which are not consequent

one upon another as cause and effect.

Whatever part the agitation for woman suffrage has played in the opening of educational opportunities to women—and the work of the suffrage party has been for coeducation rather than for higher education—we must admit that the results have come, not by the use of the woman's vote, by which alone the early suffragists said they could accomplish these desirable results, but without the use of the

The foundation of Vassar, of Wellesley, of Smith, of Mount Holyoke, was in no way connected with the suffrage movement. The splendid pioneer work of Mary Lyon and Emily Willard and Catherine Beecher in showing what women could do found its logical result in the opening of the splendid colleges for women. If there were opportunity it would be worth while to consider the story of the opening of Harvard University examinations for women, and the opening of the graduate departments of Yale University to women. In both instances, by a curious coincidence, by a curious combination of circumstances, the men and women who worked for the opening of these educational opportunities for women in these two old, conservative universities have been antisuffragists, not a

suffragist in the lot. [Applause.]

The same is true in England. Mrs. Snowden told us here in her wonderfully brilliant addresses on woman suffrage, that the time had come in England where if a man said he was opposed to woman suffrage he argued "either that he was not very intelligent or not very good." But Mrs. Snowden knew at that time that the president of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was Earl Cromer, the maker of modern Egypt, and that the vice president was Earl Curzon, of Kedleston, former viceroy of India now the president of the league in England; Lord Curzon as regent of the great University of Oxford, has been foremost in urging that old conservative university to grant its degrees to women.

The connection between the agitation for woman suffrage and the higher education of woman is not apparent to those who read the

history of the movement.

They said back there in 1848 that man had "monopolized nearly all the profitable employments." By the census returns of 1900 we are told that women are actually engaged in 295 out of the 303 occupations in which men are engaged. Women, it is true, are not soldiers, sailors, or marines; neither are they street-car drivers; neither are they foremen in fire departments, nor are they apprentices to roofers and slaters, nor are they helpers to steam boiler makers or brass workers; but they are actually engaged in every other of the 303 occupations in which men are engaged, and still they do not have a vote in the great majority of the States of the Union. This is a great change from the days when women were engaged only in such occupations as household service, spinning and weaving, teaching dame schools, setting type, and keeping taverns. Everyone welcomes the opportunity of woman to earn her livelihood, but we are just beginning to realize that the State can not afford to drive its women into industry if thereby the State must lose woman's distinctive contribution as a citizen. After two generations of more or less thoughtless exploitation of women as wage earners, we are beginning to see that the woman goes into industry to meet all the hardships, all the problems of the workingman, plus the handicap of her sex, of her lower physical and nervous vitality. And, therefore, if woman is to be in industry, we must protect her especially, because we must protect the potential motherhood of the race. [Applause.]

We are only beginning to find the truth of this, and we are beginning to see by our reports on the conditions of such a city as Fall River, in my State, the report of the vice committee in Chicago, by the reports of the minimum wage commission in Massachusetts, that the girl and woman in industry can not go in as an equal with man in industry, but that she must be there with special safeguards,

because she is the mother of the future citizen.

I know it is a favorite argument of the suffragist to say that because of this fact, because of the entrance of woman into industry, we must give the industrial woman the ballot in order to protect herself. Protect herself against whom? we may ask. It is an extraordinary thing that the study of the body of remedial and protective legislation for working women shows that these against whom the working woman must be "protected"—these men-have

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

11

enacted laws more favorable to women in industry, more carefully safeguarding the child in industry in male-suffrage States than have been enacted in States where women vote. [Applause.]

This is not a charge against the working of woman suffrage, but it is a fair contention that where the industrial conditions have so developed as to show the waste to the State of employing women as men are employed we have the body of legislation best safeguard-

ing the woman and the child.

To explain: Women do not vote in Massachusetts; women do not vote in Nebraska; women do not vote in Indiana; and yet in those three male-suffrage States, and only in those three male-suffrage States, have we a prohibition of night work for women in manufacturing and mechanical establishments, and a prohibition of night work for women is considered the foundation principle of the best standard law you can have for women in industry.

One day's rest in seven is not provided for in these suffrage States under laws made under an electorate of women. You have a provision for one day's rest in seven in California. The eight-hour law was passed there nine months before the women voted, but it is always claimed as a suffrage victory; I do not know just why. But the law there does provide for one day's rest in seven. It does not prohibit night work; neither does it apply to women who are at work in the canneries, and canning is one of the great industries in California.

Massachusetts has a 54-hour law for women. It has a minimum wage commission, the first in this country. It has a maternity act, the first in this country, and that maternity act was adopted by New York, a male suffrage State, last year. The minimum wage and the maternity acts were copied, not from woman suffrage States, for women have voted in four States in our Union at periods varying from 20 to 44 years, but those laws were copied from continental Europe, which had found that it was poor economy to recklessly use the womanhood of the State in industrial lines, because of the inevitable results to the race.

As to child-labor laws: The national child labor committee has done more to have legislation for the protection of the child in industry spread upon the statute books than all the votes of men and women together, and women and men have worked together in getting before the people the conditions which should arouse public sentiment, so that it should insist upon legislation which shall pro-

tect the child.

The best child-labor law, in 1912, Dr. McKelway tells us—and I believe he is a suffragist—was in Massachusetts. I hope that some other State will this year outstrip the law of Massachusetts, so we shall again be put on our mettle and recognize the inexcusable waste which comes with the entrance of children into industry. It is particularly to the credit of Massachusetts that she has a good child-labor law, because with her great textile industries she has a temptation to exploit the work of women and children; but on suffrage authority we are told that not in some suffrage State but in a male suffrage State we have the best child-labor law. Again I say that it is not because the woman suffrage has failed to bring this legislation about, but because under male suffrage the law is enacted when public opinion stirs the public conscience.

Another thing which they said back there in 1848 was that taxation without representation was tyranny. It is a familiar saying, and we have seen it on banners carried in political parades, and it has been overworked on political platforms. But when James Otis gave utterance to those words in the old statehouse he was speaking about taxation of a colony that had no voice in a government overseas. He was not dreaming of universal manhood suffrage, let alone woman suffrage, and the tying up of the tax and the vote is a return to our old system when we had a property qualification; the vote and the tax have gone further and further apart since colonial days; there is but one State in the Union, the smallest State in the Union, which still has a property qualification required of the voter.

The tax is the price which the resident and the nonresident, which the man and the woman, which the alien and the citizen, which the individual and the corporation pay for the maintenance of roads, for the maintenance of schools, for the protection of property, and for those various other enterprises which make life safe and which make the forward march of civilization and a clean life possible in any community. The citizens of the District of Columbia are taxed,

but they have no vote.

While suffragists demand the ballot to cleanse society of the social evil, vice commissions in several States report the lack of proper home training as a chief cause of the downfall of our girls and our boys. If the ballot in woman's hands is to suppress this ancient evil, why does this dread thing flourish in States where women have voted from 20 to 44 years? Although these States do not possess the densely populated communities which offer the most perplexing problems of the evil, the votes of women have not shown, even in these sparsely populated areas, a way to reinforce the faltering weakness of human nature. These evils must be corrected along educational lines rather than by political propaganda. The Federal law, dealing with the white-slave traffic, known as the Mann law, was placed on the statute books June, 1910. Up to January, 1913, the Government had obtained 337 convictions, while there had been but 35 acquittals. Other laws must and will follow as the knowledge of the extent of the evil awakens the public conscience and the moral sense of the people is aroused.

There is a danger that women's political activities may hinder this work of education. This danger is revealed in the testimony of Dr. Helen L. Sumner in her book Equal Suffrage—The Results of an Investigation in Colorado Made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State, on page 84 of which we read:

Prostitutes generally vote, and their vote is cast solidly for the party in control of the police force. * * * The vote of these women, to whom police protection is essential, is regarded as one of the perquisites of the party in power. * * * Whenever "repeating" is to be done their aid, naturally, is required. * * *

And again, on page 93, this trained investigator reports:

* * * The red-light district is freely used by the party in power, and its women are compelled, not merely to vote, but often to repeat.

If, as a measure of justice, to protect woman—and we might ask again, Protect her against whom?—woman does not need to vote,

13

ought woman to ask to vote in order to promote the general welfare? Now, in spite of the fact that here in Washington you were told the other day that all antisuffragists were hypocritical liars, in spite of the fact that we are quite accustomed to the kind of attack which you men find in politics, plus the venom of a scorned woman, in spite of all these things, suffragists and antisuffragists are about the same. The only difference is that the suffragist says, "It is through the vote you are going to moralize and reform society, and therefore give women the vote"; and the antisuffragist says that the vote is the least part of good government, and that matters of education, matters of forming and training a scientific public opinion are in the hands of women to an unusual degree, and that we need not an increased electorate, not a duplication by woman of man's methods, but what we need to-day is to be specialists in our line and not to be afraid of being specialists as women and working along the lines wherein I believe women have been somewhat successful in the last 19 centuries.

If men are doing so poorly that women must come in in order to help them out, what shall we say of the women who have trained men? [Applause.] If any mother feels that on election day she is handicapped when her son goes to the polls because she can not direct his vote, it is because she forgot to do what John Boyle O'Reilly used to tell us to do—" Catch him while he is young, because," he said, "you can do what you will with us men if you catch

us while we are young."

If men are doing poorly—and I do not believe they are doing poorly when we realize the scale of the experiment of manhood suffrage which is being worked out here for the first time in the history of the world—but if men are doing poorly, is it not because the underlying principles of integrity and honor and righteousness have not been sufficiently insisted upon by the motherhood and by the educational force of this country? Eleven-twelfths of the teachers of secondary schools in my State are women. So it is no excuse for a woman to say, "I have not a boy to train." Will the daughters we have trained accomplish by the vote what the sons we have trained fail to accomplish?

Fortunately the average woman is worthily employed in very old-fashioned concerns. She has responsibility; she has opportunity, all she can use, and political responsibility and political opportunity offer no solution to her problems. The antisuffragist's objection to voting is not an objection to thinking, but we do believe that we are in a time when the specialized contribution of woman should be distinct and apart from the specialized contribution of man.

I have not forgotten, gentlemen, that I am addressing a committee a third of whom come from States where women form a part of the electorate. Even if you could prove that conditions in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming, or even in California and Washington, were bettered by the woman's vote, this would form no criterion for

the whole of the country. [Applause.]

The great test of our democracy, of our form of government, comes in the cities, in the densely populated areas, and it is worth while to consider some of these conditions. The population of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California is, in round numbers, 5,160,000, according to the census of 1910. This is nearly

4,000,000 less than the population of the single State of New York. It is 500,000 less than the population of the State of Illinois, and it is 2,500,000 less than the great industrial and mining State of Penn-

svlvania

The population of the State of Colorado is equal to the population of the city of Boston plus the population of the city of Fall River, where we have a peculiar situation because of the alien population. The population of the whole State of Wyoming is about equal to that of the city of Worcester, Mass., and it is only twice the population of the city of Manchester, N. H. The population of Utah is not equal to the population of the District of Columbia, and the total population of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado is only 9,600 more than that of the Borough of Brooklyn.

There are some peculiar problems which the East and the Middle West have to meet with their density of population, with the presence of the alien vote, as there are problems which the South has to

meet with its race question.

If the experiment of woman suffrage has worked ever so well in Colorado and Utah and Wyoming and Idaho, even in those States where women have voted only one or two years, as in Washington and California, yet we must ask that they try the experiment a little longer before we try it under conditions where a patriotic woman or man must hesitate before bringing in an increased electorate and double the difficulty of getting a question clearly before the voters. [Applause.]

A great menace—I might almost be warranted in saying the greatest menace we have to-day—is not the ignorant voter, so called, or the uninformed voter; it is the indifferent voter. If by admitting women to the electorate we are to increase the number of the indifferent voters, surely we must hesitate before we undertake this reform, which Mr. Gladstone called a "revolutionary" one. You will remember that Mr. Gladstone and America's good friend John Bright and Herbert Spencer had all been in favor of woman suffrage, but they reversed their opinion and came out strongly against the parliamentary franchise for women.

What do we find in the States of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and California in the last presidential election? I will not read these figures. I will simply refer to them and ask that they

be incorporated in my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do just as you please about that.

Mrs. George. These figures are taken from authoritative sources; where there has been a report available from the secretary of state, that has been used; where census reports have been available, they have been used; and in the other instances the best available authority has been used. Of course those are subject to the limitations of human fallibility.

The total vote cast in the six woman suffrage States for the Presidency—that is, where you have an electorate of men and women—in 1912 was 1,521,590. The relation of this vote to the actual number which might have voted, 3,200,152 men and women (exclusive of

Japanese and Chinese), was 47.5 per cent.

Take neighboring or adjacent States, six of them, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon (a male-suffrage State at that time), Nevada, South

Dakota, and Missouri, and you find a total vote cast of 1,587,984, out of a total male population, 21 years of age and over, leaving out in these cases Japanese and Chinese, of 2,295,119; which makes a percentage in the male-suffrage States of a possible vote cast of 69 per cent, as against a percentage in the woman's suffrage States of 47½ per cent.

If 69 per cent of the men voted in the woman-suffrage States, as they did in the nonwoman-suffrage States (we do not say that they did, probably they did not), but if the same percentage of men voted in the suffrage States as voted in the nonsuffrage States an analysis of the figures shows that only 17.8 per cent of the women voters in the suffrage States actually voted.

Here are the striking facts: In the six woman-suffrage States only 47½ per cent of the total possible vote was cast. In the six nonsuffrage States near the suffrage States—a fair comparison, I submit—69 per cent of the total possible vote was cast, showing that woman suffrage, according to these statistics, secured from the secretaries of state of the various States and from the most accurate published figures available, tends to decrease the actual voting strength, rather than to increase healthy interest in politics.

Figures showing the surprising weakness of the total vote of both males and females in the six suffrage States in the last presidential election, and the contrasting high percentage of the total vote in six adjoining nonsuffrage States.

WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.

Males	890, 794 685, 450
Total possible vote	
Actual vote for Presidency	673, 527
Colorado:	
Males	269, 211
	213, 340
Total possible vote	482, 551
Actual vote	266, 871
Wyoming:	
Males	61,519
Females	28, 426
Total possible vote	
Actual vote	42, 296
Washington:	
Males	428, 825
Females	276, 429
Total possible vote	705, 254
Actual vote	322, 799
Idaho:	
Males	108, 847
Females	
Total possible vote	178, 608
Actual vote for Presidency	104, 203

Utah: Males Females	101, 902 85, 648
Total possible voteActual vote for Presidency	187, 550 111, 894
Total population of men and women 21 years or more of age, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese, in six suffrage States, and therefore the approximate total possible vote in those six States.————————————————————————————————————	3, 200, 152
NONWOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.	
Kansas: Males 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese_ Votes cast	508, 425 365, 442
Nebraska:	
Male votes possible	352, 995 249, 871
Onegon:	
Male votes possible	244, 719
Votes cast	137, 040
Nevada:	
Male votes possible	38, 443
Votes cast	20, 744
South Dakota:	
Male votes possible	178, 054
Votes cast	116, 325
Missouri:	
Male votes possible	972.483
Votes cast	698, 562
Total men 21 years or over in six nonsuffrage States	2, 295, 119
Total vote in the six nonsuffrage States for President	1, 587, 984
Percentage of possible vote cast in six nonsuffrage States	. 69

If this is so, then the woman's vote will add another problem to the problems which already confront the man who is in politics, to the man who knows that the danger to-day lies in the indifferent and stay-at-home voter, and not so much in that vote which can be brought out, no matter what the weather conditions may be. We have "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" enough under present conditions.

A position of a remonstrant is a very difficult one under any conditions. It is particularly difficult when a woman opposes what other women most sincerely want. It is particularly difficult when one speaks in regard to conditions in States where woman suffrage obtains. But it is fair to ask that those States which to-day have adopted woman suffrage should wait to work out the problem before the other States assume the burden which would come with this change.

If you are only to double the outlay in election expenses, if you are only to double the number of voters, if you are only to double the time and money and energy which must go into political organization and into political work, is it not unsound and uneconomic to have two people do what one person can do? Unless your average woman voter is going to be a better voter, a more intelligent voter, a more safe voter, a more trained voter—shall I say a less emotional voter—than the average man, the extension of suffrage to women will not bring about a condition which will warrant the turning off of

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

17

woman's activities from channels in which women are already worth-

ily employed into political activities. [Applause.]

There is reason that we should consider the situation which would arise in a community where those who made the laws had ceased to be those who could enforce the laws. Woman suffrage has never yet been brought to the test of a national crisis, when political feeling is at the greatest tension, yet only under such conditions could its value as a practice of government be fully tested. To-day in California we have a hint of woman's responsibility in a possible international complication when we have a legislature elected by the votes of women and men enacting legislation in regard to the holding of land by aliens, which has grave possibilities for the other States of the Union.

Thomas Jefferson said that a democracy ceased to be such when those who made the laws ceased to be those who could enforce the

laws.

There are three portents of the times which are looming large in this suffrage movement. We have a great many middle-of-the-road suffragists who say, "Oh, let the women vote if they want to"; and those others who say, "I want to vote, and if I want to vote I should be allowed to vote, although I am the only woman in the United States who votes," as Mrs. Catt has said. But there are three portents in relation to woman suffrage, and I am no alarmist if I cite them. One is the very evident alliance with the socialistic propaganda. Those who have the intellectual honesty to follow the suffrage premises to their logical conclusion are more often than not socialists. I do not mean by this the "brotherhood of man," in which we all believe, but I mean that Socialist Party which cast its vote for Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States at the election of November 5, 1912. If you doubt this, if it seems the word of an alarmist, I would call attention to the fact that in the parade which moved down Pennsylvania Avenue on March 3 the socialistic contingent carried this banner, which is shown on this photograph, which I would like to have incorporated in the record.

(The photograph referred to shows a portion of the suffrage parade on Pennsylvania Avenue, with the following banner being carried by some of the marchers: "One million Socialists work and

vote for woman suffrage.")

[Applause.]

We evidently have some Socialist sympathizers here, and they have the intellectual honesty to follow their premises to their logical conclusion and to agree with certain officers of the National Suffrage Association that the era of the home as the unit of society has passed and we are coming to a "splendid" era when the individual shall be the unit of society.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper said over her signature:

Woman has not attempted one advance step which has not been blocked by these two words, "wifehood" and "motherhood."

Mrs. Catt, then president of the National Suffrage Association, said in Collier's Weekly in 1901:

Women will sink out of existence in the body politic and will rise again as citizens.

"If a women possesses ability, great or small, talent, genius, noble purpose, lofty ideals," Mrs. Catt continues, "shall she contribute these directly to the

welfare of the world or through the doubtful channels of influence on husband and children?"

If the influence on husband and children is a doubtful one to any woman, the ballot box is not going to give her certainty. [Applause.] A suffrage speaker in Boston recently said:

Woman, waiting on her husband and children, forbids the economic independence, which is the basis of sex morality, and so retards her own development.

Applause.]

Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, the president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, says:

I would make motherhood a governmental institution.

[Laughter and applause.] She is consistent.

I would pension all mothers and have them provided for first to last by the State. I believe that motherhood should be independent of man.

[Continued laughter.]

I do not find it amusing. There are a few women who may make these extraordinary statements, but the menace lies in the fact that there are thousands of women in this country of ours who follow these leaders and who come here and ask for woman suffrage and then devise these schemes in order to make the woman's vote operative.

It is not necessary for some one to stand up and say, "I come from Colorado" or "I come from California, and the home there is not neglected and the babies are not neglected." If a woman's vote is going to be worth anything it is going to fall differently from the vote of the man of the same class, or else it simply doubles the return on election day.

Those who look to woman suffrage for the so-called emancipation of the sex are forced to devise these schemes by which the State shall care for the children. But it is a curious thing that at the very moment when experts have found that the child is better off in a poor home than in a good institution these women come along and say: "Let us have these institutions." At the very moment when these advanced suffragists say, "We will take the child from the amateur mother, who is the real mother, and give her to the expert mother," we are told by the highest authority on infantile diseases that the breast-fed baby has ten times the chance to survive that the bottle-fed baby has. That is not interesting, perhaps; you may say it has nothing to do with the woman-suffrage propaganda. It has, because when the president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association makes utterances such as this she is devising a scheme by which woman shall be able "to sink," as Mrs. Catt tells us, "sink out of existence in the body politic and rise again as citizens."

The secretary of the National Suffrage Association says progressive people are agreed that the wife should be economically independent, and so she devises a five-hour shift by which the mother shall be in the home five hours and shall be gainfully employed five hours, and the father shall go back into the home for five hours and care for the children, and then he shall be gainfully employed five hours. [Laughter.]

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

19

Those things are not amusing; they are alarming as a menace that carries out the tenet of socialism, that we are to have a kind of economic independence, which has very well been called by no less authority than Col. Roosevelt "a glorified State free-lunch counter and State foundling asylum."

The other menace, the second menace, the second portent, is the menace of feminism bound up with the menace of socialism. We find that the brilliant young woman who led the suffrage parade

down Pennsylvania Avenue writes as follows:

This pressure toward a constantly growing freedom and power on the part of the sex means that in the long run the institutions most certain to be changed are the institutions in which the sex as a sex is most peculiarly and vitally interested, and these institutions, it is hardly necessary to point out, are the home and marriage itself.

A writer who is indorsed by the suffragists and dedicates her book to Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters, an American woman, says:

Two words were burned upon my brain—

She had been to a suffrage lecture—

laws made by men for women that must be unmade by women for women.

She says:

We must stop talking and act-fight.

She says:

Throw stones; do anything; it does not matter what, so long as we get the vote and can legislate in our own protection and the protection of the children.

But you may say that is an isolated illustration not fair to use. When the National Suffrage Association cabled, less than two weeks ago, to Mr. Asquith asking him to put an end to the intolerable conditions in England and to introduce a franchise bill into the present Parliament, they practically indorsed Mrs. Pankhurst, as they had given already a vote of sympathy to Mrs. Pankhurst.

An officer of a New York suffrage association has written this week in an open letter to the New York Times—and, lest you think I speak in parables, it is Mrs. John Brennan, a daughter of Charles

A. Dana:

It is quite possible that if the Eastern States continue to deny enfranchisement to the women while the Western States continue to grant it the women thus discriminated against would find the political anomaly of their position so impossible to bear that even militancy would seem to them justifiable.

Miss Milholland, in speaking with me at Philadelphia, said:

Acid throwing and bomb throwing have their places under certain conditions.

We who oppose the extension of suffrage to women ask that not too great weight be attached to the argument of rights which suffragists put forward, who at the same time do not observe the rights of property belonging to noncombatants, who indorse the lawlessness of women over-seas, who by their lawlessness seek to show a more excellent way in government.

The third menace, then, is militancy. The indorsement of militancy by leading suffragists, the indorsement of militancy by the National Suffrage Association—that is, militancy on the part of the English women—is significant of the temper of those women who say

the end justifies the means.

The only flag displayed over the entrance to the congressional headquarters of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association here on F Street is the purple, green, and white emblem of the Women's Social and Political Union of England, of which Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst is president.

There was a great woman in England who did work second to none in the housing of the poor and the care of the children, the establishment of playgrounds, and so on. Her name was Octavia

Hill. At the end of a long life she said:

I had hoped to be kept out of this suffrage contention, but I feel that after all these years I must say that it is important that one-half of the workers should be outside of party politics. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be.

That is where we antisuffragists contend that women can do their work best. The average woman is worthily employed already. To give her political responsibilities will not help out the situation unless she does something far more important than merely casting a ballot on election day. She has got to be a more informed voter than the

average man of to-day if her vote is to be effective.

In passing, let me ask our suffrage friends to compare like with like. A favorite cartoon of the suffragists depicts a woman scrubbing, and a drunken man sitting at the table with his head bowed over, and the legend beneath the picture reads: "He can vote, she can not." Society is not made up of scrubbing wives and drunken husbands. Unfortunately both types exist, but, in all fairness, let us compare like with like, and until we are sure we are going to get a better state with the woman's vote than without it, we should hesitate before we hinder the best service women can do by putting them into political activities.

The ballot is the least part of good government, and those who advocate this instant doubling of the present electorate are behind the times. They emphasize the ballot as "the greatest of all modern reforms," and even urge that those who are to-day contributing to other reforms should withdraw or curtail their contributions to other causes until the ballot for woman is secured. (See appeal of M. Carey Thomas, February, 1913, for funds for National American

Woman's Suffrage Association.)

If I may be permitted to say it here, the lady from Massachusetts, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, exemplified in an extraordinary way what women can do without the ballot. She is chairman of the department of public health of the Women's Municipal League and she is also chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association, an association which has done more for the cause of a pure milk supply in the State of Massachusetts than the votes of men or of men and women could possibly bring about.

These women in this country of ours are doing an increasing amount of public work, but it is no sophistry to ask you to distinguish between a few women in public work, well equipped, full of knowledge to match their zeal, and all women in political life. Where you find a woman doing a distinctive work, where you find that it is constructive, you will find that it gains its quality and it gains its distinction because the woman is working not as a Republican or a Democrat or a Socialist or a Progressive, but she is working as

a woman who is informed, who is ready to direct public opinion, and who has no personal political motive to serve. [Applause.] She works as a disinterested, nonpartisan factor for the public good, and there is no reason that she should take the retrogressive step which would make her work identical with man's. It is not a question of right, it is not a question of woman's inferiority or her superiority; it is a question of what is expedient for the State, and the antisuffragists believe that it is expedient for the State that the motherhood of the State should not be drafted off into political channels. I thank you. [Applause.]

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WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE LAW OF 1913.

- § 1. What officers and propositions in State, cities, villages and towns.
- § 3. Separate ballot boxes and ballots—canvass—registration.
- § 2. What township officers, etc.

(SENATE BILL No. 63. APPROVED JUNE 26, 1913.)

An Act granting women the right to vote for presidential electors and certain other officers, and to participate and vote in certain matters and elections.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all women, citizens of the United States, above the age of 21 years, having resided in the State one year, in the county ninety days, and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election therein, shall be allowed to vote at such election for presidential electors, member of the State Board of Equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county collector, county surveyor, members of board of assessors, members of board of review, sanitary district trustee, and for all officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrates), and upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of such municipalities or other political divisions of this State.

- § 2. All such women may also vote for the following township officers: supervisors, town clerk, assessor, collector and highway commissioner, and may also participate and vote in all annual and special town meetings in the township in which such election district shall be.
- § 3. Separate ballot boxes and ballots shall be provided for women, which ballots shall contain the names of the candidates for such offices which are to be voted for and the special questions submitted as aforesaid, and the ballots cast by women shall be canvassed with the other ballots cast for such officers and on such questions. At any such election where registration is required, women shall register in the same manner as male voters.

APPROVED June 26, 1913.

MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS

SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

ESSEX BUILDING

MINNEAPOLIS

SUFFRAGE MORALS

By Alice Stone Blackwell.

The strong antagonism of the vicious interests toward equal suffrage is notorious. Have they solid reason to fear it?

Let it be freely granted that neither equal suffrage nor any other single good measure can put a speedy end to

Let it be freely granted that neither equal suffrage nor any other single good measure can put a speedy end to the social evil. But vicious conditions can be encouraged or discouraged by law, and by its more or less honest enforcement. What has woman suffrage actually done along this line?

One of its finest achievements has been the passage of the red-light injunction and abatement law in California. This is considered by social experts the most effective kind of legislation yet devised for dealing with the problem.

Instead of continually arresting and fining women of bad character, which has always proved fruitless, it puts the penalty upon the owner of the building which is used for improper purposes, and makes it unprofitable to rent property for such uses.

The law was bitterly fought by all the traders in vice. Under the California constitution, a law that has passed the Legislature may have its operation held up until a popular referendum can be taken upon it, if this is demanded by a petition of a certain size. The vicious interests secured such a petition. It is significant that only six per cent. of the names signed to it were those of women. The question was put to popular vote, and the popular vote sustained the red-light injunction and abatement law. Both the friends and the enemies of the law attribute this result to the women.

It is especially noteworthy that this advanced moral legislation should have been adopted in such a State as California, a gay and easy-going commonwealth where men largely outnumber women, and where the standards set in the early days by a roving bachelor population still linger.

In addition, since women in California got the ballot, a stringent white-slave law has been passed, the penalty for rape has been raised, and the father as well as the mother of an illegitimate child has been made legally liable for its support and education.

The Case of Judge Weller

There has been a change also in the spirit in which the law is administered. The College Equal Suffrage League Judge Weller of San Francisco had become notorious for letting off this class of culprits with a light punishment or none. Finally, in a particularly bad case of criminal assault, he lowered the bail (which had been set fairly high by another magistrate) to a point that enabled the offender to forfeit his bail and flee the State. The women then started a petition for Weller's recall, and by the aid of their votes he was removed from office. The result was a bracing up of the administration of justice in all the police courts of San Francisco.

In Washington and Oregon

Woman suffrage has led to the adoption of the redlight injunction and abatement law likewise in Oregon and Washington, two other Pacific coast States where many of the same conditions prevail as in California. Since women got the ballot, Washington has established a State school for delinquent girls, and abolished the old legal requirement that no one should be convicted of rape without "corroborative evidence." Oregon has made it a felony for any man to live on a prostitute's earnings.

In Kansas and Idaho

Gov. Capper of Kansas says that ever since 1887, when women were given municipal suffrage, they have helped in large numbers of cities to elect municipal officers who would honestly enforce the ordinances relating to morality. Since women got the full ballot in 1912, Kansas has passed a strong white slave law, and provided a penalty for the manufacture and sale of objectionable post cards.

Idaho has disfranchised inmates, keepers and frequenters of houses of ill fame, has passed a strong white slave law, requires a report of infants with sore eyes, and has passed laws against bigamy, adultery and polygamy.

In Colorado

Colorado has made it a felony to take indecent liberties with children; forbids advertising remedies for sexual diseases except in medical journals; provides for the punishment of keepers of disorderly houses, and makes it a

A Garbled Quotation

Mrs. Henry Preston White, an officer of the Anti-Suffrage Association, has lately written in letters to a number of Massachusetts papers:

"Dr. Helen Sumner, herself a suffragist, says: 'In Denver, where women have voted for over 20 years, the social evil is more brazenly open and more extensive than in almost any other city.'"

What Dr. Helen Sumner said (see page 205 of her book on Equal Suffrage) was:

"Previous to the spring of 1908, when the Market Street 'cribs' in Denver were closed by the District Attorney, the social evil in that city, within the limits prescribed by the police department, was probably more brazenly open, and also, perhaps, owing to the floating population of miners and others who come to the city to spend their money, more extensive, than in almost any other city of the United States."

This flagrantly garbled quotation is being used by

the opponents of equal rights for women in the official columns of anti-suffrage notes which their organizations furnish to the press in several different States.

In Utah and Wyoming

Utah has made indecent assault on children under fourteen a felony; regulates employment offices and provides a penalty for sending women to improper places; requires report of birth of a child with sore eyes, also registration and report of all cases of venereal disease, but without the name of the patient, and has empowered cities and towns to suppress disorderly houses.

Wyoming has raised the age of protection for girls to 18 (nearly all the suffrage States have done this); has passed a white slave law, requires the father of an illegitimate child to support it, forbids keeping of disorderly houses and provides for removal of minors from parents if under vicious influences.

Advance All Along the Line

Since women got the ballot, every suffrage State has strengthened its legislation against the social evil, and has

The Lesson of Seattle

One of the most conspicuous instances where woman suffrage has struck a direct and effective blow at the social evil was in Seattle. Before women got the ballot, Hiram Gill ran for mayor, on an open-town platform. He appointed a chief of police under whom vice waxed so amazingly flagrant that Seattle became a byword throughout the whole country. A petition for Gill's recall was started, but failed to get the necessary number of names. Then women were given suffrage. The women filled out the petition; Gill was recalled, and his chief of police was sent to prison. Gill and all his friends attributed his recall to the women voters.

Seattle was immediately cleaned up, and remained clean for years. Then came a year when there were ten candidates for mayor at the primary election, eight of them standing for good government. The good government vote was split up among the eight. Consequently, the two men who came out highest at the primaries were the two others, Gill and Trenholm. The choice was thus narrowed down to these two. The majority of the people did not want Gill; the vote at the primary had proved that. But most of them considered Trenholm even more objectionable. They looked upon him as representing the great predatory corporations, from which Seattle had suffered much in the past, and some of which had contributed heavily to Trenholm's campaign fund. Gill declared himself convinced that his former open-town policy had been a mistake, and promised, if elected, to enforce the laws against gambling and vice. Trenholm refused to say whether he would enforce them or not. The organ of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, although it was opposed to Gill, predicted that if Trenholm were elected gambling houses and brothels would be allowed to operate, on payment of a license under the name of a fine.

Under these unusual circumstances, men and women who had fought Gill with might and main in the past turned around and worked for his election as the lesser evil. He was elected, and his first official act was to appoint as chief of police a leading champion of law and order, the man whom the Ministerial Alliance had supported at the primaries for mayor. Gill's second administration has been a marked contrast to his first. His change of platform and of policy shows what woman suffrage can do toward teaching better behavior even to an undesirable type of politician.

Women Closed Salt Lake Stockade

Another conspicuous instance where women voters did an effective piece of work for social purity was in cleaning up the notorious "stockade" of Salt Lake City. Edward Lewis Theiss described the incident in the Pictorial Review of June, 1913. He says of the "stockade," the centre of the city's commercialized vice: "This sinkhole of iniquity was engulfing the flower of the youth of Utah, for girls as well as boys frequented it. The government of the city allowed the place to run undisturbed. It was a stench in the nostrils of the whole community. Perhaps nothing else could have appealed so to their common womanhood as did this situation to the feminine voters of Salt Lake City. Irrespective of party or religion, they banded themselves together to close the stockade. They

held public indignation meetings in all parts of the city. Then a committee of women served notice on the mayor that the stockade must close. It shut its doors that very night. Soon afterwards it was torn down. For this piece of work the women voters of Salt Lake City can rightly take full credit."

Mr. Theiss was assured in Salt Lake City that "the women's mere protest, unsupported by the ballot, could never have ended this abomination that was proving a gold-mine to so many influential men."

After Illinois women were given the ballot the segregated district of Chicago was closed, and a large number of policewomen were appointed to look after the safety of young girls at the public dances—a measure which Jane Addams said the women had been seeking in vain for years, and which promptly followed the granting of the ballot.

It Raises the Standard

A larger proportion of women than of men disapprove strongly of commercialized vice, and are earnestly desirous to do away with it as far as possible. The addition to the electorate of a body of citizens holding this attitude is bound to have a wholesome effect.

"A very noteworthy change wrought by woman's suffrage has been the raising of the requirements as to moral character, judged solely by their private lives, of men elected, especially to offices in our cities. Since the extension of the franchise to women, political parties have learned the inadvisability of nominating drunkards, notorious libertines, gamblers, retail liquor dealers and men who engage in similar discredited occupations, because the women almost always vote them down."

White Slavers Fight Suffrage

Rose Livington of New York City is often called "the angel of Chinatown" because of her heroic and successful work in rescuing young girls. She has lately

addressed a number of suffrage meetings in Massachusetts, expressing her strong conviction that the complicity often found between the police and the traders in vice would be less likely to be allowed to exist if women were voters. While in Boston she did some rescue work. In the course of it she went with a detective into the part of the city where the traders in vice congregate. The detective introduced her as a person from another State engaged in the vice business who had come to carry it on here. Under this assumed character Miss Livington said to one of the men who live upon the earnings of fallen women: "I don't know that I shall care about staying in Massachusetts. I understand that you are going to have woman suffrage after next November, and things might not be very pleasant for me."

The fellow flared up instantly. "Going to have woman suffrage? Well, I guess not," he said. "We've raised a big sum of money to defeat it, and it isn't going to pass."

Miss Livingstone told me this story herself. She added that every unfortunate girl who is exploited by the traders in vice is being assessed an extra sum from her earnings to be used in fighting the equal suffrage amendment.

Testimony might be multiplied, but enough has been given to show that equal suffrage is a force on the side of righteousness. It has not been strong enough to annihilate the social evil, and it has not always been able to triumph over adverse conditions, but it has amply justified the fear and hatred which the vicious interests everywhere manifest toward it.

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Every week the Woman's Journal gives:

The latest suffrage news, State and National.

Arguments and answers to objections.

Important facts and figures.

A wealth of telling material.

Stories, poems, humorous paragraphs and illustrations.

A suffragist without the Woman's Journal is like a student without books.

The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. \$1.00 per year.

A Suffrage Allegory By Mark W. Reed.

Mr. Voter. Huh! I see Nevada, one of your suffrage States, just passed that "easy divorce" bill.

Just a Suffragist. Oh, dear! Why DID they do it?

Efficient Suffragist. Because the Nevada Legislature was elected entirely by men.

Mr. Voter (complacently). Oh, well, it would have passed all the same if the women HAD voted.

Efficient Suffragist. Indeed it wouldn't. In Wyoming, where women helped to elect the legislators and had a woman representative, a similar bill was defeated!

Mr. Voter (startled). You don't say?

Efficient Suffragist. After that can you very well claim women won't use the ballot effectively?

Mr. Voter. Looks as though they might.

Efficient Suffragist. Then will you vote for

Equal Suffrage in this State?

Mr. Voter. Sure, I will. I always thought women ought to vote, anyway. (Exit Mr. Voter.)

Just a Suffragist. Splendid! You've made a convert. But how did you know about those divorce bills?

Efficient Suffragist. I read The Woman's Journal every week.

Moral—It Pays to Be an Efficient Suffragist.

On hand MINNESOTA OMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION ESSEX BUILDING The Ballot for the Women of the Farm By Ella S. Stewart The Illinois Woman Suffrage law will to greater willingness to support the worthy purposes of government and on open a new world of experience and the other hand will lead to an insistdevelopment to country women. No ance of more careful budget making on class will share more richly in the rethe part of officials who distribute pubvaluation of women which enfranchise-ment will bring. No class will feel so lic funds. Women have been trained to make one of their dollars go as far as new a stimulus to social service. a man's five-dollar bill. After they be-Farm women have been isolated. gin choosing business agents of govern-They have been forced to lead individual lives. They have had no considerable part in the great educational and ment, they will have greater power to secure proper expenditures and greater interest in the public needs which are philanthropic organizations of women met by their taxes. which have enriched lives by a fellowship in education and social service. The ballot will bridge over the chasms THE SUPERVISOR which have separated the rural women from their urban sisters and all will If the bill had only provided a vote unite in working out important probfor that one official, it would have been lems of citizenship. worth fighting for. Eighty-five of our one hundred and TOWNSHIP SUFFRAGE two counties are organized on the township plan and the supervisor is the most Perhaps few people thought much important township official. MANY OF HIS DUTIES LIE ALONG THE TREND OF WOMEN'S TRADIabout the importance of the township suffrage provided in the Illinois Woman Suffrage bill, yet it may have more far-TIONAL ACTIVITIES AND INTER-

reaching effects than any other phase of the law. If the bill had only provided for township suffrage it would have been worth all the energies which have been lavished upon it.

Let us note a few of the possibilities for protection and for social service growing out of the Woman's Township Vote.

First, there are the taxing officials, the assessor and collector. Less persuasion would be necessary to convince a tax-paying woman that she should vote for these officials than others. Women who own property are fairly in accord with the well known American princi-ple, "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

Women have been credited with greater governmental honesty than men in answering the questions of the assessor. One immediate effect of their enfranchisement will be a study of the financial side of government, to find out how the money is used. This will lead

ESTS.

The supervisors are the county housekeepers. They have charge of county buildings and other county property, and must provide accommodations for courts and county officers. These men levy county taxes within certain limits, manage a great deal of the county funds, and county business, audit accounts, have much power over roads and bridges, ditches and drains. They fill vacancies in county offices, appoint election judges, provide ballot boxes for elections, prepare ballot lists and jury lists.

They may grant liquor licenses outside of incorporated communities. They are permitted to establish county normal schools and can appropriate funds for educational and agricultural exhibits at county fairs and farmer's institutes.

Their duties are many and various. After a survey of this field of service, a conscientious citizen must echo the sentiment of Prof. Richard T. Ely, the well

known sociologist, who declared at the close of his first six months service as Supervisor of the township in which Madison is located in Dane County, Wisconsin, that he was perfectly sure of just one thing, and that was that he "didn't know enough to be a Super-

The fact which will interest women immediately is that these officials whom they may elect will act as Boards of Health and have charge of the charitable work of the county. They maintain and regulate the poor farms, jails and workhouses, and are authorized to pay pensions to the blind, to poor parents for children, and to provide detention homes for children.

REVELATIONS OF REPORTS

According to a report submitted to the Legislature last year, a majority of the jails in Illinois are old and antiquated. Of the ninety-eight jails inspected, twenty-six were so dark that artificial lighting was necessary on the brightest days; twenty-one jails had solid stone walls, ventilated only through barred doors. Only ten could be put in first-class condition as to sanitation. Thirty were considered second-class; twenty-six poor, and thirty-two were in such a condition that they should be abandoned.

In thirty-six counties there is no separate department for children. In eleven counties there is no provision for women in the county jails. Many counties comply with the letter of the law requiring separate cells for women, but fail to segregate these cells from those of the men. All but seventeen counties detain insane persons in the jail. In fifty-seven counties, insane persons are held in the main jail. Only twenty-six had special cells provided for insane persons.

The majority of the county jails were reported unsanitary and unclean. In forty-three counties only were separate towels furnished and clothes changed weekly. In twenty-six counties one or the other of these aids to cleanliness were supplied, and in only thirty-one clean sheets and blankets provided

Does not this suggest a program of study and action for Illinois women?

A DEPLORABLE CONDITION

While the last report of the State Charities Commission shows an improvement in the Poor Farms, yet their report reveals the sore spot in the situation, and shows the County Farm as a 'political football, passed back and forth by partisans or parties and groups as a reward to satraps for services rendered.'

There is no general system of accounting. Many counties have no record of the produce or income from the County Farms, of the total expenditures, or the net cost of the institution to the taxpayers.

Under the present system the epileptic, demented, aged, blind and crippled, young and old, are all thrown together.

All this great field of social service is within the jurisdiction of the supervisors, WHO IN THE FUTURE WILL BE ELECTED BY AND SHOULD BE HELD RESPONSIBLE TO VOTING WOMEN. This should furnish an incentive to housekeepers and mothers to make conditions in county institutions reflect present thought as to sanitation, correction, and humanity.

Women's organizations should immediately appoint committees to examine conditions in the county institutions.

The Supervisor, Assessor and Town Clerk constitute the Township Board of Health. Their ordinary duty is to provide against the spread of contagious diseases. Why may not rural communities call upon these officers to co-operate with school authorities and extend to country districts such service as many cities now maintain-medical inspection of children, and the neighborhood service of a trained nurse who would teach sanitation, hygiene, and the prevention of disease?

Country children as well as those in cities are retarded in school by astigmatism, adenoids, defective teeth and other physical causes, and these needs are too often unsuspected by ignorant or complacent parents.

HIGHWAY COMMISSIONER

There is another important township official to be elected by the votes of women as well as men-the Highway Commissioner. The Illinois Legislature has passed a Good Roads law, so that Illinois may now be able to grapple with one of her greatest problems, the problem of poor roads. In one of the current magazines an analysis was recently made of the paralysis of life which has held certain mountain districts of Kentucky and Tennessee in medieval obscurity. The reason given was the utter lack of transportation. There are no roads. Poor roads in Illinois explain largely the isolation of the splendid patriotic women of the farms, who up to the present time have been little represented in the great women's organizations. As a result of this vote for township officials, I prophesy that a new era for country women has opened in this state.

A prominent Illinois woman voiced the impatience of innumerable farmers' wives when she exclaimed, "I can do without voting for the President of the United States, but I'd just give my eyes to have a vote for the Highway Commissioner!",

Illinois women may now vote to build the highways which will lead them to neighborliness, to education and to broad interests.

As a result of Township Suffrage and the Good Roads Law, there should be hundreds of meetings in schools and public buildings this year where men and women may meet to discuss the opportunities growing out of the vote for these two groups of officials.

Propositions

Another phase of suffrage which will bring many towns and country women into co-operation is the power to vote upon propositions submitted to the electors.

According to the present local option law, the township may vote upon the proposition of licensing saloons within the borders of the township. This will give the farmer's wife the same power as the town woman to say whether such institutions shall be permitted. Inasmuch as the taxes of farmers constitute a large part of the public money which is required to prosecute and care for saloon criminals, paupers and insane, country women will see the justice of having a vote upon this question. The apparent revenues of the saloon are exclusively for the benefit of the particular towns or cities which give them many uncomfortable hours. I hope that

room, but the evils of the saloon are not so local. They extend to everyone in the county in one form or another. Whatever opinion one might hold of the saloon question, it is difficult to see why one would object to the mother having the same power to protect her home, if she feels that need, that the saloonkeeper has to protect his institution.

The right to vote upon propositions will offer to women opportunities to vote upon establishing park districts. According to a new law, any community may tax itself to build and maintain a Coliseum for educational and recreational purposes.

Rural communities and small towns which avail themselves of this right will find fewer young men and women dissatisfied and anxious to seek the distractions of the city. Provision for supervised play and recreation for the young and a free meeting place for lectures, concerts, public assemblies and entertainments would fill a real community need, and it is to be hoped that many of them will be wise enough to agree to the easy taxes which this law permits and begin to fulfill one of the fundamental necessities of good citizenship.

This power to vote on propositions will increase the value of the Woman's School Suffrage Law.

Up to this time Illinois women could only vote for the local school officials and trustees of the State University. But they had nothing to say about the amount of money which these officials might use to improve the schools. Now they can vote upon all questions of issuing bonds to build new schoolhouses, provide up-to-date equipment and pay adequate salaries to the teachers.

Illinois women have already carried the day for such improvements in a number of school elections. As a result of this suffrage for women, I look forward to a day not far distant when no rural school district will be disgraced by little rectangular boxes of schoolhouses, dirty, battered, unpainted, uncomfortable; three windows on each side, which are never raised in the winter nor screened in the summer; devoid of pictures, libraries, or anything but ugliness and sordidness.

I draw no imaginary picture. I hope that no children from now on will have such memory pictures of the citadels of learning where they have passed so votes for women will immediately institute a day when schoolhouses will be as antiseptic as hospitals, well ventilated, lighted and supplied with all necessary equipment. I look forward to a speedy day when there will be fewer thirty-five dollar a month teachers and more seventy-five dollar a month teachers in the rural schools and everywhere such salaries as a grateful state should pay its

most important servants.

It will be an interesting historical fact that the first election in this state under the new law was one which had been called in a rural school district, in a central Illinois county, for the 2nd of July, 1913. On July 1st, women had become eligible to vote. The object of the election was to decide whether there should be a new schoolhouse. The votes of the men showed a majority of one against, but the majority of the women's votes was sufficient to overcome the unfavorable vote of the men, and as a result of the first election there is a new country school building.

Women will increasingly feel that no public money is better spent than that which buys educational advantages for

children.

I have not dwelt upon the votes for other officials which the women of the farms will cast in unison with their urban sisters. The vote for County Surveyor, Members of the State Board of Equalization and Review, Clerks of the Appellate Court, and other minor officials, will lead to interesting studies. Every four years all Illinois women will vote for the President of the United States. To have a voice in choosing the one most influential in deciding National questions and International policies surely this will dignify and develop all Illinois women!

Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, 1320 Glen-lake Ave., Chicago, Chairman of Literature for the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Confer-ence, is bringing out some four-page leaflets, six inches by nine. She sells them at just enough to cover cost—75 cents per hundred and \$6.00 per thousand. The first are:

Eliminating Vice from a Small City, by Virginia Brooks-Washburn.

The Ballot for the Women of the Farms, by Ella S. Stewart.

The Working Girl's Need of Suffrage, by Agnes Nestor. The Bible on Women Voting, by Catharine

W. McCulloch.

Woman's Ballot to Protect the City Child, by Miss Harriet Vittum.

Suffrage in the New Books, by Florence B. Peterson.

Eugenics and Enfranchisement, by Dr. Anna Blount.

[post-July 12, 1913]

Frances E. Willard on Socialism

(From Address at the National W. C. T. U. Convention at Buffalo in 1897.)

"The divinest right on this earth is the right of the people to take corporate care of their own affairs.

"There is a commodity in the market which has the magic power of creating more than it costs to produce it. This is the labor power of the human being, of a free wage-worker. He sells it for a certain amount of money, which competition reduces to the average necessities of life required to produce it; to so much food, clothing and shelter which are absolutely necessary to recuperate his lost powers on the next morning and to reproduce a new generation of wage-workers after this one is gone. Almost all above this goes to the employing class, and is called "the surplus value."

* * * * * * * * * *

"Look about you: the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured?

"THE REASON WHY I AM A SOCIALIST COMES IN JUST HERE. I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practical, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

"I believe that competition is doomed. The trust, whose single object is to abolish competition, has proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product, they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our

It will abolish the fierce struggle for a bare animal existence. It will abolish the lack of hope. It will abolish the racking worry. It will abolish the mental and moral starvation. It will abolish the physical discomfort. It will abolish the overwork. It will abolish the profit in the liquor traffic. It will abolish all the causes which predispose men to drink. It will surround them with conditions which will develop every noble, wholesome quality. They will not want to drink. It will be for the people to say whether any liquor shall be manufactured and sold, or not. If it is manufactured and sold, it will be manufactured and sold by the public. But, no matter if it flowed like water, men would not drink it, because they will have developed beyond that stage."—John M. Work.

Issued by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Price 20 cents per 100, \$1.60 per 1,000, prepaid, or \$1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 5,000 or over, freight to be paid by purchaser. Send all orders to the SOCIALIST PARTY, 111 North Market St., Chicago, III.

If this leaslet has interested you in Socialism, you will want to know more about the subject.

We recommend that you read, first of all, Allan M. Benson's book, "The Truth About Socialism." Price 25 cents per copy; special prices made in quantities.

When you order the book, ask for our 30-page catalog, which contains a chapter on "What to Read About Socialism" and much other valuable information.

Address Socialist Party, 111 North Market street, Chicago, Ill.

WHERE TO GET INFORMATION

The Socialist Party publishes but one periodical—The Party Builder—which is its official weekly journal of information.

You will find in its columns the things that you want to know about the Socialist movement.

The subscription price is 50 cents per year; 25 cents for 40 weeks. The address is

THE PARTY BUILDER, 111 N. Market St., Chicago, Ill.



every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

"Oh, that I were young again, it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

* * * * * * * * * *

"'All for each and each for all,' the utilization of the utmost force of this earth for the corporate benefit of man; the cherishing of his labor as the holiest thing alive, and the development of individual gifts of brain, heart and hand, under the inspiration of that universal sense of brotherhood which will be, as I believe, the perpetual tonic that will some day render all coarser stimulants distasteful."

* * * * * * * *

"But while I stand steadfastly by every word I have ever used to urge teetotal habits upon the wage-worker, it grows plainer to me each day that the Scripture they [referring to the Raines law advocates] are given to quoting, points to a principle too long ignored by people 'well-to-do,' 'Let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more.'"

"But no material evil is greater than absolute and hopeless poverty. The pagan political economy, whose utmost wisdom has never reached higher than 'the law of supply and demand,' is fast becoming discredited in factory and shop, pulpit and pew, and the law of the co-operative commonwealth looms up in place of it."

* * * * * * * * *

"Long after the triumph of the temperance reform has universally crystallized upon the statute book—long after the complete right of woman to herself and to the unlimited exercise of all her beneficent powers is regarded as a matter of course—long after the great trust of humanity takes to itself the earth and the fullness thereof, as the equal property of all, there will still remain reforms as vital as any I have mentioned."

* * * * * * * * * *

Referring to the British Parliament bill, giving universal compensation to injured wage-workers, Miss Willard said:

"These laws are intended 'to check the Socialists,' and they show the good that the Socialist movement has already accomplished, and predict the infinitely greater good that is to come."

State of Illinois County of Cook ss.

Winnie E. Branstetter, being first duly sworn, says that she personally visited the National Headquarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at Evanston, Illinois.

Affiant further says that she has carefully examined the records at the aforesaid office of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and states that the language attributed to Frances E. Willard in the attached leaflet, is the language as spoken by Frances E. Willard at the National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance

Union held in 1897, being quoted from pages 118, 119, 121, 142 and 153 of the official record of the proceedings of said convention.

WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of July, 1913.

Seal) (Signed) JAS. P. LARSEN, Notary Public.

Socialism vs. Alcoholism

"We fully recognize the serious evils incident to the manufacture and sale for private profit of alcoholic and adulterated liquors. We hold that any excessive use of liquor by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our class, since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in the political and economic struggle, and we urge the members of the working class to avoid any indulgence that might hinder the progress of the movement for their emancipation.

"On the other hand, we do not believe that the evils of alcoholism can be remedied by any extension of the political powers of the capitalist state. Alcoholism is a disease of which capitalism is the chief cause, and the remedy lies rather in doing away with the underfeeding, overwork and over-worry which result from the wage system."—Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party in the United States, May, 1908.

"Like other commodities under this system, liquor is made and sold for profit. This furnishes every incentive to increase its use by all insidious means. Liquor dealers make themselves a great power in politics because there is profit in the business. They push the traffic with the utmost vigor, regardless of the wreck it brings to others, for the same reason.

"However, while I regard profit as an important cause of the extensive use of liquor, it seems to me to be a minor cause, as compared with others.

"Poverty, with its disheartening lack of hope and its dreary outlook for the future, drives millions of men to drink.

"Business, with its fierce competition, its racking worry, and its mentally and morally stunting superficiality, drives vast numbers of men to drink.

"These are extremely potent causes. Another cause of equal potency is overwork.

"Overwork in the excessive heat of mill or factory causes the workers to crave liquor. Overwork in monotonous occupations causes the workers to crave liquor. Overwork in ill-ventilated stores, factories, mills and mines causes the workers to crave liquor. Overwork even in a good environment causes the workers to crave liquor.

"All these causes are economic. They are amply sufficient to account for the immense quantities of liquor consumed. No further proof is needed that drunkenness is a social disease.

"Socialism is the only complete cure for the disease of drunkenness. Socialism will abolish poverty and all its hideous train of limitations. It will abolish the long hours of labor. It will abolish the insanitary surroundings.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,

THE THREEFOLD MENACE

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Opponents of equal rights claim to see in the suffrage movement three great menaces to American institutions—militancy, "feminism" and Socialism.

The woman's movement in the main has been distinguished by its mild and peaceable character. From the French Revolution down the struggles of men to gain the right of self-government have usually been accompanied with violence and bloodshed. The women have worked for the same right by gentler methods. At the International Suffrage Congress in Budapest last summer twenty-seven countries were represented. In twenty-six of them the movement is peaceful. In only one do we find a section of the suffragists resorting to violence. It is rational to infer that the violence in England is due to special circumstances peculiar to that country. Clearly it is not an inherent characteristic of the suffrage movement in general—quite the contrary.

NO SUFFRAGE MILITANCY HERE

In America the suffrage movement has always been peaceful, while the anti-suffrage movement has often been marked by violence. Yet so eager are the opponents of equal rights to fasten a charge of militancy upon the suffragists that they cry "Wolf!" upon all occasions, when there is no wolf within a thousand miles. The president of the National Anti-Suffrage Association even stigmatizes as militancy the announced intention of the suffragists to work for the defeat of candidates who are opposed to their measure—a perfectly peaceful and legitimate proceeding, and one that is used by all reformers who mean business.

While peering after an imaginary mote of militancy in their neighbor's eye, the antis quite overlook the big beam in their own-the attack upon the peaceful suffrage parade in Washington last March by hundreds of anti-suffrage hooligans; the pelting of Margaret Foley with breadcrusts and other fragments of a banquet in Ohio; the assailing of suffrage speakers in New York with snuff, pepper, pieces of broken glass, lemons, rolls of ticker tape and paper bags of water; the knocking down and kicking of a woman in Harlem by militant anti-suffragists; the attack upon the annual meeting of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association a few weeks ago by ruffians who broke the windows of the hall and hurled a can of explosive and vilesmelling chemicals in among the ladies. No anti-suffrage club has ever passed a resolution condemning any of these acts. If there is any danger of militancy in connection with the suffrage movement in America it is on the part of the opponents, not of the suffragists.

Since Nov. 1, 1912, by purely peaceful methods, woman suffrage has been gained in four States of the Union and in one

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country at large was 112 per cent. But in every State where women have had the ballot long enough to compare presidential election with presidental election, the growth of the Socialist vote was below the average. The general public does not know these things, but the Socialists know them. They are aware that in the United States not nearly as many women as men believe in Socialism. Hence there is a sharp division of opinion among the Soc alists, the more consistent members of the party standing up for woman suffrage, while the opportunist Socialists want to keep it from coming until after they have won a nation-wide Socialist victory.

They recall that at the first election in Los Angeles at which women voted, the Socialist ticket was snowed under, and that all the non-Socialists papers attributed it to the women. In short, while the anti-suffragists are declaring suffrage to be a menace because it would bring in Socialism, a large part of the Socialists look upon it as a serious menace to their success, be-

cause of women's conservatism.

In the 1912 elections, not one of the old suffrage States elected a Socialist to the Legislature. The States where women had just got the ballot, Washington and California, elected one Socialist apiece, as did Massachusetts and a number of other non-suffrage States. On the other hand, Illinois, by the vote of men alone, elected four Socialist legislators; and Wisconsin elected seven, and on the same day defeated woman suffrage by an enormous majority. The strongly Socialist wards of Milwaukee, which gave a majority of three and four to one for the Socialist candidates, gave a majority against woman suffrage.

When the International Woman Suffrage Congress met in Budapest in 1913, it was welcomed by every newspaper in the city except one. That was the Socialist paper, which for months in advance had been denouncing it, and warning

people to keep away from it.

When the antis say that "all Socialists are suffragists," it may be true in so far as they are all in favor of it in some ideal future; but many are practical anti-suffragists so far as the actual present is concerned. Some suffragists who had become Socialists are so indignant about it that they have left the party. The Socialists, however, are no worse in this respect than members of other parties. In States where every party has indorsed woman suffrage, we always find some Democrats, some Republicans and some Progressives who do not live up to that plank in their party's platform. But the anti-suffrage plea that suffrage means Socialism is absurd when we observe how many Socialists are afraid of it-and doubly absurd in view of the actual record of the elections in the enfranchised States.

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For news of the suffrage movement all over the world, read the national suffrage newspaper. The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston street, Boston, Mass. \$1.00 per year.

WOMAN BUTTRACK ASSOCIATION

Territory. It would be inexcusable foolishness for American suffragists to resort to militancy when they are succeeding so well without it.

AS TO "FEMINISM"

Feminism is a word of vague and various meanings. It is often used to cover the general movement in behalf of equal rights for women, which is in different stages in different countries. In some, women have won almost everything but a vote; in others they are still struggling for equal opportunities in education, or for admission to the professions, or, in China, for the use of their own feet. Anything and everything in the line of larger liberty for women is commonly lumped together under the term "Feminism."

By the anti-suffragists the word is always used in a sinister sense, as meaning the abolition of marriage, the destruction of the home and a general reign of immorality. These are about the last things for which women would vote if they had the ballot. Both in their opinions and in their practice, women are stricter than men in the matter of domestic morality. Nothing could well be more fantastic than the notion that, if direct weight were allowed to women's wishes, those wishes would generally be found to favor excessive license. All the vicious interests oppose woman suffrage, from a conviction that women would be severe upon them.

Some persons believe that, in the future evolution of men, women and society. all or most of the principles of old-fashioned morality will go by the board; but these persons are a comparatively small group, and it is made up of anti-suffragists as well as suffragists. For example, some decidedly startling literature of that kind by Emma Goldman was lately sold in the street outside a suffrage meeting in New York—it was not allowed to be sold in the hall—and opponents of equal sufrage have been twitting the suffragists about that literature ever since with vindictive glee. They forget that Emma Goldman goes about lecturing on "The Folly of Woman Suffrage." She belongs to their camp, not to ours.

This was an extreme case. A large number of persons believe that the institutions of marriage and the home, which have already undergone many changes for the better since the days when every man had an unquestioned right to beat his wife, are destined to undergo still further change and improvement. Sentences to this effect, by well-known suffragists, are taken out of their context by unscrupulous opponents and wrested to bear an objectionable sense utterly at variance with their true meaning; or passages really objectionable are quoted from writers whom the great majority of American suffragists never heard of, and these are presented as the true pith and marrow of suffrage doctrine. In this way a grossly misleading argument against so-called "feminism" is built up, and is used as an argument against votes for women.

The results of equal suffrage are no longer a purely academic question. Women are already voting in ten States of the Union, as well as in a number of foreign countries. In some

they have had the ballot for many years. As a matter of fact and experience, we do not find that equal suffrage has anywhere led to the overthrow of the home or brought in a reign of immorality. Opponents used to prophesy that it would subvert all the foundations. Now they complain, on the ground that it has made so little difference! Such differences as it has made have been distinctly in the direction of raising moral standards and throwing added safeguards about the home.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in 1910 took a census of all the ministers of four leading denominations in the four oldest suffrage States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—and also of all the editors. She asked them whether the results of woman sufrage were good or bad. She received 624 answers of which 62 were unfavorable, 46 on the fence and 516 in favor. The answers from the editors were favorable, more than 8 to 1; those from the Episcopal clergymen more than 2 to 1; from the Baptist ministers, 7 to 1; from the Congregationalists, about 8 to 1; from the Methodists, more than 10 to 1. and from the Prespective of the constraint of the congregation of the Prespective of the congregation of the Prespection, more than 11 to 1. If equal suffrage had promoted those demoralizing results which the term "feminism" is said to imply, their pastors could hardly have failed to find it out.

Instead of equal suffrage having a bad effect upon marriage, every State that has given the ballot to women has declined in its ratio of divorce as compared with the rest of the country. Thus Colorado granted 935 divorces the year before women were enfranchised, and only 597 the year after; and during the twenty years since that happy event, the proportion of divorces to the population has never been anything like so large as it had been before. This is a fact; and "an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory."

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

In these days the opponents of equal rights for women are continually harping upon Socialism. "Suffrage means Socialism," is their constant war-cry, both in their public addresses and in their official publications.

There are as many different kinds of Socialism as there are of Heinze's pickles, and the antis always pick out the most extreme variety, and usually caricature even that. "All Socialists are suffragists," they are constantly telling us; and they predict that granting votes to women will mean the speedy bringing in of the Socialist State.

Now, the Socialists themselves do not think so. All Socialists have woman suffrage as a plank in their theoretical platform, but many of them confess that they do not want it to come until Socialism comes, just because they believe that it would delay the coming of Socialism.

The Socialist Party admits women to membership on the same terms as men, but not nearly as many women as men have joined it. The proportion is said to be about one to ten. In every State in the Union the Socialist vote cast at the presidential election of 1912 showed an increase over that cast at the the presidental election of 1908. Its average increase in the

EQUAL SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION [post 1913]

OF MINNEAPOLIS

ESSEX BUILDING

Motherhood and Government

By FLORENCE BENNETT PETERSON

If you were to be asked what subject is most idolized and reverenced in life all would answer, "The Mother and the Child." The conceptions of the mother and the child have inspired many of our most beautiful pictures, many of our most touching poems, many of our most wonderful pieces of sculpture. The mother and the child is the most sublime theme of all art. No deeper emotion has ever surged in the throbbing hearts of men and women than when they have looked upon that holy reality of life—the mother and the child.

Now let me ask you a second question. What is it that presents the saddest pictures, the most brutal scenes of neglect, the most hopeless views of misery in every-day life? Is it not a pity that the answer to this, too, must be—the mother

and the child.

In the long procession of those who must bear misery and sorrow, millions of mothers of the race must walk on and on with but feeble rays of hope to guide

them.

One seldom rides on the street cars of any large city without seeing thousands of these tragedies of the mother and the child. Not long ago while riding on the cars of our city, I found myself seated opposite a mother thinly and poorly clad. She listlessly held a little babe wrapped in a scrap of an old black shawl. The child should have been asleep in a clean little bed at home. The mother's face and the child's face aroused the feelings more than a Browning's "The Child Asleep"-far more than gazing upon the madonna art of the masters, for this woman's face had upon it the stamp of consecrated living motherhood. Here was the living picture of the mother and the child which all the great historic religions from Buddhism to Christianity have rightly worshipped—the living picture which alone epitomizes the life of mankind.

This mother sat utterly unconscious of the dignity of her attitude. She could not have been more than 32 or 34, yet her face was old, gray, and drawn—desperately tired, yet placid with the calm that knows no hope. She looked straight out before her, but she looked at nothing, for her eyes were too tired to see. The tint of her skin and of the eyeball spoke of impoverishment of the blood. THIS MOTHER SITTING BEFORE ME WAS STARVING TO DEATH—starving for food, clothes, shelter, love—and while I tortured my eyes

with the seeing of this living picture of the brutal starvation of A MOTHER OF THE RACE, I could not but see the living pictures of thousands of other starving mothers—of mothers who should be THE MOST VALUABLE ASSET OF THE STATE.

Motherhood and Politics

In the past, government has not been particularly concerned with the welfare of mothers. The history of government is largely the history of militarism. War saps the ethic vitality of a nation and puts the lowest kind of evaluation on both men and women. Men were the targets for the enemy's guns and women were estimated as only valuable for producing the targets. Napoleon, the greatest military exemplar, summarized the idea of women held by governments founded on militarism, as follows: "Woman is given to us that she may bear children. Woman is our property, we are not hers; because she produces children for us, we do not yield to her. She is therefore our possession as the fruit tree is that of the gardener."

The old idea was that the glory and supremacy of man as the great warrior on the battlefield must be insured at whatever cost to human welfare.

Cause of Agitation and Progress

Why is there so much agitation and progress among women today? What has caused it? Their rebellion is rooted in their sense of suffering, outraged motherhood. It is the mother creature struggling for her rights and those of her child.

If one reviews the 19th century ideas of motherhood, she sees that during the early part of the century while the family was still considered an industrial unit, childbearing was only an incident in the midst of pioneer toil. When did we begin to look upon childbearing as a subject for reasoning? Not until the pioneer suffragists began to agitate the question and women began to enter the medical profession. We women today owe such a debt to the early suffragists. Mrs. Coolidge says: "When women began to come out of their homes—and we must remember that they were forced out by changing industrial conditions—there grew up in the press and the pulpit a habit of praising the 'glory' of mother-

hood in much the same way as they dwelt upon the 'dignity' of manual labor. Now any thoughtful person could see that the conditions of labor were often inhuman and degrading, and no one who could escape from such toil chose to stay in it because of its dignity. Many conditions of motherhood have been inhuman and degrading and the habit of GLOSSING OVER ITS HARDSHIPS AND MISERIES PERSISTS EVEN TO-DAY." (1.)

Under the old laws, woman was the property of her husband in the same way as he owned horses-woman was only a chattel. The mother in even her best state knew herself to be a kind of charitable dependent under the laws. It is to the credit of men that they were often more generous than law or custom. But the sympathy and generosity of a part of the men did not change the laws. For the past hundred years, women have been trying to "speak out" and tell how they themselves feel about all the things that concern homes, children, mothers and humanity.

The Mother Spirit

The mother spirit is rife today. It is militant, radical, conservative-we are forming a great mother union. The purposes of the mother union are bringing about a close fellowship among the different classes of women. All kinds of women have come to realize that each class has the most urgent needs to hasten reforms for motherhood and childhood. One time after giving a brilliant lecture, a celebrated suffragist asked for questions. Among them was "Why should comfortable women dabble in politics?" The answer came just like a flash: "Because there are so many uncomfortable women."

Different Kinds of Motherhood

Formerly, there was just a general consideration of motherhood and childhood, but among other things that suffragists insist in proclaiming is that there are many kinds of motherhood and childhood and that it is the duty of the state to look after the welfare of all mothers and of all children.

1. There are the beautiful madonnas in comfortable homes blessed in happy maternity which is the glory and crown

of a woman's life.

2. There is the great loving foster motherhood-the sainted faces of Jane Addams, Susan B. Anthony, Florence Nightingale, Frances Willard and thousands of others who are universal mothers of humanity. Teachers are foster lot to vote them a living wage. The average wage of teachers in United States is less than that paid to unskilled labor. They receive an average wage of \$485 per year. Coal miners get an average of \$600, factory workers get \$513, and common laborers \$550. (2.)

Ditch diggers are better paid than teachers.

There are other classes that far outnumber the happy mothers and the foster

mothers. (3.)

- 3. The widowed mothers and orphans are a neglected and suffering class. Remember that the edict of the state has always been that women must bear and rear children. A father dies and the bereft mother then faces doubled labor. She must still be the mother caring for every want and besides go out into the world and earn the bread and butter. Mothers' pension laws have been passed in a few states. These laws are a slight amelioration. Statistics of England say that there are more than 1,200,000 widows with orphans in that country. One can readily see that this means that there are several million children who are fatherless.
- 4. There are the starved, overburdened mothers who have a baby every year, and whose husbands are employed but part or none of the time. This class presents many problems, chief among which is unemployment of men who want to work, but who are the victims of the fluctuations of business interests and labor strife. Men who will not work and who have families should be sent to a "State Institution of Industries," where work is plentiful. Their wages can be sent to feed starving children and suffering mothers.

5. There are the wives and mothers deserted entirely by the husbands and fathers. Study the laws that pertain to

wife and child desertion.

6. There are the mothers whose maternity is extra-legal. Saleeby declares that motherhood is hideously illegitimate when it is forced upon a wife married to a drunken, degenerate or diseased husband.

7. There are the feeble-minded mothers whom the State should debar from

maternity.

8. There are the aged mothers who have done noble service for the State. When I am in the large office buildings of Chicago, I often think that about all the State has to offer to an aged mother is the position of scrub woman.

Then, there is the most tragic figure in the long procession of motherhood -the unmarried mother-so often a child mothers. Teachers need the mother's bal- mother, with her little child called by

1. See "Why Women Are So," by Mary R. Coolidge.
2. See "A Comparative Study of Public School Systems in the Forty-eight States," published by the Russell Sage Foundation, N. Y.
3. Read "Maternity," by Brieux.

the law of the State illegitimate, but nevertheless a little child by every natural law. Study the history of this problem.

The Mother and the State

What are we going to do with all this array of motherhood and childhood? What is the State going to do about it? Saleeby says:

"The relation of the mother to the State is central and fundamental.

"This relation may be stated in two

a. The State is a big family. We are all members of it, related to another. Those that need help must be helped.

b. Secondly, that if the State is to con-

tinue, it must rear children."

It looks as if the business of the State is to provide proper legislation to guard all kinds of motherhood and to protect and educate all children.

Woman's Place is in the Home

That beautiful old platitude "Woman's place is in the home" is the basis of all our work. It happens, however, that suffragists think that the whole world is our home. They believe; too, that the home is the logical seat of all government.

Another belief of suffragists is that all the mothers of the race should have decent homes. They do not see the logic in forcing mothers to live in foul tenements, dark, overcrowded rooms, or dank, filthy basements. Mothers will use their ballots to establish good housing standards. Good housing must be provided at cheap rents, Mothers and children should not be made the helpless victims of the greed of landlords. Study our systems of taxation and the landlord system of homing people. (4.)

just with houses in which people live. Would it not be desirable to have a real homelike atmosphere in our street cars (first a genuine house-cleaning), the streets, court rooms, schools, theaters, stores, factories, churches-the enumeration is without end. There are other homes that need attention. We have almost 8,000 saloons in Chicago which seem to home people by the thousand. Then, there are the penitentiaries and other penal institutions that are the abodes of great numbers of human be-

We should not associate home ideas

The White Slave Traffic

riculum.

ings. All these and many more come

under the jurisdiction of the home cur-

Women basking in the comfort and protection of their happy homes should spend an evening reading "My Little Sister,"

Read "Housing Reform," by Veiller. Read "Woman and Womanhood," by Saleeby.

by Elizabeth Robins. Miss Robins tells us the story of the most terrible wrong permitted by society-of one of the chief revenue systems for political graft. The sustained intensity of Betty's disappearance and awful fate should be carried home to every man and woman. "My Little Sister" is a scathing indictment of the idle complacency and willful selfish ignorance of the men and the women who sit in their comfortable homes prating inanely of woman's place being in the home when the daughters of so many mothers are stolen or forced INTO A PRISON HOME WHICH IS A HOUSE OF BONDAGE FOREVER.

Have our overly comfortable women in the home ever thought of the agony of those mothers whose daughters have been lost, and whose whole after life is a piteous cry of "Why did it have to hap-

pen to my child"?

The Chief Enemy of Mothers

Alcohol is the chief enemy of women. Alcohol is a maker of widows and orphans. In 1906 in England, 45,445 men with families died from the effects of alcoholism, or over 124 widows and orphans made by alcohol every day in the

A large amount of money now spent on alcohol and tobacco, and other things which shorten the lives of fathers, is needed for the family. Alcohol destroys the father, the mother and the child. It is a great menace to the State. (5.)

Real Political Economy

In days to come such matters as alcoholic destruction and other menaces to human welfare will be of greater importance as affairs of State than tariffs and battleships.

Pigs Versus Children

Child welfare needs the maternal voice in government. The government is just awakening to the cry of the children. Two years ago at our preferential primary, I asked two politicians if they would not vote "Yes" on the pink Woman's Suffrage Ballot. One said he did not think that women could ever learn how to vote. I asked him if he did not think that women could do a great deal for the interests of children in politics. After several minutes' deliberation he said: "Well, maybe women do know more about children than men." I asked him if he had noted a few months previous that the United States Congress had voted an appropriation of \$3,000,000 for looking after the welfare of pigs in the United States and a few weeks afterwards had voted an appropriation of about \$30,000 to establish the Children's Bureau.

Without any hesitation he replied, "PIGS ARE VERY IMPORTANT. WE EAT PIGS."

The 1913 Legislature of Indiana passed an appropriation of \$25,000 for the welfare of hogs, and killed the bill appropriating \$5,000 for the care of children.

The children are the future republic and the mother's ballot will establish the principle that the vital efficiency of children is of more importance than the care of fish and forests by the United States government. (6.)

Mother Rights in the Law

The property rights of women are much better protected than their mother rights. In 1800, married women were not permitted in any country to control their property, nor to will it away at death. A woman could not make contracts, bring suit, testify in courts, nor have any claim on accumulations made during marriage. Most of these laws have been amended or repealed in U. S., but many legal disqualifications exist. Study the historical perspective of the legal position of women.

In 1880, the sole guardianship of children was given to the father. The mother was not the legal parent of her own child. Mothers still suffer many disabilities under the guardianship laws. There are 29 states wherein the mother does not have much legal right over her child during the life of the father. Only 19 states have joint guardianship laws. (7.)

The age of consent has been raised in many states. It still remains as low as 10 years in Delaware, Georgia and Mississippi. (8.)

Education and the Law of Human Efficiency

Hitherto, in the State of Illinois, the education of women has been limitedlimited because they were not permitted to put into practice knowledge attained regarding that larger home of all-the State. "We have disregarded a most essential principle of education by not holding forth political ideals for girls as well as for boys in our schools. Education has the most practical bearing upon the question of efficiency and the most intense meaning for human morals. So long as the American girl has no future in government, so long will the American mother be less well-fitted than she should be to bear and rear children who

shall be worthy of democratic citizenship. No education can be complete that excludes the idea of human efficiency in any local institution.

any local institution. (9.) When the schools of Illinois opened last fall, many young women began their work in the departments of civics and political science with enthusiasm, for they knew that their work in citizenship meant not theory alone, but future participation in the affairs of State.

The Right to Labor

The great problems of labor must be met. One of the moral forces back of the woman movement is woman's right to labor. The right to vote gives woman the right to labor in politics. Economic questions need the co-operative intelligence of both men and women to formulate just working principles. (10.)

The Work Before Us

The Home as an institution is largely woman's contribution to society. The State is largely man's contribution to civilization. We are coming to see that the Home needs more of the man and that the State needs more of the woman. Women are one-half of the human race. They are one-half of the present generation, and one-half of all the generations to come. If every child is sacred, then every mother is sacred. We can not take care of motherhood and childhood without getting into politics. Everything in life seems to have become more or less involved in political machinery. The ballot may seem a little thing in itself, but it is an instrument of power that can bring about a greater degree of safety, prosperity, and peace.

Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, 1320 Glenlake Ave., Chicago, Chairman of Literature for the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, to meet the demand for inexpensive literature for free distribution suitable for any state, is bringing out some four-page leaflets six inches by nine. She sells them at just enough to cover cost—75 cents per hundred and \$6.00 per thousand. The first are:

A Mother's Prayer, by Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

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See "Ethical Gains Through Legislation," by Florence Kelley; "The Delinquent he Home," by S. P. Breckinridge; "The Child in the City Street," edited by 6. See "Ethical Gains Through Legislation," by Florence Kelley; "The Delinquent Child and the Home," by S. P. Breckinridge; "The Child in the City Street," edited by S. P. Breckinridge.

7. See "Guardianship of Children," by Catharine Waugh McCulloch, also Vol. VII. Woman Citizens' Library.

8. See Vol. VIII. of Woman Citizens' Library.

9. See "Woman in Motives, Ideals and Values in Education," by Chancellor.

10. Read "Woman and Labor," by Olive Schreiner; "Woman and Economics," by Charlotte Gilman; and "Woman in Industry," by Edith Abbott.

[may, 1916]

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OF

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**†]	His Place is in the Armory. By Alice Duer Miller For 10—15 women and 12 men. Time, 20 min. Postpaid,	.05	\$2.50
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			d			
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man and 4 wome	n. Time, 25 minutesP	ostpaid	.21	
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