

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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August 20, 2018

[ca 1914?]

Prospectus

OF

The Suffragists' Corset Manufacturing Co.



EXECUTIVE OFFICES:
29 West Thirty-fourth Street
NEW YORK CITY

THE SUFFRAGISTS' CORSET MFG. CO.

A BUSINESS TO BE PROMOTED AND CONTROLLED EXCLUSIVELY BY SUFFRAGISTS

Object

THE SUFFRAGISTS' CORSET MFG. CO. was incorporated July 29th, 1914, for One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars. Of this One Hundred Thousand Dollars is common stock and Fifty Thousand Dollars preferred stock. Both common and preferred shares are of equal value, namely $2.00 each.

The purpose of this corporation is to manufacture and sell, both at wholesale and retail, corsets of all kinds, at prices that meet the requirements of the trade. Our company is to be promoted exclusively by Suffragists throughout the United States. The sale of preferred stock being made is to inaugurate the business through Suffragist organizations and keep the control of the stock entirely among our members. Saleswomen and all others employed by the company will be Suffragists.

No salaries will be paid to any officer or director as such and only paid to such officer or director as actually performs labor for the company. The operation of the company is to be mutual as nearly as can be and the Directors pledge themselves for economical management.

Three and a half per cent. of the net earnings from sales made in each city or section of the United States will be set aside and donated either annually or semi-annually, to the local organization. This percentage will be increased in proportion to the increased sales.

We have the most expert French and American designers and it is our aim to manufacture better articles than can be obtained for the same money in any other retail store.

An appeal is to be made directly to the Suffragists that they patronize this company, because it is their own company and because we will be enabled to show them an actual saving on all goods purchased.

Capitalization

The Authorized Capital Stock is $150,000.

OF this, One Hundred Thousand Dollars is common stock and Fifty Thousand Dollars is preferred stock. The preferred stock bears extraordinary advantages. Not one restriction was placed thereon in the incorporation of the company. For example, preferred stock votes, which is not usual; it bears an annual dividend of 7 per cent., payable from the net earnings of the company before any dividend is paid on the common stock. This dividend is also cumulative; that is, if not paid during one year it cumulates against the earnings of the succeeding years. The preferred stock is also participating, which is most unusual; that is, it participates with the common stock in all earnings of the company and is not limited to its 7 per cent.; for example, a dividend of 7 per cent. must first be paid from the earnings on the preferred stock; next a dividend will be paid from the earnings on the common stock; thereafter, if there are any extra earnings upon which dividends are declared they will be declared on the entire outstanding stock, whether common or preferred, without distinction as to class.

We are offering the preferred stock at par, $2.00 per share, and for the further protection of preferred stockholders they shall, in case of dissolution or liquidation, receive the full amount of their investment before any claims of common stockholders are considered. One share of common stock will be given as a bonus for every four shares of preferred stock subscribed. In other words, a bonus of 25 per cent. in common stock is to be given to all purchasers. No bonus will be given to purchasers of less than four shares.

The charter, minutes and by-laws are open to inspection by all stockholders.

Limited Subscriptions

IT must be apparent that if Fifty Thousand Dollars of preferred stock were all sold to a few people in one community, the cause would be benefitted very little. Moreover, the success of the company will depend exclusively on the efforts of the Suffragists throughout the United States, not only in the sale of stock, but in the sale of our products.

It must, therefore, be apparent that only a small portion of the preferred stock can be allowed to each community. This allotment is to be made from time to time by the Directors or Executive Committee.

It is earnestly requested, therefore, that all women interested in Suffrage take advantage of this offer and make application AT ONCE for stock, as outlined on the application blank on the back of this folder.

Our Temporary Offices are now located at 29 West 34th Street, New York City. Any further information can be obtained by writing the company at that address.

It is earnestly urged that applications for stock BE MADE IMMEDIATELY in order that an equitable allotment to each community may be made.

APPLICATION FOR STOCK

THE SUFFRAGISTS' CORSET MFG. CO.
29 West Thirty-fourth Street, New York:

I hereby apply for ..... *shares of* ***Preferred Stock*** *in your Company.*

In payment for same I enclose herewith

..... $.....

Signed .....
NAME OF SUBSCRIBER

.....
STREET, TOWN OR CITY ADDRESS

Shares, $2.00 Each .....
STATE

FILL OUT AND TEAR OFF ON THIS LINE.

[ca 1914]

Peace on earth. Good will toward Men





The World's Peace Army

INTERNATIONAL COMMONWEALTH
WOMAN'S REPUBLIC
AMERICAN STATE
UNIVERSITY CITY, ST. LOUIS,
MO. U.S.A.

ANNOUNCEMENT

ONE of the most remarkable phenomenas of modern times has been the almost instant, world-wide spread of the membership in the International Commonwealth, among the leaders of human thought in all civilized nations. This organization, coming at a psychological time, is crystallizing in action, the silent deep thought of advanced men and women everywhere, and stupendous as has been its growth within a short period, it is but the tangible expression of forces that have been long and silently shaping themselves.

Man is estimated to have inhabited the earth approximately three hundred thousand years. In the past three thousand he has progressed farther than in the previous two hundred and ninety-seven thousand, and in the past three hundred, farther than in the previous three thousand, and in the past fifty years farther than in all the rest put together. Liberty of human thought, and the power to express and intercommunicate that thought throughout the entire world, by telegraph, telephone, steam engine, aeroplane, printing press and a thousand other modern inventions, have brushed aside the boundaries of states and races, and as never before have brought man to a realization of the fact of human brotherhood and community of interests.

A fall of the bank rates in London is today instantly reflected throughout the entire civilized world. Wealth or money has taken a new form in which the actual gold is but a minor part. The day when wealth could be confiscated by a conquerer has passed, for it consists so largely of the inviolable evidences of private ownership in the shape of stocks, bonds, notes, mortgages, etc., that confiscation would but destroy the thing confiscated. London has become the banker of the world, yet the entire gold of London would not pay a single year's taxes of the city itself. A civilized nation, attacking another civilized nation, would instantly suffer a loss to its merchants, industries and credit far beyond any possible advantage it could gain by victory.

The whole civilized world has become a co-operative, interwoven community of interests, and man is beginning to realize that his battle is with nature, and not with his fellow-man, to make this planet and life on it more desirable, happy and better. The idea that the highest reward must come from service to humanity, and not by plundering his fellow men of the fruits of their toil, is gaining ground. The despot finds that he can not extract by torture, from enslaved subjects, as much as the average citizen of a free nation spends as a contribution to philanthropy.

Force is rapidly giving place to intellect and developed brain power. A new aristocracy of education, intellect, human service, efficiency and ideas, is pushing the old feudal one, of power through armed force and plunder, to the wall. Industry is dethroning privilege and force, and is the deadly enemy of disorder, armed force and WAR. One modern nation can no longer hold vassal another and extract tribute. Advantage and wealth by conquest has become impossible. No civilized nation can by any possibility gain anything under modern conditions, by war,

which can not much better be gained without war. The citizens of a modern nation can not possibly be benefited by conquest by force of arms, yet in the face of these undeniable facts, approximately one half of all the revenues of all the civilized nations of the earth continue, increasingly, to be wasted in enlarging their medieval conceived weapons of offense and defense against fellow-civilized neighbors. It alone remains to awaken the great mass of the people by education, to the utter, criminal futility and uselessness of armies and navies for aggression and defense, as a means of protecting anything worth protecting, or gaining anything worth gaining, when this staggering burden which is fast making the cost of living intolerable, sapping the vitality of all nations, and existing only through the ignorance of the mass, must go the way of all other relics of the dark ages, before the rule of intellect, education and right ideas.

War has, however, become a BUSINESS, powerfully entrenched, with enormous resources and power, and better organized, for selfish greed and lust of personal power, than any other human enterprise. A considerable section of the public press is directly or indirectly in the pay of this business. Rulers fear to lose their power over the people, with the destruction of armed force. A black and constant cloud of agitation, war scares, appeals to so-called "patriotism" and the keeping alive of false and exploded theories, maxims and panoply which had their origin in conditions that no longer exist, is kept before the eyes of the mass that increasing armanents may be voted.

Who secretly profits by this business of WAR? Not the mass of the people, by any possibility. Has any war of the past fifty years between civilized nations, profited or benefited by a dollar or in any other way, a single citizen of those nations that engaged in it, unless in office or power or through graft and plunder?

So wide has become the influence, and so great the membership of the International Commonwealth, of which the Woman's Republic is the American State, and particularly so rapid has been the organization and silent, swift growth of the World's Peace Army of its Department of Peace, that although already fast outnumbering the combined war armies of the world, no printed word of it has appeared in the public press. Nothing could so well demonstrate its effectiveness, and the ability of the intellects which are guiding it, for its campaign to be most effective must be unknown to its enemies—those who advocate war as a means of settling human differences between civilized nations.

Membership or enlistment in its ranks, can only be had by personal invitation of some one already a member, who must in turn vouch for the intellectual standing and personality of the recruit so invited. It originated with approximately two thousand men and women throughout the civilized world, whose names are household words for all that is best in human service—men and women of the highest education, intelligence and position, men and women who their fellow-men and women trust in their respective nations and elsewhere. None others are asked or desired in its ranks, for its work is one of educational leadership of their fellow-men in a fearless opposition to war as a means of settling human differences, by teaching the truth about war.

The election of its officers, from the captains to the field marshals, set for the time when its membership shall equal the combined numerical strength of the united war armies of the civilized world, is soon to take place. The members of each company throughout the world will then be informed of the names and addresses of their fellow-members in the same company, and will elect their captain. The captains will then be informed of the names and addresses of the other elected captains of the companies that will form their battalion, and will elect their major. The majors of each battalion throughout the world will then be informed of the names and addresses of the other majors of the battalions that will form their regiment, and will elect their colonel. The colonels of each regiment will then, in the same manner, elect their brigadier-general. The brigadier-generals of each brigade will then elect their major-general, and the major-generals of each of the thirty-five divisions of each army corps will then elect the field marshal of their corps. The seven field marshals will then elect their commander-in-chief, and will constitute his or her staff.

THERE ARE NO MEMBERSHIP DUES OR FEES, EITHER IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMONWEALTH OR ITS WORLD'S PEACE ARMY, OR THE WOMAN'S REPUBLIC. Both are maintained by a license tax on the industries of the Commonwealth and its several states throughout the civilized world, for this great structure rests on human industry, and world PEACE permanently assured is necessary to it and to them. Each licensed industry contributes its share, proportionate to its gross income, to the maintenance of the Commonwealth's government.

It is recognized that through ignorance of its real purpose and nature, misunderstanding may arise in the public mind regarding the World's Peace Army and the Commonwealth, hence having had a modest part in the organization in this country, being intimately familiar with its conception and growth, and as the President of the Woman's Republic in this country, I have been commissioned to state so much of the details as are permitted at this time, in my own words and from my own viewpoint.

Of the Divisions in the various States of Europe and other countries, I may not more than briefly speak at this time, since any publicity regarding them must first come from them in their own lands. I may say, however, that the membership throughout is composed exclusively of the same high order of intellect, responsibility and leadership as is evidenced in that of this country, many of the most famous men and women of all lands, and the very cream of their intellectual development, are enlisting in its ranks.

It has long since been evident that the last great battle for permanent world peace must be one of brains and education against ignorance and precedent, and that it can only be won by as perfect, world-wide and efficient an organization or army FOR PEACE, as that which exists FOR WAR. The World's Peace Army is such an organization.



President of the Woman's Republic,
American State of the International Commonwealth.

WOMAN'S REPUBLIC

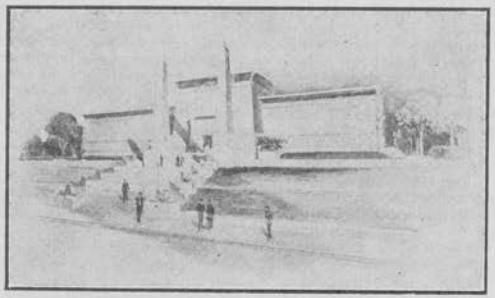
THE Woman's Republic is already one of the largest organizations in America, and is the American State of the International Commonwealth, whose object is to make better citizens of its members and hence to help to make for better government. Special instruction in the duties and obligations of office as well as of the franchise, are supplied its members, and its whole organization constitutes a practical school in government and administration. While it is an advance step, appealing to women and men of intelligence only, it is psychologically in direct line with the swiftly growing community of interests between the peoples of all civilized nations, whose geographical boundaries are rapidly disappearing before the common brotherhood of man. Those who are directing its destinies look forward confidently to its becoming the most useful and powerful organization in the world, a veritable international government. The Capital city of the American state, the Woman's Republic, is University City, Missouri, one of the most beautiful municipalities in America, where its Capitol and other buildings are among the finest structures of the sort in the country. It stands pre-eminently as the first and only great organization not dependent on membership dues or fees, and in fact having no membership dues or fees. One of the greatest of the seven Departments of the International Commonwealth, and hence of the Woman's Republic, is its Department of Peace, under which has been organized the World's Peace Army.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMONWEALTH

A World Organization of Men and Women Equally, Irrespective of Race, Creed or Politics, for Better Citizenship and Better Government

WOMAN'S REPUBLIC.
American State of the International Commonwealth.

The Department of Peace. The Department of Interior.
The Department of Education. The Department of Justice.
The Department of Treasury. The Department of State.
The Department of Commerce and Industry.



Capitol Building of the Woman's Republic at University City, St. Louis, Mo.

The International Commonwealth

is composed of thirty-five States, the Woman's Republic being the American State of the Commonwealth. The International Congress is composed of three Senators and seven Representatives of each State of the Commonwealth.

The World's Peace Army is the organization of the Department of Peace. The International Commonwealth is governed by a president, assisted and advised by seven cabinet officers. Its laws are made by its Congress composed of seven Representatives and three Senators from each of the thirty-five States or divisions. Thus England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, etc., each having their own self-governing states of the Commonwealth, each send to the International Congress of the Commonwealth three Senators and seven Representatives. In America, the Woman's Republic being the State of the Commonwealth, is entitled to three Senators and seven Representatives in the International Congress. The Senators and Representatives of each State of the Commonwealth, in the International Congress, are appointed by the President of that State, and confirmed by the Senate of that State. Thus the three international Senators and seven Representatives of the Woman's Republic in the International Congress of the Commonwealth are appointed by the President of the Woman's Republic, and serve during her term of office. In 1915 the International Congress of the Commonwealth will be held in San Francisco, and that of 1916 will be held in Paris, France. Each Senator and Representative receives a per diem and an allowance for traveling expenses. There are no membership dues in the Commonwealth or in its American State, the Woman's Republic, and before the close of 1914, membership dues will probably be abolished in all States of the Commonwealth, although the membership restrictions are being constantly more closely drawn.

Organization of the World's Peace Army.

The World's Peace Army is divided into seven International Army Corps, as follows:

FIRST ARMY CORPS. The Educational Corps:
The Clergy, Authors, Editors, Journalists, Teachers, Lecturers.

SECOND ARMY CORPS. The Financial Corps:
Bankers, Capitalists, Financiers, Brokers, Insurance Officials.

THIRD ARMY CORPS. The Government Corps:
Civic Officials, Statesmen, Army and Navy Officers.

FOURTH ARMY CORPS. The Social Corps:
Officers of Women's Organizations, Fraternal Organizations.

FIFTH ARMY CORPS. The Professional Corps:
Scientists, Physicians, Lawyers, Professional Men and Women.

SIXTH ARMY CORPS. The Commercial Corps:
Manufacturers, Merchants, Importers, Exporters, Agriculturists, Employers.

SEVENTH ARMY CORPS. The Labor Corps:
Officials of Organized Labor.

Each of these seven great army corps is divided geographically into thirty-five divisions and each of these

divisions is subdivided into seven brigades, each brigade into seven regiments, each regiment into seven battalions and each battalion into seven companies.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

1st Division:—THE AMERICAN STATE—Embracing the UNITED STATES; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; ALASKA; THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS; THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS; THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE and PORTO RICO.

2nd Division:—CANADA.
3rd Division:—CUBA and WEST INDIES.
4th Division:—MEXICO.
5th Division:—CENTRAL AMERICA.
6th Division:—SOUTH AMERICA, north of the Tropic of Capricorn.
7th Division:—SOUTH AMERICA, south of the Tropic of Capricorn.
8th Division:—ENGLAND and WALES.
9th Division:—SCOTLAND.
10th Division:—IRELAND.
11th Division:—NORWAY.
12th Division:—SWEDEN.
13th Division:—DENMARK.
14th Division:—NETHERLANDS.
15th Division:—BELGIUM.
16th Division:—FRANCE.
17th Division:—GERMANY.
18th Division:—AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.
19th Division:—RUSSIA IN EUROPE and FINLAND.
20th Division:—SWITZERLAND.
21st Division:—ITALY.
22nd Division:—SPAIN.
23rd Division:—PORTUGAL.
24th Division:—THE BALKAN STATES.
25th Division:—GREECE.
26th Division:—TURKEY.
27th Division:—RUSSIA IN ASIA.
28th Division:—INDIA.
29th Division:—AUSTRALIA.
30th Division:—NEW ZEALAND.
31st Division:—ARABIA.
32nd Division:—PERSIA.
33rd Division:—CHINA.
34th Division:—JAPAN.
35th Division:—AFRICA.

Members of the Peace Army are assigned with reference to vocation and location, as, for example, a prominent physician in England would be enrolled in the Fifth corps, Eighth division, Fifth brigade, Fifth regiment, Fifth battalion and Company E.

THE WORLD'S PEACE ARMY.

SINCE enlistment in the World's Peace Army is only by written invitation of a member already enlisted, who endorses and stands sponsor for the intellectual standing of the recruit, and since the army was organized by special invitation sent exclusively to several thousand of the leading men and women of the world, and from which has grown the vast world-wide enlistment, each new recruit being sponsored by an enlisted man or woman of unquestioned mentality and position, the World's Peace Army is fast embracing in its membership the intellectual leadership of the civilized world.

This vast Peace Army, as effectively organized as the most perfect war army, ably officered, fast outnumbering the combined war armies of all civilized nations; proposes to pit its intellect and influence and organization, in a world campaign of education for the mastery, against the organized advocates of war as a means of settling human differences. Since war has become a business and the greatest enemy of industry and human liberty, the business of permanent world peace is being likewise organized as a business.

The world's battle for permanent peace, is essentially a campaign of education of the mass of the people of all civilized nations. The people of a nation are no longer to be collectively held responsible for the action of its rulers. The honor of civilized peoples of the earth is no longer in the keeping of the soldier, but in the good-faith of their statesmen. As religious dominance by force of arms has proven its own fallacy, so must industrial, political and race dominance by force of arms, likewise give way to right ideas and a better understanding of its own futility and the common brotherhood of man. To this the great mass of the people must be first educated and then their rulers will perforce bow to the new order or lose their authority. The mass must be taught that their safety and prosperity depends on permanent peace, as against the insidious teachings of the powerfully organized war business that it is dependent on conquest and extension of domain by force. When man once learns that under modern conditions, by no possibility can any civilized nation profit its citizens by war, the temptation to attack will be permanently removed, and with the possibility of attack removed, the need for armed defense will disappear.

The purpose of the World's Peace Army is to bring about permanent world peace, through a wide campaign of education in the utter criminal uselessness and futility of war between modern civilized nations. While the tactics of an army preparing for a great war must of necessity be held secret, yet a general brief outline of the campaign proposed may be given publicity. It comprises an education through the press, pulpit, universities and schools in the real nature of modern wealth and money; in the criminal uselessness of war in so far as gaining any possible advantage; in its real motive and business aspect; in its real horror and certain result in its cost in money, morals, industry and human advancement; a revision of the text books on history from which the young are instructed, until an Aristotle, an Edi-

When the organization of the World's Peace Army is completed by the election throughout the civilized world of its officers, it will then have fifty-eight million, eight hundred and twenty-four thousand, five hundred members (58,824,500), divided into seven great world army corps, in turn divided into two hundred and forty-five divisions, in turn divided into seventeen hundred and fifteen brigades, in turn divided into twelve thousand regiments, in turn divided into eighty-four thousand and thirty-five battalions, in turn divided into five hundred eighty-eight thousand, two hundred and forty-five companies of one hundred members each. It will have 588,245 Captains, who will elect 84,035 Majors, who will elect 12,005 Colonels, who will elect 1,715 Major-Generals, who will elect 245 Field Marshals, and they will elect the Commander-in-Chief. It is being organized for business—the business of putting out of business the business of war and preparation for war, and it will pay particular attention to those men in public life who seek to make laws, rule men, and hold authority, and yet have not the backbone or for other reasons dare not openly concede the monstrous criminality of the present condition of war preparation and armament. It will be a campaign of education of the mass, but it will none the less be war—war against ignorance, criminal greed, lust of power, and an organized machinery whose business is war and war scares and superstitions, however they personally profit by it.

The Volunteer Service.

In connection with the regular organization of the World's Peace Army is its Volunteer Service, of those who volunteer to actively help in its work in addition to their pledge. There are no dues or fees, and no financial contributions whatever are asked. The Commissary Department of this vast army has been as carefully thought out, organized, and provided for as is that of any great war army. "An army fights on its belly" is a trite saying, and in many ways a true one. The work of the World's Peace Army would be impossible without vast resources for its expense, the mere clerical expense in itself being a most considerable item. The volunteer service is, however, entirely one of human service, and those enrolled in it constitute a vast organization which can be called into active personal action for the relief of human distress and the bringing to pass of laws that will help to remedy evil conditions in government. The Volunteer Service is composed of those who desire to do something more than pledge their support and influence. Each member of the regular Peace Army is asked if he or she desires to volunteer for this service.

On the following pages are given a few of the signers of the World's Peace Army Pledge. At a later date will appear others until the world knows that the foremost intellect of all nations is enrolled in this great army of Peace, and that there stands an effective, organized, fearless army, greater than all the combined armies of the world, at the back of every ruler, lawmaker and public official who has the courage to call a halt to the mad fallacy and hallucination that befogs the civilized world. Could there be a greater and truer "patriotism"? The ruler, lawmaker and public official fears the organized machinery for war, because he has had no equally well-organized machinery to support him against war.

E. G. LEWIS, Counselor.

Pledge of Enlistment in the World's Peace Army and a Few of the American Members

WORLD'S PEACE PLEDGE

President of the Woman's Republic,
University City, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.

I hereby pledge that I will exert every influence in my power along all right lines, in every possible way, against war as a means of settling human differences, and to that end desire to be enrolled in the World's Peace Army which is established for the purpose of moulding public sentiment and educating all people throughout the civilized world in behalf of universal peace, thereby eventually making war impossible.

J. Card. Gibbons
Cardinal, Archbishop of Baltimore.

David Starr Jordan
Pres't. Leland Stanford University and Honorary Vice-Pres't. American Peace Society.

Francis J. McConnell
Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Colorado.

Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey
Honorary Vice Pres't. American Peace Society, Maine.

Thos. E. Green
International Peace Lecturer, Illinois.

Mrs. W. A. McComb
Pres't. Woman's Baptist Missionary Association, Mississippi.

A. E. Winship
Honorary Vice Pres't. American Peace Society, Massachusetts.

H. H. Matthews
Pres't. of the University of Georgia.

James Wallace
Honorary Vice Pres't. American Peace Society, Minnesota.

J. S. Long
Pastor All Saints Church, Missouri.

Robt. C. Root
Sec'y. California Peace Societies.

Wm. N. Sheats
State Superintendent Public Instruction, Florida.

Benjamin F. Trueblood
Sec'y. American Peace Society, Washington, D. C.

Rt. Rev. Philip J. Garrigan
Bishop Roman Catholic Church, Iowa.

(R.C.Rev.) John N. McCormick
Bishop of Grand Rapids (Episcopal.)

P. T. Rowe
Bishop (Missionary) of Alaska.

Lucia Ames Mead
Author and Lecturer American Peace Society.

Frank R. Millspaugh
Episcopal Bishop of Kansas.

William A. Quayle
Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church, Minnesota.

Thos. F. Davies
Episcopal Bishop of Springfield, Massachusetts.

R. H. Wilson
State Superintendent of Schools, Oklahoma.

F. E. Barrows
Sec'y. Washington Peace Society, Washington, D. C.

Frank Allen McClusky
Bishop Suffragan (Episcopal), Minnesota.

R. G. Waterhouse
Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, California.

Carlos M. Hiurmore
Pres't. Baptist State Convention, Indiana.

son, a Pasteur or a Goethals occupies a hundred pages in the history of the world, to one page devoted to a Napoleon, or an Alexander; until the great teachers and leaders of human thought and advancement—those who have lifted the race, occupy the pages in the history of the world taught the young, now occupied by the Nero, the Cæsar, the Borgia; in an organized, concurrent, and simultaneous opposition against increased armament, in all civilized nations co-operatively and under competent direction of chosen leaders; in a progressive educational campaign on the interrelation of all civilized people, which under modern conditions, makes it impossible for any part of the whole to profit by force at the expense of any other part, permanently; in the common brotherhood of man.

The first object to be attained is a mutual agreement between all the great civilized nations respecting the matter of armament. The next, a gradual reduction of armed force to strictly police requirements, and for the bringing about of order and liberty in uncivilized lands, and then the devotion of governmental resources to vast beneficial undertakings in place of increased armaments.

These things are proposed to be accomplished by an irresistible campaign of truth and education as to the real position of armed force in modern civilization, and the selfish business interests which by constant agitation and beclouding the minds of the people, alone profit by increased armaments to the certain world-wide disaster of all modern civilized people unless exposed and checked, by meeting the organized business of war, armed with medieval phrases and tradition, with the sunshine of the truth of the universal brotherhood of man, armed with education.

In this campaign, every resource of the seven great Army Corps of the World's Peace Army, under the direction of the intellectual leadership of its chosen officers, will be employed as acutely and as scientifically, without regard to religion, race, creed, nationality, or politics, as would those of the war armies of the world in a campaign by force of arms. Ideas will be the weapons against guns and powder. The battle will be as secret in its movements as are those between armed forces, but at all times the chosen officers will know and be assured of the strength and resource on which they can rely. The captain of a company will know the members of his company; the major of a battalion, the officers of his companies; the colonel of a regiment, the majors of his battalions; the brigadier-general of a brigade, the colonels of his regiments; the major-general of a division, the commanders of his brigades, and the marshal of an army corps, the generals of his divisions. The seven marshals will constitute the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief.

The election of officers now shortly to be held, will be from the bottom upwards progressively. The members of each company will elect their captain, the captains in forming a battalion will elect its major; the majors assigned to a regiment will elect its colonel; the colonels will elect a brigade commander and they, a major general, and the major-generals of the thirty-five divisions of each army corps will elect its marshal. The seven marshals will elect the Commander-in-Chief, who may be recalled by the President of the International Commonwealth on petition of the

colonels. Thus on completion of the organization of the World's Peace Army, its Commander-in-Chief will be in quick and effective communication with its several million peace soldiers through their successive grades of officers, and may direct the campaign in all parts of the civilized world simultaneously. Since every soldier enlisted in the army is chosen for his or her intellectual leadership the World's Peace Army on completion of its organization will present the greatest co-operative effort of organized intelligence of the highest order throughout the entire civilized world, that has ever been conceived. The silence and rapidity with which its already vast world-wide membership has been enrolled, without even a line of publicity in the press, argues well for its effective operation, beyond the possibility of effective organized attack. It will be a silent, bloodless battle, and the victory whether delayed a year or a decade, is certain.

It will be the greatest victory won in the history of the human race, and the generals of the World's Peace Army will go down to history as the greatest generals of all time, for they will have crystalized the brotherhood of man in "Peace on Earth, good will toward men." It is to be a battle of intellect, organized for permanent world-wide peace, against cunning, selfishness and greed, organized for the business of war; a battle between fearless truth, and black, ignorant, medieval fallacy; between those who would truly serve humanity, and those who would seek to hold humanity enslaved to an increasing burden already intolerable.

The more man succeeds in advancing his well-being, the less part in it does armed force have; the more that civilized man advances, the more he becomes an interdependent, co-operative part of an international whole, no part of which can injure the other part, without injury to the whole. As man has advanced, human nature has changed, and as man has changed, his instruments of advancement must change. The great modern force of civilized man's advancement today, is not military force, but the force of intelligence, education, industry—character, patience, self-control and human service. Man must now progress by his brain, and not by his club.

The doctrine that war is necessary to the preservation of man's virility and that the war-like nations inherit the earth, must give way to the truth that warlike nations do not inherit the earth, under modern conditions, but destroy their own best manhood, and their securities are at a discount. Man can no longer live by himself; neither can civilized nations. He must progress by better adapting himself to the planet on which he lives, and his nation's, by co-operation. The more perfect the co-operation the stronger his virility. An armed nation seeking to advance itself by force, is a thief seeking to profit by plunder, and no thief can.

Conquest can only benefit, under modern condition, in so far as it enforces order, law and human liberty, and the security of property and credit. Hence the conquering nation must give to the conquered, entire freedom and security, and may not profit by tribute and confiscation since modern wealth can no longer be confiscated and exist. As modern civilized nations have no need to establish order and liberty in other modern civilized nations, and can not profit their citizens by conquest, war, a relic of barbarism, is a fallacy and has no possible excuse.

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Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Florida.

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President International Purity Congress.

Moderator General Baptist Association.

Bishop of North Texas (Episcopal.)

Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Alabama.

President Baptist State Convention, Utah.

President Baptist Sunday School Board, Tennessee.

President Baptist Sunday School Convention, Rhode Island.

National President Race Betterment League.

Methodist Bishop of Indianapolis

Member of Advisory Council Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Stated Clerk United Presbyterian Church of North America.

Corresponding Secretary Danish Baptist General Conference of America, Minnesota.

President Baptist Young People's Union, Vermont.

Bishop Roman Catholic Church, Ohio.

President Baptist Missionary Convention, Wisconsin.

Editor of The Fra, East Aurora, New York.

President of Y. P. S. C. E.

Bishop of Western Colorado (Episcopal.)

Bishop of Maryland (Episcopal.)

President Baptist Young People's Union, Maine.

Bishop of Western Texas (Episcopal.)

Pres't Baptist State Convention, Vermont.

President Baptist Ministers' Conference, Missouri.

Pres't Baptist State Convention, North Dak.

Editor of the Nautilus Magazine, Holyoke, Massachusetts.

President State of Washington Peace Society

President Northern Baptist Convention, California.

President Connecticut Peace Society.

State President American Peace Society, Kansas.

President National Baptist Convention, Arkansas.

Secretary Intercollegiate Peace Society, Ohio.

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Bishop of Nebraska (Episcopal.)

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Bishop of Southern Ohio (Episcopal.)

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Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Tennessee.

Bishop Roman Catholic Church, Missouri.

Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Ohio.

Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, Arkansas.

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President Minnesota Peace Society.

President Maine Peace Society.

Bishop of Savannah (Episcopal.)

Bishop of Milwaukee (Episcopal.)

Bishop Roman Catholic Church, Illinois.

Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church Louisiana.

Honorary Vice President American Peace Society, New York.

Special Agent National Child Labor Committee, New York.

Bishop Suffragan of New York (Episcopal.)

President Baptist State Convention, New Hampshire.

Bishop of Indiana (Episcopal.)

President Baptist Union Association.

General Secretary Y. P. S. C. E.

Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church, Pennsylvania.

Bishop of Oklahoma (Episcopal.)

Honorary Vice President American Peace Society.

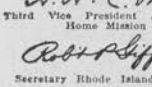
President Southern Baptist Conference, Georgia.

President Wisconsin Peace Society

Bishop of Pittsburg (Episcopal.)

A. H. C. Morse
Third Vice President American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Robt. P. Sifford
Secretary Rhode Island Peace Society.


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Bishop of Western Nebraska (Episcopal.)

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Stated Clerk General Assembly Presbyterian Church, Pennsylvania.

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Bishop of New York (Episcopal.)

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Vice Pres't. International Purity Congress.

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Bishop of Louisville (Episcopal.)

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Bishop of Dallas (Episcopal.)

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Member of Congress, Illinois.

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Member of Congress, Nevada.

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P. J. McCumber
United States Senator, N. Dakota.

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Denis O'Leary
Member of Congress, New York.

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Member of Congress, Mass.

Scott Ferris
Member of Congress, Oklahoma.

Silas R. Barton
Member of Congress, Nebraska.

F. W. Mondell
Member of Congress, Wyoming.

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Counselor, World's Peace Army.

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W. W. Rucker
Member of Congress, Missouri.

George White
Member of Congress, Ohio.

W. R. Oldfield
Member of Congress, Arkansas.

Henry George
Member of Congress, New York.

Sam R. Sells
Member of Congress, Tennessee.

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Ex-Lieutenant Governor of Minn.

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State of West Virginia.

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Member of Congress, Ohio.

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Member of Congress, Idaho.

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Member of Congress, Maryland.

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United States Senator from Nebraska.

J. Hamp Esch
Member of Congress Wisconsin.

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Governor of Wyoming.

W. I. Hammond
Member of Congress, Minnesota.

L. L. Myers
United States Senator from Montana.

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Member of Congress, California.

C. H. Lobeck
Member of Congress, Nebraska.

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Member of Congress, Indiana.

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Member of Congress, Illinois.

A. R. Rupley
Member of Congress, Pennsylvania.

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Member of Congress, Missouri.

Walter L. Hensley
Member of Congress, Missouri.

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Governor of Kansas.

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Lewis Fisher
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Morris Bealy
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Mrs Joseph Hartenthal
State Pres't. General Federation of Woman's Clubs, Arkansas.

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Emma Smith DeVoe
Pres't. National Council of Women Voters.

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State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Alabama.

Mrs. Wm R Wright
State Pres't. Mississippi General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs Robert H Tate
Honorary Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Oregon.

Mrs Henry Villard
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, New York City.

Jane E Webster
Sec'y. of Minneapolis Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Florence R. Dorsey
Chairman Press Committee Federation of Women's Clubs, Texas.

Minnie C D. Smith
Organizer International Sunshine Society, Colorado.

Carrie Chapman Catt
Pres't. International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, New York.

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State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Wisconsin.

Dr Bertha R. Hamilton
State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Wyoming.

Mrs Fred J Dubois
Vice Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Idaho.

Lilian M. Ellis
Organizer International Sunshine Society.

Mrs Nellie E. C. Furman
State Pres't. International Sunshine Society, New York.

Mrs David O. Mears
Vice Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Massachusetts.

Emma S Root
Grand Sec'y. Masonic Grand Lodge, New York.

Mrs. O. A. McKnight
State Pres't. Oklahoma General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Katharine Chapin Higgins
State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Massachusetts.

Mrs Mark L. Lalibury
State Chairman Missouri Daughters American Revolution.

Stephen Berry
Grand Sec'y. Masonic Grand Lodge, Maine.

Mrs Bruce Collard
State Pres't. International Sunshine Society, New Jersey.

Mrs S. S. Crockett
Chairman Press Committee General Federation of Women's Clubs, Tennessee.

Mrs Louis L. Angell
State President International Sunshine Society, Rhode Island.

Carolyn N. Hollingshead
State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Idaho.

May Wright Sewall
Honorary Pres't. International Council of Women.

Genevieve H. Chalkley
Pres't. Kansas Good Citizenship League.

Grand Sec'y. Masonic Grand Lodge, Alabama.

Daisy McLaurin Stone
Pres't. General, United Daughters of the Revolution.

Minnie W Knapp
Vice Chairman Press Committee General Federation of Women's Clubs, Missouri

Mrs Mary C Seward
First Vice Pres't. International Sunshine Society.

Viola May Cole
Vice Pres't. National Council of Women Voters', Oregon.

Mrs F. W. Baumhoff
Honorary Pres't. International Sunshine Society, Missouri.

Mrs Homer Black
State Pres't. International Sunshine Society, Pennsylvania.

Sophie Lee Foster
State Regent Daughters of American Revolution, Georgia.

Mrs Roland S Carter
Organizer International Sunshine Society, Virginia.

Mrs. J. S. Alexander
Corresponding Sec'y. Texas Woman's Press Association.

H. J. Brown
Judge of District Court of State of Oklahoma.

Daniel J Cobine
General Pres't. International Brotherhood of Teamsters' and Chauffeurs', Indiana.

John F. Tobin
General Pres't. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Massachusetts.

Fellowes Morgan
President Y. W. C. A. New York.

Mrs R B Stapleton
State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Mississippi.

Mary C Dobbs
Corresponding Sec'y. Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Mrs M M Balch
Organizer International Sunshine Society, Utah.

Cora Smith King
Treas. National Council of Women Voters', Washington, D. C.

Theresa B Peyton
Pres't. of Minnesota State Franchise League.

Orpha G. Chingleteary
Pres't. Equal Suffrage League, Louisiana.

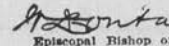
Mrs James P Stubbs
State Pres't. National Congress of Mothers, Georgia.

Alston G. Dayton
Federal Judge of the Northern District of West Virginia.

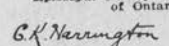
W. G. Lee
Pres't. Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

A Few of the Signers in Foreign Countries.

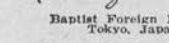
There has also been received by the President of the Woman's Republic from abroad, the membership pledges of many noted men and women, who, however, are assigned to the divisions of the Peace Army of their own States. The pledges were accompanied in nearly every case by letters of appreciation and encouragement in the great work being carried out by the Republic. The names of some of these foreign members appear on the following pages.



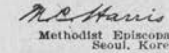
Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Ontario.



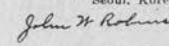
Baptist Foreign Mission, Tokyo, Japan.



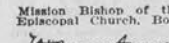
Methodist Episcopal Bishop, Seoul, Korea.



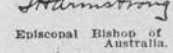
Mission Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bombay, India.



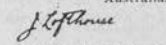
Episcopal Bishop of Wangaratta, Australia.



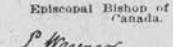
Episcopal Bishop of Keewatin, Canada.



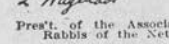
Pres't. of the Association of the Rabbis of the Netherlands.



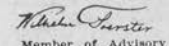
Member of Advisory Council of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Berlin, Germany.



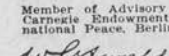
Member of Advisory Council of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Saxony, Germany.



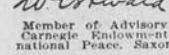
Member of Advisory Council of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Hague, Holland.



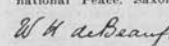
Episcopal Bishop of Tasmania.



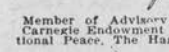
Member of Advisory Council of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Berne, Switzerland.



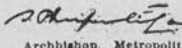
Stated Clerk Alliance of Reformed Presbyterian Church, Mexico.



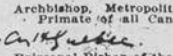
Archdeacon of Metlakatla, Canada. (Episcopal.)



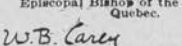
Member the Upper House of Parliament and the Hagueland; member of Advisory Council of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Vienna, Austria.



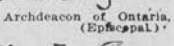
Archbishop, Metropolitan and Primate of all Canada.



Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese Quebec.



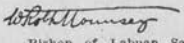
Archdeacon of Ontario, Canada. (Episcopal.)



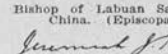
Bishop of Caledonia, B. C. (Episcopal.)



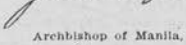
Bishop of Labuan Sarawak, China. (Episcopal)



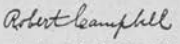
Archbishop of Manila, P. I.



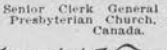
Senior Clerk General Assembly Presbyterian Church, Montreal Canada.



Methodist Mission Bishop, Lucknow, India.



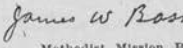
Methodist Mission Bishop, Peking, China.



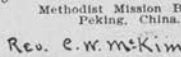
Archdeacon of Keewatin, Canada, (Episcopal.)



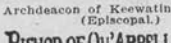
Rt. Rev. M. T. McAdam Harding, Episcopal



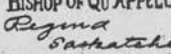
Episcopal Bishop of Cuba.



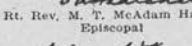
Baptist Mission Society, Rosario, Argentina.



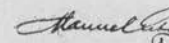
Pres't. for the Association for Enquiry Offices, The Hague.



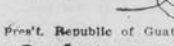
Bishop of Chota Nagpur, Ranchi, India. (Episcopal.)



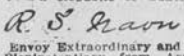
Editor Toronto Star.



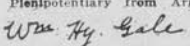
Pres't. Republic of Guatemala.



Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Argentina.



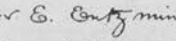
Episcopal Bishop, Matsumoto, Japan.



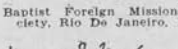
Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.



Episcopal Bishop, Ningpo, China.



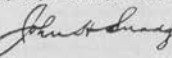
United States Consul to Russia.



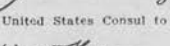
United States Consul, Ghent, Belgium.



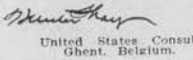
United States Consul, Belfast, Ireland.



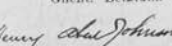
United States Consul to Danish West Indies.



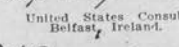
United States Consul to Switzerland.



United States Consul General to China.



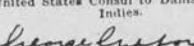
United States Consul to Chili.



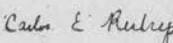
United States Consul to Mexico.



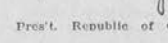
United States Consul General to Switzerland.



United States Consul, Costa Rica.



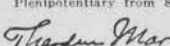
Pres't. Republic of Colombia.



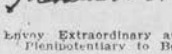
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Switzerland.



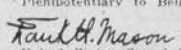
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium.



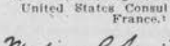
United States Consul General to France.



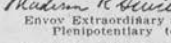
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Haiti.



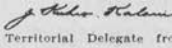
Territorial Delegate from Hawaii.



United States Consul General to Denmark.



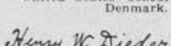
United States Consul, Antwerp, Belgium.



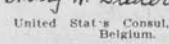
United States Consul to Madagascar.



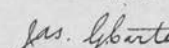
United States Consul to San Salvador, Salvador.



United States Vice Consul to Amsterdam, Holland.



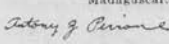
Resident Commissioner of Porto Rico.



United States Consul to Algiers



International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Oberbayern, Germany.



International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Jyvaskyla, Finland

L M Metge
Irish Women's Suffrage Federation. Lisburn, Ireland.

Chrystal Vernon Eckhard
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Manchester, England.

Paulina Luisi
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Milan, Italy.

Teresita Casini
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Milan, Italy.

Flora MacD. Denison
Pres't. Canadian Suffrage Association, Canada.

Costanza Astengo Arbib
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Milan, Italy.

Ernestine von Fürth
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Vienna, Austria.

Maria Bellini
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Milan, Italy.

Dr. E. Neuburger
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Frankfurt, Germany.

Anni Furuhjelm
Second Vice Pres't. International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Helsingfors, Finland.

Gida Perlen
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Stuttgart, Germany.

Eugenie Princesse Ghika
Pres't. of the Roumanian Association, Bucharest.

Auguste Kirchhoff
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Bremen, Germany.

Alice Zimmern
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, London, England.

Dr. Emma Hymann
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Munchen, Germany.

Adele Schreiber-Krieger
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Berlin, Germany.

Mme. Frigga Carlberg
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Gothenburgh, Sweden.

Emma Nägeli
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Mainz, Germany.

Bernhardine Behrens
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Hamburg, Germany

Eugenie Hoffmann
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Wien, Austria.

Eugenie Schmidt Vitali
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Verona, Italy.

Helena Auerbach
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Hetersett, England.

Cicely Corbett Fisher
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, London, England.

Elise Ryst
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Brussels, Belgium.

Anna Hilleboe
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Mary F. Ledyard
Organizer National Congress of Mothers, Foochow, China.

Elizabeth Blackstone
Organizer National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Bath, England.

Countess Teleki
International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Budapest, Hungary.

FACTS FOR THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE.

IN THE past ten years the United States of America, without an enemy in the world, has spent for wars past or to come, one billion nine hundred and seventy-five million dollars, enough to have paid the entire national debt and built three Panama Canals, or to have covered the entire nation from coast to coast with a network of the finest roads in the world.

Who Got the Money?

The cost of our civil war to free the slaves, entirely aside from the billion dollars of pensions paid since, would have bought, paid for, freed, educated and endowed for life every slave TEN TIMES OVER.

Who Got the Money?

During the past thirty years, 71 per cent of the entire income of the United States Government has been expended for war supplies, armaments, the army, navy, interest on war debts and war pensions, and but 29 per cent for all other purposes combined.

Does That Sound Good to You as a Taxpayer?

During the existence of the United States Government, it has expended for all purposes twenty-one billion five hundred and eighteen million dollars. Of this amount sixteen billion five hundred and sixty-seven million dollars was spent for militarism and its incidents and but four billion nine hundred and fifty-one million for all the combined activities of peace, industry and progress.

How Does That Impress You?

During the nineteenth century fourteen million men were killed in war between the "civilized" nations, and it cost forty-two billion dollars to kill them and make their families fatherless and their wives widows.

Shall We Repeat It?

England has one million and eighty thousand absolute paupers and spends three hundred and fifty-two million dollars per year for her military force.

Japan has a war debt of one billion three hundred and seventy-eight million dollars, or $21.75 for every man, woman and child, and taxes her inhabitants 35 per cent of their earnings to pay its interest and build new ships of war. Ninety per cent of her income is derived from taxes.

The "civilized" nations of the world spend two and a quarter billion dollars per year on their "military" establishments.

Two-thirds of the total revenue of our own government is now expended annually on our war debt and in preparing for war.

Do you think these things have anything to do with the high cost of living? Can you figure out how in any POSSIBLE way any citizen of any civilized nation can benefit by war? If you had a cancer that was sapping two-thirds of your life, would you try to increase its size and malignancy because some one told you that was what they did in the dark ages, and that human nature never changes? Do you think human nature has not changed since in the sixteenth century one of the leading courts of Europe, attended by a vast concourse of the nobility and people, made a holiday of burning alive a little girl because of her religious belief?

The World's Peace Army pledge, simple and direct, is quietly being put up to every man in public life, every statesman, every ruler, every capitalist, every public servant of prominence and every leader of man's thought, for signature or refusal of signature. It is just as important to exactly locate those who are secretly FOR WAR as a means of settling human differences as it is to enlist in the Peace Army every influential man and woman in the civilized world AGAINST war as a means of settling human differences. No one can straddle that pledge; it is too direct and simple, and it automatically uncovers while it enlists. Let us KNOW those who seek public office and authority and yet either have not the courage or for some more insidious reason refuse to pledge themselves to use their influence in every right way in their power against war as a means of settling human differences.

PEACE COMMENTARIES

PEACE hath her victories, no less renowned than war.—Milton

Enlightened public opinion is stronger than armies.—Lord Palmerston.

To those of noble disposition the whole world is but one family.—From the Hindu.

Peace is the expression of that love which is the fulfillment of the law.—Pope Innocent III.

War is the most futile and ferocious of human follies.—John Hay.

The rage and violence of public war, what is it but a suspension of justice among the warring parties?—Hume.

Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single, and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang.—Benjamin Franklin.

I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither fired a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell.—General Sherman.

War is a most detestable thing. If you had seen but one day of war, you would pray God you might never see another.—Wellington.

Peace has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved to the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it. * * * However, therefore, we may have been reproached by pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit. And this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government, and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under their care, in pursuit of a fantastic honor, unallied to virtue or happiness.—Thomas Jefferson.

I know of nothing which better marks the high moral tone of modern history than that the sublime code of international law should have come into form and established its authority over the civilized world within so short a time; for it is now scarcely more than two hundred years since it took its being.—Horace Bushnell.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.—George Washington.

Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation; we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the blessings of mankind.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The world shudders and lifts a hand that trembles from the very awfulness of war. An armistice follows, the poor cold things that had been men—lovers, husbands, fathers—are gathered in all their hideous mangled loathsomeness and buried. Ten men sit around a council table. The issue is still the same, right is right, wrong is wrong. Both sides give and take. A treaty settles what a thousand battles could not solve. Debt, taxes, pensions, bereavement and poverty follow in an awful train, and two nations build up another army and navy, to insure and protect peace. And the world hugs its mad delusion and squanders the substance of its people for a lie; for a lie, either way you view it. If we are truly civilized, really, the product of the constructive forces of thought and intelligence, then militarism has no rightful place in our scheme of things.

And if militarism is by any possible argument justified, then we are not civilized; we are savages disguised by a veneer of culture; we are barbarians masquerading in "a thing of shreds and patches." Which is true? Are we savages, or are we the product of ages of development? Who can justify the imbecility of militarism?—Dr. Thos. E. Green.

RECESSIONAL.

God of our fathers, known of old—
  Lord of our far-flung battle line—
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
  Dominion over palm and pine—
    Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
    Lest we forget—lest we forget!

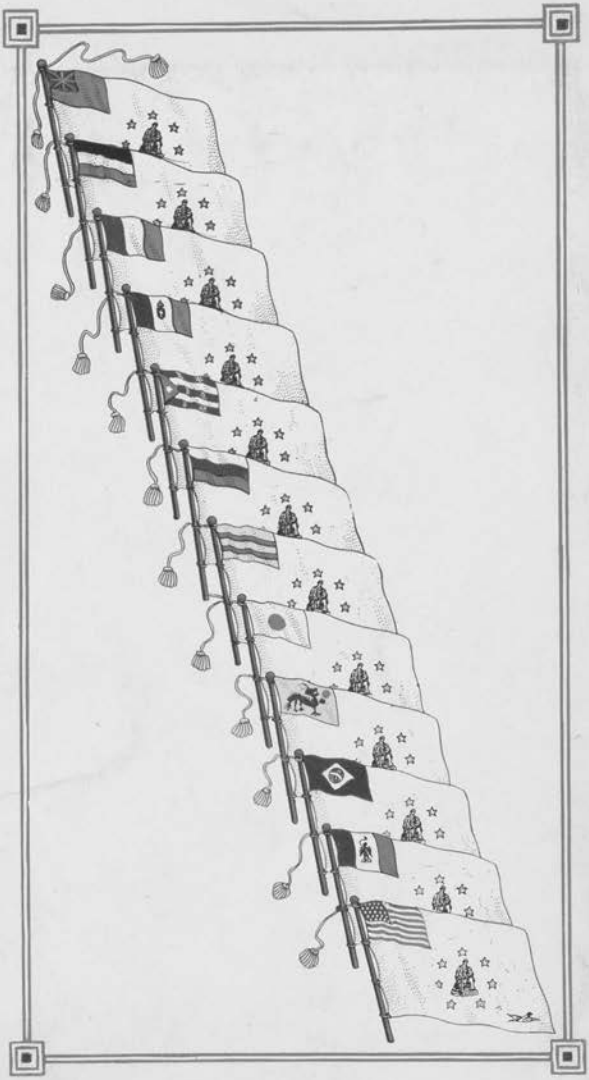
The tumult and the shouting dies—
  The captains and the kings depart—
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
  An humble and a contrite heart.
    Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
    Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called our navies melt away—
  On dune and headland sinks the fire—
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
  Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
    Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
    Lest we forget—lest we forget!

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
  Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe—
Such boasting as the Gentiles use,
  Or lesser breeds without the law—
    Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
    Lest we forget—lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust
  In reeking tube and iron shard—
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
  And guarding calls not Thee to guard—
    For frantic boasts and foolish word,
    Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord.

—Rudyard Kipling.



[ca 1914]

Woman Suffrage

AND

The Liquor Interests

SOME EXHIBITS

National Woman's Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Publishers for the
National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 Fifth Avenue New York City

liquor dealers' associations; from a letter regarding the insertion of anti-suffrage literature as paid advertising material sent out by the Macomb County (Michigan) Retail Dealers' Association to a number of Michigan newspapers; and from a secret circular widely distributed by the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon, during the suffrage campaign of 1906.

EXHIBIT I.

Progress describes itself as "A Journal Devoted to the Interests of Every Department of the Liquor Trade." The number issued in August, 1912, when the first suffrage campaign in Michigan was at its height, might almost be mistaken for a legitimate anti-suffrage publication but for its conspicuous beer and whiskey advertisements. The cover bears an anti-suffrage cartoon and the leading article, headed "GIVE BALLOT TO WOMEN AND INDUSTRY GOES TO SMASH," and illustrated with another anti-suffrage cartoon, is a strong appeal to the liquor dealers to vote against the suffrage amendment. The sub-head reads:

> SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT IN WISCONSIN THREATENS VARIOUS INDUSTRIES. NOT WANTED BY MAJORITY OF WOMEN BUT FORCED INTO IT. MEANS PROHIBITION AND LOSS OF VAST SUMS TO MANUFACTURER, DEALER AND WORKINGMAN.

"Have you stopped to think what it means to you for the women of Wisconsin to secure the ballot? Have you thought over the problem from a commercial standpoint? Have you considered what it means when women of Wisconsin can vote on every question that comes up? Can you imagine what it means to the brewery industry, to the saloon trade, to the farmer, to the manufacturer, to the dealer and to the workingman? Do you know what it means to the thousands and thousands of homes in which happiness and content now reigns?"

There follow some two columns of the regulation anti arguments, and then, quoting "the Rev. Mr. Wadleigh":

"'If women get the ballot it means prohibition. It means that the farmer must stop growing corn, must stop growing rye and must stop growing barley. It means that the breweries must suspend business, it means that the saloons must close. That will bring about 'blind pigs' in such numbers that they cannot be controlled. The condition is serious. Woman suffrage means prohibition.'"

The article closes:

"It is the duty of all men of this state, who love their home, their family, their liberty, their rights and their citizenship to go to the polls on November 5 and vote against this constitutional amendment. A stay-at-home voter will not count either for or against woman suffrage. YOU MUST CAST YOUR VOTE AGAINST IT TO BE COUNTED AGAINST IT. The side having the majority will win. If the 'Noes' on woman suffrage are to prevail you must cast such a vote. All those who will vote for it are just 'itching' to record their vote. You can't offset these votes by staying at home.

"You must vote.

"There are 400,000 voters entitled to express themselves on this topic on November 5. But 10,000 votes will carry the woman suffrage issue to success unless 10,001 or more votes are CAST against it. See that your vote is counted against it. It may save the day."

The next page (seven) is innocent of anti-suffrage matter except for a little verse intended to cast a slur on the present progressive tendencies among women, but half of the following page is given to a display paragraph reading:

HERE IS WHERE THEY STAND.

"The National Prohibition Convention, sitting at Atlantic City, July 11, adopted a platform with 'suffrage for women upon the same terms as men' as one of its principal planks.

They know what they want and how to get it. They will vote to a man for this proposed constitutional amendment, giving the ballot to women, on November 5. It promises greater strength for Prohibition."

WHERE DO YOU STAND?

A cartoon of a most objectionable anti-suffrage character occupies two-thirds of the opposite page. On page eleven we read:

"A campaign against woman suffrage and other dangers of the brewing and affiliated industries that threaten the trade, is to be waged by PROGRESS from now on until the fall election. PROGRESS will go to every saloon keeper, brewer and to many barbershops and hotels while this campaign is on.

"Advertise in PROGRESS and get the benefit of this vigorous campaign for the good of the cause."

Page twelve is taken up with an editorial on "Babies," making the familiar charge—in language bordering upon the obscene—that suffragists do not want babies. Page thirteen gives its entire space to the following, "played up" in large type, double leaded, with a border and other decorations:

KEEP YOUR EYE ON THIS!

"If you are in any way identified with the liquor business, legitimate, licensed and legalized by your fellow citizens, and have its future welfare at heart, it is necessary that you keep your weather eye on this

movement for Woman Suffrage. The principal boosters for this issue are the PROHIBITIONISTS. It means additional votes and strength for Prohibition.

"Therefore, we assume that you are AGAINST Woman Suffrage. But being against it and failing to VOTE against it is missing your opportunity and failing in your duty. Some voters believe they can beat proposed constitutional amendments by not voting thereon. THIS IS AN ERROR YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE.

"These issues will be on a separate ballot on November 5, and all voters who fail to mark and deposit this ballot will fail to count either for or against this issue.

"Every man favoring Suffrage will vote for it. It is always easy to get out the affirmative vote. The issue is always their own proposition.

"It is the negative vote that is hard to get out There are 400,000 voters in Wisconsin. If 40,000 should vote for Suffrage and 39,999 vote against it, and 320,001 voters be against the issue—but not voting —the issue would carry. It means that 40,000 votes cast and counted would rule over the wishes of 360,000 voters unless—

"THE NEGATIVE STRENGTH GETS OUT AND VOTES.

"Don't think you can defeat Suffrage by not voting for it. You must vote against it to be counted against it."

Page sixteen is an appeal for support for *Progress* because *Progress* is "fighting in the interest of the general liquor trade" the "dangers threatening the liquor business in Wisconsin" which are named in the following order, "Anti-Saloon League, Woman's Suffrage, County Option, Unjust Legislation, Prohibition."

The November number, issued just after the defeat of the suffrage amendment in Wisconsin, is mainly devoted to crowing—crowing and urging redoubled efforts on the part of the saloon men to keep woman suffrage out of Wisconsin. "The vote on suffrage in Wisconsin tells the story," boasts the leading editorial, *"and it also tells of the influence of PROGRESS."* (The italics are ours.) It concludes:

"Not much guessing is necessary as to what should be done in Wisconsin by the man who intends to remain in business. Do just what they (the suffragists) intend to do—start work NOW."

The paper itself has continued to set a shining example, the issue of March 6, containing a reprint of an anti-suffrage address of Senator Elihu Root, and that of July, 1913, reprinting in full the anti-suffrage essay of Julia D. Henry which won the prize in an anti-suffrage competition and which was published first in *The Woman's Protest,* the official organ of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

The recent "dry" victories in Illinois brought forth a series of warning editorials, of which the following is an example:

THE VOTE OF WOMEN.

"Women of Illinois who were given suffrage have responded. At the recent election in the Sucker state no less than sixteen out of twenty-three towns were voted 'dry.'

"And the same thing—or worse—is in store for Wisconsin if the women of this state are given the ballot.

"The women won the 'dry' proposition in Illinois by a vote of four to one, which shows they can accomplish things. In Wisconsin last November suffrage was defeated by 92,000 votes, but it will take a lot of work to repeat.

"It is a fact that women want the ballot to close up the distilleries and the breweries. They have said so and they are proving it in every election.

"If Wisconsin does not want a repetition of the Illinois incident, some hard work must be done and done right away.

"Let the women of Wisconsin vote and the 'dry' cities will be increased immeasurably."

Thus the official organ of the Wisconsin Retail Liquor Dealers' Protective Association on Votes for Women!

EXHIBIT II.

We now take up the *National Forum* of Butte, Montana.

While the suffrage bill was pending before the Montana legislature, this journal devoted a large part of the space of every issue to slurs, sneers and more or less indecent jokes regarding the suffrage movement and its workers, together with reprints of anti-suffrage speeches and articles. After the measure passed, to these were added exhortations to the saloon men to not only vote "no" on the amendment on election day, but to work against it in the meantime. We quote from the leading article, headed "A Little Plain Talk" (page three), of the April number:

"Right now the question of woman suffrage is before the people of this state. If it carries, the saloons and breweries are doomed. The suffragist advocates have announced it and the history of suffrage states has proven it. Whether you like it or not, it is a fact which must be faced. If suffrage carries, the advocates of the movement will not be to blame. The blame will be at the door of the saloon man and brewer. It will not be a case of homicide, but it will be a clear case of suicide. Together we assist, and by united effort woman suffrage can be defeated, but divided, the saloons and breweries of Montana will be matters of history within a few years.

"This article is only for a few saloon men and brewers of the state and is intended to set them thinking."

NATIONAL FORUM

Liberty, Justice, Progress

Volume 6, No. 6 | November 25, 1913 | Price 10 Cents

National Forum

A monthly journal published at Butte, Montana, by the National Forum Publishing Company, Incorporated.

Issued on the 25th of every month

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Subscription Price.....ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR

RESULTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Since the elections which occurred the first part of November many brewers and liquor dealers are having a change of heart and change of opinion as to the relation of woman suffrage to the liquor traffic. Previously some were of the opinion that women voting would not hurt the saloon business, but the recent elections in Illinois and other states where women vote, have proven that where women get the ballot they use it to good advantage against the liquor traffic.

The Illinois election is enough to convince anyone with sense that woman suffrage and the saloon business cannot exist together long in any state. They may not wipe out the liquor traffic entirely, but in the states where the women vote the saloons have been hit hard. This same thing will occur in Montana if the woman suffrage amendment carries at the next election. If given the ballot the women are certain to put at least ten counties dry by local option elections within a year after they get the right to vote.

We have been telling this to the saloon men for the past year and some of them have not believed it. Some of the saloon men and brewers in Illinois did not think woman suffrage would hurt the liquor traffic, but now they find that the business is doomed there unless the suffrage law is declared unconstitutional.

The saloon men of Illinois were only able to save five towns where the question of "no license" was voted upon. The "drys" captured twelve towns which were previously wet, and they saved ten dry towns which were already dry, but where an attempt was made to vote them wet again. The "wets" failed to place any dry town back into the wet column. The saloon men there are waking up to the danger that confronts them after it is too late. In Petersburg the male voters were eleven majority in favor of the saloons, but 616 women voted dry and only 170 voted wet, and the town was lost to the drys. If the women had not voted the place would have been carried for the saloons.

Judging from results in every state where women have been given the right to vote we can see the woman suffrage saloon men in Montana closing up their places of business in about eighteen months or two years, provided the suffrage amendment carries at the election next fall.

It is up to the saloon men and brewers of Montana to get busy at once and help defeat the amendment. They must realize that it has to be defeated or else the saloons of the state must go. There is no alternative and there is no half way ground nor compromise. If the saloon men fight the amendment and it carries their business is doomed, and if they don't fight it and it carries they are gone. So there is only one way left, and that is to put up such a fight that the amendment will be defeated. This can be done if all will join in the fight. It's a cinch that the amendment cannot be defeated by inaction for if nobody fights it the amendment is certain to carry.

Study these statistics from the recent elections in Illinois and then decide for yourself what you will have to do.

Towns heretofore "wet" which were carried by the "drys" were the following:

Petersburg, 7 saloons.
Pinckneyville, 7 saloons.
Percy, 3 saloons.
East Beardstown, 3 saloons.
Ullin, 3 saloons.
Grand Chain, 2 saloons.
Thebes, 2 saloons
Metropolis, 3 saloons.
Brookport, 4 saloons.
Rockwood, 1 saloon.
Baldwin, 1 saloon.
Willisville, 1 saloon.
Battery Rock, 1 saloon
Cave-in-Rock, 1 saloon.
Rosiclaire, 1 saloon.
A total of 41 saloons.

Towns heretofore "dry" in which the foes of saloons again were victorious were the following:

Jacksonville, Morgan County.
Counterville, Randolph County.
Virginia, Cass County.
Richwood, Calhoun County.
Hardin, Calhoun County.
Hamburg, Calhoun County.
Carlin, Calhoun County.
The following "wet" towns were carried by the "wets."
Duquoin, Perry County.
Mounds, Pulaski County.
Mound City, Pulaski County.
Belleville, Randolph County.
Brussels (Point precinct), Calhoun County.

HOLDING TWO JOBS

Some preachers have 'em skinned a mile
With a double proposition—
They get one salary from the Lord,
And one from prohibition.

Woman Suffrage in Illinois proved disastrous to the Liquor and Brewery interests at the recent Election. It will eventually prove so wherever it is tried.

A front page of the same



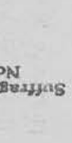
—Life.

These are only a few of the unlimited number of questions that might be asked concerning the woman suffrage movement which is now being worked to a standstill in Wisconsin by persons who refuse to work for honor or glory, but who insist upon being paid for their services. And some of them receive huge sums for traveling about in state in Wisconsin, addressing meetings, attacting women away from the husbands and families and from their homes. These professional agitators who seek to disrupt the domestic joys which invade the homes are not satisfied with a salary of $10 a week or even $25 a week, and one woman who makes an easy living by delivering lectures against the ballot; who want to replace man in politics and worldly affairs; who want the right to say whether the farmer should continue to grow corn, and barley, and rye; these are the women who want other women to leave the babies in the care of maids or little brothers and sisters while the mothers are expected to go to the polls and tell professional and business men how to conduct the affairs of the village, town, city, state and country.

Think it over!

To begin with, all the women of Wisconsin are not after the ballot and do not favor woman suffrage. It is the clamor of but a few. A majority of women in Wisconsin—and in other states—love their homes too well; are too domesticated to run around the streets soliciting and pleading for votes. There are women who adore their children and love them too well to leave them in the care of strangers. But some are almost forced into this fight for the ballot. The smooth tongued orators who have neither home nor children, talk many women into believing that she be paid $200 a month and expenses. And her expense account runs up to a like sum each month. It is a great game these women are playing.

And such are the women who are boosting for woman suffrage in Wisconsin. Have you stopped to think what it means to you for the women of Wisconsin to secure the ballot? Have you thought over the problem from a commercial standpoint? Have you considered what it means when women of Wisconsin can vote on every question that comes up? Can you imagine what it means to the brewery industry, to the saloon trade, to the farmer, to the manufacturer, to the dealer and to the workingman? Do you know what it means to the thousands and thousands of homes in which happiness and contentment now reigns?



Suffragette Movement in Wisconsin Threatens Various Industries—Not Wanted by Majority of Women But Forced Into It—Means Prohibition and Loss of Vast Sums to Manufacturer, Dealer and Workingman.

GIVE BALLOT TO WOMEN AND INDUSTRY GOES TO SMASH

Volume II | WATERTOWN, WISCONSIN | No. 9

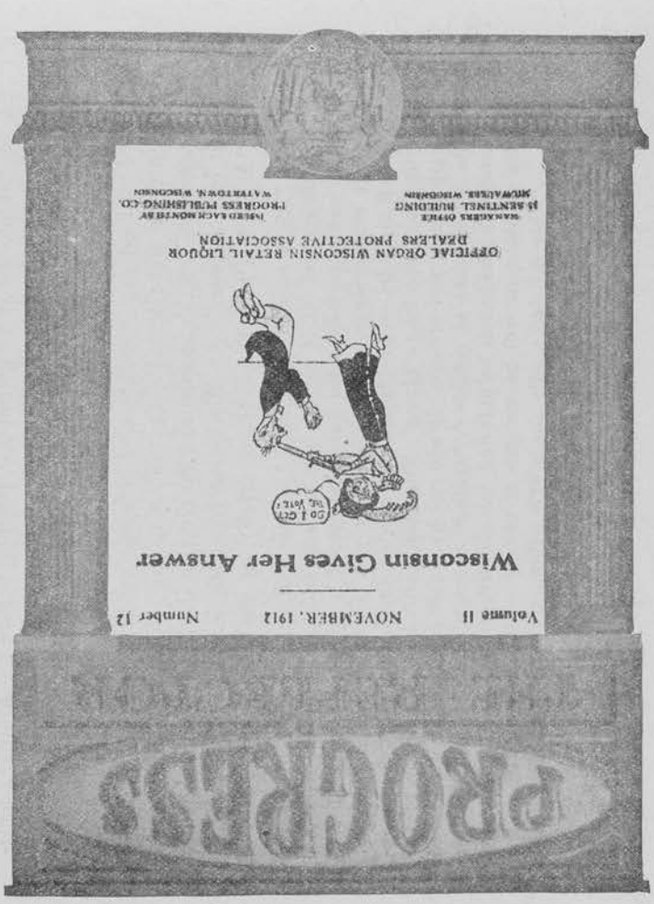
Official Organ of the State Retail Liquor Dealers' Protective Association.

PROGRESS

AND THE REFLECTOR

AN EDUCATIONAL AND PRACTICAL JOURNAL

Covering Every Phase of the Retail and Wholesale Liquor and Brewing Industries.



Also from an article on pages eleven and twelve in the same issue, headed "Trying to Deceive Themselves":

"There are some saloon men and brewers who are trying to deceive themselves by asserting that woman suffrage will not hurt the liquor business. This is a mistakle. Why not admit right on the start that the votes of women will not be cast in favor of the saloon and brewery? We do not mean all women but a large majority. Some argue that by currying favor with the suffragettes and making them believe that saloon men are indifferent to the fight and look upon the fair sex as friends to the trade in a political way, will win the women voters to cast their lot with the wets in any contest where women may have the voting franchise. In a very few of the larger cities of states where women vote, notably Denver, the city has voted wet notwithstanding the fact that woman suffrage is in force, but in hundreds and hundreds of the small towns, villages, and even in some cities of considerable size, the woman vote has hit the saloon business hard. It is useless to argue that the majority of women voters are friends of the liquor traffic, and if given the voting franchise, they will not vote against the saloon. To vote the saloons out of business is one of the reasons why women are asking for the franchise. It is far better policy for the saloon men and brewers to take a firm stand against woman suffrage and fight than it is to pretend friendliness in the hope that the women will appreciate it if they get the ballot and will vote in favor of the saloon. The anti-saloon state organ for Montana says plainly that women will put the saloons out of business if they are given the ballot at the next election. Joseph Reinach, a well known French deputy and the leading prohibitionist of that country, said recently:

"'Real universal suffrage, including women, will one day be the result of our campaign against the national peril, alcoholism. It was to wipe out this scourge that the Scandinavian countries gave the vote to women.'

"The best policy is to admit that women will vote the saloons out of business if given the chance, and then put up a fight against the suffrage amendment."

The May number contains, in addition to a reprint of Mrs. Dodge's now celebrated "sex appeal" article and other general anti-suffrage matter, the following special warnings to the saloon men:

On page six in an article entitled, "What Are You Doing, Mr. Dealer?"

"Who is going to oppose woman suffrage in Montana if you don't? It is up to you to fight this question at the next election. Woman suffrage will affect your business more directly than it will any other business, and you will have to take a lead in the fight. The woman suffrage advocates have said that your business will have to kiss itself good-bye if the vote is given to the women of Montana. This, we believe, is true."

On page eleven, a paragraph entitled, "How the Women Vote":

"Those who believe that woman suffrage will not hurt the saloons and breweries should study the recent local option elections in Colorado. Out of fourteen towns voting upon the wet and dry question eight of them voted dry. The following voted wet: Littleton, Las Animas, Meeker, Alimosa, Brighton and Holly. These voted dry: Pagosa Springs, Lyons, Lamar, Loveland, Fort Lupton, Colorado Springs, Colorado City and Gunnison.

"In voting on the liquor question the women, as a rule, are governed by sentiment rather than reason and judgment. They are influenced by the clergy, and the science of political economy cuts little ice with them."

On page fifteen—a full-page display:

"The woman suffrage advocates have announced that in case the suffrage amendment carries at the next election, the saloon business can kiss itself good-bye in Montana. This warning is definite and plain and shows that woman suffrage is an anti-saloon movement. It behooves all saloon keepers and brewers to get busy early in the campaign to oppose the suffrage amendment by organized effort. It's the only way to defeat it and save your business."

The issue of October 25 contains the following: (Page four.)

WOMEN A FACTOR IN DRY VICTORIES.

"Those who think woman suffrage will not hurt the liquor traffic in Montana are deceiving themselves, as the results from all suffrage states will show. During the suffrage campaign in Montana the women are keeping very quiet on the prohibition question, but just let them get the right to vote and they will immediately turn loose upon the saloons and put about six or eight counties dry in less than a year after they get the ballot. All the anti-saloon forces are bending their energies for woman suffrage and there is a tacit understanding among them that they will not push the anti-saloon fight until after the next general election, when the suffrage question will be voted upon. After that, if they are successful, look out. There'll be something doing every minute in the counties where the sentiment is strong against saloons. Local option elections will be called in the several counties, one at a time, and some of them will be sure to go dry.

"Just to show what woman suffrage is doing in other states we quote from the "Union Signal" of Sept. 18:

"'Although the law giving the ballot to the women of Illinois has been in effect only a few weeks, several victories for the drys have been recorded, and it is expected that Elgin and a number of other cities and townships throughout the state will be encouraged to hold anti-saloon elections in the near future. Although the dry forces of Granville have failed repeatedly to carry elections to outlaw the saloons, another attempt will be made in the spring, and with the votes of the women victory seems assured.'"

EXHIBIT IV.

During the closing days of the Michigan campaign of 1913, the text of one of the campaign leaflets of the Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, bearing the name and address of the Association and the names of its officers, appeared as a paid advertisement in a number of the newspapers of Macomb County. It read:

AN APPEAL TO MEN!

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

"We mention but six.

"As women, we do not want the strife, bitterness, falsification and publicity which accompany political campaigns.

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

"We have woman's greatest right—to be free from the political medley. We do not want to lose this freedom.

"We have refrained from protest heretofore, depending upon men to protect women from the ballot.

"We now ask the men of Michigan to defend us and vote No on suffrage.

"Don't vote for suffrage.

"Don't start something which you can't finish.

"You are not sorry now, but if women are given the ballot you may regret it when it's too late.

"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."

A few days later the Detroit *Journal*, which had all along stood firmly for suffrage, published an article revealing the fact that it was the Macomb County Retail Liquor Dealers' Association that had placed and paid for this material. One of the Macomb County editors who received the copy chanced to be a suffragist, and realized at once that here was absolute proof of the activity of the liquor interests against suffrage. As he did

not dare to publish the expose in his own paper, he sent the copy for the advertisement, together with the letter of instructions accompanying it, to the Detroit *Journal*. The letter was as follows:

"Macomb County Retail Liquor Dealers' Association.
Office of the Secretary, Mt. Clemens, Mich.
March 31, 1913.

"To the Publisher:

"I enclose herewith copy for 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."

The original was turned over by the editor of the Detroit *Journal* to Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, President of the Michigan Woman Suffrage Association and is now in her possession.

EXHIBIT V.

We turn back now to the past to show that the activity of the liquor interests against woman suffrage legislation is no new thing.

During the Oregon suffrage campaign of 1906, there fell into the hands of the suffragists a circular letter which bore every evidence of having been intended for wide distribution. It was published in the Portland *Oregonian* and the Portland *Evening Telegram* of June 1, 1906. It read in part:

"It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage. There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon.

"That means that every retailer must himself bring in twenty-five votes election day.

"Every retailer can get twenty-five votes. Besides his employees, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman, and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this, we will win.

"We enclose twenty-five ballot tickets showing how to vote.

"We also enclose a postal card addressed to this Association. If you will personally take twenty-five friendly voters to the polls on election day and give each one a ticket showing how to vote, please mail the postal card back to us at once. You need not sign the card. Every card has a number, and we will know who sent it in.

The "dry" victories in Illinois brought forth this as the leading article in the issue of November 25:

RESULTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

"The Illinois election is enough to convince anyone with sense that woman suffrage and the saloon business cannot exist together long in any state. They may not wipe out the liquor traffic entirely, but in the states where the women vote the saloons have been hit hard. This same thing will occur in Montana if the woman suffrage amendment carries at the next election. If given the ballot, the women are certain to put at least ten counties dry by local option elections within a year after they get the right to vote.

"We have been telling this to the saloon men for the past year and some of them have not believed it. Some of the saloon men and brewers in Illinois did not think woman suffrage would hit the liquor traffic, but now they find that the business is doomed there unless the suffrage law is declared unconstitutional.

"Judging from results in every state where women have been given the right to vote we can see the saloon men in Montana closing up their places of business in about eighteen months or two years, providing the suffrage amendment carries at the election next fall.

"It is up to the saloon men and brewers of Montana to get busy at once and help defeat the amendment. They must realize that it has to be defeated or else the saloons of the state must go. There is no alternative and there is no half-way ground nor compromise. If the saloon men fight the amendment and it carries their business is doomed, and if they don't fight and it carries they are gone. So there is only one way left, and that is to put up such a fight that the amendment will be defeated. This can be done if all will join in the fight. It's a cinch that the amendment cannot be defeated by inaction for if nobody fights it the amendment is certain to carry."

The same number contains a reprint of an anti-suffrage leaflet which is being widely distributed in Montana, and several other paragraphs of an anti-suffrage character.

EXHIBIT III.

While the measure was pending in the Montana legislature, a manufacturing firm in Detroit, Michigan, which puts out an article used in, but by no means confined to, the liquor business, received what was obviously a circular letter from the Montana Protective Association, the substance of which was as follows:

"The State Legislature is now in session, and the first bill introduced into our Senate was one proposing the altering of our Constitution so as to permit the women of Montana to exercise the franchise. If women are given the right to vote, there are several counties which, in our opinion, can be voted dry at once. This will materially affect your trade here.

"There is also another bill which provides for the closing of saloons at eleven o'clock at night until six in the morning and all day Sunday. Notice has also been given of several other bills which, if not defeated, will practically annihilate the trade in Montana. We are in the midst of a dangerous fight. We are doing all we possibly can to defeat this legislation, and we respectfully submit that it is the duty of firms doing business within the state to assist us in this fight, which means to them the conservation of their business and the retaining of their existing accounts.

"THE LOCAL WHOLESALERS AND RETAILERS ARE WORKING UNANIMOUSLY TO MAINTAIN FOR MONTANA THE PROUD POSITION OF BEING THE WETTEST STATE IN THE UNION. THIS TAKES MONEY. Hence we again draw your attention to our communication of December 18, and respectfully ask you to kindly render us financial aid as indicated in said letter."

The head of the firm, being a believer in suffrage for women, was anxious that this indisputable evidence of the activity of the liquor interests should receive the widest publicity possible, and accordingly sent it to *Collier's Weekly* with the request that it be published. It was published in the issue of March 15, 1913, in an editorial entitled, "To Keep Montana Wet."

After the passage of the suffrage bill, a second circular letter from the same organization was received by the same man, and this also was forwarded to *Collier's*. *Collier's* printed the substance of it in the issue of April 12, 1913, in an editorial headed, "The Wettest State," as follows:

"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 electors 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."

"Let us all pull together and let us all work. Let us each get twenty-five votes.

Yours very respectfully,

BREWERS' & WHOLESALE LIQUOR DEALERS' ASSOCIATION."

The postcard enclosed for reply was addressed:

Brewers' & Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association,
413-414 McKay Building,
Portland, Oregon.

The reverse side of the card bore this reply:

Dear Sirs:

I will attend to it.

.....25 times

o o o o

Instead of a signature, a number was appended.

This would seem to dispose conclusively of the denials of the anti-suffragists. As for the United States Brewers' Association, while it may be perfectly true that that particular brewers' organization, *as* an organization, may never have taken any direct stand against woman suffrage, this does not in the least affect the fact that brewers at large, through other organizations to which they belong and through trade journals which they support and in which they advertise extensively, are casting the weight of their influence with the other branches of the liquor interests which have never attempted to deny their hostility towards woman suffrage. As long as this is the case, the brewers can hardly with justice claim exemption from the just and proven charge that the liquor interests form the chief factor in every woman suffrage defeat.

A Brief History

of the Movement for Woman Suffrage in the United States

By

IDA HUSTED HARPER

National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK
1914

[1914]

A Brief History of the Movement for Woman Suffrage in the United States

By Ida Husted Harper

As America was the first country in which was made the experiment of a representative government by men, it is natural that it should be the first in which women asked a representation. The very first woman to make this demand, so far as known, was Mistress Margaret Brent, of Maryland, in 1647. She was heir of Lord Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and executor of the estates of both in the colony, and, as representation in the Legislature was based on property, she demanded "place and voyce"—two votes—in that body. Her petition was hotly debated for several hours and finally denied. The precedent was then established which Legislatures have been following ever since when women have petitioned for "place and voyce."

The colonial records of Massachusetts show that women property holders voted under the Old Province Charter from 1691 to 1780 for all elective officers.

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Additional copies of this booklet can be obtained from Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Price, $0.05; per dozen, $0.50; per 100, $3.00. Postpaid, $0.06; per dozen $0.55; per 100 $3.45.

When a Constitution was adopted they were excluded from a vote for Governor and Legislature but retained it for other officials. Under the close restrictions not one-fourth of the men could vote.

In March, 1776, Mrs. Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, in the Continental Congress: "I long to hear that you have declared an independency, and, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than were your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation." As Mrs. Adams used the plural "we" she undoubtedly spoke also for Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren, Mrs. Hannah Lee Corbin and other women of influence who were closely associated with the leading men of the Revolution. In 1778, Mrs. Corbin, sister of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, presented her own petition for the right to vote.

The Continental Congress left the suffrage to be dealt with by the States in

their constitutions and New Jersey was the only one which conferred it on women, its constitution giving the franchise to "all inhabitants worth $250, etc." In 1790 a revision of the election law used the words "he or she," thus emphasizing the inclusion of women in the electorate. Enough women voted to gain the enmity of politicians, and in 1807 the Legislature passed an arbitrary act limiting the suffrage to "white male citizens." This was clearly a usurpation of authority, as the constitution could be changed only by action of the voters.

In 1826 Frances Wright, a young Scotchwoman of beauty, education and wealth, came to the United States to carry out ideas similar to those put into practice by Robert Dale Owen in his colony at New Harmony, Ind. She joined Mr. Owen in the publication of a paper putting forth many advanced theories and claiming entire equality of rights for women. For several years she presented these also on the lecture platform and was the first to bring the question of woman suffrage thus before the public, where it met with almost universal derision.

In 1836 Ernestine L. Rose, daughter of a Rabbi in Poland, banished from her native country because of her progressive ideas, came to this one. She was but

twenty-six years old, handsome and eloquent, and her lectures on the Science of Government drew crowded houses in all parts of the country. She advocated the full enfranchisement of women and was the first to urge them to secure the repeal of laws which affected their interests. In the winter of 1836-7 she circulated a petition in Albany, N. Y., for a law that would enable a married woman to hold property, and could get only five signatures, including men and women, but she carried these to the Legislature and addressed that body in behalf of such a law. She kept up this work steadily, and by 1840 she had associated with her Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Paulina Wright Davis and Lydia Mott. They continued their petitions and addresses to the Legislature until 1848, when for the first time the Common Law was changed to give property rights to married women, and thereafter they devoted themselves to working for the suffrage.

While these individual efforts were being made the great Anti-Slavery question was growing more momentous. In 1828 Sarah and Angelina Grimke, of South Carolina, emancipated their slaves, came North and by their impassioned speeches aroused public sentiment. Garrison soon entered the contest, and the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From

the beginning women were prominently identified with this movement, and the names of Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman, Abby Kelly, Abby Hopper Gibbons and many others soon became widely known. The whole question of human rights was thoroughly canvassed and women soon began to recognize their own, and to take part in the business meetings and public debates of the Society. This aroused violent opposition, and in 1839 the Society was rent in twain on this point. the half that sustained the rights of the women comprised Garrison, Phillips, Pierpont, Pillsbury, Thompson, Foster, Stanton, Gerrit Smith—nearly all of those who carried the abolition of slavery to success. Thenceforth these men became the champions of woman's rights, including the right to the ballot, and the women added to their appeals for the slaves, others for their own legal and political liberty.

The question of woman's right to take public part in this movement was carried to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, in June, 1840, which refused to recognize the women delegates from the United States, who included Lucretia Mott and Mrs. Wendell Phillips. It was at this time that Mrs. Mott and Mrs Stanton, a bride, decided that on their return

to the United States they would organize a movement especially for the rights of women.

In many localities there began to be signs of an awakening on the part of women. Margaret Fuller, one of a coterie of thinkers in Boston, in her writings and semi-public addresses in 1840 demanded political rights for women. In 1845 the Rev. Samuel J. May, a leader of thought in New York State, preached a sermon in his church in Syracuse declaring that the wrongs of women could not be redressed until they had political power. In 1847 Lucy Stone, just graduated from Oberlin College, began speaking on woman's rights. Soon afterwards Lucretia Mott published a "Discourse on Woman," in answer to a lecture which Richard H. Dana was giving in many cities ridiculing the idea of political equality for women. In various parts of the country women began establishing papers, writing books and giving lectures for the purpose of promoting the rights of women. The thought was slowly working like a leaven, quickened by the interest women were feeling in the questions of temperance and slavery.

Mrs. Stanton had been prevented by family cares from putting into effect her resolution made in London until 1848. In July of that year Lucretia Mott and

her sister, Martha C. Wright, of Auburn, N. Y., were attending the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Western New York, at Waterloo, where Mrs. Stanton joined them in the home of Mrs. Mary Ann McClintock, and here they decided to carry out the long-cherished idea. One Sunday morning the four prepared their Declaration and Resolutions, and sent a call, which they did not dare sign, to the county papers for a two-days' convention to be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, Mrs. Stanton's home, "to discuss the social, civil and religious condition and rights of woman."

On the 19th and 20th of July the church was filled with people curious and interested to know what the meeting was for. James Mott presided and addresses were made by the four callers of the convention, by Frederick Douglass and several men prominent in the locality. The Declaration and Resolutions were discussed, the latter adopted and the former signed by one hundred men and women, some of whom withdrew their names when "the storm of ridicule began to break." There was so much interest in the convention, and so much remained to be said, that it adjourned to meet in Rochester, N. Y., August 2. Here the Unitarian Church was crowded and many fine addresses were made by men and women. Among

the signers of the Declaration were Susan B. Anthony's father, mother, and sister Mary, but she herself was at this time teaching in the academy at Canajoharie, N. Y., and knew nothing of these meetings. This Declaration stated the whole case for woman as comprehensively as it ever has been stated since; the Resolutions comprised practically every demand that ever afterwards was made for women, and taken together they formed a remarkable document.

Miss Anthony first met Mrs. Stanton in 1851 and from that time organized work for woman's rights began to take shape in New York. The first conventions were principally in the interests of temperance but in these the rights of women at once took the lead. In 1852 a bona fide Woman's Rights Convention, with delegates present from eight States and Canada, was held in Syracuse. It brought to the front the wonderful galaxy of women whose names were henceforth connected with this movement, and here began its fifty-four years' leadership by Miss Anthony. From time to time until the present, with the interim of the Civil War, the work has actively continued in this State.

On April 19 and 20, 1850, a Woman's Rights Convention was held in the Second Baptist Church of Salem, O. Frances

Dana Gage and the anti-slavery speakers had been for several years sowing the seed in that State, and the call for this meeting was signed by ten public-spirited women who were impelled to action by the approaching convention to revise the State constitution. Emily Robinson, J. Elizabeth Jones and Josephine S. Griffing were three of the leading spirits. Letters of encouragement were read from Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone and others in the East who were now becoming known as advocates of the rights of women. The Memorial to the Constitutional Convention and the Address to the Women of Ohio have not been surpassed in eloquence and force in the years that have since elapsed. It is said that nearly 8,000 signatures to this Memorial were secured. In 1852 the first State Suffrage Association was formed. Woman's Rights Conventions were held annually in Ohio thereafter until the approach of the Civil War and resumed after it closed.

In May, 1850, during an Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, a few women in attendance decided to call a convention to discuss exclusively the rights of women, and the time and place were fixed for October 23 and 24 in Worcester. The arrangements were made principally by Lucy Stone and Mrs. Paulina Wright

Davis, and from the holding of this convention the Woman's Rights movement may be said to have assumed a *national* aspect. Nine States were represented by speakers and among these were Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, Foster, Burleigh, Douglass, Channing, Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Rose, Abby Kelly, Lucy Stone, Antoinette Brown, Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, and many more of note, and letters were read from Emerson, Alcott, Whittier, Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, Mrs. Swisshelm, Elizur Wright, Mrs. Stanton and others. Mrs. Davis presided. A National Committee was formed, under whose management conventions were held annually in various cities, while the question was always thereafter a leading one in Massachusetts.

An account of this Massachusetts convention in the Westminster Review, London, by Mrs. John Stuart Mill, marked the beginning of the movement for woman suffrage in Great Britain.

In 1850 the constitution of Indiana was revised and, under the leadership of Robert Dale Owen, chairman of the Revision Committee, the laws for women were liberalized beyond any then existing. The question of the rights of women was widely discussed and at an anti-slavery meeting in Greensboro, in the spring of 1851, a resolution by Amanda

M. Way was adopted to hold a Woman's Rights Convention. This took place in Dublin in October; Mrs. Hannah Hiatt presided and the large audiences of the two evening sessions were addressed by Henry C. Wright, the noted Abolitionist. Dr. Mary F. Thomas sent a strong letter; a permanent Woman's Rights Society was formed and a convention appointed for the next year at Richmond. Thereafter these meetings became annual.

In June, 1852, the first Woman's Rights Convention of Pennsylvania was held in West Chester, and was largely under the auspices of the Friends, or Quakers, among them James and Lucretia Mott. Prominent speakers came from New York and Massachusetts, and the next convention was appointed for Philadelphia.

From 1852 Woman's Rights Conventions were held in many parts of the country. Leading men and women supported the movement for the rights of women, but as most of them were also leaders of the movement for the abolition of slavery, the former had to suffer the odium and opposition directed against both. It was slowly gaining ground, however, when the breaking out of the Civil War banished all other questions from the public thought. When the war was ended and the women again took up

their cause they met the vast complication of the rights of the emancipated negroes, and were compelled even by those who had been their strongest supporters to yield their claims to those of negro men. The civil, legal and political results of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the National Constitution tended still further to obscure and hinder the efforts to obtain the franchise for women.

An Equal Rights Association had been formed to promote the interests of both negroes and white women, but in 1869 the latter were forced to recognize the necessity for a separate organization if they were not to be entirely sacrificed. At the close of a meeting of this Equal Rights Association in New York, women who had come from nineteen States to attend it met at the Woman's Bureau in East Twenty-third Street, May 15, 1869, and formed a National Woman Suffrage Association, whose object should be to secure a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution which would enfranchise women. Mrs. Stanton was made president and Miss Anthony was put on the Executive Committee. As there was some division of sentiment at this time, a call was issued by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and others for a convention to meet in Cleveland, O., the following November, and here the

American Woman Suffrage Association was formed, with Henry Ward Beecher, president, and Lucy Stone, chairman Executive Committee. It worked principally to obtain the suffrage through amendments to State constitutions. Both societies held national conventions every year thereafter.

In 1890 the two bodies united under the name National American Woman Suffrage Association and since then both methods of work have been followed. Mrs. Stanton was elected president of the new organization; Miss Anthony, vice-president-at-large; Lucy Stone, chairman Executive Committee. In 1892 Mrs. Stanton resigned her office because of advancing age; Miss Anthony was elected president and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, vice-president. Miss Anthony resigned the presidency in 1900 at the age of 80, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected to it. In 1904 she felt unable to serve longer and Miss Shaw was made president.

Until 1895 the work of the National Association was conducted principally from the home of Miss Anthony in Rochester, N. Y. That year Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who was corresponding secretary for twenty-one years, shared the burden by opening office headquarters in her home at Philadelphia. In

1900 regular headquarters were opened in New York City under the supervision of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the National Organization Committee In 1903 they were removed to Warren, O., and placed in charge of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, national treasurer.

In 1909 headquarters on a large scale were established in New York City, with offices for the president, corresponding secretary, chairman of the press committee and an office staff of some eight workers. The annual output of the publishing department is about 3,000,000 pieces of literature; the press bureau furnishes an endless amount of material to reporters, magazine writers and newspaper syndicates. In the reading room are woman suffrage papers from all parts of the world; a large collection of books and magazines relating to the feminist question and photographs of the leaders, men and women, in many countries. The headquarters serve as a clearing house for information on matters of all kinds connected with woman suffrage.

In December, 1912, the Congressional Committee of the National Association opened headquarters in Washington and began an active campaign for its original object—an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This national

body is a federation of suffrage organizations in forty-two States. It is affiliated with the International Alliance in which twenty-six countries are officially represented.

The Gains for Woman Suffrage.

There are two ways through which women can be enfranchised—Congress can submit an amendment to the National Constitution which must be ratified by three-fourths of the Legislatures; or the Legislature of each State can submit an amendment to its own constitution which must be approved by a majority of the voters. The former would be the easier way but the National Association has realized that Congress would not act until a considerable number of States had first conferred the suffrage. Therefore, while it has appealed to every Congress since 1869, it has continually assisted the individual States in their struggle. The Legislature of a Territory can grant the suffrage without a referendum to the voters.

WYOMING.—The first recognition of the principle of equal suffrage by any State was made by progressive Kansas, which came into the Union in 1861 with school suffrage for women in its Consti-

tution. No further advance was made until 1869, when the first Legislative Council was in session after the organization of Wyoming as a Territory. Mrs. Esther Morris, who with her husband had gone out from New York as a pioneer, appealed to the president of the Council, Col. William H. Bright, for a bill enfranchising women. She was sustained by his wife, and he succeeded in having the bill passed. The Council was Democratic and it hoped to embarrass the Republican Governor, John A. Campbell, whom it expected to veto the bill. On the contrary, he signed it; and when two years later the Council repealed it he vetoed the repeal. The Council was unable to pass it over his veto, and no effort to abolish woman suffrage was ever again made in Wyoming. Mrs. Morris was appointed Justice of the Peace, and of the nearly forty cases she tried none ever was appealed to a higher court. Women sat on juries from the beginning and have continued to fill various offices down to the present day.

In 1889 a convention composed entirely of men met to form a Constitution for Statehood, and after twenty years' experience they adopted unimously as its first clause "equal political rights for all male and female citizens." The Constitution was ratified by more than a three-

fourths majority of the people and sent to Congress for approval. That body, always hostile to the enfranchisement of women, fought for three days to have this first clause eliminated and the Territorial Delegate telegraphed to Wyoming that it looked as if this would have to be done. The Legislature, which was in session, wired back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage." The same struggle took place in the United States Senate, and pages of the Congressional Record were filled with awful Senatorial prophecies as to what would happen to the country if Wyoming should come into the Union with women voters. After days of oratory they were obliged to face the calamity, and President Harrison signed the bill admitting the new State in June, 1890. Thus Wyoming became the first Commonwealth in the world's history to grant to women the same rights in the government that men possessed.

Women in Wyoming are eligible to all offices and are elected to many city and county offices. They serve on juries and various State boards and a woman always is State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The official statistics show that about 90 per cent of those qualified cast their votes at the annual

elections. Not one man of prominence has ever voiced publicly the slightest opposition, while volumes of favorable testimony from those eminent in all departments of the State's activities have been published. Again and again the Legislature has adopted resolutions expressing the highest approval of woman suffrage, urging other States to adopt it and calling upon Congress to submit an amendment of the National Constitution to the various legislatures.

Beginning with Michigan in 1875, there was a tendency on the part of legislatures to confer some form of school suffrage on women, and this has continued until in about half of the States they have a school vote of some kind. In certain places it is for trustees, in others for appropriations, but nowhere have they as much of a voice in school affairs as men have. In some States they must be mothers of children of school age, in others heads of families, and in others taxpayers. They must register the same as if they were going to vote an entire ticket, and on election day they must go to the general polls; so the school vote cast by women must not be regarded as conclusive evidence of the number who would exercise the full suffrage.

In 1887 Kansas again came to the front by granting to women municipal

suffrage, which its Legislature had constitutional power to do, and they regularly exercised it to the distinct advantage of the city governments, according to the general belief. There was, however, much legislative juggling to prevent their having a vote on officials connected with the administration of the liquor prohibition laws, and they were prevented from voting for judge and marshal of the City Court, justices of the peace and constables, while the police judge, city marshal and chief of police were appointed, except in the small places. Liquor sellers, when indicted, simply took an appeal to a higher court, over which women had no jurisdiction. A constitutional amendment to give women the complete franchise was submitted to the voters in 1894, but was defeated largely because of the peculiar political condition—the Republicans trying to regain the State from the control of the Populists, and both parties willing to sacrifice anything that seemed to stand in the way.

In examining the patchwork of women's civil, legal and political rights and privileges in the United States, we find that in Montana, since 1887, women taxpayers can vote on questions of special taxation, also for school trustees; since 1894 in Iowa all women can vote on issu-

ing bonds or increasing the tax levy; since 1898, in Minnesota for library trustees (in addition to school officers since 1875). In 1901 the Legislature of New York gave to taxpaying women of towns and villages a vote upon propositions for special taxation, and in 1910 the law was amended to include the issuing of bonds. After four acts of the Legislature and three decisions of the highest courts, consuming twenty years of time, the right was secured for women of the towns and villages who have children of school age or are assessed for over $50, to vote at district school meetings! Even with this small privilege women have carried many elections, and always for the improvement of the schools and villages. The charters of seven or eight third-class cities have conferred school suffrage on women, and possibly a dozen have given the taxpayer's franchise.

In 1908 Michigan, through a new Constitution, gave taxpaying women a vote on all questions of special taxation and the granting of franchises. This was in response to a petition from 275,000 of the leading women for the full suffrage. Most of the fragmentary voting privileges enumerated above have been given by legislatures merely to get rid of the importunities of the women for a chance to obtain the complete franchise. These

crumbs are all the actual suffrage that most Legislatures have power to give. That of Michigan in 1893 conferred the municipal franchise on women, just as that of Kansas had done, and the Supreme Court at once declared that it had exceeded its constitutional power. This would probably be the decision in nearly all of the States. The women do not want to be enfranchised in this piecemeal fashion and they have almost entirely ceased asking for it.

It must be remembered that in no State can the Legislature confer the complete franchise on women. That can be done only through amending the Constitution by taking the word "male" out of its qualifications for voting, and this requires the consent in some States of a majority of all who vote on the amendment; in others of the highest number of votes cast at the election.

Colorado.—We come now to the second State which has fully enfranchised women—Colorado. When it made its Constitution for Statehood in 1876 it refused the entreaties of the women to provide in this for their enfranchisement, but it gave them school suffrage. The curious provision was made that the Legislature of the new State might at any time, by a majority, instead of the two-

thirds required for amendments, enact a law to extend the suffrage without amending the Constitution, but the law must be approved by the majority of the voters; and it was ordered that such a law should be submitted at the first election after the State came into the Union. This was done in 1877, and the men, glorying in their own newly acquired rights, defeated the measure by a vote of two to one. The women were discouraged and the matter rested till the early '90s, when there were many more of them, and they began to organize their forces. In 1893 the Legislature was in entire control of the Populists and a woman suffrage bill was again sent to the voters. Men of all parties had progressed during these years, and at the November election it received a majority in favor of 6,347.

The women entered at once upon their new duties, and the official records show that during all the past twenty years they have voted in quite as large a proportion as men. They have evinced no especial desire for office, but about twenty have been elected to the Legislature and scores to the various county offices. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has always been filled by a woman. They serve on State boards and commissions and are

eligible to jury service. The testimony in favor of the way they have used their ballot is overwhelming and from the highest sources—Justices of the Supreme Court, Governors, presidents of colleges, clergymen, editors. Not six Colorado men or women of prominence have ever given public expression to a derogatory word. The strongest proof of the success of woman suffrage in this State, however, came ten years after it had been in operation. The suffrage clause in the Constitution permitted immigrants to vote on their first papers and six months' residence. An amendment was submitted in 1903 requiring a year's residence and using the words "he or she." It was adopted by 18,000 majority, and it safely intrenched woman suffrage in the Constitution of the State. With the Populist party eliminated the vote for it was three times as large as before it had been tried. If this increase was due to the women, it showed they appreciated their voting power and wished to make it secure; if it was due to men, it proved they were satisfied. In either case the result was decisive.

UTAH.—In 1895, two years after the Colorado victory, a convention of Utah men assembled to make a Constitution for Statehood. The Legislature in 1870

had given full suffrage to women—as it had power to do in a Territory—and they had used it largely until 1887. That year Congress, through some inscrutable logic, took away the franchise from all the women, Gentile as well as Mormon, to stop the practice of polygamy! This convention was composed of both Gentiles and Mormons, and after a thorough discussion a strong woman suffrage plank was put into the new Constitution. At the November election it was submitted to Gentile and Mormon voters and carried by 28,618 ayes, 2,687 noes. This was the answer of Utah men after an experience with woman suffrage of seventeen years. No objection was made by Congress to this clause in the Constitution. The women of this State were far better organized and worked much harder for their political freedom than those of any other up to that time. They have used their franchise generally and wisely; no complaints or criticisms have ever come from Utah to the contrary. Women have been sent to both houses of the Legislature, have filled State, county and city offices, served on many boards and gone as delegates to Presidential conventions. They are eligible for jury service.

IDAHO.—The story of Idaho is short and there is no great struggle for the ballot to record. It was admitted into the Union in 1890. Before and after that year Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, the pioneer suffragist of Oregon, had canvassed Territory and State and appealed to the Legislature and constitutional convention. She was strongly supported by individual men and women of Idaho, but there was no organized effort until 1893. The Republicans were in full control of the Legislature in 1895 and the resolution to submit an amendment was almost unanimous. The next year Republican, Democratic, Populist and Free Silver party conventions endorsed it and it was carried at the November election by a vote of almost two to one. At the next election three women were sent to the Legislature; one State Superintendent of Instruction, fifteen county superintendents, four county treasurers elected. This proportion has been kept up and a number of deputy sheriffs have been elected. There is nothing but the highest testimony as to the part of women in the politics of the State. They constitute 42 per cent of the population and by the official statistics they cast 40 per cent of the vote in Boise, the capital, and over 35 per cent in the rest of the State. The hardships of getting to the polls through

the snow and over the mountains can hardly be described. Women sometimes ride twenty miles on horseback to vote, and they look forward with keenest pleasure to meeting each other on election day. They resisted vigorously an attempt made a few years ago to take away their eligibility to jury service.

WASHINGTON.—After this gain of four States in six years by the suffragists the opponents took active measures to prevent the submission of the question in other States. In the few cases where this was done the combination of corporations, liquor interests and party "machines" was impossible to overcome. The domination of politics by these forces was so complete that there was no chance for any moral questions, and nothing was left but the slow process of educating public sentiment to demand that the voice of women should be heard in this wilderness. At length came the great political "insurgent" movement in the Western States and, as the direct result, the submitting of a woman suffrage amendment in 1910 by almost unanimous vote of the Washington Legislature. Here again there had been practical experience. In 1883 the Territorial Legislature gave to women the full rights of the ballot, and at the spring election and again in the

autumn they cast one-fourth of the votes, although there were less than one-third as many women as men in the Territory. During the three and a half years that they possessed the suffrage the official returns several times showed a larger percentage of women than of men voting, even with all the physical handicaps of these pioneer days. In 1886, some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the Act. In 1887 the vicious elements secured a court decision that the bill was not properly titled, and the Legislature passed it a third time perfect in every respect.

A convention was about to prepare a constitution for Statehood and these elements were determined it should not include woman suffrage. It was arranged that at the spring election of 1889 the vote of a certain saloonkeeper's wife should be refused. Her case was rushed through to the Supreme Court, and two out of three members decided that the equal suffrage law was void because a Territorial Legislature had no right to extend the suffrage! The very Act under which Washington was organized specifically gave it this right, and under a similar Act women had voted twenty-one years in the Territory of Wyoming and seventeen in that of Utah. This decision is only matched by that of the

Dred Scott case in 1857. The women were illegally disfranchised, they were excluded from the new Constitution, and all they could obtain was the submission that year of woman suffrage as a separate question. They were not themselves allowed to vote on it, and it was said to be defeated by over 19,000. Nine years later, in 1898, the women summoned courage to make another campaign, and then the majority against them was announced to be considerably less than 10,000. Years afterward a man who had taken part in them stated publicly that the most barefaced frauds had been committed, and that the amendment really had been carried.

In 1910 came the political revolution in Washington, where the voters threw off the "machine" yoke and honest men of all parties secured a free election and a fair count. The women made the ablest campaign for the suffrage ever known, with the splendid result that it was carried in every county in the State and received a majority of nearly three to one —then the largest victory ever achieved. The way in which they registered by the tens of thousands in Seattle the following month, "recalled" the Mayor, turned out the Council and chief of police and regenerated the city—and later performed the same service for Tacoma—electrified the

whole country. The women maintain their interest, are elected to State, county and city offices and to the Legislature. As jurors they have given especial satisfaction to the judges and the lawyers.

CALIFORNIA.—The granting of woman suffrage in Washington gave an impetus to the movement far and wide. The first results were seen in California, which in the State at large had been swept clean of its corrupt political forces by the great wave of insurgency. The press representatives who had been going to Sacramento for years said they never had seen so able, sincere and upright a body of men as the legislators who submitted the reform amendments, all of which were adopted at the election of 1911, including woman suffrage. The women remembered with anguish of spirit the magnificent campaign they had made in 1896, only to be betrayed and sold by the political leaders. With largely augmented numbers and full of faith in the new order they made the fight, but it required the decent men of the whole State to overcome the corrupt vote of San Francisco and Oakland, with the corporations, liquor interests and remnants of the old party "machines" struggling to regain their power and dreading the enfranchise-

ment of women. The amendment was carried by only 3,537.

This was the greatest victory ever won for woman suffrage, as California is an old, thickly-populated and wealthy State, having commercial relations with all parts of the world. It may be said that with this triumph the movement for woman suffrage passed the crisis. The number of women is nearly equal to that of men; they are well organized; the State has two large cities and here will be the strongest test yet made. The amendment was carried in October and at the municipal election in Los Angeles in December about 95 per cent of the women registered and voted—a record never equalled by men. There never has been in any other State such universal testimony by the press in favor of the way in which women have used the vote.

KANSAS, ARIZONA, OREGON.—In 1912 the Legislature of Kansas submitted an amendment for woman suffrage. Those of Oregon and Arizona refused, but under the law of Initiative and Referendum the women secured enough signatures of voters to compel the submission. The amendment was adopted by the three States in November, 1912. In Arizona every county gave a majority. In Oregon there was a majority of 4,161 in a vote

of 128,369; in Kansas 16,079 in a vote of 334,473. In all, the amendment carried with it jury service and eligibility to every office. In all, the women made a strong, dignified and never-ceasing campaign, and future generations will never know how small was the number who worked for the suffrage compared to the vast number who will joyfully make use of it.

ALASKA.—Although Congress in 1890 had vigorously opposed admitting Wyoming with woman suffrage, in 1912 it specifically provided in the Act organizing Alaska into a Territory that its Legislature might enfranchise women. This was done by unanimous vote as soon as it met for the first time in the spring of 1913. A considerable number of American, English and Russian men have settled there with their families, and there are also teachers and other women in business. As the Territory develops, their influence in its civic and political life will undoubtedly prove a valuable factor.

ILLINOIS.—The Constitution of Illinois, which has not been revised for many years, provides that the Legislature shall have power to confer the suffrage for any official whose election is not provided for

in the Constitution. It is a very difficult document to amend and therefore the women have tried only to obtain what the Legislature was able to give. After many failures they succeeded at last in securing a majority and Governor Edward F. Dunne signed the bill June 26, 1913. If this law is sustained by the courts it will prove a great triumph, as woman suffrage will have crossed the "dead-line" of the Mississippi River. Illinois women will be able to vote for all measures submitted to the electors; for various county officials and boards, and, what is most important, for all municipal officers. The value of this in a large city like Chicago cannot be overestimated. They can also vote for presidential electors, and this act of the Illinois Legislature has doubled the number of women who can help to choose the next President. About 4,000,000 women in the United States have now this right.

At the general election next November four States will vote on constitutional amendments to enfranchise women —Nevada, Montana, North and South Dakota.

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1914

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[1914]
1¢

Why the Working Woman Needs the Vote

By MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN

Every year more and more women are going into industry. Why is this?

1. **COST OF LIVING** is rising, and in many families the woman's wages are needed to eke out the family income.

2. **THE STANDARD OF LIVING** is rising, and workingmen's families demand better conditions, and MUST have a larger income to meet them.

3. Women living in cities can no longer help sustain the family by farm work, dairy work, or by spinning and weaving; therefore their only ways of helping to provide for the family are:

EITHER to take work home, which in most cases produces the evil results of sweat-shop work with poor conditions of work and poorer pay;

OR to go out to work in factory or shop.

Now, **IS** the woman's work a help to the family in the long run?

NOT SO LONG AS WOMEN ARE CHEAP LABOR.

Every union man knows how dangerous and harmful is the competition of child labor; it is dangerous **BECAUSE IT IS CHEAP**, and cuts down the man's wages.

Women's labor, **AS LONG AS IT IS CHEAP**, is just as dangerous, and for just the same reason. When women organize and vote they will get **EQUAL PAY** for **EQUAL WORK**, and they will no longer compete unfairly with men. Then men's wages will improve, and, though fewer women will be employed at the higher wages, this will not be a hardship, because the increase in the man's wages will give the family the large income needed, without its being necessary for so many women to work outside the home.

Woman suffrage has been endorsed not only by the American Federation of Labor, but also by the State Federations of Labor of California, Connecti-

cut, Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia and others.

Workingmen, protect your own interests and demand **VOTES FOR WORKING WOMEN.**

For further information on the working woman's need for the ballot, send for the set of six booklets by six working women, entitled

Relieving Working Women, by Clara Lemlich
The Family and Family Relations, by Maggie Hinchey
Delicacy and Charm of Woman, by Rose Schneiderman
Cornelia's Jewels, by Melinda Scott
Woman as Minister to Man, by Lillian Heaffely
Admiration and Devotion to the Sex, by Mollie Schepps



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505 Fifth Avenue New York City

1914

THERESA B. PEYTON, L. L. B., President
Minnesota Equal Franchise League
581 Selby Avenue
St. Paul, - - Minnesota

The Declaration of Independence—1914

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one half the people to dissolve the political bondage which has held them subject to the other half of the people, and to assume the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to Freedom.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men and women are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments should be instituted among both men and women, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people — women people as well as men People — to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect the Safety and Happiness of all the people. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience has shown that womankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to keep them under absolute subjection, although they are spiritually and mentally ready for Freedom, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such subjection, and to provide new guards for their future security and the security of their children.

Such has been the patient endurance of the women of this country; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand an alteration in the system of Government. The history of our government is a history of repeated injustices to women (as wives, mothers and wage-earners) and of repeated usurpations by men, many of them with the avowed object of protecting women. But the direct result has been the establishment of a Government which benefits by the knowledge and experience of only one-half of the people, and which cannot fully represent the interests and the needs of the other half of the people.

In every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms, beginning even before the Constitution of the United States was adopted. Our repeated Petitions have frequently been answered by ridicule and by repeated injustice. We have appealed to the native fairness and magnanimity of men, that they disavow these usurpations which inevitably render less dignified, honest and harmonious the relations between men and women. Men have too long been deaf to this voice of justice and honor but many are now joining with us in our refusal to acquiesce longer in this unwarrantable sovereignty over us and over our children.

We, therefore, the women citizens of the United States of America, assembled today throughout the nation, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by the authority of the organized womanhood of America demanding enfranchisement, solemnly publish and declare that women ought to be politically free.

Here and now, in this glorious springtime of the year, under the azure skies of hope, in the sunshine of life and enlightenment, we dedicate ourselves to the great work we have undertaken and go forward to victory remembering that in unity there is strength, and that not even the prejudices of the ages, nor the powers of entrenched political privilege can keep in continual disfranchisement half of the citizens of our country when their rights are demanded by the intelligent, patriotic and united womanhood of the land.

Women of America, this is our country; we have the same devotions to its institutions as that half of the citizenship that is permitted to govern it. We love the flag, and it means as much to us as it does to the men of our nation. Women have made, and women will make, as many sacrifices for the honor and glory of these United States as those of her citizens who have all the rights and privileges of the suffrage. Given our full citizenship and allowed to share in the Government, we will be as jealous of the honor and integrity of our country as we have been in the past, when in countless ways we have shown our devotion to the life of the nation, to the liberty of its citizens and to the happiness of all the people.

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OPEN LETTER TO CLERGYMEN

By Alice Stone Blackwell

The clergy are educators of public opinion. They should give their moral support to the equal suffrage movement for three reasons: First, because it is just; second, because in practice it makes for righteousness; third, because of the unrighteousness of the methods and interests arrayed against it.

Its abstract justice is generally conceded. Its practical good results are established by the consensus of testimony from hundreds of clergymen in the enfranchised States. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in 1910 sent a circular letter to all the Episcopal clergymen and to the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian ministers in the States where women vote, asking if the results were good or bad. She received 624 replies. Of these, 62 were unfavorable, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor. The answers from the Episcopal clergy were in favor, more than two to one; from the Baptist ministers, seven to one; from the Congregational ministers, about eight to one; from the Methodist ministers, more than ten to aone; and from the Presbyterian ministers, more than eleven to one. These figures speak for themselves.

The ministers were practically unanimous in saying that the ballot had done women good by broadening their minds and leading them to take a more intelligent interest in public questions; that it had made them more intelligent companions for their husbands, and better able to instruct their children. A large number said that it had promoted temperance, had helped to secure liberal appropriations for educational and humanitarian purposes, and had made it harder for notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. This last result is conceded even

by Mr. A. Lawrence Lewis, one of the very few respectable men in Colorado who have ever written anything against woman suffrage. In his article in The Outlook which the anti-suffragists have reprinted as a tract, he says:

"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."

Mr. Amos R. Wells, editor of the Christian Endeavor World, wrote to twenty-five ministers—most of them Doctors of Divinity—choosing their names at random from among his subscribers in the enfranchised States. He asked them whether equal suffrage was working well, fairly well or badly. One answered that it was working badly, and three that it was working fairly well. All the rest were positive, and a number of them enthusiastic, in declaring that it was working well. They specified the same good results as the ministers who replied to Mrs. Howe—the enlargement of women's minds, the defeat of bad candidates, and the strengthening of the temperance cause by the women's votes.

Some Catholic Opinions

The Catholic clergy have the reputation of being conservative on the woman question, and where they have had no experience of woman suffrage, many of them fear its effect, especially on the family. But where they have seen it in practical operation, their fears vanish, and their testimony is in the same strain as that of the Protestant pastors. Archbishop Francis Redwood of Wellington, New Zealand, while visiting the United States, said in an interview published in The Woman's Journal of Nov. 23, 1912:

"Women have had the vote in New Zealand for many years, and they use it wisely and judiciously, and for the greatest common good. The women of New Zealand have maintained the

high standard of purity and womanhood, and, if anything, they are better wives and home-conservers."

Bishop James J. Keane of Cheyenne writes: "From my large experience as a Bishop of the Catholic Church in Wyoming, where we have had woman suffrage for nearly half a century, I am convinced that women vote as honestly, conscientiously and intelligently as do the men, to say the least. As to the Catholic women in my diocese, I do not find the right of suffrage has drawn them either out of their homes or out of the Church."

Like testimony has been given by the late Cardinal Moran of Australia, by Archbishop Patrick Delaney of Tasmania, and many others.

Women for Good Morals

In Idaho and Wyoming, the repeal of the laws that formerly licensed gambling is universally credited to the influence of the women voters. So is the defeat of the recent attempts to legalize racetrack gambling in California, Utah and Colorado. Former Chief Justice Groesbeck of Wyoming was a strong opponent of licensed gambling, and fought it in season and out of season. He writes: "The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality." Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, formerly presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming, says of woman suffrage: "Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing it."

Kansas had municipal woman suffrage for twenty-five years before it granted women the full ballot. When the full suffrage amendment was pending, it was endorsed by almost every Ministerial Association in Kansas, while it was opposed by the vicious interests from one end of the State to the other.

Frances E. Willard wrote: "The two most strongly-marked instincts of women are those of protection for herself and little ones, and of love and loyalty to her husband and her son. Wher-

ever women have had the ballot, they have used it in the interest of the home and against the saloons, the gambling houses and the haunts of infamy."

These vicious interests are always and everywhere arrayed against the ballot for women. This is an added reason why the clergy should take their stand in its favor. It is a maxim in war, "Always do the thing to which your adversary particularly objects."

A Shameful Circular

The unworthy methods often used in attacking woman suffrage show the dearth of fair argument against it. Thus the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women has lately sent out to clergymen an anonymous leaflet trying to prove that equal suffrage means the abolition of marriage, and that this is the ideal of "feminism." In the United States, for more than forty years, National and State Suffrage Associations have been passing resolutions and publishing their platforms and declarations of principles. The opponents do not quote a line from any of these official utterances to back up their accusation, so it may be assumed that they cannot. Instead, they give quotations, or alleged quotations, from eleven individuals. Very few of these are Americans; several are anonymous; and most of those whose names are given are persons whom the majority of American suffragists never heard of, until the antis began to quote them and to describe them as "feminist leaders."

Of these quotations, the only one for which any suffrage organization has any responsibility is an extract reprinted by the National Suffrage Association some time ago from "The Freewoman." The whole sum and substance of this extract is that it is well for a married woman to be capable of supporting herself and her children. Whether this doctrine be true or false, there is nothing immoral about it; nor can the anti-suffragists

import an immoral meaning into it by the use of italics and exclamation points.

They describe "The Freewoman" as "the best-known Feminist organ in England." It is not the organ of any Suffrage Association. Its editor years ago was a worker for suffrage; but none of the many suffrage papers in England—the organs of the different Suffrage Societies—would publish her peculiar views about marriage, and therefore she started a paper of her own, The Freewoman, for the express purpose of discussing such questions. It contained, especially in its early days, some good articles, as well as others that were highly objectionable. One that was not in the least immoral made a favorable impression on the woman who was then getting out leaflets for the National Suffrage Association, and she reprinted it as a woman's rights tract. That is all there is to that.

It may be added that The Freewoman has been very ill received by suffragists in general; it got so little support that it had to suspend publication for months; and its editor has now announced that she believes the ballot will be of very little use to women. Since she has come around to this anti-suffrage view, if we wanted to use the unfair tactics of our opponents, we might now claim that the heterodox doctrines about marriage set forth in The Freewoman represent the "emerging ideals" of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to women!

Some of the statements upon which this leaflet puts an evil interpretation do not necessarily bear any such meaning. For instance, it quotes Inez Milholland (now Mrs. Boissevain) as saying that in the future there are bound to be changes in marriage and the home. Why not? There have been many changes in both, since the days when no home was warmed by a furnace and every husband had the legal right to beat his wife. No doubt there are further improvements yet to come; but marriage and the home will survive. As it happens, every enlargement of women's legal rights has been opposed on the plea that it would destroy marriage; but the destruction has never fol-

whelmingly in favor of votes for women, or that the vicious interests everywhere are solidly arrayed against it.

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E. L. Grimes Company, Printers, 122 Pearl Street, Boston, Mass.

lowed. In 1854, when the suffragists petitioned the New York Legislature for a law to enable married women to control their own earnings, as they can now do in almost every State, Assemblyman Burnett of Onondaga said:

"The object of these unsexed women is to overthrow the most sacred of our institutions, to set at defiance the divine law which declares man and wife to be one, and to establish on its ruins what will be in fact and in principle but a species of legalized adultery."

His words were no more fatuous than the present anti-suffrage leaflet

There are millions of men and women who believe in equal suffrage. Indeed, there are in the United States about four million women who already have the right to vote. If the eleven persons whom the anti-suffrage leaflet professes to quote were all of them prominent American suffragists, instead of being most of them obscure foreigners; and if all of the quotations and pseudo-quotations properly carried a meaning as black as the compiler of the anonymous leaflet wishes to put upon them, it would prove nothing as to the ideals and aims of the suffragists in general, or as to the tendencies of the equal rights movement.

On innumerable occasions, the presidents of the International, National and State Suffrage Associations have publicly urged "a white life for two." The suffrage papers consistently preach it. In the social purity societies, the majority of the workers are believers in votes for women; and the deep interest taken by suffragists in moral reform is the object of frequent sneers in anti-suffrage literature.

The world today is seething with discussion of all sorts of social theories; and among the multitude of people who now believe in votes for women, there are, of course, some who hold objectionable views about marriage. But these views receive no endorsement from any of the Suffrage Associations; and there is

every reason to believe that those who hold them are a very small minority.

Every movement is to be judged by its official platform, its leaders, the general character of its rank and file, and, above all, by its results where its program has become an accomplished fact. The president of the New England Woman Suffrage Association for more than thirty years was Julia Ward Howe. She knew her co-workers—not only Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Henry B. Blackwell and the other pioneers, but the younger women who clustered around her and were proud to follow her leadership. And she said again and again that she was glad to have come into the suffrage movement, if for no other reason, because it brought her into "such high company." She met in its ranks the noblest men and women of her time. From Jane Addams down, the women whose fame for goodness and wisdom is today nation wide are almost all of them advocates of votes for women.

When copies of this infamous leaflet began to be sent in to the Headquarters of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association by indignant ministers—some of them members of the Association, others having wives or daughters who were members—it moved our official board first to righteous wrath, and then to irrepressible laughter. "The anti-suffragists must be getting pretty desperate!" said one mother of sons and daughters.

We invite ministers of all denominations to send to the Headquarters of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association at 585 Boylston street, Boston, or to the National Headquarters at 505 Fifth avenue, New York, for the official literature of the suffrage movement, and see whether it warrants any such insinuations. We would invite their especial attention to the literature showing the effects of equal suffrage where it is in actual operation. Far from promoting demoralization, it leads to a bracing up of legislation in behalf of morality, and also of its enforcement. After reading the facts, they will not wonder that the opinion of the clergy in the enfranchised States is so over-

[1914]

THE ADVANTAGES OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

BY

MRS. ANDREAS UELAND

President, Minnesota Equal Suffrage Association
Minneapolis, Minn.



Read before the
MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
1914.

18798

THE ADVANTAGES OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

By Mrs. Andreas Ueland

President, Minnesota Equal Suffrage Association, Minneapolis

One of the most impressive chapters in the development of the Anglo Saxon man is his emergence from a state of bondage and serfdom to a position of freedom, and, little by little, to the attainment of self government.

Not less impressive is the emergence, before our eyes, of woman from a state of ignorance and a position of dependence to the modern woman, who is just now taking the last step in her development—the demand for political independence. In answering the question—What are the advantages of equal suffrage?—we may call to mind the advantages of democracy.

Through a thousand years of struggle, men learned that their rights were protected, that their self-respect was conserved, that they received greater consideration from their neighbors, and that they had greater power and freedom in carrying out their creative instinct when they individually had some share in government. The hardest lesson in this one thousand years—and one not completely learned yet—is that it is not safe to leave government in the hands of one man or a group of men, and that one class can not judge wisely or decide fairly for the whole.

The ballot in the hands of a newly enfranchised citizen gives him first of all self-respect. He feels that he is a man among men, that he is worthy the respect of other men. It entitles him to as much consideration as his

neighbor. He is, and should be, proud to be a voting citizen. The vote is a symbol of the respect and confidence of government. A vote withheld is a sign that the government lacks such respect and confidence. The vote has always been considered as an honor. Only little by little have all men been considered worthy of this honor. Originally, the king was the only one so honored, then the nobles, then the men of property, then the men whose religious beliefs were satisfactory and, at last, only an educational qualification was demanded. To take a man's vote away, is the deepest disgrace and humiliation that can be visited upon him, and is reserved for criminals. In the recent election, the men of Hennepin and Ramsey Counties were filled with righteous indignation at the amendment which proposed to limit the power of their vote for state senators. That a fraction of a vote for one official should be taken from them made the blood of more than one freeborn American, in Hennepin County, boil.

Women, especially, need the self-respect and the respect and consideration from others that comes with an individual share in government. For ages, women have been considered inferior to men. It was not until late in the Middle Ages that it was decided in a council of men that women have souls; and that was by a majority of only one vote. Forced to subserviency and trained to find happiness only in self-effacement, the lives of women have been full of sadness. Milton made his Eve say to Adam:

"God is thy law, thou mine To know no more, Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise."

Rousseau, whom we are wont to consider the prophet of freedom and justice, says of women:

"To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate when young, and take care of us when grown up, to admire, to console, to render our lives easy and agreeable—these are the duties of women

at all times and what they should be taught in infancy."

Sentiments, such as these, have dwarfed and crippled the women of yesterday. Herbert Spencer says:

"In the history of humanity as written, the saddest part concerns the treatment of women; and had we, before us, its unwritten history, we should find this part still sadder. I say the saddest part because, though there have been many things more conspicuously dreadful—cannibalism, the torturing of prisoners, the sacrificing of victims to ghosts and gods—these have been but occasional; whereas the brutal treatment of women has been universal and constant."

Too much cannot be said of the championship of the cause of woman's rights by such men as John Stewart Mill, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, and the many eminent writers and thinkers who are living today, nor of the just and fair attitude of thousands of men who have voted, or would like to vote, in favor of equal suffrage. Although the measure was defeated in Ohio, we must not forget that 386,000 men voted for it, more than ever before in one state; nevertheless, the sense of woman's inequality has by no means passed away and we believe that the ballot would hasten this passing. The ballot is as John Stewart Mill said, "An outward and visible sign of equality."

That girls are not so important in the minds of many people, women as well as men, hardly needs demonstration. It is easier to raise money for boys' educational institutions than for girls'. Men's colleges are better endowed than women's a hundredfold. Men's clubs and undertakings, generally, are more liberally supported than women's. We have, in Minneapolis, families who have come here from another civilization, in which the men look upon their wives and daughters as their property, who must do their bidding. They are surprised that anyone should object to their beating their wives, and

the wives consider it inevitable and necessary and are unwilling to have the men brought into court.

The women of the East are still "veiled and cloistered and silent" for no reason but that of sex. And it is not only this class of people who consider women as inferior. The case of Madame Curie is an example of the attitude of men "higher up." Madame Curie, the discoverer of the properties of radium, has as pupils the greatest scientists of Europe. At a Congress in Brussels, the standard measurement of radium was discussed, and the congress unanimously decided that Madame Curie was the only person living, capable of establishing the standard. She, therefore, was appointed, and consequently the unit of measurement of radium will be known as a Curie and the word will take its place with Ohm and Ampere and Volt to perpetuate names of geniuses of pure science. And yet Madame Curie could not be appointed to a vacancy in the French Academy, Department of Science, because she was a woman.

This sense of inferiority is depressing. No one can tell what the world has lost because of the idea that girls were inferior beings to their brothers. How many aspiring girls have been disheartened and discouraged by the public sentiment that they were not good enough or fine enough to do the things their immortal souls craved to do. In the old days it was only the girl children of heroic mold who were able to pierce the shadow of mistrust and unbelief. It is a thousand times better now, but it is needful that all women should feel and know that they have a direct part in the divine plan, and that it is not necessary for them to be always subsidiary and indirect. Having a share in government is a means of education, which women need and want.

Who ever votes intelligently must consider the needs of good citizenship. In the enfranchised states, the women are studying earnestly in order to become useful citi-

zens. In Denver, more books on social economy were sold in the eight months after women were enfranchised than in twenty years before. Substantially the same thing is said in Seattle, Washington. In the suffrage states, women's civic leagues are formed, sometimes one in every precinct, for no other purpose than to study the needs of the neighborhoods and the states.

The Potential Power of the Vote.

The fact, that groups of people are voters, renders legislators conscious of their interests. It is not only to the interest of the legislator, but it is his duty to consider the wishes of the people who have votes. They are the ones he tries to satisfy. A legislator is the servant of the people who send him to office. He cannot consider a voteless group of people as earnestly as an enfranchised group. He respects chiefly those who send him to office. He is responsible to them. In the states in which women vote, the law makers inevitably pay more attention to the things women specially care for.

The potential power of the large group of women—four-fifths of the whole—who are home-makers, makes a legislator take a deep interest in such questions as housing, pure food laws, clean streets and the care of garbage. The potential power of that class who are wage earners, one-fifth of the whole, makes him attend to the questions of the hours of labor for women, and sanitary conditions of work. The potential power of the vote was strikingly illustrated in Chicago after the women of Illinois were given partial suffrage. For many years, the public spirited women there have asked for police women to be in attendance in their small parks and dance halls—places in which 86,000 young people find recreation. They were told that there was not money enough, that they needed many more policemen before they could

have policewomen. They were given the vote, July 1st. On July 15th, the mayor appointed fifteen policewomen. Before September, there were forty, and it is promised that by January 1st there will be one hundred. The women had done nothing. They had not voted. They had simply had the power to vote given them.

Another well known illustration of this power is the story of the garbage situation in Chicago. Miss Mary McDowell tried for fifteen years to have the garbage taken care of in a scientific manner. She had made herself an expert in knowledge of this kind, studying methods here and abroad. Her efforts to impress the Chicago council were unavailing until July 1st, 1913, when women were enfranchised. Then, almost immediately the city government appropriated $10,000 to improve the system, and Miss McDowell was named on the committee to spend the money. The mayor now speaks proudly of her as Chicago's great garbage expert. This happened before any of the women had voted. The garbage disposal, before the new system was instituted, cost Chicago $4,000 a month. It is now said to pay expenses and yield a revenue of $2,000 a month. This is a saving of $6,000 a month.

The Mother's Point of View in Government.

In a true democracy, all phases of normal human life should have due consideration. It surely is not the part of wisdom to leave out, as we do, the mother's point of view. Mothers, from the beginning, have been the dynamic force that makes for better homes and thus for a higher civilization. In the early days, she was the first farmer, and the first industrial worker. She sacrificed her roaming instincts in order to make better conditions for her child. She is still doing this, still pushing silently and steadily all over the world for better conditions for

her child; better food, securer shelter, more education, more beauty, greater opportunity, a more abundant life.

This intensive concern for home should be expressed in government. The father is the provider; he is intensely concerned in business. Often it becomes an end and not a means with him. The mother does not consider business as all-important. These two forces should therefore balance each other in government. At present the things that pertain to business are over emphasized.

Women Wish to Vote.

All over the world, women are forming themselves into suffrage organizations. "From the land of the midnight sun, women wrapped in furs, above the polar circle, may be seen gliding over snow covered roads in sledges drawn by reindeer on their way to suffrage meetings. At the same moment other women, in the midsummer of the Southern Hemisphere, protected by fans and unbrellas and riding in 'rickshas' are doing the same thing under the tropical sun."

In five continents and twenty-five nations and in many islands of the sea, among them Java, Sumatra, the Philippines and Hawaii, women have organized clubs and are members of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. In America, one after another, the federated clubs of the different states are endorsing suffrage. Last month, the federated clubs of New York passed a resolution endorsing suffrage; shortly before that Pennsylvania passed a resolution; before that, Missouri; before that, North Dakota, and in June, the National Federation of Woman's Clubs, meeting in Chicago, passed, enthusiastically, an almost unanimous resolution. Other women's organizations favoring it are the World and National Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Educational

Association, the Society of Friends, The National Women's Trades Union League.

To those who see in this awakening of the women, only good, who see in it the unfolding of a divine plan, who see it as the fruition of the work of those few men and women to whom the vision was given, this march of the idea of the political freedom of women is full of majesty.

That all women do not wish to vote, is not a reason for withholding it from those who do. Voting is not compulsory. Not more than fifty per cent of the men of Minneapolis voted at the last election. No reform has waited until all or a majority were in favor. Not all of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies were in favor of resisting England, or of adopting the Declaration of Independence.

When the custom of Suttee, in India, by which widows were burned on the funeral pyre of their husbands, was abolished by Great Britain, the women who would have been victims, protested most loudly. Many of the slaves of the South did not wish to be freed. It has not been shown that a majority of women do not wish to vote. In the recent campaign in Ohio, the women made a house to house canvass in sixteen counties. In all of these counties, they found that sixty per cent of the women, and more, were willing to sign cards indicating their belief in equal suffrage. In the suffrage states, a majority of the women do vote. That they have not chosen to disfranchise themselves is an indication that they do not find it a burden.

The greatest enemies of humanity and especially of women, are intemperance, prostitution and war. The suffragists believe that by their votes they can help in defeating these enemies. At every election, dry territory is increased by the help of the women. At the last election, three of the suffrage states—Colorado, Oregon and

Arizona—voted for prohibition. Of the vote in Oregon, the Portland Oregonian says:

"All the counties in Oregon voted dry at the recent election, including Multnomah. It was an astounding change for Portland and Multnomah, which four years ago had gone wet two to one. The state, too, had registered a somewhat emphatic 'no' on the subject; but through the influence of the women voters and the changed views of many male voters, the measure was adopted, in 1914, by 35,000 or more votes. It was a veritable tidal wave which engulfed city and country alike."

In California, before women voted, there were 200 dry towns, now there are more than 680. In Illinois, the vote of the women, at the first election, closed 1,000 saloons. The liquor interests are working everywhere to defeat woman's suffrage.

Women are opposed to war. They care for life. They wish above all else to conserve life. In the budget of the United States, sixty-three cents of every dollar is used for war expenses. The influence of women would be against this expenditure.

A significant sign of the times is the conference of women representing fifteen nations, which met recently, in London, to consider the war situation. They declared they were not enemies one to another, that they did not hate each other, that they did not wish their sons to kill the sons of other mothers. They protested against this useless war, and appointed an envoy from their number to visit America, to appeal to all Americans to take steps to try to bring about peace with disarmament. Their message was also for the women of this country, to hasten the day when our women will have political rights, in order to prevent war. These women declare, that had the women of Europe possessed such power, this war would not have taken place.

At a recent meeting of the International Peace Congress at The Hague, a resolution was adopted unanimously, demanding that a resolution be placed on the regular order of business at the next Congress, calling upon various nations to consider the enfranchisement of women. This was urged with the view of hastening universal peace.

Women are opposed to prostitution and work against it. The women in San Francisco were instrumental in putting out of existence the infamous Barbary Coast. The red light district of Denver was abolished by the aid of the women's vote. The equal suffrage states are far in advance of the other states of the country in regard to the age of protection. Five of the suffrage states have passed the red light abatement law, admittedly the best law for the control of prostitution. Only five of the non-suffrage states have passed this law. According to the National Vigilance Association every suffrage state has a good statute against white slavery.

The most careful and intensive study of the workings of equal suffrage that has yet been made, was undertaken by Miss Helen Summer in Colorado for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League. This investigation was made in a scientific manner, and aided by the advice and assistance of men well known for their contributions to science. It was made in 1907, when equal suffrage had been in practice in Colorado for fourteen years. The account is as unbiased as is humanly possible. Miss Summer went into the work with no formulated conclusions on the subject. She says: "Over the majority of women, it is already evident that equal suffrage has exercised a good influence and one which inevitably reacts on political life. It has tended to cultivate an intelligent public spirit among women. Comparatively few take part in public life, but thousands vote.

"As for loss of womanly characteristics, it is difficult to find any evidence, to show that voting affects this side of a woman's character. Families go to the polls together. They meet no rough and unfamiliar persons but their neighbors. In conventions, they exchange recipes and information about the baby as at other meetings. Whenever a Colorado woman makes a demand in which she may reasonably be supposed to have the silent backing of the great mass of women who do not talk but vote, she inevitably has far less difficulty in obtaining her object than her sisters of non-suffrage states. The ballot economizes for her both effort and time.

"Equal suffrage has increased the interest of women in politics and has a good effect upon their intelligence and public spirit. Measures, especially affecting children as offenders against law, Colorado has acquired, since women voted, the best legislation in the country. The custom of electing women to school boards is increasing. Women have served as presidents of boards and frequently treasurers and secretaries. Women have served on state boards of control, on boards of charities and corrections. A majority of the Board of the Girls Industrial School and Home for Dependent Children are women. Women have served on the Board of Agriculture, on the Board of Health and the Board of Horticulture.

The Record of Women in Office is High.

"There is no record of women defaulters, while men defaulters have been distressingly common. The record of women office holders on the score of honesty is considerably above men office holders. No woman has shown herself grossly inefficient in office and several have made brilliant records. Talents in women have been brought out and developed that otherwise would have remained dormant. The office of state superintendent of instruction is gen-

erally held by a woman. This office controls the management of funds and school bonds. The state superintendents have almost universally been honest and efficient. One hundred and twenty different women have been county superintendents with excellent records.

"Women of Colorado have taken great interest in the care of delinquent and defective children. They have been almost universally progressive, rather than conservative. They have been almost united in the support of measures designed for the protection of children and animals. Except in sale of liquor, the activities of women are for constructive rather than preventive measures. It is no longer possible to place men with known immoral lives into office. There is no support to the assertion that voting increases domestic discord. The women in better districts vote in greater numbers than from less prosperous and less respectable districts."

Mrs. Helen Grenfell, who has been, for several years, a superintendent of instruction for the State of Colorado and who has made a national name for herself as an educator, says:

"Instead of thinking less of their homes, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into their close corporations, something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of Domestic Economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School, and the Professor of Domestic Economy in the former has been twice president of the Colorado Suffrage Association. The interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased, instead of diminished. There is hardly a State where the school population is increasing so rapidly. The compulsory education laws of Colorado are said to be the best in existence. No difference is made in teachers' salaries on account of sex. After twenty years' experience in school work, I can say that our school boards are absolutely non-political, and party affiliation is

never considered in the appointment of teachers. Whilst our teachers are citizens, taking part in public affairs, voting, and often attending primaries and conventions, I have never heard of a teacher being dismissed or appointed because she was a Republican or a Democrat, nor of a member of the school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally, both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board that is principally Democratic is found in a Republican community, and vice versa. Our teachers are free to vote according to their own consciences. I have seen or heard of more party politics in school matters in one block in Albany, Buffalo, or Philadelphia, than in the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil."

There can be no doubt that in many communities men of notoriously unclean lives and men connected with saloons have been dropped from politics since women voted. Colorado is producing an ever increasing number of able public spirited women citizens. It has made men and women more companionable.

The women of Illinois have made great progress in demonstrating that equal suffrage is a sound and helpful measure. Some of their achievements are: A reform in garbage disposal, success in having policewomen appointed, and a splendid temperance achievement. They now have a boy's court—a court for boys of seventeen and up, who are too old for the Juvenile Court but not yet full grown—in connection with which there is a psychopathic clinic. Through women's effort, the management of the county poorhouse was made efficient and humane. The young woman who was a candidate for alderman against Bathhouse John was defeated; she expected to be, but the situation in that ward and the methods that followed by this means obtained so much notoriety that Bathhouse John lost his prestige and the party, that he had represented, repudiated him.

Jane Addams said, that "Letting in the light upon the first ward was more than a local service. These ignoble methods had spread to other wards. Now they will never be allowed again in Chicago. You cannot have a ward of which the whole city is ashamed without its affecting the other wards." In seven wards in Chicago the women's votes actually turned the scale and defeated seven objectionable candidates. Of the Chicago women's vote, Graham Taylor says, "It tended decidedly toward non-partisanship."

Of the effect of women voting on the polling places, the leading election commissioner issued the following statement: "Their presence was like oil upon turbulent waters in every precinct of every ward, in which there were bitter clashes. In no precinct did the presence and activity of women in political contest make them mannish. There was less drunkenness around polling places than there had been in years, because practical politicians knew that drunken workers would drive away the vote of women for their candidates. Today's election really demonstrated that election and government have been brought closer to the home. Above all, women, in all walks of life and in all parties, proved that they are interested in and appreciate their duty."

The mainspring of this movement is not selfishness, but a love of justice and a desire to serve. The women who are contributing most to public life and who are furnishing new ideals of service, are the leaders of the movement for equal suffrage. Jane Addams, Florence Kelly, Katherine Bement Davis, Caroline Bartlett Crane, Clara Barton and Mrs. Raymond Robins, have declared that the power of the woman's vote is necessary to accomplish the results for which they are working. By this means, thousands of women that are now indifferent or ignorant of conditions will be brought into public work. The burdens of the days of our grandmothers have been lifted from the shoulders of modern women. They have a greater

margin of leisure. Many right minded women are not using their time wisely. There is ability, energy and enthusiasm going to waste. Much of this will be utilized for the benefit of the state. Having a share in the government does not take women from their homes. The women of Norway, of Finland, of Australia, of New Zealand and of the suffrage states in the United States are not leaving their homes. Australia has the highest birth rate, and in New Zealand is found the lowest rate of infant mortality. The women who vote are not less domestic, but have a broader vision. They are able to follow their children out into the world and make that a safer and a more beautiful place.

Loyalty of Women Toward Each Other.

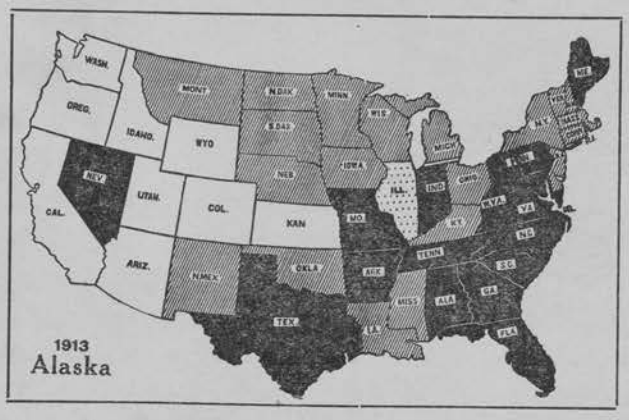
In the difficult effort of getting the ballot, there has arisen, among women, a new understanding of and a loyalty toward all women. The northern women find that the women of the south are not very deeply interested in the doctrine of state rights, and that they care very little about the solidarity of the Democratic party, but that they do care that the southern states are lowest in the scale of education and in laws relating to women and children, so they are consecrating themselves to the task of improving such conditions. The women of America are learning that the women of Europe, also, have discarded the old ideal of physical, mental and moral dependence and have substituted the ideal of strength. No governmental method will change the underlying truth of human life that women care, first of all, for their families and their homes. The great silent majority are chiefly concerned in making their homes a safer, cleaner and more beautiful place and in giving their children opportunities for life and happiness. The women of America are asking the men of America to confer upon them this symbol of confidence and respect—the ballot—in order that they may use it to bring these things to pass.

[1914]

SUFFRAGE
AND
GOVERNMENT

The Modern Idea of Government by Consent and Woman's Place in it, with special reference to Nevada and other Western States

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SUFFRAGE AND GOVERNMENT

By Mary Austin and Anne Martin

In the beginning of the woman suffrage movement the objection most obstinately, and in most cases honestly, entertained against it was one derived from the idea of government as an extraneous force. The stick wielded by the strong kept men in order. This was an idea which rooted very far back in racial history, in the time when combat was the chief business of life; and those who used it forgot, or never knew, that women were originally exempted from fighting, not on account of incompetence but because of their importance to the tribe. That primitive women can fight as ferociously and successfully as any female animal when occasion arises, is a fact that is surprisingly forced upon us even yet, when the outposts of civilization come in contact with the wild tribes. But man's objection to seeing them risk their most precious quality, their potential maternity, in a fight, is so widespread that it amounts to a taboo. For women to be obliged to use force means racial disaster. So long then as government in the popular estimate meant the use of force, this was a valid objection to women having any voice in it.

But the rapid sweep of democracy in the past two centuries has brought us around to a new view of government as an affair of social consent. The more gen-

eral this consent the less the compulsion needed to bring it into effect. All the newest devices of popular government, the initiative, referendum and recall, are means of making this social consent more direct and immediate.

This new conception of government as social consent, cuts two ways in favor of woman suffrage. By resting the right to participation in government on the ability to consent, rather than on fighting capacity, it disposes forever of the ancient argument that women ought not to vote because it is not desirable that they should go to battle.

What women are asking for is the right to consent to the laws under which they live. Wherever the ballot, which is the official means of such consent, is denied them, women are still in respect to their social rights under the regime of force, and society goes limping along with one member rejoicing in the freedom of democracy and the other still swathed in the restraints of feudalism.

GOVERNMENT AS A MEANS

But the experiment of democracy has proved more than anything else the fallacy of that other anti-suffrage bogie, the idea of government as a function. Government is a means of getting the business of society done expeditiously. The vote is merely the approved instrument for registering social consent. So long as government is regarded simply as the administration of the affairs of the people, there can logically be no governing class or sex. The people as a whole can have no affairs to which all the people are not equal. The ballot, either written or oral, is the most ancient means of expediting

business. It is present in the pow-wow of the aboriginal tribes and the folk-moot of the ancient Saxons. It is present today in large bodies, composed exclusively of women, who meet in convention, conduct important financial operations and make laws for the control of widely separated organizations. Women vote. The only question before the public today is whether they shall be permitted to vote in the matters that most immediately concern them.

It is the use of the ballot in the less important issues of society that has taught women its value as an instrument in the field of human achievement. In nothing do they show their fitness for it so much as in the quickness with which they have grasped the use of it as the outgrowth of the human instinct for expedience and efficiency. For centuries men have been regarding participation in public business as a kind of divine right, a privilege of wealth or birth or sex, and in as many years women have seized upon it as a means of getting something done, a new broom with which to make a cleaner sweep of their business.

THE BUSINESS OF WOMEN

The chief business of women is mothering. This includes the co-related and equally important activities of reproduction and conservation. It means not only bearing children but looking after their food and clothing and housing, their bodily safety and the welfare of impressionable minds. The woman of today who wishes to do her business well, finds herself in a serious predicament.

For today the greater part of all the activities upon

which the successful bringing up of a family depends are carried on outside the home. In order, in the disfranchised states, to exercise any control over the food, the education, and the industrial conditions which environ her children, the mother must attend a vast number of public meetings, town council, board and committee meetings, armed with the ancient and ineffectual instrument of "indirect influence." The very word "indirect" is a confession of inefficiency. The business of women is of such importance to the state as to demand the most direct and immediate means. It is only with the ballot that woman can stay at home to nurse one child and yet follow the other to school, to the shop, the factory, the place of amusement. With this white winged messenger of her mothering thought she can to some degree overshadow and protect him.

THE BALLOT FOR WOMEN MEANS FREEDOM FOR MEN

But it is not only to enable her to do her work in the world that man must restore to woman her natural control of those departments of life which make for stable conditions. It is in order that he may do his own work more efficiently. True maleness is the exercise of initiative, exploration, experimentation, the breaking of new lands, the extension of the frontiers of thought. Man under modern conditions has so overloaded himself with women's work of conservation that he can scarcely do his own. By attempting to constitute himself the sole center of woman's activities he has overleaped his capacity. Much of the modern industrial revolt is all unconsciously a reaction against the excessive burdening of man with the whole business of society.

Man is an individualist; his instinct is to compete rather than to co-operate. Woman is essentially social, the center of the family group. It is her instinct to make things comfortable, the natural outreach of the mothering impulse. And a good half of the business of government is just that; it is neither a duty nor a privilege but an efficacious way of making us all comfortable together.

GOVERNMENT AND POLICING

If the recent discovery of democracy, that government does not necessarily imply fighting, is a reason for giving women a part in it, a much greater one exists in the fact that government does still incidentally involve the chances of war. The old idea implied a state of society in which war was inevitable and always imminent. The original exclusion of women from council was due to the fact that ancient councils were seldom about anything else but fighting.

The real question is not whether women can fight or not, but whether their interests are affected by the fighting which men do. The strong opposition to the vote of women in some quarters comes from their known genius for pacification. The work of women, the continuance of the race, is so seriously affected by war that it isn't considered safe to let them hold a deciding voice upon the question of a particular war. The fact that women are excluded from voting on declarations of war because of the likelihood of their voting against it is one of the best reasons why war should not be. That which destroys the labor of one half of society can not be good for the whole of it.

It is this resistance of man to any curtailing of his ancient habit of combat which has animated much of the objection to women interfering in the small private wars of theft, arson, assault and rape which men declare on one another and on women. It has been said that women ought not to vote because they could not be police. Women having already become police in Denmark, in Norway and Sweden, in Canada, in Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Tacoma, Seattle and half a dozen other American cities, it is discovered that a large part of police duty is concerned with prevention rather than punishment, and with the conservation of social forces and the stoppage of social waste. And this sort of policing is seen very easily to derive nothing from force, and not to depend upon it. It is based primarily on our social consent to the introduction of the mother element in all departments of life.

The woman policeman would be as great an absurdity as the anti-suffragist of a generation ago believed her, if it were not for this general consent to the propriety of women going wherever children must go, and going clothed with authority. It is the latest and best evidence that men are moving concertedly to release to women the opportunity to do their work in the world and the means of doing it efficaciously.

THE WITNESS OF THE WEST

While society needs the operation of the conservative mother-thought in all its departments, there has been especial demand for it in the West because of the unduly high percentage of male population. It is notable that

the answer of the men of the West to this social need has been the ballot in the hands of the women.

That Western men have been more responsive to women's demand for the right to perform their work for society is no doubt due to an instinctive desire on man's part to give back to woman her proper share in a society which more nearly conforms to a primitive division of labor than do the older and more artificial eastern communities. Men in the West have been so much occupied with the natural male activities of breaking new ground, organizing new enterprises, general exploration and experimentation, that women have regained much of their original social importance to the community. The granting of woman suffrage in the Western states is part of the subconscious response of men to a great social need.

There are left only three Western or Rocky Mountain states which have not enacted equal suffrage laws: Montana, Nevada and New Mexico; of these states Nevada is the only one which has no form whatever of suffrage for women, Montana having tax-paying and school suffrage and New Mexico having school suffrage. Nevada appears on the white map of the Western states as a big black spot entirely surrounded by the white suffrage states—California, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, and Arizona, with Washington, Wyoming, Colorado and Kansas contiguous, and Montana and New Mexico colored grey, indicating the partial suffrage in operation there. The territory of Alaska recently granted woman suffrage, one of the chief reasons being the desire on the part of the men to bring in more women, as the male population is greatly preponderant there.

The fact that the woman suffrage amendment has passed the two successive sessions of 1911 and 1913 of the Nevada legislature by large majorities, and has likewise been submitted in Montana and in North and South Dakota, indicates that the men there are alive, like the men of Alaska, to the need for more women. Nevada, of all states of the Union, has not only the largest male population in proportion to women, but has the largest male transient population, which can vote by conforming to a six months' residence qualification. Nevada, then, is the state where woman's influence is least effective because she is in so great a minority, is most largely dominated by "man-made" law, a state which is most nearly the expression of man's mind, a male society.

We find the law-making power of the whole people concentrated, not only in the hands of men, but to some extent in the hands of a male transient population, which simply cannot have the permanent interests of the state at heart; at the same time the conserving powers of women, who constitute a more stable element in the state's population, are ineffective for the good of the community. Can these conditions be good for any commonwealth? The answer is that Nevada, too, is preparing to enfranchise her women.

In the total population of the state there are 52,551 males to 29,324 females, or 179.2 males to 100 females, according to the census of 1910. The following table shows sex distribution in the eleven states having the highest percentages of male population:

According to the Census of 1910*

Nevada has, to every	100	females	..... 179.2	males
Wyoming	"	"	..... 168.8	"
Montana	"	"	..... 152.1	"
Arizona	"	"	..... 138.2	"
Washington	"	"	..... 136.3	"
Oregon	"	"	..... 133.2	"
Idaho	"	"	..... 132.5	"
California	"	"	..... 125.5	"
North Dakota	"	"	..... 122.4	"
South Dakota	"	"	..... 118.9	"
Colorado	"	"	..... 116.9	"

It is significant that these eleven states, with the exception of Nevada, Montana, and North and South Dakota, have woman suffrage. Each with its large male population has felt the desirability of increasing woman's direct influence by enfranchisement, or by taking the necessary steps, as have Montana, Nevada and the two Dakotas. These figures show that states where male population is excessive have felt the need and value of women sooner than others; that communities where men are most and women are fewest have been the first to recognize woman's social value, have been quick to register this knowledge and make effective her power for social good by full enfranchisement. These figures show also that Nevada of all states of the Union needs woman's help the most. In 1900 the Wyoming ratio was the highest, 169 to 100, while Nevada was second at 153 to 100, instead of 179.2 as it is now, showing that male influence

*New Mexico is the twelfth highest, with a proportion of 115 males to every 100 females.

has increased in Nevada over 26 per cent in the last ten years.*

MALE TRANSIENT POPULATION A NEVADA PROBLEM

Of the population 15 years of age and over 51.3 per cent of Nevada males are single and 21 per cent of the females, indicating in connection with other figures a largely unmarried male transient population. Over 15 years of age the percentage of married is 41.4 for males and 67.1 for females, showing that women having family and home interests in the state through marriage are over 25 per cent in excess of men having the same interests. (The statistics for widowed persons, etc., are not given.) As a result of exclusive male domination in a state developing under conditions of frontier life, we find that the percentage of adult and juvenile crime and delinquency, of resorts licensed for immoral purposes or for the sale of liquor, is unduly high. Moreover, Nevada's uncertain political and legislative history, shaped as it has been time after time by selfish and corrupt influences easily dominant through the indifferent or purchasable portion of the "floating vote," is a sufficient answer to the question whether exclusive male control has been good for the community. The large floating vote is an acknowledged problem in Nevada's political and social life, it is the chief factor in the unstable character of the state's legislative history. This transient vote is by no means all mercenary: a part of it is composed of intelligent and incorruptible men, but the irresponsible element has too often held the balance of

*The figures given refer to total population. Over 21 years of age there are 220 men to each 100 women in Nevada, 40,026 men and 18,140 women, census of 1910.

power; and it is desirable for every community to have its destinies controlled by the class which best understands its needs and will vote for its permanent interests, the home keeping men and women. At the close of a former legislature fourteen members left the state, having no permanent residence nor interests in Nevada. Legislation has too frequently shown that the majority of legislators have not the vital home interests of the people at heart. When a former special session was called its members had scattered so far in the intervening year that they had to be summoned, not only from several other states of the Union, but from countries as remote as Alaska, Canada, Mexico, and South Africa. Contests frequently waged in the past to use Nevada for licensing evils repudiated by her neighbors will be impossible when the unstable vote is overcome by increasing the power of the stable population, of which women compose a large proportion.*

THE WEST RECOGNIZES WOMEN'S CONSTRUCTIVE POWERS

Women will do for Nevada, Montana and the Dakotas what they have already done and are doing for Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas, for Alaska and Illinois. They have always promptly enacted humanitarian and conservation laws since they were first of all enfranchised in Wyoming in 1869. A most significant historical fact is that the first law ever introduced into a legislative body by a woman legislator, in the history of the world, was the law raising the age of protection for girls in Colorado to eighteen years. Laws equalizing

*It is estimated that 50 per cent. of the male vote is transient, while only 20 per cent. of the woman vote would be.

the personal and property rights of men and women; to protect children and give them better schools, juvenile courts, state homes or farms for girls and dependent or delinquent children; humane and sanitation laws; mother's pensions; the minimum wage scale; systems to decrease economic and social waste by the enlightened administration of prisons; laws to abolish restricted districts; the prompt recall of a judge who did not protect injured girls are all embodiments in the enfranchised states of women's ideals of service for the people. Women using the vote are merely carrying on their natural functions of conservation of health and life and are, therefore, an invaluable constructive and complementary force in the world's work.

The men of Nevada, like those of Alaska and the free states of the West, are beginning to realize the necessity of making the state more desirable as a dwelling place for women, and are taking the preliminary step by providing the opportunity for their full enfranchisement at the general election of November, 1914. The enfranchisement of Nevada's women will complete a solid block of Western states which have given women back their work. As conditions now are, with Nevada absolutely surrounded by woman suffrage states, no woman can leave its boundaries without being thereby potentially enfranchised, no woman can enter it from any neighboring state without being thereby disfranchised. The tendency of this condition is to draw the best class of woman settlers away from Nevada to the woman suffrage states by which it is surrounded. Until woman suffrage is established a premium is actually placed on the emigration of Nevada's women to the bordering free states.

Similar conditions prevail in Montana, North and South Dakota, where woman suffrage is also to be voted on in November, 1914, and in New Mexico. The men of these states are, like Nevada men, yielding instinctively to what is the modern, no less than the primitive, necessity of all communities: the free opportunity for women to do their special work, to use their mothering, their conserving powers for the good of the home, the town, the state.

CONNECT YOURSELF WITH THE MOVEMENT NOW

Fill in this coupon and mail it to the Secretary of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, 153 N. Virginia St., Reno, Nevada.

.....

..... 191

I believe in suffrage for women and wish to add my voice to the demand for a woman suffrage amendment to the Nevada State constitution and to become enrolled in the Nevada Equal Franchise Society with the understanding that this entails no dues and no duties and does not interfere with any of my existing party affiliations.

Name .....

Street and Number .....

City and State .....

.....

NEVADA EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY

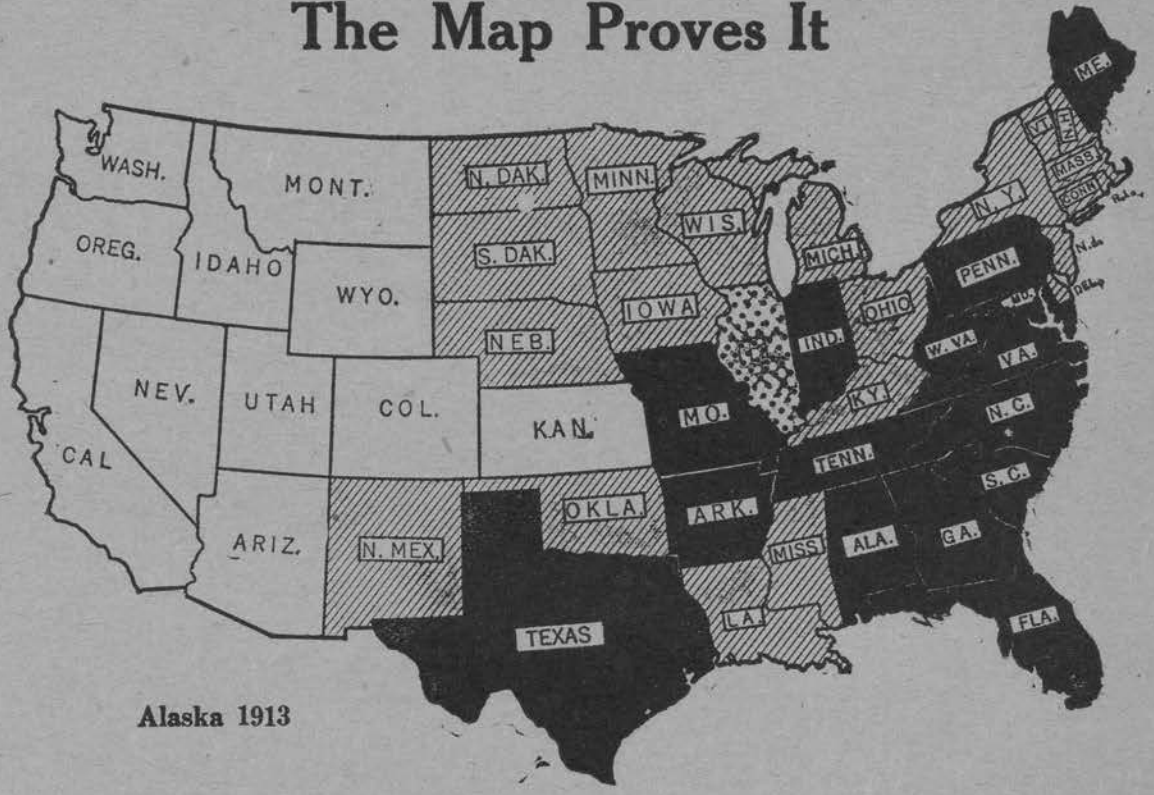
153 North Virginia Street Reno, Nevada

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

[ca. 1914?]

Votes for Women a Success

The Map Proves It



WHITE STATES; Full Suffrage **SHADED STATES: Taxation, Bond or School Suffrage**
DOTTED STATE: Presidential, Partial County and State, Municipal Suffrage **BLACK STATES: No Suffrage**

SUFFRAGE GRANTED

1869—WYOMING
1893—COLORADO
1896—UTAH
1896—IDAHO
1910—WASHINGTON
1911—CALIFORNIA
1912—OREGON
1912—ARIZONA
1912—KANSAS
1913—ILLINOIS
1913—ALASKA
1914—MONTANA
1914—NEVADA

Would any of these States have adopted EQUAL SUFFRAGE if it had been a failure just across the Border?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
PUBLISHERS FOR THE
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue New York City

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WOMEN OF AMERICA

SUPPORT

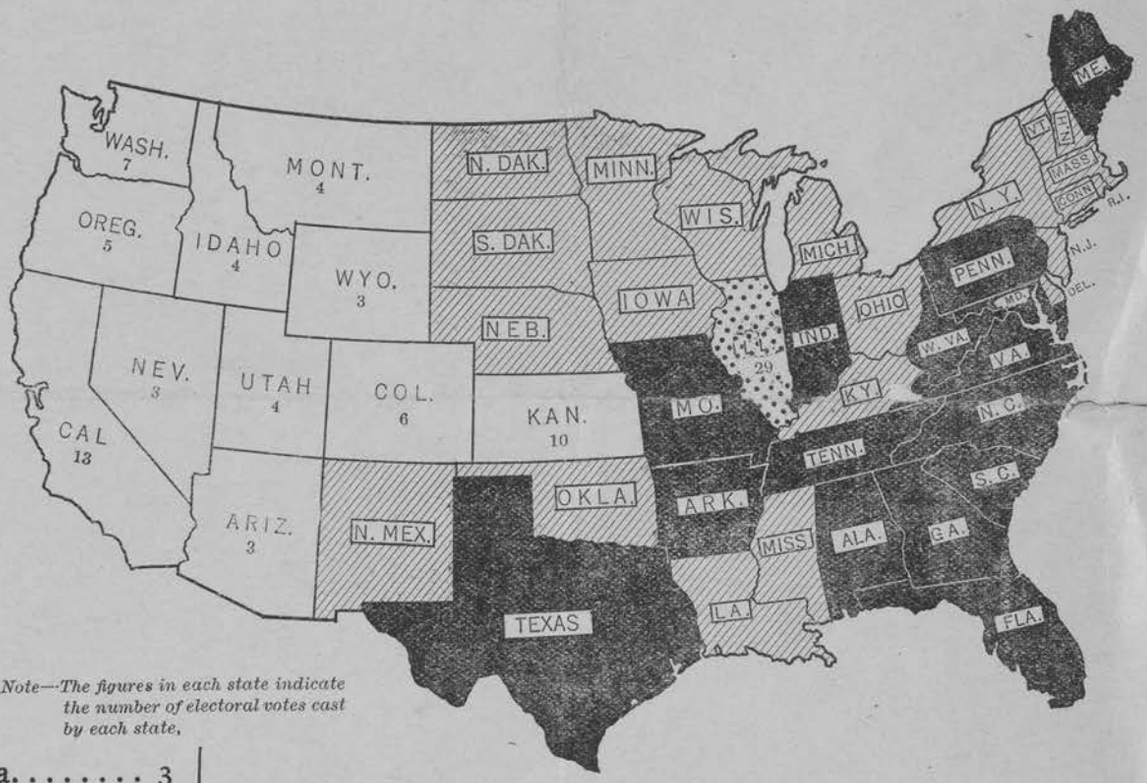
The National Suffrage Amendment

Drafted in 1875 by Susan B. Anthony

TEXT OF THE AMENDMENT

ARTICLE—Sec. I. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.



Note—The figures in each state indicate the number of electoral votes cast by each state.

Arizona	3
California	13
Colorado	6
Idaho	4
Illinois	29
Kansas	10
Montana	4
Nevada	3
Oregon	5
Utah	4
Washington	7
Wyoming	3
	91

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS NOW ESTABLISHED IN ELEVEN STATES,

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE IN ILLINOIS.

THESE TWELVE STATES CAST 91 ELECTORAL VOTES.

1/4 of the Senate
1/6 of the House
1/5 of the Electoral College
} COMES FROM STATES WHERE WOMEN VOTE

NEARLY 4,000,000 WOMEN CAN VOTE IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

THIS POWER CAN ENFRANCHISE ALL THE WOMEN OF THE NATION

DEMAND

At the opening of the first session of the 64th Congress that the party controlling Congress support

A UNITED STATES CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

referring to the State Legislatures the question of

THE NATIONAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, National Headquarters, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.

377

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WO... SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

[1914] 1¢

TESTIMONY FROM WYOMING

Wyoming was the first of the United States to give votes to women. In 1869, while still a territory, it adopted equal suffrage, and in 1890, when it was admitted to statehood, its men refused to come into the Union without the women. During the forty-five years that the measure has been in effect every governor has testified to its good results, including the territorial governors, who are appointed by the President, and are not, therefore, dependent upon votes.

In 1893, and in a number of years following, the House of Representatives adopted resolutions declaring that woman suffrage had been an unmixed advantage to the State. In 1901 the Legislature as a whole unanimously adopted similar resolutions and added an appeal to other States to adopt the measure as one tending toward the amelioration of all evil social conditions. The text of the resolution and the unsolicited expressions of some of Wyoming's most representative men are herewith given:

WYOMING LEGISLATURE—The exercise of the franchise by women has greatly helped to banish crime and pauperism in the State. It has made elections peaceable, helped good government, and given us a remarkable degree of civilization and public order. We call attention with pride to the fact that after twenty-five years of woman suffrage there is not a county poorhouse in Wyoming, our prisons are nearly empty, and crime, except as it is committed by strangers, is practically unknown. As a result of our experience, we call upon all civilized states to give the vote to women.

HON. JOSEPH M. CAREY, Governor of Wyoming—It is only a question of time when the women of all States in the Union will be voting. We have had women suffrage on trial in Wyoming for forty-three years, and it is an unqualified success. It undoubtedly adds greatly to woman's power and opportunity for good.

HON. BRYANT B. BROOKS, Former Governor of Wyoming.—Woman suffrage has stood the test of forty-three years' experiment in Wyoming, and has proved successful and beneficial. Women vote as freely as men, politics are discussed around the fireside instead of in the saloon, and, consequently, with better results.

HON. FRANCIS E. WARREN, U. S. Senator from Wyoming—Our women are intelligently active in public affairs, but, withal, as womanly and as devoted to home and family as their sisters in States where women do not vote. Woman suffrage has elevated public morals and been a material factor in maintaining the local good government we enjoy.

HON. CLARENCE D. CLARK, U. S. Senator from Wyoming—Woman suffrage worked with wonderfully good results while the territorial form of government lasted, and when Wyoming became a State was put into the constitution. So far as I am informed, nobody who has the interest of the State at heart has ever desired or suggested a change.

HON. F. W. MONDELL, U. S. Representative from Wyoming—In the protection of the home and the family relation, of childhood and womanhood; in the guardianship of individual rights; in the protection of labor; in the matter of education; in the safeguarding of public health and morals; in the prevention of fraud; in the equal distribution of the burdens of government; in the discouragement and punishment of crime Wyoming stands well abreast with the most enlightened and progressive States of the Union * * * * As in the accomplishment of all these things the women of our State have been a potent factor, we are glad to bear witness of the fact for the honor of womanhood everywhere and especially in those benighted regions which would deny the better half of mankind the privilege of the ballot.

HON. CHARLES N. POTTER, Chief Justice of Wyoming—Any kind of suffrage conferred on woman is an advance, because it disposes of the stock argument that voting tends to destroy domestic tastes, the home and woman's sphere. I speak with absolute authority in regard to my own State, and I say that the statement that woman suffrage destroys home life is absolutely false. It has always acted admirably in Wyoming, where women vote relatively in the same proportion as men. My wife and I have voted side by side for thirty-six years, and she is just as womanly, just as ladylike as ever, and I am inclined to think a little more so.

HON. H. V. S. GROESBECK, Former Chief Justice of Wyoming—The influence of women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality.

HON. JOHN W. KINGMAN, Late Judge of the United States Supreme Court—The presence of women has enabled the courts to prosecute and convict many crimes which until now have gone unpunished. As long as men alone composed the juries, the courts were impotent to enforce laws against debauch and disorder in all its forms, but a few women at each session soon put an end to this state of affairs.

DR. GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD, Librarian, State University of Wyoming—If the men of the Wyoming Legislature find out that the women want a bill introduced, they usually introduce it as quickly as they can. It may be because they recognize women as a great factor in the elections, but from personal observation I should say that they have confidence in the women's judgment and are glad to co-operate. Many of the best measures enacted by our Legislature are unquestionably due to women's work and influence.

If you want further information on the history and results of Woman Suffrage
SEND TWO-CENT STAMP FOR FREE CATALOG OF LITERATURE

Address
National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 Fifth Avenue **New York City**

1914

[proof Jan 12, 1914]

REPORT

OF THE

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

FOR THE YEAR 1914

WITH OUTLINE OF CONGRESSIONAL WORK

DURING THE PRECEDING YEAR



20 CENTS PER COPY

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Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union

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Foreword

JANUARY, 1915, marks the close of the first year's work by the Congressional Union as an independent organization. In presenting to our contributors the report of the year we give also a survey of the Congressional work of the preceding year as conducted through the joint efforts of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and of the Congressional Union. The two years' work are so intimately related that they can hardly be considered separately.

The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association consisted, during 1913, of Miss Alice Paul, Chairman; Miss Lucy Burns, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Mary Beard, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis. The work of this committee was supported and financed, from April, 1913, by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, an organization which was established to aid the Committee in its work for the National Suffrage Amendment.

The first practical political work in recent times at the National Capital began on January 2, 1913, when the now familiar headquarters at 1420 F Street were established. The opening of the humble basement office was an historic event. It marked a new stage in the suffrage movement.

Agitation for the amendment to the National Constitution had practically ceased after Susan B. Anthony had been compelled to give up the Washington work. No headquarters had been maintained by the various Congressional Committees of the National Suffrage Association and their activity had been limited to the arrangement of one formal hearing before the Senate and House Committees of each Congress. The suffrage amendment had never, in the history of the country, been brought to a vote in the National House of Representatives, and had only once, in 1887, been voted upon in the Senate. It had not received a favorable report from the Committee in either House since 1892, and had not received a report of any kind since 1896. Suffrage had not been debated on the floor of either House since 1887. Congress was scarcely aware of the existence of a movement for a National Amendment.

In the Western States, however, woman suffrage had been slowly making headway. With the winning of Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona in November, 1912, the movement became a matter of moment in the national field, for these victories meant that one-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House and one-sixth of the electoral vote then came from suffrage States. It was instantly seen that, as a result of this changed situation, the moment had come to increase the vigor of the work for the National Amendment. The first step was the opening of permanent offices at the Capital.

The Year 1913

Headquarters Opened

MRS. WILLIAM KENT, Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association during 1912, presided at the formal opening of the headquarters and introduced Miss Paul, the newly appointed Chairman. A plan for practical work with Congress was laid before the suffragists of the District and their support was at once enlisted in a campaign which has continued with ever-increasing vigor since that time.

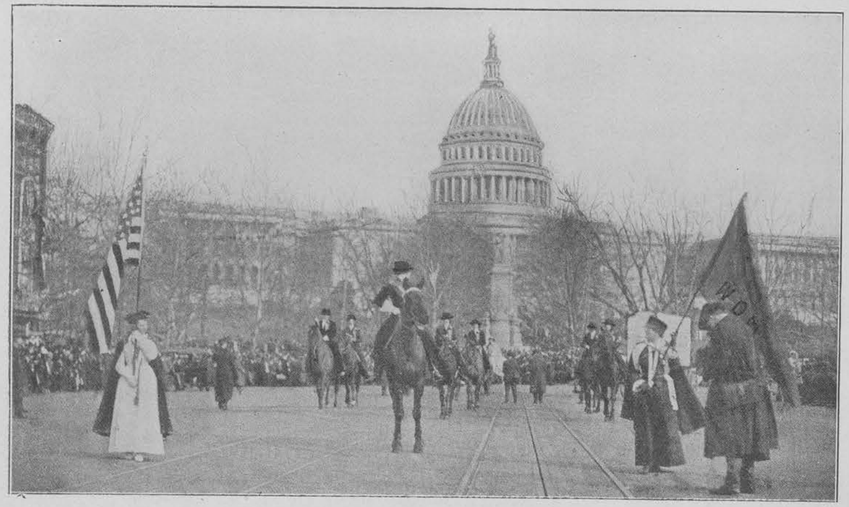
Demonstration on Eve of Inauguration of New Administration

EFFORT was first centered on demonstrating in unmistakable terms to the incoming Administration and Congress the great strength of the movement for a national suffrage amendment. To this end a procession of approximately eight thousand women was organized, which, on the day preceding the Inauguration, marched from the Capitol up Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House, and ended in a mass meeting at the Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This demonstration,

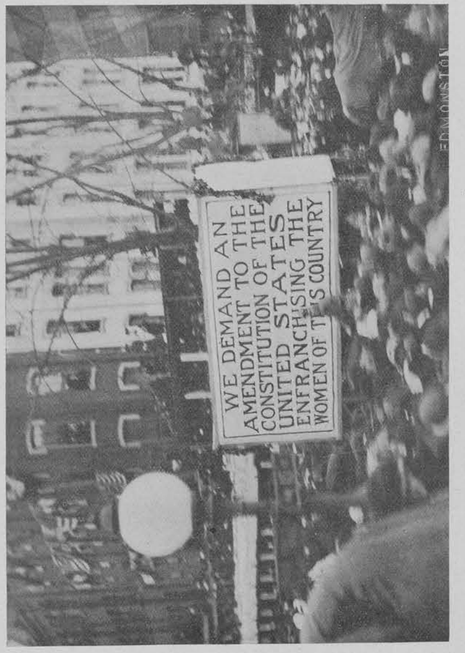
significant for the beauty of its pageantry and its allegorical features, as well as for its numbers, stirred Washington deeply.

The tremendous interest aroused was intensified by the treatment which the procession received in consequence of the lack of proper police management. Notwithstanding the issuing of the permit for the procession, which carried with it the right to the street, the police allowed the throngs bent on seeing the demonstration so to fill the streets as to make them almost impassable for the marchers. The subsequent investigation by a committee of the United States Senate into this action by the police department kept the suffrage procession in the minds of the public for many weeks.

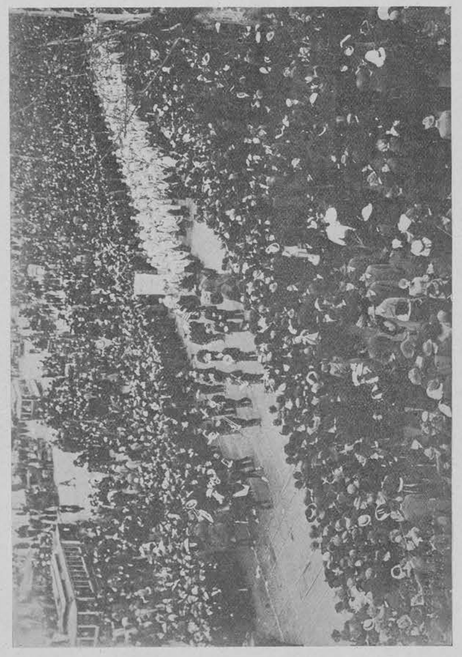
The demonstration excited an interest which almost overshadowed that in the Inauguration itself. President Wilson and every member of the Sixty-third Congress entered upon his term of office fully informed upon one point at least,—that there was a deep and widespread demand for an amendment to the National Constitution enfranchising women.



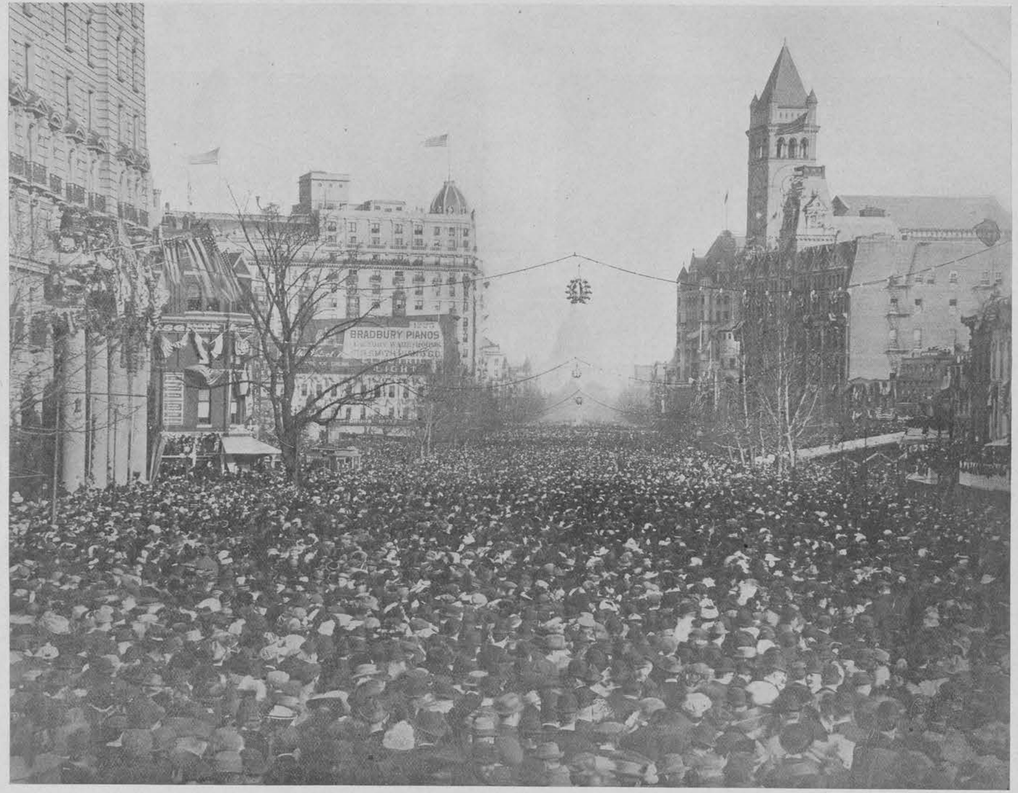
SUFFRAGE PROCESSION, MARCH 3, 1913, WASHINGTON, D. C.
Head of Procession Starting from the Capitol



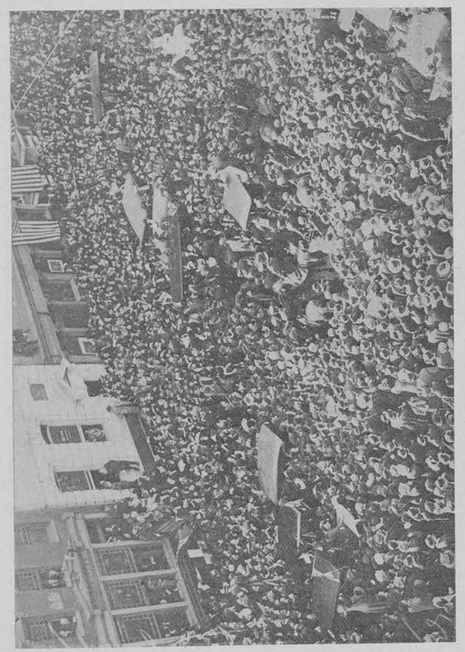
The Amendment Float at Head of Procession



The Procession Starting



Pennsylvania Avenue When the Suffrage Procession Entered It on Its March from the Capitol



One of the Open-Air Meetings in Front of Suffrage Headquarters, 1420 F Street, Inauguration Week

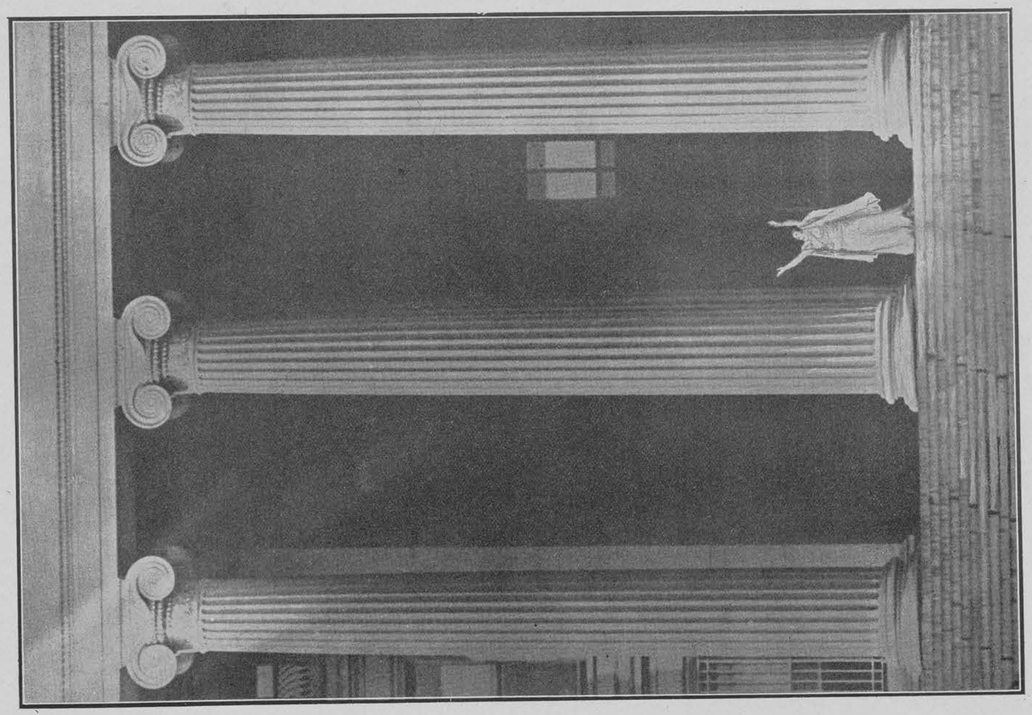


Tableau on Treasury Steps, Produced by Hazel Mackaye as Part of Suffrage Demonstration, on Eve of President Wilson's Inauguration



SCENE FROM SUFFRAGE TABLEAU ON TREASURY STEPS

Liberty Dance, Florence Fleming Noyes in Foreground



APPEAL FOR FREEDOM

Scene from Tableau on Treasury Steps

Effort to Secure Support of the President

IMMEDIATELY following the Inauguration, the President announced that a special session of Congress would be called on April 7, 1913. The Congressional Committee determined to bring to the President's attention the fact that there was no subject more urgently demanding treatment in this session than that of woman suffrage. Three deputations were thereupon organized which asked President Wilson to recommend the Federal Amendment in his message convening the special session.

The first deputation, led by Miss Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Committee, waited upon the President on March 17th. This was the first suffrage deputation which had ever appeared before a President of the United States, though previous Presidents had been interviewed by individual suffragists. Mr. Wilson replied that the subject would receive his most careful consideration.

After waiting for him to consider the subject, a second deputation was organized, representing the College Equal Suffrage League, and led by Miss Elsie Hill, President of the District of Columbia Branch of the National College Equal Suffrage League. To this deputation the President stated that the special session would be so occupied with the tariff and currency that the suffrage measure could not be considered.

Three days later, on March 31st, a deputation of influential members of the National Council of Women Voters, under the leadership of Dr. Cora Smith King, of Seattle, Washington, Treasurer of the Council, went to the President. In the delegation were Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, wife of the Representative from Wyoming; Mrs. John E. Raker, wife of the Representative from California; Mrs. Henry F. Ashurst, wife of the Senator from Arizona; Mrs. William H. Thompson, wife of the Senator from Kansas; Mrs. Anne Pitzer, sister-in-law of the present Speaker of the House; Mrs. Charles Morton, of Washington, sister-in-law of the Senator from that State; and Mrs. Nicholas J. Sinnott, wife of the Representative from Oregon. They told the President of the interest of the women voters, numbering approximately four million, in the proposed suffrage amendment, and again asked that he recommend it in his message. His reply was the same as to the college women.

Effort to Arouse Suffragists of the Country in Support of the Amendment

IN the meantime, the Congressional Committee had sent word to suffragists in every part of the United States that a suffrage amendment would be introduced in the special session and laid before them the necessity of urging the President to give his endorsement to suffrage in his forthcoming message, and the further necessity of asking their Representatives in Congress to support it when introduced. As a result, many letters from the remotest corners of the country found their way to the National Capital.

Suffrage Committee Endorsed by Progressives

BESIDES endeavoring to secure support for the Suffrage Amendment from the President, the Congressional Committee concentrated on preliminary work with the incoming members of Congress. As a result of this effort, the Progressive Caucus, which met before the new Congress assembled, gave its unqualified endorsement to the proposal to create a Woman Suffrage Committee in the House of Representatives, similar to the one in the Senate, in order that the suffrage question might receive full consideration instead of being sent to the Judiciary Committee, long known as the graveyard of the House. The Democratic members of the House were canvassed and urged to take similar action. The Democratic Caucus, however, entirely ignored the question.

Demonstration at Opening of Congress

THE opening day of the special session of the Sixty-third Congress, April 7, 1913, was marked by the second great demonstration in support of the National Amendment. Delegates from each of the 435 Congressional Districts in the United States assembled at Washington, bringing petitions from the men and women of their districts, asking for the passage of the Amendment. After a stirring mass meeting voicing the demand of women from every part of the land for their enfranchisement, the delegates marched, each behind her State banner, to the doors of Congress. The procession was greeted on the steps of the Capitol by Representative J. W. Bryan of Washington State, who welcomed the petitioners in a speech pledging his support to their cause. He then led the delegation into the Rotunda, where a long receiving line of members of Congress repeated his welcome. The suffragists then took their places in galleries in the Senate and House, which had been set aside for them, and watched the presentation of the petitions.

The Amendment Introduced in Congress

IMMEDIATELY after the petitions were presented, Representative Mondell (Republican) of Wyoming, and Senator Chamberlain (Democrat) of Oregon, introduced the now famous amendment, which, through the many successive demonstrations in its behalf, has become known in the furthermost parts of the country. The resolution was referred in the Senate to the Woman Suffrage Committee, and in the House to the Judiciary.

Resolutions Creating a Suffrage Committee Introduced in the House

ON the same day Representatives Raker (Democrat) of California, Taylor (Democrat) of Colorado, and Hayden (Democrat) of Arizona, introduced resolutions to create in the House of Representatives a Woman Suffrage Committee similar to that in the Senate.

Majority Suffrage Committee Created in Senate

SIGNIFICANT progress was made in the Senate at this time in the creation of a Majority Committee on Woman Suffrage. For many years there had been a Woman Suffrage Committee in the Senate, but as it was merely a minority committee,—that is, one whose chairman belonged to the minority party, its existence had been purely nominal. Its promotion to a majority committee was a decided gain and was an indication of the importance which the suffrage question had attained in the National Senate.



Delegates Bringing Petitions to Congress, April 7, 1913

Organization of the Congressional Union

SHORTLY after this event, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage was formed by the Congressional Committee, with the approval of the President of the National Association. The Union was designed to support the Congressional Committee in its work for the Federal amendment. Four months' experience had convinced the committee that the work of securing that amendment required much greater effort than could be given by a small committee of five women working alone. The Congressional Committee had been appointed on the understanding that it would not receive any financial help from the National. The various State associations composing the National were engrossed in their State campaigns, so that little could be expected from them in the way of personal service or financial aid. When individuals were appealed to, it was usually found that they also were giving their time and service to the particular State in which they lived. It was believed, therefore, that the passage of the amendment would be helped by the formation of a society which would have the national work as its sole object. The Congressional Committee acted as the Executive Committee of the Union. Throughout the year the Union was a great aid in sustaining, financing and in every way making possible the work of the Committee. The Union grew rapidly and was later admitted as an auxiliary to the National Association.

Effort to Secure Action from Senate Committee

NOW that the suffrage resolution was before committees in both Houses, effort was first devoted to securing action from the Senate Committee. A hearing was arranged before the Committee, at which Dr. Anna Shaw, President of the National Association, presided. In addition to the public hearing, the members of the Senate Committee were interviewed; and suffragists the country over were circularized with letters informing them that the resolution was before the Senate Committee, and asking them to write to this Committee urging a favorable report.

Senate Committee Makes Favorable Report

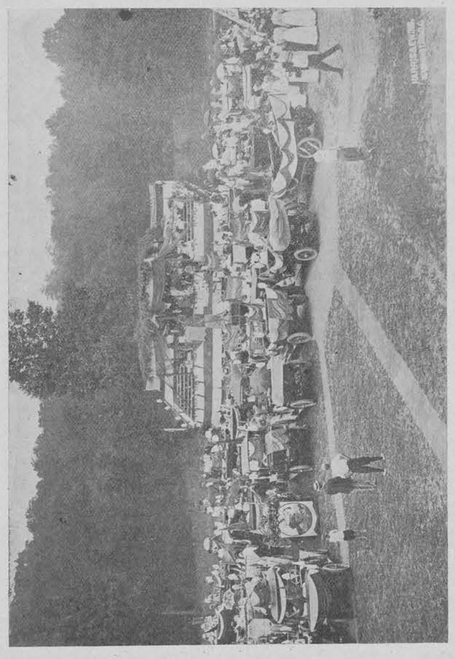
ON June 13, 1913, this constant work bore fruit in the Senate Committee's favorable report upon the suffrage resolution,—the first favorable report in twenty-one years. This was indeed a political triumph.

The vote by the Senate Committee to make this report had taken place on May 14, but it was not until after repeated solicitations from Suffragists that the report was made to the Senate. Senator Ashurst of Arizona, in presenting the report on behalf of the Committee, spoke at length in favor of the amendment.

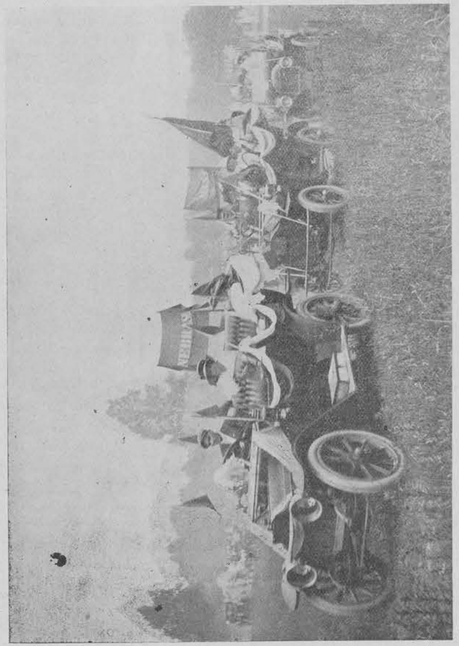
Demonstration in Support of Amendment Pending in Senate

THE measure was now on the Senate Calendar and every endeavor was therefore made to show the Senate the widespread support which it commanded. A petition addressed to the Senate asking for the passage of the amendment was circulated in every State in the Union and thousands of signatures were speedily obtained. The months of June and July were spent in collecting these petitions and bringing them to Washington. Their arrival at the Capital was the occasion for the third great demonstration on behalf of the National Amendment,—that of July 31, 1913. The petitioners came from every State, and they came in every conceivable way,—some by train, some by motor, and some by caravan, holding meetings and collecting signatures to the great petition in the districts through which they passed.

Among the notable delegations was that from New Jersey, led by the State President, Mrs. E. F. Feickert, and by a number of the State officers and the President of the New Jersey Men's League for Woman Suffrage, Mr. Champlain Riley. The delegation came in several motors, holding meetings and collecting petitions during the entire course of the trip. From Massachusetts came two large groups, one under the leadership of Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald, Secretary of the Woman's Political Union of Massachusetts, and one under Mrs. Glendower Evans and Miss Margaret Foley of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Both parties came by motor, holding enthusiastic meetings, at which many signatures were



Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate Welcoming the Pilgrimages on Their Arrival at Washington



State Delegations Starting in Procession for the Capitol After Welcome From the Senate Committee

gathered. Ohio sent a delegation under the leadership of Miss Doris Stevens, Secretary of the Dayton (Ohio) Suffrage League. From Montana came Miss Jeannette Rankin, President of the Suffrage League of that State, who on her trip held eleven meetings in her home State and nineteen in North Dakota, besides addressing large audiences in St. Paul, Chicago and Indianapolis, collecting many signatures to the petitions which she carried, and spreading far and wide the interest in the National Amendment. The National American Woman Suffrage Association sent an automobile party which started from the National Headquarters in New York and held meetings throughout its journey to Washington. In the party were Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, Corresponding Secretary of the National Association; Mrs. Frances Maule Bjorkman, its Literature Chairman; Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, auditor of the same Association; Miss Helen Todd, and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr.

All the delegations converged just outside of Washington in the little town of Hyattsville. There on the morning of the last day of July they were met and welcomed by the members of the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate, who had motored out to Hyattsville for the occasion, and by Miss Alice Paul, speaking on behalf of the Congressional Committee and the Congressional Union. Mrs. Dennett replied for the delegates, and accepted the key of the town from the Mayor. Mr. Martin Williams, reading clerk of the House of Representatives, announced the members of the delegations as they arrived in their several motors before the grandstand where the receiving party was stationed. Speeches of welcome were made on behalf of the Suffrage Committee by Senator Clapp (Republican) of Minnesota, Senator Owen (Democrat) of Oklahoma, Senator Jones (Republican) of Washington, Senator Ashurst (Democrat) of Arizona, and Senator Chamberlain (Democrat) of Oregon, the author of the bill.

A procession then formed, led by the automobiles carrying the members of the Senate Committee. The long line of cars, gay with fluttering flags and pennants, each bearing the banner of its State delegation, rolled down the shady lane from Hyattsville into the old Bunker Hill road to the Capitol.

Suffrage Discussion in Senate

ON reaching the Capitol Building, the petitions were sent in to the various Senators. Twenty-two Senators, in presenting the petitions, delivered speeches in favor of the national amendment. Three spoke against it. For the first time since 1887 suffrage was actually debated in Congress. The day had made history.

Effort to Show Interest of Women Voters in the Amendment

FOLLOWING the great July demonstration, the Congressional Committee and Congressional Union next set out to convince Congress of the keen interest felt by the women voters of the West, numbering approximately four million, in the Amendment. For this purpose a Convention of the National Council of Women Voters was held in Washington on August 13th, 14th and 15th, Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, National President of the Council, and Miss Jane Addams, National Vice-President, presiding. Upon a motion by Miss Addams, the Council passed a resolution strongly endorsing the Amendment then pending in Congress. The resolution stated:

"Whereas, at the present time one-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House and one-sixth of the electoral vote comes from equal suffrage States; and

"Whereas, as a result of this political strength in Congress, due to the fact that four million women of the United States are now enfranchised, there is great hope of the passage in the near future of the Federal suffrage amendment; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Council of Women Voters concentrate its efforts upon the support of this Federal amendment."

A hearing was given the Council (August 14) by the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives on the question of creating a suffrage committee in the House.

The convention ended in a mass meeting at the Belasco Theatre, which, though it was midsummer, was crowded to the doors. Here the insistent demand of the women voters for immediate action by Congress on the Amendment was again repeated. The platform at the meeting was filled with Congressmen from suffrage States who supported the plea made on behalf of the women voters by Miss Addams, Mrs. De Voe, Miss Mary McDowell, Miss Helen Todd and Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs.

More than any other one thing could have done, this convention brought home to Congress the fact that the suffrage question had graduated from a theory into a hard reality with which practical politicians must deal

Daily Work With Congress

IN addition to the July 31st demonstration and the convention of women voters in August, a constant series of deputations to the members of the Senate from their own constituencies was organized, demonstrating to the Senators that the interest in the National Amendment was very much alive in their own districts.

Indeed, from the hour in which the President took the oath of office, Congress and the Administration had constantly before it the pressing and widespread demand of suffragists the country over for the passage of the Constitutional Amendment. That the processions, deputations, hearings, pilgrimages and petitions, in addition to hundreds of public meetings, many of them addressed by men and women of achievement, organized by the Washington headquarters, were making an impression upon Congress was evidenced by the fact that even in the crowded days of the extra session more time was devoted to the woman suffrage question than ever before.

The speech of Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington, delivered in the Senate September 18, 1913, in which he urged that the Suffrage Resolution be passed without further delay, expressed the growing sentiment in the Senate in favor of the measure.

The situation in the House was also developing favorably, inasmuch as a number of the former opponents of the Resolution now declared their intention to support it when it should come before them.

Effort to Secure Support of President in the Regular Session

IN the meantime the tariff and currency had finally been disposed of. Suffragists hoped, therefore, that the President would feel that he could recommend the Suffrage Amendment to the new Congress when it convened in December. In order to present the matter to him in the strongest possible way, a deputation of women from his own State of New Jersey was organized. This deputation, seventy-three strong, led by the presidents of the three suffrage organizations of the State—Mrs. Mina Van Winkle, Mrs. E. F. Feickert and Mrs. Harry Campton—came to Washington in the middle of November.

From the time of its arrival on Saturday afternoon, November 15th, until Monday morning, the New Jersey delegation tried, through its own officers, and the personal efforts of Representative McCoy of New Jersey, to arrange for an appointment at the White House. At 10 o'clock Monday morning, Miss Alice Paul telephoned the Executive Office that, having tried in vain to learn at what hour it would suit the con-



New Jersey Delegation Arriving at Union Station, Washington

venience of the President to receive them, the members of the delegation were on their way to the White House. They would wait, she added, until the President was ready to see them or definitely refused to do so.

Much agitated, the clerk at the Executive Offices declared that it would be utterly impossible to see the President without an appointment. Never, she was earnestly assured, had such a thing been done. Representative McCoy, calling up the Headquarters to report his failure to secure an appointment, added his own vehement protest against the idea of the delegation proceeding to the White House without the usual official preliminaries, only to be met with the single statement: "The delegation has already started."

Through Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue the seventy-three New Jersey women marched in double file, past the Treasury Department, and into the White House grounds. At the gate two guards in uniform saluted and stood aside, and at the door of the Executive Office an attendant urbanely requested them to wait while Mrs. Feickert, Mrs. Van Winkle and Mrs. Campton should be presented first to the President by Secretary Tumulty.

And forthwith, the request for his support of the pending Constitutional Amendment enfranchising women was presented to the President by the women of his home State. President Wilson replied:

"I am pleased, indeed, to greet you and your adherents here, and I will say to you that I was talking only yesterday with several members of Congress in regard to a Suffrage Committee in the House. The subject is one in which I am deeply interested and you may rest assured that I will give it my earnest attention."

The Suffragist Established

A HIGHLY important step was taken at this time in establishing the *Suffragist* as the official weekly organ of the Congressional Union. The first issue appeared November 15th. The aim of the *Suffragist* was to give first-hand knowledge of the Congressional situation in order to arouse and extend the interest in Federal work on the part of suffragists and to unite them in its support.

Convention of National American Woman Suffrage Association Calls for Passage of Amendment

THE annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was held at Washington during the opening week of the regular session of Congress, December, 1913, in order to demonstrate to Congress, once again, the earnestness of the demand for the Amendment. The Congressional Committee and the Congressional Union entertained and financed the convention.

The convention opened with a mass meeting at the Columbia Theatre, at which resolutions were adopted calling upon the National Administration for action on the Amendment. Dr. Anna Shaw presided, and Miss Jane Addams and Senator Helen Ring Robinson were the principal speakers.

At the opening evening meeting of the convention, Miss Lucy Burns, Vice-Chairman of the Congressional Committee and of the Congressional Union, said in her speech:

"The National American Woman Suffrage Association is assembled in Washington to ask the Democratic Party to enfranchise the women of America.

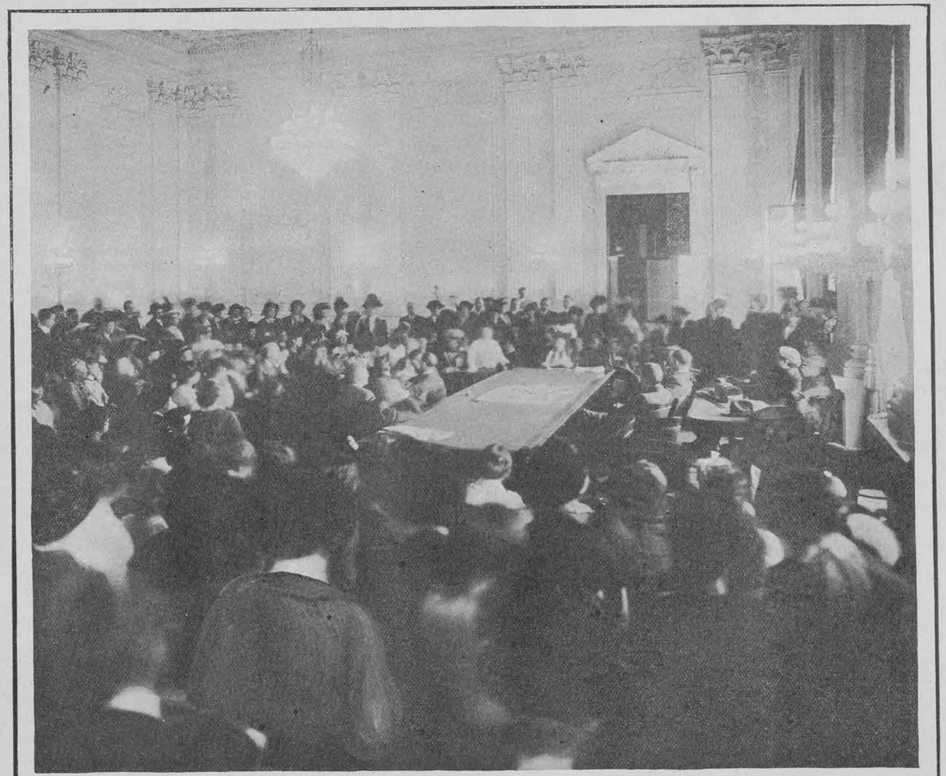
"Rarely in the history of the country has a party been more powerful than the Democratic Party is today. It controls the Executive Office, the Senate and more than two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives. It is in position to give us effective and immediate help.

"We ask the Democrats to take action now. Those who hold power are responsible to the country for the use of it. They are responsible not only for what they do, but for what they do not do. Inaction establishes just as clear a record as does a policy of open hostility.

"We have in our hands today not only the weapon of a just cause; we have the support of ten enfranchised States—States comprising one-fifth of the United States Senate, one-seventh of the House of Representatives, and one-sixth of the electoral vote. More than 3,600,000 women have a vote in Presidential elections. It is unthinkable that a national government which represents women, and which appeals periodically to the suffrages of women, should ignore the issue of their right to political freedom.

"We cannot wait until after the passage of scheduled Administration reforms. These reforms which affect women should not be enacted without the consent of women. Congress is free to take action on our question in the present session. We ask the Administration to support the Woman Suffrage Amendment in Congress with its whole strength."

"More than one thousand women, representing every State in the Union, heard Miss Burns," said the *New York World* of December 1st, from which the above quotation is made, "and they applauded every one of her 'warnings' to the Democratic Party."



Hearing Before the Rules Committee of the House, December 4, 1913, on Creating a Suffrage Committee, Mrs. John Rogers Speaking

Second Hearing Before Rules Committee

ON December 4, 1913, a second hearing was held before the Rules Committee on the creation of a Woman Suffrage Committee in the House. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper reminded the Rules Committee at the hearing that in nine States and one Territory women were fully enfranchised, and that nearly four million women were able to vote in a Presidential election. Mrs. Mary Beard showed by an analysis of the vote which sent President Wilson to the White House that the Democratic strength was already threatened and that there was need for it to espouse, for its own sake, the cause of Woman Suffrage.

Fifth Deputation to the President

THE President's message to Congress, on December 2d, had failed to make any mention whatever of the Suffrage Amendment. In consequence, a committee representing each State in the Union was appointed by the Convention to wait upon the President and protest against this omission from his message. This deputation was received on December 8th. Dr. Anna Shaw acted as spokesman. Replying to her, the President stated that he could take no action because suffrage was not in the Democratic platform. He was, to quote his own words, "the spokesman of a party." "I am not at liberty," he said, "to urge upon Congress in messages policies which have not had the organic consideration of those for whom I am spokesman. I am by my own principles shut out, in the language of the street, from 'starting' anything. I have to confine myself to those things which have been embodied as promises to the people at an election."

This visit to the President completed the principal political work of the year 1913 on the part of the Congressional Committee and the Congressional Union.

General Work

BESIDES the work outlined above, the Committee and the Union carried on a constant series of meetings in Washington and in different parts of the country to arouse public sentiment in behalf of the Amendment. Seven large mass meetings, exclusive of those during the Convention, were held at Washington for this purpose. An uninterrupted series of smaller indoor and outdoor meetings, numbering frequently from five to ten a day, also took place, so that members of Congress were constantly reminded of the suffrage question.

Lectures, receptions, tableaux, benefits, teas and a suffrage school were held, and in every way the usual suffrage activities were pursued in vigorous fashion.

Literature and Press Work

DURING the year approximately 120,000 pieces of literature dealing with the National Amendment were printed and distributed. A press bureau was maintained, under a salaried chairman, who furnished press material to the local bureaus, the Washington correspondents of newspapers throughout the country and all the telegraphic bureaus in Washington. In this way the news of the Federal Amendment was spread to the remotest corner of the United States. The opportunity arising from Washington's position as one of the greatest publicity centers of the world was utilized to the utmost.

Formation of Men's League

A DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA Branch of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage was organized, with General Anson Mills as temporary and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley as permanent chairman. The League is unique among suffrage organizations in that it is composed largely of Congressmen. It also numbers in its membership prominent newspaper correspondents, who are able, through their newspaper connections, to make their support of the National Amendment felt in the most distant States.

Work in the Constituencies

IN addition to the work at Washington, every effort was made to extend interest in the Amendment in the constituencies of the Congressmen. To that end a summer campaign was carried on under Miss Edith Marsden and Miss Mabel Vernon, covering the resort regions of New Jersey, Long Island and Rhode Island.

Permanent headquarters under Miss Vernon were established in Delaware in September, 1913, the weakness of the organized suffrage movement in that State having made it hitherto impossible to bring pressure to bear upon Delaware Congressmen.

The campaign extended as far as North Carolina, where at that time no suffrage organization was in existence. Miss Lucy Burns spoke in June before the North Carolina Commission on Constitutional Amendments, which was then deliberating on amendments to the State Constitution, and urged upon it the favorable consideration of the woman suffrage question. A member of the Union, Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, also spent a month during the summer of 1913 in speaking and otherwise arousing suffrage interest in North Carolina, and formed while there the first suffrage league in the State. As a result of this effort it has been possible since that time to bring organized pressure to bear upon North Carolina Representatives in Congress.

$27,000.00 Raised

THE total work of the year 1913 involved an expenditure of over twenty-seven thousand dollars. All of this was raised by the Washington Headquarters. The National Association and its Congressional Committee during the year 1912 had spent only ten dollars on work for the Federal Amendment. Nothing could show more conclusively the increased vigor of the agitation for the Amendment during 1913.

Summary of Work

THE year's work included, to summarize it briefly, the introduction of the measure in both Houses of Congress; the organization in its behalf of three great demonstrations, five deputations to the President, a hearing before the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, two hearings before the House Rules Committee, pilgrimages coming from all parts of the country and meeting in Washington for the presentation to the Senate of a petition of approximately two hundred thousand names; the maintenance at Washington of a group of workers constantly occupied in interviewing Congressmen, organizing deputations to them and in gathering and chronicling information about them; local arrangements for and entertainment of two suffrage conventions; a summer campaign in the constituencies of members of Congress; the organizing of the first suffrage society in North Carolina; the establishing of permanent headquarters in Delaware; the establishing and maintenance of a press bureau under a salaried press chairman for the spreading of Federal Amendment news; the printing and distribution of approximately 120,000 pieces of literature on the Amendment; the establishing of a weekly paper, the *Suffragist*, as a means of further extending interest in the National work; the organizing at the Capital of seven theatre meetings, exclusive of those held during the Conventions; the constant holding of small indoor and outdoor meetings; the producing of a suffrage allegory on the Treasury steps; the giving of two suffrage plays; the organizing of a benefit and a luncheon for the purpose of raising funds; the giving of a reception, a luncheon and two banquets in connection with different political happenings at the Capitol; the organization of a two-weeks' suffrage school for the training of suffrage workers; the participation in various activities of other suffrage societies, such as the sending of a delegation to the New York and the Baltimore processions, and the giving of a suffrage play in Baltimore for the benefit of one of the Maryland Suffrage leagues; the organization in the District of Columbia of a Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and the raising of over $27,000.

Summary of Results

THE year was significant because of the creation for the first time in the history of the country of a powerful majority committee in the Senate to consider the suffrage question; because of the prolonged and serious discussion of the Amendment in Congress for the first time since 1887; because of the reporting of the Amendment out of committee in the Senate for the first time since 1892; and because of the holding, for the first time in history, of a Congressional Caucus on the suffrage question.

Most of all was the year's work significant because it focused the eyes of the people, suffragists and non-suffragists, upon the National Amendment. At the beginning of the year there was no interest in work with Congress. It was considered hopeless. At the close of the year it had become a practical political matter. Suffrage had entered the national field to stay.

The Year 1914

The Union Becomes An Independent Organization

AT the beginning of 1914, the membership of the Congressional Committee was changed by the National Association, though three members, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Mary Beard and Miss Alice Paul, were asked to serve again, and Miss Burns was offered the chairmanship. All three declined reappointment, but continued their work with the Congressional Union.

The original Congressional Committee of 1913 continued during 1914 as the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union. The latter Committee was increased at this time by the addition of Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent of California, who, during 1912, had been chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Miss Elsie Hill, daughter of former Representative Hill of Connecticut and herself President of the College Equal Suffrage League of the District of Columbia; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, writer, and the wife of the eminent newspaper correspondent; and Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, President of the Just Government League of Maryland. Shortly afterwards, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, President of the Political Equality League of New York, also joined the Executive Committee. With these additions the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union is the same today as originally formed two years ago, when the present national campaign was instituted.

Early in the year the Union resigned from the National American Woman Suffrage Association because of the new clause in the Constitution of the National imposing a 5 per cent tax in dues upon the budget of an affiliated branch. The Union, with its large budget, would have had to pay such a heavy tax as seriously to cripple its work. The Union offered, however, to remain a branch of the National, paying one hundred dollars dues, under another class of membership provided for in the National Constitution. This proposal was refused by the National, and the Union, therefore, became an independent organization.

Plans for the Year

THE year opened with a meeting at the home of Mrs. William Kent on the anniversary of the establishing of headquarters a year before. At this meeting, at which the speakers were Mrs. Kent, Mrs. Hooker and Miss Paul, a survey was given of the previous year's work and plans were submitted for the coming year. Among them was the plan for the nation-wide demonstration on May 2d, in support of the Federal amendment, to be followed on May 9th by a great demonstration in Washington, at which the resolutions passed at the May 2d demonstrations all over the country would be presented to Congress. The plan for the appeal to the women voters of the West for political action in support of the Constitutional Amendment, if that amendment had not been passed before the next election, was also presented. Nine thousand dollars was enthusiastically pledged on the spot for these undertakings.

Rules Committee Refuses to Report Resolution Creating Suffrage Committee

THE first political event of the year was the meeting of the House Rules Committee to consider the creation of a Suffrage Committee. This proposal had been before the Rules Committee since April 7, 1913, and had been the subject of two hearings arranged by the Congressional Union. The Democratic members of the Rules Committee, constituting a majority of the Committee, first met apart from their Republican and Progressive colleagues and by a vote of 4 to 3 decided against the proposal. They then went through the form of a meeting with the Republican and Progressive members, on January 24th, at which meeting the resolution creating the suffrage committee was lost by a vote of 4 to 4. This result had been a foregone conclusion after the adverse decision by the Democratic members. Representative Pou of North Carolina (Democrat), who had voted in the meeting of the Democratic members of the Committee in favor of the Suffrage Committee, changed his vote in the full committee in obedience to the decision of the majority of his colleagues, and voted against the resolution. The only Democrat who voted for the resolution in the full committee was Representative Foster of Illinois,

whose vote was not needed in order to insure its defeat. The resolution was proposed by Representative Campbell of Kansas (Republican) and was supported by all Republicans present and by the one Progressive member.

Democratic Caucus on Suffrage

IMMEDIATELY after the defeat of the resolution in the Rules Committee, the Congressional Union, realizing that the final power with regard to Congressional action was with the Democratic Caucus, determined to appeal to that Caucus to overturn the decision of the Rules Committee, as made through the Democratic majority on the Committee. The Union felt that by this course it would either secure action or would make it perfectly clear who was responsible for the blocking of that action. The necessary signatures were therefore secured to a petition calling for the Democratic Caucus of the House to take up the question of the Suffrage Committee, and on February 3, 1914, the Caucus met to consider the subject. This was the first time in the history of the country that either of the two great political parties had ever caucused on woman suffrage, though the Progressives, as already stated, had caucused on the question earlier in this same Congress.

The Democratic Party was thus confronted with the necessity of ordering the Rules Committee, which it controlled, to give a favorable report to the House on the rule creating a Suffrage Committee or to stand clearly revealed, through the action of its party caucus, as responsible for the adverse action of the Rules Committee.

Representative Raker of California offered in the caucus the resolution providing for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage. Representative Heflin of Alabama, a pronounced anti-suffragist, proposed to substitute for it the following resolution: "Resolved, that the question of woman suffrage is a State and not a Federal question." By a vote of 123 to 57 the Caucus adopted Mr. Heflin's substitute, thus refusing to create a Suffrage Committee.

The Caucus decision showed to the world the responsibility of the Democratic Party as a whole for the blocking of the proposal to create a Suffrage Committee.

This responsibility was admitted by Majority Leader Underwood on the floor of the House the next day. He stated: "The Democratic Party last night took the distinctive position that it was not in favor of this legislation, because it was in favor of the States controlling the question of suffrage. * * * I not only said I was opposed to it, but I said the Party on this side of the Chamber was opposed to it, and the Party that has control of the legislation in Congress certainly has the right openly and above board to say that it will not support a measure if it is not in accordance with its principles."—(Congressional Record, Feb. 4, 1914.)

Campaign to Secure Support by Judiciary Committee

KNOWING that the action of the Democratic majority on the Rules Committee and the Democratic majority in the House in opposing the creation of a Suffrage Committee made it impossible to hope for the immediate creation of such a Committee, the Congressional Union turned at once to work for the Suffrage Amendment itself. This Amendment had been before the Judiciary Committee since April 7, 1913, when it had been introduced by Representative Mondell. The Union asked for a hearing on Mr. Mondell's resolution before the Judiciary Committee, and the date of March 3, 1914, was secured for that purpose.

Working Women Appeal to President to Support the Amendment

IN the meantime another effort was made to induce President Wilson to give the measure his support. A deputation of working women was organized, which, on February 2, 1914, made a most remarkable appeal to the President. The deputation consisted of over four hundred working women, coming from the ten principal industrial cities of the Union and representing practically every occupation in which women are engaged. Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, led the delegation and introduced as its spokesmen Miss Rose Schneiderman, Vice-President of the National Woman's Trade Union League; Miss Margaret Hinchey, a laundry worker; Miss Rose Winslow, a textile worker; and Miss Melinda Scott, an officer of the New York Woman's Trade Union League. To their most moving appeal the President replied that he could do nothing for the enfranchisement of women because, in his own words, "Until the party, as such, has considered a matter of this very supreme importance and taken its position, I am not at liberty to speak for it."



Labor Deputation Forming for Procession to White House

On the day before the audience with the President, the Congressional Union gave a reception at the Hotel Brighton in honor of the deputation, and the next morning an enthusiastic mass meeting at the Public Library preceded the procession to the White House.

Hearing Before Judiciary Committee

THE hearing accorded the Congressional Union on March 3d by the Judiciary Committee was a notable event. For the first time at a Congressional hearing, suffragists laid aside propagandistic argument and appealed to the committee to report the suffrage resolution to the House as a matter of practical politics. They pointed out to the committee that the women voters of the West would necessarily hold the Democratic party responsible for a refusal of the Judiciary Committee to make a report, inasmuch as the Democrats controlled that committee.

The Union was represented at the hearing by Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, who presided; Mrs. Mary Beard, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, and Mrs. William Kent, of its Executive Committee; Dr. Cora Smith King, Treasurer of the National Council of Women Voters; Representative Nolan of California, and Representative Mondell of Wyoming, the author of the resolution. Other suffrage organizations and the anti-suffragists also appeared.

Vote in the Senate

THE suffrage resolution in the Senate, as stated earlier in this report, was placed upon the Senate calendar June, 1913, and since that date had been awaiting a vote. It could have been voted upon at any time up to the close of the Sixty-third Congress, March 4, 1915. The Congressional Union believed that, before that date should arrive, the number of votes needed for its passage in the Senate could be secured. Already, at the beginning of the year 1914, more votes were pledged in its favor than had carried the income tax in the Senate, and sentiment in its favor was steadily increasing among the Senators. Moreover, the prospect that the referendum elections of the coming autumn would add to the number of suffrage States promised an increase of suffrage strength in the Senate. These features of the situation made the Congressional Union most desirous that the resolution should not be voted upon until every means of strengthening its support had been exhausted—every possible vote won.

On March 2, 1914, however, Senator Ashurst, who had reported the bill to the Senate, had it made unfinished business, and in spite of the vigorous protest of the Congressional Union and of many suffragists in all parts of the country, it was voted upon on the 19th of March, 1914. It received a majority of one vote, 35 to 34, but failed by 11 of the two-thirds necessary to carry it. From the 2d of March until the day of the vote it was debated in the Senate almost continuously.

This defeat occurred just about a year before the Sixty-third Congress adjourned. There would have been, therefore, nearly a year longer in which to win more votes for the resolution if action upon it had been deferred.

For this premature vote the Democratic leaders in charge of the measure were responsible, and not any individual suffragists or suffrage organizations who happened to support them in their action, for the Democratic leaders were fully informed concerning the Congressional situation, and were well aware (as both Senator Ashurst and Senator Thomas, Chairman of the Suffrage Committee, publicly acknowledged) that a vote at that time would mean defeat. Theirs was the responsibility for the defeat, because theirs was the power to have prevented it. The Democratic Party, as a group, in the Senate also shared the responsibility for defeat. Had that group put the party machinery behind the measure it would have passed.

In spite of the defeat, however, the vote was a memorable event. It was the first time since 1887 that suffrage had been voted upon in the Senate. The remarkable support which the amendment received gave reason for hope that its final passage was near at hand.

Congressional Union Supports Only the Susan B. Anthony Amendment

ON the same day Senator Shafroth of Colorado introduced, by request, a resolution providing for an amendment to the National Constitution, which, when passed by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress, and ratified by a majority vote of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, would establish the initiative on the suffrage question in every State, and make possible a State referendum campaign on suffrage upon petition of 8 per cent of the voters of the State.

The Congressional Union immediately announced its determination to support only the original amendment, known popularly as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. It maintained that to work at the same time for two suffrage amendments to the National Constitution would enable the enemies of the bill to play one against the other. Believing that one amendment only must be supported, it felt that it was wise to support the Amendment which would give suffrage itself rather than an amendment which after the same expenditure of effort would give only another method of obtaining suffrage,—that is, would merely establish the initiative on the suffrage question. The Union, moreover, feeling that the bane of the suffrage cause at present was too many and not too few referendums, held that to pass a Federal amendment which would inaugurate thirty-nine referendum campaigns would involve the movement in a dissipation of resources such as its enemies would most deeply desire. Finally, it held that the passage of one suffrage amendment to the National Constitution would make it extremely difficult to pass another; so that if the Shafroth bill became law, it would probably indefinitely postpone the passage of the Anthony Amendment, and doom the movement to years of referendum campaigns.

The Defeated Resolution Reintroduced

THE Congressional Union at once secured the reintroduction of the defeated amendment. Senator Bristow, at its request, introduced the following day a resolution identical with that which had been lost. The measure was thus out of the Senate only twenty-two hours.

Second Favorable Report From Senate Committee

APRIL 7, 1914, just one year from the date of the original introduction of the suffrage resolution in the Senate, it was again reported from the Woman Suffrage Committee, and took its place on the calendar of the Senate,—the second favorable report from the Senate Committee within one Congress.

Demonstrations on Behalf of Bristow-Mondell Resolution (the Anthony Amendment)

DURING the months of January, February, March and April the Congressional Union had been organizing the nation-wide demonstration of May 2d in support of the amendment pending in Congress. For this purpose organizers of the Union had gone into practically every State to make plans for the demonstration. Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, a Southern woman, had gone through each State in the South; Miss Mabel Vernon, one of the organizers for the Union, had traveled through the Southwestern part of the country and up through California, ending her trip in Nevada; Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, of the Executive Committee, had gone through the Northwestern States; Mrs. Emma Smith De Vqe, President of the National Council of Women Voters, had covered the far Western States on behalf of the Union's campaign; and Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, Press Chairman of the Union, the Middle Western States; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Alice Paul, of the Executive Committee, had started demonstrations in the New England and the Middle Atlantic States, and Mrs. Olive Hasbrouck, one of the prominent New England members of the Union, had organized the demonstration in two of the New England States.

Nearly all the suffrage organizations in the country co-operated in this plan for a national demonstration in support of the amendment in Congress. On February 12th the National American Woman Suffrage Association promised its co-operation also, and from that date aided in making the event a success. On May 2d the demonstrations, in the form of processions, open-air and indoor mass meetings, and other activities, took place in every State of the Union. The following resolution was adopted at the various gatherings: "Resolved, that this meeting calls upon Congress to take immediate and favorable action upon the Bristow-Mondell Suffrage resolution enfranchising women."

Judiciary Committee Reports Resolution

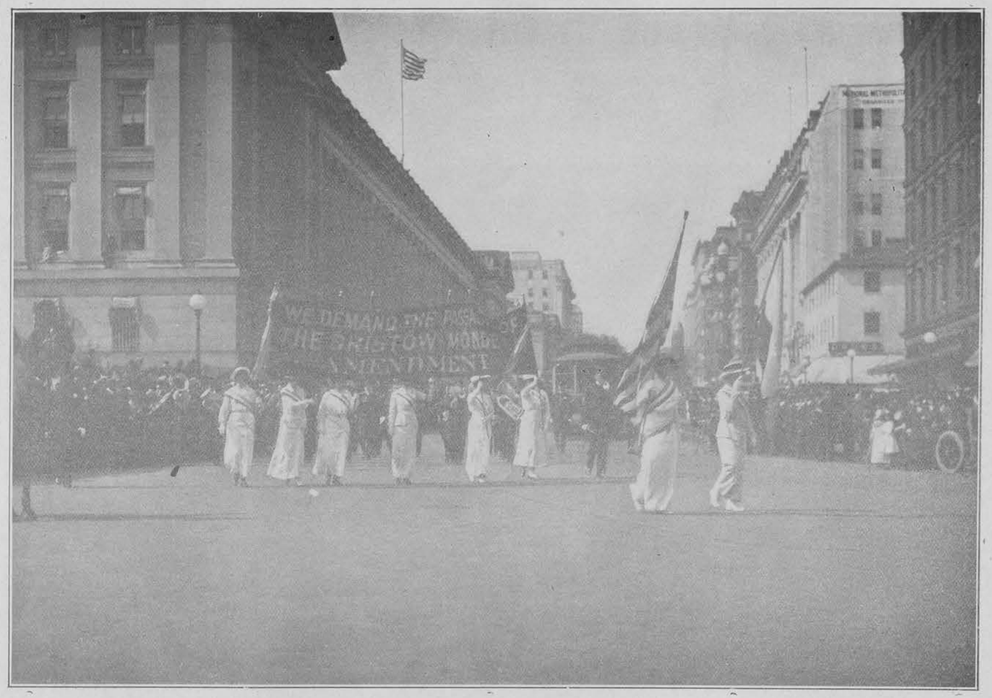
THE effect of this demonstration, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Canada to Mexico, was immediately felt at the National Capitol. Three days later, on May 5th, the Judiciary Committee reported the Mondell Resolution without recommendation to the House,—the first time within eighteen years that the suffrage measure had been out of committee in the House.

Presentation of Petitions to Congress

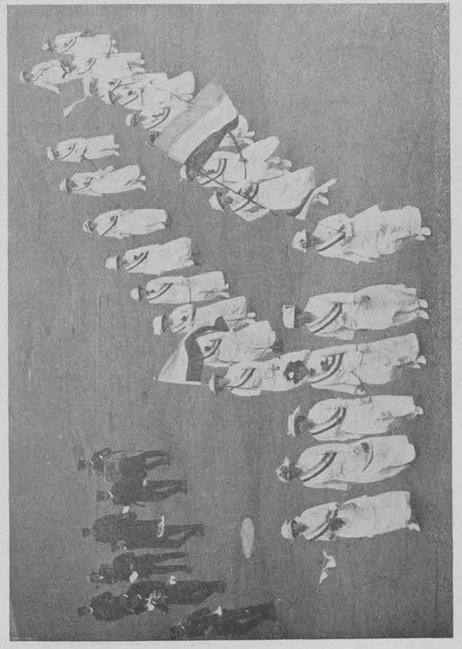
THE petitions and resolutions which had been signed at the nation-wide demonstration were taken through the streets of Washington on May 9th, escorted by a great procession which moved from Lafayette Square, opposite the White House, to the Capitol. This procession, the fifth demonstration in Washington demanding the passage of the national amendment, was perhaps the most beautiful of all. As the procession ascended the steps of the Capitol, it paused, and sang the "Woman's March," producing one of the most stirring scenes which had ever taken place there. The delegates, carrying the resolutions from the various May 2d meetings, passed into the Rotunda. Here they were greeted by a reception committee of Senators and Members of the House, who received the resolutions and introduced them on the floor of each House of Congress.



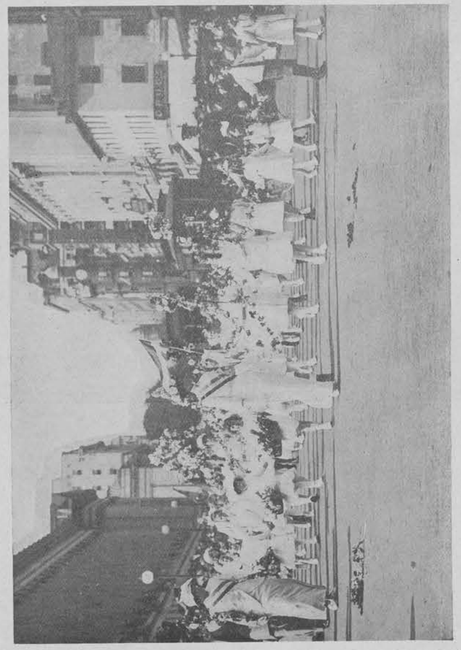
Anywhere in the United States on May 2d—One of the Demonstrations Which Took Place on That Day in Every State



Famous Amendment Banner at Head of May 9th Procession



Members of Executive Committee of Congressional Union Approaching Capitol Steps at Head of Procession



Children Carrying Flowers Before Procession to Congress on May 9th



Suffragists Presenting Resolutions to Congress on May 9th

Campaign Instituted to Secure Vote in the House

THE amendment was now on the calendar of both Houses,—a position it had never before occupied. As soon as the suffrage resolution was before the House of Representatives, the Congressional Union undertook a determined campaign, which continued throughout the year, to secure time for the consideration of the measure by the House.

Resolution Calling for Vote in House Referred to Rules Committee

THE first step was the introduction by Representative Mondell, on May 13, 1914, of a resolution (House Resolution No. 514) allotting time in the House for consideration of the suffrage amendment (House Joint Resolution No. 1). This resolution was referred to the Rules Committee. A report from that Committee was necessary before the amendment could be considered in the House.

Effort to Secure Report from Rules Committee

A SERIES of deputations to the Rules Committee was therefore organized, which continued with unflagging earnestness throughout the long and hot summer and autumn months. Deputations from nearly every State in the Union and from nearly every occupation and profession of women waited upon the members of the Rules Committee, asking that a few hours be set aside for a discussion of the suffrage question in the House of Representatives.

After repeated deputations had called upon the individual members of the Committee, it was announced that the Committee would meet on July 1st.

Club Women Appeal to President to Aid the Amendment

EARLY in June the National Federation of Women's Clubs, meeting in Chicago, had given its endorsement, as an organization, to woman suffrage. Immediately following this action by the Federation, a deputation of about five hundred club women, under the leadership of Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Vice-President of the District of Columbia Branch of the Federation, waited upon the President to bring to his notice this action of the Federation, representing the will of more than a million women, and to urge him to give his support to the amendment pending in both Houses and to use his influence to secure a report from the Rules Committee permitting a vote in the House.

The President had not expressed himself upon suffrage since his reply to the Labor deputation that he could take no action which was not endorsed by his party. Meanwhile, however, he had forced through an unwilling Congress the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls bill, despite the fact that in so doing he was not only *not* authorized by his party, either through its platform or Congressional action, but that he was proceeding in direct opposition to the party decision in the Baltimore platform and in Congress. Since the President's attitude toward the sanctity of the party platform had undergone such a change, it was hoped that he would no longer feel that the platform's silence on suffrage was an insuperable barrier to his support of the suffrage amendment.

This, the seventh, deputation to President Wilson since his Inauguration, met at the Public Library, and after passing a resolution calling upon the President for action on suffrage, proceeded in silent procession, one by one, stretching block after block, to the East Room of the White House. Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Mrs. Ellis Logan, President of the District of Columbia Branch of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, spokesmen for the deputation, then presented to the President a copy of the resolution passed by the Federation at Chicago and added their personal plea.

The President replied that his position with regard to the binding power of the party platform was unaltered. He added that an additional barrier to his action was his personal belief that suffrage "is a matter for settlement by the States and not by the Federal Government." Mrs. Dorr reminded him that the Constitution provided for national action on this as on other points. Thereupon the President replied that he must refuse to be cross-examined and withdrew from the room.

The day closed with a delightful garden party given in honor of the deputation by Representative and Mrs. William Kent.



The Club Women's Deputation



The Clubwomen Entering the White House

Rules Committee Fails to Meet

MANY of the most prominent members of the Club Women's deputation remained in Washington over night and went to the Capitol promptly on the morning of July 1st, in order to be present at the meeting of the Rules Committee scheduled for that day and support the demand for a report from that Committee allotting time in the House for a vote on the suffrage amendment. They were turned away from the committee room, however, and told that the committee would not meet, although no notice had been given of any change of date of the meeting.

From this time on the Rules Committee adopted the device of refusing to meet. Chairman Henry went to Texas, leaving Representative Pou of North Carolina as Acting Chairman.

Delegations of suffragists, undismayed, continued to call upon the members of the Rules Committee, urging them to act upon their measure. On July 13th a deputation of more than a hundred members of the Congressional Union, led by Miss Alice Paul and Miss Lucy Burns, Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively, and Mrs. Gilson Gardner, of the Executive Committee, presented to the members of the Rules Committee for their signatures a petition requesting the Acting Chairman, Mr. Pou, to call the Committee together for the purpose of reporting out the rule on the suffrage amendment. This petition was signed by the two Republican members of the Committee in Washington, and the one Progressive member. The two Democratic members then in Washington, Representatives Garrett of Tennessee and Foster of Illinois, flatly refused to sign, and Chairman Pou definitely declined to call the meeting, although a quorum of the Committee was in the city, and although all of the Republican members in the city and the Progressive member had requested a meeting. Mr. Pou stated that he was bound by a "gentleman's agreement," entered into by the Democratic members, to hold no meetings of the Committee before the first of August.

Representative Lenroot of Wisconsin, Republican, in attaching his signature to the petition, stated to the delegation:

"Mr. Kelly and myself, and Mr. Campbell of Kansas, represent the minority of the Committee on Rules. Mr. Campbell and myself represent the Republican Party, and Mr. Kelly represents the Progressives. Neither jointly nor severally have we the slightest influence with the Democratic majority upon this Committee with reference either to the calling of a meeting of the Committee on Rules or with reference to this resolution itself. If we could get consideration in the Committee, then I think our three votes might be sufficient to get a favorable report. But for the present, at least, your energies will have to be directed to the Democratic members of the Committee rather than to the Republican and Progressive members."

Representative Campbell of Kansas, in giving his signature, said:

"There is no way in which you can get the Rules Committee to meet except by action of the Chairman or an appeal to the Democratic Caucus. I do not think that my request or the request of my Republican colleagues on the Committee will bring about a meeting of the Committee. * * * The Rules Committee is a responsible political committee of the House, and whatever policy the majority party may have is referred to that Committee, and that Committee expresses in its action the sentiment of the majority in the House. The minority can only protest and object."

The petition was presented to Mr. Pou in his office by Representative Mondell. Mr. Pou rose from his chair, viewing with amazement the members of the deputation as they filed into the room until all available space was occupied, leaving the majority of their number in the corridor. In refusing his consent to the calling of a meeting, Mr. Pou said:

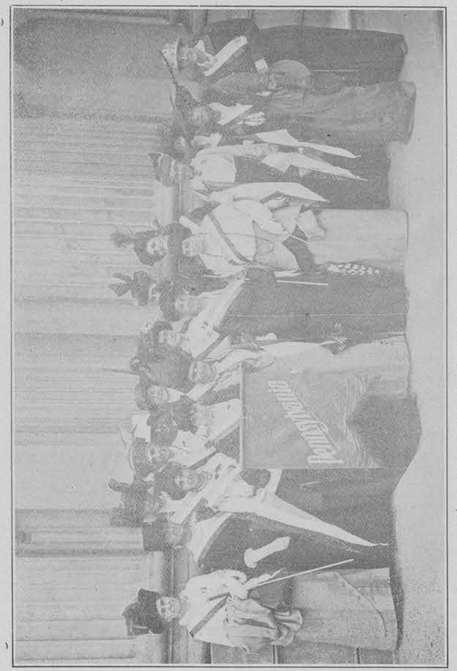
"The Democratic members agreed not to hold any meeting until August 1st. In view of that understanding, I would not feel at liberty to call the Committee together. * * * When the Republicans were in charge, they decided what they were going to do; now that we are in charge, we decide what we are going to do."

In the deputation were Mrs. Charles W. Bell, wife of Representative Bell of California; Mrs. Ellis Logan, President of the District of Columbia Branch of the Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Josephine Kelton, widow of General Kelton; and Mrs. W. F. Hancock, President of the District Section of the National Women's Democratic League. Mrs. Hancock summed up the feeling of the Democratic women in the deputation, thus:

"I am much distressed over the attitude shown by the Democratic Party through the Rules Committee, which it controls. I personally feel that it is unlikely that the Democratic Party will continue to receive the support previously accorded it by countless women if it continues its present most unsatisfactory attitude toward suffrage."



Virginia Suffragists Arriving in Washington to Interview Rules Committee



Pennsylvania Delegation Arriving Union Station, Washington, for Interview With Rules Committee

August 1st, which had been for weeks held out to Suffragists as the day on which the Rules Committee would consider the allotting of time in the House for the suffrage amendment, came and went without even a meeting of the Committee. A delegation from the Congressional Union, which was on hand to look after the interests of their measure, was told that the scheduled meeting would not take place until the following Monday, owing to a delay in the return of the Chairman. A still larger deputation, which arrived promptly on Monday, at the time appointed for the meeting, was informed that no meeting had been called, and that no assurance could be given as to when the Committee would meet.

On August 11th it became very clear that the Rules Committee would go to almost any length to avoid holding a meeting in order to dodge the suffrage issue. On that day Mr. Foster of Illinois, one of the Democratic members of the Committee, reported a rule providing for the immediate consideration of four conservation measures. He confessed that the rule which he presented to the House differed in important particulars from the rule which the Committee had ordered reported, and explained that he had found it necessary to change the rule and had spoken to "the members of the Rules Committee on the floor of the House before doing so."

Mr. Mann, Republican Floor Leader; Mr. Mondell of Wyoming, author of the suffrage amendment in the House; and Mr. Murdock of Kansas, Progressive Floor Leader, protested against the irregularity of this proceeding, and said in plain terms that such methods had only been resorted to because the Committee was afraid to have a meeting. To quote Mr. Mann:

"The Committee disbands and says that it cannot be brought together because they are afraid—afraid to take up something."

The situation was at least encouraging as showing the importance which the suffrage movement had achieved in the eyes of members of the House. Not long ago any committee of the House or Senate would have treated the whole suffrage movement with frank contempt. A point had now been reached, however, when the most powerful committee in the House, the Committee which, in the words of its ranking member, Mr. Pou, "holds in its keeping the Democratic policy of the House," was, as the Republican Floor Leader said, "Afraid to have a meeting," mainly because of the suffrage question.

Representative Mondell summed up the situation in a speech in the House. He said:

"On May 14th I introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Rules, asking for a rule for the consideration of this resolution. * * * There was no let-up in the effort to get the Rules Committee to report out a rule for the consideration of the Suffrage Amendment. I made appeals in that behalf to different members of the Committee at various times. I found the Republican members and the Progressive member of the Committee ready to act at any time, but the Democratic members went so far as to avoid holding meetings of the Committee in order to side-step a consideration of this matter. * * * Whenever there has seemed the slightest hope of securing a meeting of the Committee on Rules, ladies connected with the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage have been on hand to urge the reporting of a rule for the consideration of the Suffrage Amendment. But no rule has been reported. The Committee on Rules has not held a meeting, so far as is publicly known, since they reported out a rule for the conservation bills June 10th. It was reported that a meeting was to be held on August 1st, but August 1st came and went with no meeting. Meanwhile the Republican members and the Progressive member of the Committee on Rules stand ready to report out a rule at any time, but they cannot hold a meeting unless the Democratic majority wills it. The Democratic majority of the Committee, realizing that the Democratic majority of the House is not only opposed to woman suffrage, but opposed to giving the people of the country an opportunity to vote on it, decline to meet and decline to act and there you are."

The continued and stubborn refusal of the Democrats in the House to permit the discussion of the suffrage amendment by the representatives of the people soon became a matter of general discussion. Mr. Murdock, the Progressive Leader, in taking up the subject in the House, said:

"The record to prevent advocates of equal suffrage from securing a submission to the people of the woman suffrage question has been one of the most illuminating developments of the whole Congress."

Rules Committee Continues to Dodge Action on Suffrage

AT last, on August 28th, the Rules Committee met. They reported favorably a rule for the consideration of a bill extending self-government to the Philippines, and for the War Risk Insurance Bill, but avoided action on Suffrage by a motion to adjourn.

The Suffrage proposition was brought up at the meeting by Mr. Campbell of Kansas, Republican, who moved that the Committee take favorable action on the resolution providing for the consideration of the suffrage



SECTION OF PROCESSION SINGING THE WOMAN'S MARCH ON CAPITOL STEPS, MAY 9th

amendment in the House. A substitute motion was immediately made that the Committee adjourn, and this motion was passed through the action of the Democratic members of the Committee, all of whom, with the exception of Mr. Goldfogle of New York, supported it. The only Republican present, Mr. Campbell, and the only Progressive, Mr. Kelly, opposed the motion to adjourn.

The Congressional Union, weary but determined, renewed its campaign to secure a report from the Committee and continued its labors with the Committee until Congress adjourned in October. Throughout the remaining months of Congress, however, the Rules Committee continued its policy of evasion and no action was taken before adjournment.

The Newport Conference

THE summer closed with a notable conference on August 29th and 30th, at Newport, which marked the first meeting of the newly formed Advisory Council of the Union.

Conference Endorses Concentration on Anthony Amendment

AT the business session the conference adopted the following resolution, reaffirming the position of the Union in supporting only the Susan B. Anthony Amendment:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting, since it is to the highest interests of the suffrage movement to have but one amendment before Congress, that all suffragists should concentrate their efforts, in the national field, on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment."

Election Policy Adopted

THE question of work in the autumn elections was next considered. As a preliminary to this discussion, Miss Lucy Burns outlined the record of the National Democratic Party on suffrage. She showed that the National Suffrage Amendment had been persistently blocked by the Democratic Party, which was, as she pointed out, in complete possession of the National Government, controlling the Presidential chair and the Senate, and having an overwhelming majority in the House. Miss Burns then analyzed the working of Congress, showing that our Government is a government by party; that no measure of importance had been passed during the Sixty-third Congress without the backing of the party in power; and that no measure could go through that Congress if opposed by that party.

Going into detail, she showed that the President, the leader of the party, had seven times refused his powerful aid to the movement. In the Senate the measure was blocked by the Democratic leaders who brought it to a vote at a time when they acknowledged it would be defeated. Moreover, its defeat was due to the failure of the Democratic Party to give party support to the bill. In the House, the Rules Committee had consistently blocked the amendment, both by preventing the creation of a Suffrage Committee and by preventing consideration of the amendment in the House. And the Rules Committee, she pointed out, is the mouthpiece of the Democratic leaders, having in its keeping, in the words of its Acting Chairman, "the policy of the Democratic Party." The Democratic Caucus, in addition, had taken definite action against the suffrage amendment. Not only had it refused to sanction the creation of a Suffrage Committee, but it had declared that the question of suffrage was not even a matter for national consideration.

Miss Paul then submitted a plan for the election campaign. "That the dominant party is responsible for the action on suffrage," she began, "cannot be disputed. And that this party's action has been that of continued unfriendliness also admits of no question."

"We must, therefore, in the coming election," she continued, "convince the dominant party, and all other parties, that opposition to suffrage is inexpedient. And this they will believe if they see such opposition costing them votes.

"We come, then, to the question: To what voting constituency can we appeal for support? What constituency will show by its vote that it disapproves of the Democratic suffrage record? This brings us inevitably to the woman's vote in the West. There lies our strength.

"All of these years we have worked primarily in the States. Now the time has come when we can really go into *national* politics and use the nearly four million votes that we have to win the vote for the rest of the women of the country. Our fight is a political one. The question is, whether we are good enough politicians to take four million votes and organize them and use them so as to win the vote for the women who are still disfranchised.

"We want to attempt to organize the woman's vote. Our plan is to go out to these nine States and there appeal to all the women voters to withdraw their support from the Democrats nationally until the Democratic Party ceases, nationally, to block suffrage.

"Every one of those States, with one exception, is a doubtful State. Going back over a



Congressional Union Delegation Leaving Capitol After Endeavor to Obtain Action from Rules Committee

has supported first one party and then another. Here are nine States which politicians are thinking about, and in these nine States we have this great power. If we ask those women in the nine Suffrage States as a group to withhold their support from this party as a group which is opposing us, it will mean that votes will be turned. Suppose the Party saw votes falling away all over the country because of its action on the Trust question; it would change its attitude on trust legislation. If it sees them falling away because of its attitude on Suffrage, it will change its attitude on Suffrage. When we have once affected the result in a national election, every party will hesitate to trifle with Suffrage any longer.

"We, of course, are a little body to undertake this; but we have to begin. We have not very much money; there are not many of us to go out against the great Democratic Party. Perhaps this time we won't be able to do so very much, though I know we can do a great deal; but if the Party leaders see that *some* votes have been turned they will know that we have at last realized this power that we possess and they will know that by 1916 we will have it organized. The mere announcement of the fact that Suffragists of the East have gone out to the West with this appeal will be enough to make every man in Congress sit up and take notice.

"This last week one Congressman from a Suffrage State asked if we would write just one letter to say what he had done in Congress to help us. That one letter, he said, might determine the result in his district. This week the man who is running for the Senatorial election in another Suffrage State asked us to go out and help him in his State—asked us to announce that he had been our friend. Now, if our help is valued to this extent, our opposition will be feared in like degree.

"Certain objections are brought against this plan. Let us consider them.

"It is suggested that this election policy is partisan. This policy is absolutely non-partisan. It is the acme of non-partisanship. It calls upon women to lay aside all party affiliations and put Suffrage before their party. It calls upon them at this moment, if they have considered themselves Democrats, to forsake their allegiance to that party and vote against the Democratic candidates for Congress. If the Republican Party were in power and pursued a similar course, we would work against that Party. If the Progressives or Socialists or Prohibitionists were in power and refused to pass the Federal Amendment, we would work against them. We plan to oppose the Democrats, not because they are Democrats, but because at this moment they are the party in control of the National Government, and they are using their power to prevent the passage of the Suffrage Amendment.

"It is also claimed that we ought not to oppose the Democrats because we did not oppose the Republicans during the long years when they were in control of the National Government. This campaign has only just begun, because we have only just gained the power which enables us to go into a national election. When the last Congressional election took place there were only six States in which women could vote. At the present moment women have full suffrage in nine States and Presidential suffrage in a tenth State.

It is this added voting strength now possessed by women which has made the Federal work a hopeful avenue of effort and has given women sufficient power to warrant their entrance into the national election campaigns.

"We are told that it is most ungrateful and ungracious to oppose Members of Congress or candidates for Congress who are personally friendly to Suffrage and who may have helped it in their individual capacity. To this we reply that all candidates from Suffrage States are professing Suffragists. There is no question of choosing between Suffragists and anti-Suffragists. The men in Suffrage States have grown accustomed to women voting. They take it as a matter of course. Most of them apparently have come to believe in the principle behind it, and even those who do not have become its ostensible supporters. Women certainly have a right to further through the ballot their wishes on the period of fourteen years, each State, except Utah, suffrage question, as well as on the tariff or currency or trust legislation. This they can only do by considering the party record, for as far as the individual's record and the individual's pledges go, all candidates are practically equal.

"We are told that it is wrong to oppose a party merely because of its record on Suffrage, regardless of its attitude toward all other questions. To this we reply that no other question before the people is comparable in importance to the Suffrage question. The ballot ought to be used to accomplish the greatest possible good. The women of the West can make no higher use of it than to win through it the franchise for the women of the rest of the country.

"It is claimed that we will not be able to turn enough votes in the few weeks of our campaign to prove ourselves a power to be considered. We will undoubtedly turn many votes, and even though we cannot accomplish the defeat of every Democratic candidate, we will at least have laid the foundation for a powerful organization among women voters which before the next Presidential election will have grown to such might as to daunt the heart of any political opponent.

"It is asserted that this policy is militant. It is not militant in the sense that it means physical violence. It is militant only in the sense that it is strong, positive and energetic. If it is militant to appeal to women to use their vote to bring Suffrage from one end of this country to the other, then it is militant to appeal to men or to women to use their vote for any good end.

"The fear is expressed that in all of the States where Suffrage measures go to the referendum of the people this autumn the Democratic men will be so incensed by this policy that they will vote against the Suffrage Amendment as a means of venting their resentment. Undoubtedly the political leaders will be aroused to a high pitch of indignation, and the more aroused they are the better; but we predict that the great rank and file will not. It seems hardly reasonable that the great mass of people, the farmers, the shopkeepers, the teachers, the merchants, in any of these States where the amendments are pending, would vote against the enfranchisement of women simply because the women who now possess the ballot were using their ballot to win Suffrage for the rest of the country. It seems likely, on the contrary, that this sign of political intelligence and loyalty to their disfranchised sisters on the part of the women voters would be regarded as an added reason for voting aye on the Suffrage Amendment.

"It is asked, How would we profit if another party came in? Would not another party treat us with equal lack of consideration? Our answer is that when once the political parties are made to realize that opposition to Suffrage means their defeat, when once it is shown that Suffragists can vitally affect the result of a national election, our fight will be won."

The proposal was received with great enthusiasm by the Conference, and seven thousand dollars was pledged on the spot to carry it through.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, a member of the Advisory Council of the Union and known the country over as General Secretary of the National Consumers' League, spoke in endorsement of the plan, saying:

"I do not see how there could possibly be a more statesmanlike proposal than that which has been made this afternoon."

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Baltch, widely honored for her legislative experience and her generally recognized astuteness in political matters, said in an earnest speech of support:

"I believe thoroughly in this campaign that the Congressional Union has laid down."

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware, a member of an old Democratic family and the daughter of a member of Cleveland's Cabinet, then said:

"This question is more important than party—it is a national question—it is a Suffrage question first. I, as a Democrat, beg you, if there are other Democrats here, to put party behind the great national matter of Suffrage and to stand for that until it is an accomplished fact."

Others who spoke in advocacy of the plan were Mrs. John Rogers, member of the Executive Board of the New York Women's Political Union; Mrs. Annie Porritt, Press Chairman of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, President of the same Association; Mrs. William Prendergast, a prominent member of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York; Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, formerly campaign manager in the Wisconsin Suffrage campaign; and Miss Elsie Hill, formerly President of the District of Columbia Branch of the College Equal Suffrage League.

Social Side of the Conference

THE business sessions of the Conference were held at Marble House, the beautiful summer home of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont. Among the social events which made the Conference notable was a reception given by Bishop and Mrs. Darlington and Mrs. Belmont at the Casino parlors, overlooking the gardens, where so many famous tennis matches have been played. The speakers included Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, Mrs. Belmont, and Bishop Darlington, who presided.

The Conference opened with a luncheon at which Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch was toastmistress and at which the speakers included Mrs. Wilfred Lewis, President of the Equal Franchise Association of Philadelphia; Mrs. Charles Bell, wife of Representative Bell of California; and Mrs. Maude Howe Elliot, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, and President of the Newport County League.

Among the unforgettable memories of the Conference was the tea given by Mrs. Belmont on the terrace at Marble House, overlooking the ocean.

The last session was an open-air mass meeting at Hill Top, at which Mrs. Donald R. Hooker presided, and Miss Annie Kenney, of England, and Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn were the speakers.

Thus ended one of the epoch-making meetings in the history of the suffrage movement. To quote the New York *Tribune:*

"It marked the entrance of women into the arena of practical politics. * * * At Newport, for the first time, was launched a national movement of women armed to fight with political weapons for their rights."

Campaigners Leave for the West

THE details of the election campaign project were immediately worked out. Organizers were selected, who, on September 14th, after a farewell garden party given in their honor at the home of Colonel and Mrs. Blount, in Washington, started for each of the nine enfranchised States. From that day until after the election every effort of the Union was concentrated on the Western campaign.

Headquarters Opened in Suffrage States

HEADQUARTERS were opened in San Francisco, under Miss Lucy Burns, Vice-Chairman of the Union, and Miss Rose Winslow, one of the most powerful speakers in the suffrage movement. In Denver headquarters were opened under the direction of Miss Doris Stevens and Miss Ruth Noyes, both of whom had had extended experience in suffrage campaigns. Headquarters were opened in Phoenix, Arizona, under Miss Jane Pincus, an organizer of the Women's Political Union of New York, and Miss Josephine Casey, another organizer of the same society, and famed equally with Miss Winslow as a speaker of remarkable power in labor circles. Miss Lola C. Trax, organizer of the Just Government League of Maryland, and Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, President of the First District Branch of the same organization, took charge of work in Kansas, with offices at Kansas City. Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, Press Chairman of the Congressional Union, and formerly organizer for the New York State Woman Suffrage Society, with Miss Virginia Arnold, a Southern suffrage worker, were in charge of the Oregon work, with headquarters at Portland. Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore, Secretary of the Wayne County Woman Suffrage League of Michigan, and Miss Anna McCue, Philadelphia organizer for the Congressional Union, directed the work in Washington State, with headquarters at Seattle. Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, founder of the Wage Earners' League of Minneapolis, had headquarters at Cheyenne, Wyoming; Miss Elsie Lancaster, an organizer for the Women's Political Union of New York, directed the Utah campaign from Salt Lake City, and Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Legislative Chairman of the Norwalk (Conn.) Suffrage League, managed the Idaho work from Boise City.

Campaigning Begun

FROM these centers literature dealing with the record of the National Democratic Party on suffrage and with the value to the woman voter of a national suffrage amendment, was sent to homes in the remotest corner of every suffrage State. Window cards, hand bills, cartoons, moving picture films and voiceless speeches, calling upon the women voters to refuse their support to the party which had blocked the National Suffrage Amendment, were spread lavishly from Seattle to Phoenix. Most effective of all, perhaps, was the "Appeal to the Women Voters," given opposite, which was placed in the hands of more than a million women voters.

Of equal importance with the distribution of literature was the issuing from each Headquarters of daily press bulletins chronicling the campaign against the Democratic candidates for Congress and reiterating the record made by their national party on the suffrage question.

Open-air meetings, drawing-room and theatre meetings were held in rapid succession. Canvassing from door to door was carried on in many districts. No means was left unutilized to bring before the women voters the constant hostility which the suffrage amendment had suffered at the hands of the National Democratic Party.

Suffrage an Issue in the Election

THE campaign succeeded far beyond the hopes of its inaugurators. Within a few days the Democratic papers were seething with attacks on the Congressional Union. Candidates suddenly began to devote careful attention to suffrage in their speeches. For the first time woman suffrage was an issue in a national election. Judging from the Democratic editors and Democratic politicians, one would have thought that there was no other subject under discussion. To quote a few instances:

The *Wyoming Leader* of October 6th, in its editorial column, thus attacked the Congressional Union workers:

"Monday afternoon they desecrated a charitable gathering of the Ladies' Hospital Aid. * * * If it was nothing more than a harmless effort of a couple of women to earn some Congressional coin, it might be overlooked, and these two women, with fatherly tenderness, told to go back home. But it involves an insult to the intelligent

APPEAL TO WOMEN VOTERS

THE Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, an organization of women in all parts of the country who are working for an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women, appeals to you for help in the struggle for the political freedom of women.

You hold in your hands today the power to enfranchise the women of our country. Through the voting strength which you possess you can win the vote for all other women.

The time has come when the Federal Suffrage Amendment can be passed. Today one-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House, and one-sixth of the electoral vote comes from Suffrage States. If this mighty voting strength of women is concentrated on the demand for the Suffrage Amendment, no party can withstand that demand.

We are confronting a national election.

We ask you to remember that the National Democratic Party has gone on record unequivocally against Woman Suffrage.

The Democratic Party for two years has controlled the Government of our country. Ours is a government by party. The majority party, by the caucus system, by the control of committees, by the power of patronage, by appeals to party responsibility and the necessity of party solidarity, controls legislation.

Therefore we have appealed unweariedly to the Democratic Party to pass the National Suffrage Amendment. We asked help from that party because its power was absolute to grant or to deny our just demand.

It has been deaf to every appeal. The President has seven times refused all help to the woman's movement in his answers to the suffrage deputations. The Democratic leaders in the Senate forced our measure to defeat through a premature vote. The Democratic Party in the Senate refused to put the party machinery back of the Amendment. The Democratic leaders in the House have blocked the Amendment in committee.

We ask you—the women of the nine free States—to make plain to the whole country that no national party which is opposed to the enfranchisement of women will receive your support. We ask you to convince the Democratic Party and through it, all parties, that opposition to Suffrage is inexpedient. This they will readily believe if they see that such opposition means the loss of votes.

We urge you to vote against the Democratic candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

It is not sufficient to send to Congress men who simply "believe in Suffrage." The members now sitting in the House as Representatives from Equal Suffrage States, all believe in Woman Suffrage, but they have not been able even to cast a vote on Suffrage, because the Democratic leaders smothered the Amendment in committee. They will not do it again, and no national party will ever do it again, if it is seen that such methods have alienated the support of the nearly four million women who can vote today in national elections.

We are absolutely non-partisan. With perfect impartiality, we would oppose the Republicans, the Progressives, or the Socialists, if they were in power and had opposed the Suffrage Amendment.

We ask you, in the name of our common womanhood, to lend your hand, more powerful than ours, to the great task of enfranchising the women of the whole country.

We ask you—you who have won freedom for yourselves and may now win it for the whole country—to cast your vote on this one issue. No other issue is comparable to this in importance. Your ballot can be used for no nobler purpose than the winning of the freedom of women.

Show that there is solidarity among women. We hear of the "Labor Vote," the "Irish Vote," the "German Vote," the "Catholic Vote." These are political factors that are feared. So should be the "Woman's Vote" until all women are enfranchised.

You are not truly free until all women are free. The great problems of our country are national problems. Political questions today are fundamentally commercial questions, and commerce knows no State lines. The evils women particularly desire to combat, the white slave traffic, the employment of child labor, the sale of impure food and diseased clothing, are national evils, nationally organized. Before the influence of women's opinion on these questions can be felt in the nation, women must be enfranchised throughout the nation.

For the sake of all women who will come after us, for the health and welfare of our nation, refuse your support to that party which has opposed the enfranchisement of women.

VOTE AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS.

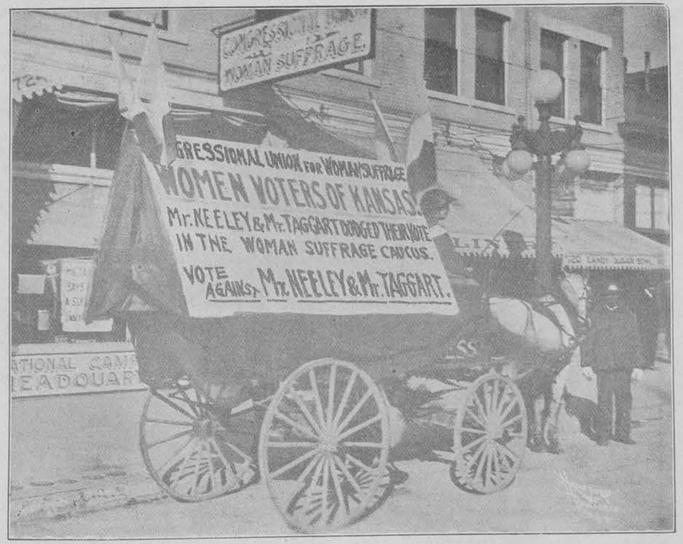
ONE OF THE ELECTION LEAFLETS



Congressional Union Organizers Leaving Washington for Election Campaign in Suffrage States Against Democratic Candidates for Congress

citizenship of this State. It attempts to compromise and bring into disrepute the practical workings of woman suffrage in this, the original Suffrage State. It proposes to prostitute religion, charity, fraternity, and society itself, to the ambitions of a place and plunder hunting politician. These women go into gatherings to insult and outrage harmony and good-will among women, who, themselves, avoid politics in their meetings.

"They could not have selected a meeting at which it was so plainly out of place as a meeting of hospital workers. These women had gathered together to promote the good work of mercy and charity in our community. They were Republicans, Progressives and Democrats in their preferences. * * *



The Election Campaign in Kansas

"The editor of the *Leader* has met and talked with these two women and believes they do not realize the insult they are offering to the women of Wyoming."

The *Cheyenne Tribune*, a Republican paper of Wyoming, in coming to the rescue of the Congressional Union organizers, said editorially on October 12th:

"Mrs. Gertrude L. Hunter, representing the Woman Suffrage Congressional Union, has made the *Leader* (Democratic paper) do a lot of explaining."

The *Tribune* said further (October 15th):

"Granting that the work of the Congressional Union representatives here should constitute the controlling factor in the defeat of the Democratic candidate, that would be no justification for the kind of remarks the *Cheyenne Leader*, the *Laramie Boomerang* and other Democratic papers have made against the two highly educated and cultured women who were sent to Wyoming.

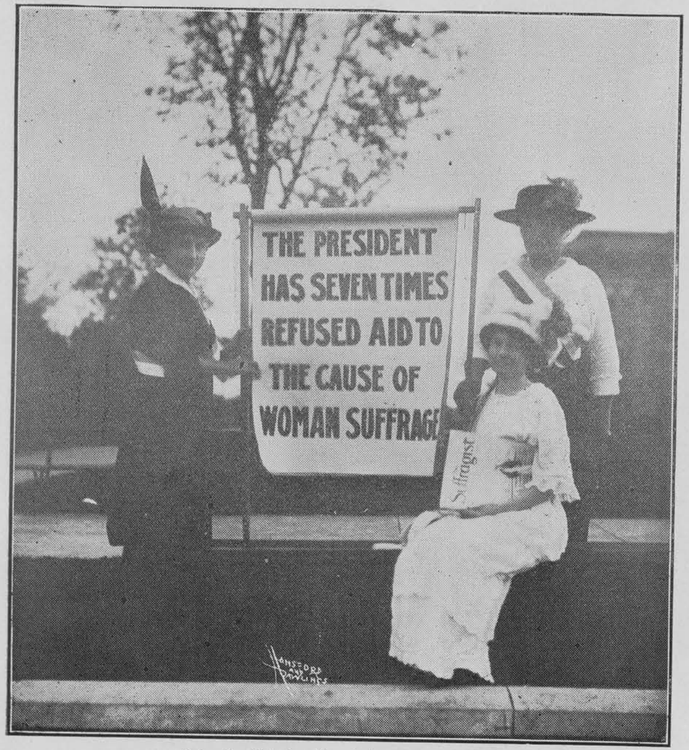
"It is, therefore, in exceedingly bad taste for Democratic newspapers in the original Suffrage State to become so excited that they not only falsify the facts regarding the matter, but they are guilty of disrespect toward these ladies, who are merely performing their duty."

And on the 16th:

"Democratic newspapers like the *Cheyenne Leader* are finding fault with the Woman Suffrage Congressional Union for sending representatives into this State to work against the Democratic candidate for Congress.

"This is a free country and Wyoming a Woman Suffrage State, and if worthy, respectable women come into Wyoming, the first State to grant the franchise to women, and conduct a decent campaign for the principles of Woman Suffrage, they should be treated courteously and politely and given a respectable hearing.

"They rightly hold the Democratic Party responsible for its self-evident opposition to the cause of Woman Suffrage, and, rightly, are seeking to defeat Democratic candidates for Congress by endeavoring to get women voters to vote against them."



Using the Voiceless Speech in the Election Campaign

On October 20th it continued:

"The Democratic papers of Wyoming, throwing aside gallantry, judgment, and even ordinary politeness and hospitality, have had several conniption fits because two women from the East came here to help defeat Mr. Preston for Congress."

The *Laramie Republican*, another Republican paper, also came to their support (October 15th):

"Wyoming Democratic leaders are jumping on the young women representing the Congressional Union of Suffragists with all the savagery of the jackal. They assume that all Wyoming women are partisan first and Suffragists afterwards."

Throughout the campaign the merry war went on in the Democratic sheets of Wyoming, and the *Laramie Boomerang*, one of the most vigorous of the Democratic organs, continued to assure the public (see its issue of October 9th, for instance) that "woman suffrage is not an issue in this State."

In each of the Suffrage States there was similar denunciation of the Congressional Union by the Democratic papers. "It is to be greatly regretted," said the *Gazette Globe*, Kansas City, Kansas, September 23d (a Democratic sheet), "that two women representing the Women's National Congressional Union have come to Kansas to bring the suffrage question into politics."

Said the *Beloit Gazette*, of Kansas, October 7th (a Republican paper):

"The appearance in the campaign in this district of Miss Lola Trax, of Baltimore, Maryland, a representative of the National Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, created such an outbreak of feeling among the Democratic editors that for a time it appeared as if Governor Hodges would have to mobilize his army for the purpose of preserving peace."

The *Record*, of Stockton, Kansas, October 16th (Republican), wrote:

"My, how the Democratic papers do storm over the work of Miss Trax and Mrs. Latimer in Kansas! Why should Bryan be any more welcome?"

A big impression was evidently made at Phillipsburg by the Congressional Union workers, judging from the vehemence of the Democratic papers in that city. Said the *Phillipsburg Dispatch* (Republican), October 15th:

"Many of the Democratic sheets took occasion last week to hand over a few hot lines in the direction of Miss Lola Trax, the Suffragist speaker who made a tour of the district. The young lady took some pokes at Neely and Connelly that did not set well with Democrats."

"Miss Trax certainly did one thing by coming to Kansas," said the *Jewell City Republican* (October 16th). "She threw the Democratic editors into fits. They have just been having one fit after another all over the State."

The *Smith County Pioneer* (October 15th) bore the same testimony:

"The *Mankato Advocate* and a few other ultra-Democratic papers threw a fit last week because Miss Trax, of Baltimore, Maryland, came to Kansas to work against the Democratic candidate for the United States Senatorship and for Congress. * * * Miss Trax and the women with her represent the cause of Woman Suffrage. All the abuse of the Democratic papers will only make them fight the harder."

Turning to Colorado, we find an equally vehement campaign of denunciation in the Democratic journals. The *Fountain Herald*, for instance, in its issue of September 25th, devoted an enitre editorial to rebuking the Union for its policy, and said with regard to one of the Congressional Union organizers, "The women of Colorado should invite her to leave the State at once."

And so it was in each State where the campaign was in progress. The press alone clearly showed in each of the nine States that Suffrage had become an issue in the election.

Effort of Democratic Leaders to Combat the Congressional Union's Campaign

FURTHER evidence of the effectiveness of the Congressional Union campaign was afforded by the efforts made by the Democratic leaders to combat the activities of the Union.

One of the strongest proofs of the results accomplished in Washington was given when Judge W. W. Black, Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, called at the headquarters of the Congressional Union in Seattle, and urged the organizers in charge, in the words of the *Seattle Sunday Times*, "to go home and wage a campaign for female suffrage, and let the Democratic Congressional candidates in this State alone." "Judge Black disclaimed personal interest," continued the *Seattle Times*, "and insisted that his is merely a fatherly concern for the two young suffrage leaders. To demonstrate that he was not concerned personally, Judge Black told the two workers that he was going to be elected, anyway."

Shortly before election day the Democratic leaders in Colorado formed a Democratic woman's organization for the purpose of actively combatting the Congressional Union's work among the women voters.

Further striking evidence of the importance which the Democratic leaders of Colorado attached to the Union's activities was furnished by a leaflet sent far and wide through the State, issued from the Colorado Democratic State Headquarters, under the names of Wellington H. Gates, Leo U. Guggenheim, and John T. Barnett, National Democratic Committeemen. The leaflet began:

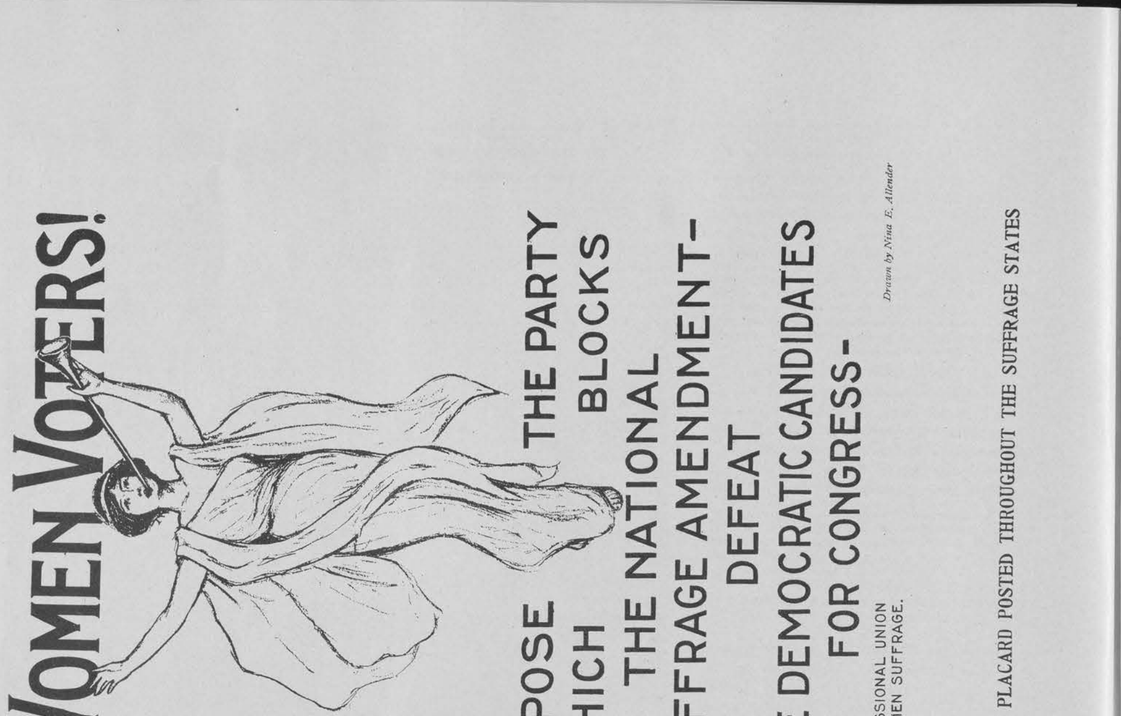
"Permit us to call your attention to the apparent aims and purposes of an organization calling itself the Congressional Union."

It then devoted four pages to letters and statements opposing the policy of the Union, and ended with an appeal to the women voters to elect the Democratic candidates for Congress "with larger majorities than ever before, to show the world that the Democratic women of Colorado are not only loyal, but consistent, voters."

This was the last leaflet sent to the voters by the State Democratic Committee. From the first word to the last it dealt only with the Congressional Union. Could better evidence be desired of the important part which the Democrats themselves felt that suffrage was playing in the election?

Nowhere did the Congressional Union election work arouse greater excitement than in Utah. "Initimidation, coercion and what were equivalent to threats of political banishment from the State of Utah," said the *Republican Herald* of Salt Lake City (October 15th), "were exercised toward Miss Elsie Agnes Lancaster, the New York Suffragist, by W. R. Wallace, the Democratic generalissimo, and his gang of political mannikins."

"They invited Miss Lancaster," the *Herald* continued, "to come to Democratic State Headquarters, and there kept her on the grill for two and one-half hours. This term of cross-examination, during which she was under fire of cross-questioning and denunciation from practically all of the Democratic politicians present, was a vain endeavor to have her bring to an immediate close her campaign against the Democratic nominees for the United States Senate and Congress.



CAMPAIGN PLACARD POSTED THROUGHOUT THE SUFFRAGE STATES

"For two hours and a half the one hundred pounds of femininity withstood the concentrated cross-fire of the ton of beef and brawn represented by the dozen or more distinguished Democrats who acted as attorney, judge and jury all in one. After they had finished she went her way, telling Mr. Wallace that neither he nor his hirelings could swerve her from her duty in Utah as a representative of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

"The greatest outburst of Generalissimo Wallace," concludes the *Herald*, "was when, in a moment of rage, he brought his fist down on the table and threatened to advertise Miss Lancaster the country over by means of the Associated Press, as being in league with 'sinister influences' in Utah."

So alarmed were the Democratic leaders in Utah over the opposition of the Congressional Union that they threatened to follow the example set by the Democratic campaign managers in Colorado and organize a group of women whom they hoped to be able to control, to fight the Congressional Union campaign. The salt Lake City *Herald-Republican* (October 16th) thus commented upon this plan:

"The threat by the Democratic national committeeman 'to bring forth the old gray-haired women who have fought, bled and died for Suffrage in Utah' would, if fulfilled, introduce a new element into Utah politics. It is an extraordinary use of an extraordinary power, an act unparalleled even for a task so important as the wish to 'discredit' the representative of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage who has come here to oppose the Democratic candidates for Congress."

One of the candidates for Congress from Kansas (Representative Doolittle) called at the Washington Headquarters of the Union shortly after the inauguration of work in Kansas, and urged the Union to withdraw its campaigners, from his district, at least, if not from all the Western States. Finding the Union determined to continue its appeal to the women voters as long as his Party continued its opposition to the National Amendment, Mr. Doolittle delivered a speech in the House of Representatives (occupying more than a page of the Congressional Record), denouncing the Union, and assuring the members of Congress that its appeal to the women voters was not authorized by the suffragists of the country.

Representative Hayden of Arizona also endeavored, in a speech in the House, to answer the appeal of the Congressional Union to the Western women to cast their votes against him, together with the other National Democratic candidates. Nearly three pages of the Record were consumed by Mr. Hayden's speech, which he reprinted and sent far and wide through the State of Arizona in an attempt to counteract the havoc which it was apparently believed was being wrought by the Congressional Union workers.

A prominent Democratic candidate for the Arizona Legislature testified to the fear which the Union's campaign had aroused among the Democratic element in that State by an appeal to Dr. Cora Smith King, Treasurer of the National Council of Women Voters and a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, urgently imploring her to use her influence with the Union to terminate its election activities in Arizona. Dr. King replied:

"The more the local Democrats complain, the more they advertise the slogan of the Congressional Union, that the Democrats put Suffrage second to party. Do, for heaven's sake, raise the Democratic roof in Washington for involving you in this dilemma."

And so in each State the efforts by the Democratic leaders to combat the Congressional Union campaign bore eloquent testimony to the seriousness of the results achieved.

Candidates and Parties Hasten to Espouse Suffrage

AMONG the concrete results showing the effectiveness of the Congressional Union election activities was the inclusion of a Federal Suffrage Amendment plank in the platforms of each of the State parties in Colorado, the first time that this occurred in that State, and the inclusion of a similar plank in the Arizona State Democratic platform.

Another result was the conversion of Senator Smith of Arizona to a belief in the National Amendment. On September 28th, Senator Smith and Representative Hayden, the two Democratic candidates who were running for Congress from Arizona, sent the following telegram to Mrs. Frances Munds, candidate for State Senatorship on the Democratic ticket: "Our record in Congress shows that we are for national woman suffrage. If you think best, offer as plank in State platform the following: 'We pledge our candidates for United States Senator and Representative in Congress to vote at all times for national woman suffrage.'"

The platform which was adopted by the Democratic State Central Committee read: "We unqualifiedly endorse the principles and

practice of woman's suffrage and pledge our candidates for United States Senator and Representative in Congress to vote at all times in favor of national woman suffrage."

In view of the previously unsatisfactory attitude of both candidates on this subject, this unequivocal declaration "in favor of national woman suffrage" is of interest. Senator Smith had been absent when the vote was taken, and both he and Representative Hayden had supported their party in its unfriendly attitude toward the suffrage amendment.

The *Arizona Republican*, commenting on Senator Smith's change of front, said, editorially (October 4th):

"Hon. Marcus A. Smith, alarmed perhaps at the activity in this State of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, has sent a message to Arizona Suffragists which may be interpreted as 'Don't shoot! I'll come down!' Mr. Smith declares his belated fondness for a Constitutional Amendment providing for National Woman Suffrage, in spite of his announced opposition last summer to such an Amendment on the ground that he could not be a party to forcing upon the people of a State something that they might not want."

"One of the most marked incongruities," says the *Journal-Miner* of Prescott, Arizona (October 9th), "that any man holding a responsible legislative position could well let creep into his official history has found its way recently into the list of political sins of omission and commission which stands to the discredit of Senator Marcus A. Smith. We refer to his recent flop into the ranks of woman suffrage advocates.

"Recently the women had a pry on him—a way to make him feel unsafe in a campaign in which he must, for the first time, depend upon the direct vote of the people, including the women, for perpetuation in the United States Senate. Their national organization commenced to ask the women of Arizona, in common with those of other States where women vote, to organize against the men in Congress from their respective States who were against the proposed equal suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution, and retire them in favor of men who would support national woman suffrage. And the women of Arizona prepared to do just such a thing. But before they could even hold the initiatory meeting, Marcus heard of the movement, marched to the chalk-line and declared himself 'fur' the women—announced himself, mark you, in favor of a principle which he had opposed with might and main all of his office-holding life."

All candidates, indeed, seemed to develop a marked increase in the fervor of their allegiance to the suffrage amendment. Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, in his last edition of street-car cards before election day, headed his poster with a declaration of his support of national woman suffrage as the leading argument for his re-election.

Not only the Congressional candidates, but minor Democratic workers, suddenly developed unsuspected interest in the cause of woman suffrage. Said the *Examiner* of Yuma, Arizona (October 24, 1914), in commenting on the situation: "We view with amazement the efforts of the Democratic political bosses to be in favor of equal suffrage."

Judging from the speeches of the candidates and their supporters in each of the suffrage States, one would have believed that few subjects claimed from them a devotion comparable in intensity with that which they felt for the national enfranchisement of women. In previous elections the National Amendment had scarcely been mentioned.

Splendid Response by the Women Voters

ONE of the most significant features of the campaign was the remarkable response given by the women voters to the Appeal of the Congressional Union.

Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, President of the Women's Political Union of Colorado, wrote to the Washington Headquarters of the Union:

"The arival of your organizers is the best thing that has happened in a long while to the women of this State. It is making them realize the value of their vote as they have never done before. It is precisely the movement to inculcate the pressing need for women to stand solidly together.

"The Congressional Union is assuredly on the right track, and its policy a masterly one."

Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, Honorary President of the National Council of Women Voters, and President of the Woman Suffrage Association of Oregon at the time Suffrage was won in that State, sent word to the Washington Headquarters concerning the success of the election campaign in Oregon. "Only good," she wrote, "will come of this agitation."

From Kansas came the same testimony.

Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe, former President of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association, in joining the Union, wrote to the National Headquarters:

"I am certainly with you in your crusade. It is coming to the Democratic Party or to any other party that is so obtuse that it will now stand in the way of the progress of women, to be defeated."

Mrs. Jennie McMillan, a well-known club woman of Kansas, who also joined the Union, sent word:



Campaigning in the Rural Districts Against Democratic Candidates for Congress, Mrs. Edna S. Latimer Speaking

"The policy of the Congressional Union is beautifully clear-cut. This meeting in our town is one of the finest things we have had for a long, long time. Our Baldwin City women will support you. You leave them enthusiastic about your cause."

Mrs. Mary Price, well-known lecturer and missionary, wrote, in sending in her membership fee to the Union:

"I am with you. The campaign of the Congressional Union is needed at this time in Kansas to make women understand fully their responsibility to other women. We admire the spirit of your workers."

Mrs. Alice Park, of Palo Alto, California, one of the foremost Suffragists of that State, wrote shortly before election day:

"I want to go on record as endorsing the plan of the Congressional Union. I am helping to the limit of my time, going to San Francisco headquarters at least two days a week until election and doing all the writing, talking and explaining that I possibly can. I rejoice in the new courage in suffrage workers. I rejoice especially that the women voters are appealed to in behalf of their Eastern sisters. The Western women voters are so busy and happy in the new era that they are not doing half what they should to help Eastern Suffragists. And here is a chance held out to them. The old days of weighing and measuring and trembling are past."

And so in each of the States.

No more conclusive proof of the support given by the women voters to the Union's campaign could be afforded than the readiness with which they became members and active workers.

Among those who aided in California were Mrs. Frank P. Deering, President of the College Equal Suffrage League, who became a member of the Union; Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, President of the New Era Club, who joined the Advisory Council, as did Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore, and Miss Gail Laughlin; Mrs. Sara Bard Field Ehrgott, sister of Mary Field, a prominent writer in California, who became a member, and Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, former President of the California College Equal Suffrage League, who acted as treasurer of the California branch of the Union. Others who joined were Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Miss Jessie Anthony, Mrs. Aylett Cotton, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, and Mrs. R. C. Young. Active help was also given by Mrs. Austin Sperry, President of the Susan B. Anthony Club of San Francisco, and Dr. Mary A. Sperry.

Leading Oregon women formed a local sustaining committee for the Congressional Union work. Prominent on the committee was Mrs. L. W. Therkelsen, former Chairman of the Press Committee for the Oregon State Suffrage Association, who also joined the Advisory Council of the Union. Other influential members were Dr. Florence Manion, one of the best-known women physicians in the State; Mrs. E. S. Gilbert, prominent in the club life of the city of Portland; Mrs. A. E. Borthwick, President of the College Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. Emma B. Carroll, a leading musician, and Mrs. W. J. Hawkins, who is honored all over the State as a worker in the Oregon Congress of Mothers and the Parent-Teacher Association.

Miss Margaret Roberts, Vice-President of the National Council of Women Voters, and President of the Idaho Chapter of the Council, joined the Congressional Union during the campaign and also became a member of its Advisory Council.

Among the prominent women in Wyoming who gave their active support were Mrs. Cyrus Beard, wife of Judge Beard; Mrs. R. N. La Fontaine, wife of the Mayor of Cheyenne; Mrs. R. A. Morton, President of the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs; and Mrs. J. J. Pershing, daughter of Senator Warren.

Within a short time from the opening of the campaign two hundred of the most prominent Colorado women had thrown in their forces with the Union and were giving active service, as well as becoming members. Among them were Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, the first woman who ever ran for the Colorado Senate, and for two years Deputy Commissioner of Immigration; Dr. Caroline Spencer, Secretary of the Women's Political Union of Colorado; Miss Josephine Roche, the famous Denver policewoman; Mrs. Lucius Cuthbert, and Dr. Margaret Long, of Denver.

Among the women of Washington State who were of assistance during the campaign were Dr. Fannie Leake-Cummings, a prominent suffrage worker in that State; Miss Reah Whitehead, nominated for Justice of the Peace; Mrs. Georgia Rose Sylvester, President of the Union Card and Label League; Dr. Vena Jolidon-Croake, member of the Washington Legislature; Mrs. M. Laube Loomis, Deputy County Auditor; and Mrs. Blanche H. Mason, officer of the Juvenile Court.

In undertaking the election campaign, the Union had expected that in the beginning only the humble members of the rank and file would respond to its appeal. It had fully realized that the rank and file are more easily reached by new work than are the leaders. It was with amazement, therefore, as well as gratification that it greeted the cordial co-operation of the leading women voters of the West.

Their willingness to subordinate party interest to the national suffrage cause furnishes the strongest assurance of the speedy organization of the woman's vote into such a power as to make it a determining factor in the outcome of events at Washington.

The rank and file, however, equalled the leaders in the enthusiasm with which they supported the campaign. Women who had never before been active in suffrage work were aroused to an effective support of the Congressional Union's policy. Said the *Tribune* of Pendleton, Oregon (October 16th), for instance, in commenting on this situation:

"Large numbers of women who had not even registered until the campaign of the Congressional Union began, have made it their duty to do so in order that they may cast their ballot on this one issue alone. They had not been especially interested in the general political campaign, but seeing the opportunity to assist in the enfranchisement of other women, they have come bravely to the front with offers of assistance."

Support for Election Work From Democratic Women

ONE of the illuminating features of the campaign was the aid given to the Union in its election work by prominent Democratic women. This support came from the Democratic women of the East as well as of the West. For example, Mrs. George A. Armes, President of the District of Columbia Branch of the National Wilson and Marshall League, wrote to the Chairman of the Union during the election days:

"I have come to the conclusion that the greatest service I can render to the National Democratic Party is to help to bring it to realize that true Democracy involves suffrage for women as well as for men. I know that it will come to a realization of this truth if it sees that it can no longer count upon the woman's vote in the West if it opposes the Suffrage Amendment. I am, therefore, heartily with the election campaign of the Congressional Union in its appeal to the women voters to cast their vote against all Democratic candidates for Congress."

Election Results

WOMEN voted in the election for forty-five members of Congress. For forty-three of these seats the Democratic Party ran candidates. All of these candidates were opposed by the Congressional Union. Out of the forty-three Democratic candidates, only twenty were elected.

The outstanding features of the election were the defeats of Mr. Neeley, Democratic candidate for the Senate from Kansas; Mr. Seldomridge, Democratic candidate for the House from Colorado; Mr. Flegel, Democratic candidate for the House from Oregon; Mr. Moyle, Democratic candidate for the Senate from Utah, and Governor Hawley, Democratic candidate for the Senate from Idaho.

Mr. Neeley's defeat was a veritable triumph for the Congressional Union. His election had been regarded as a practical certainly, due to the fact that the opposition forces were divided between former Senator Curtis, Republican nominee, and Representative Murdock, who made a most powerful Progressive candidate. The Congressional Union concentrated in this State on the Senatorial race and is generally conceded to have been one of the potent factors in the result.

Mr. Seldomridge's plurality of 22,281 of two years ago was entirely wiped out. His defeat was universally considered in his district to be due to the Congressional Union workers.

Mr. Flegel's election in Oregon had been fully expected, owing to the division of the opposition forces, a Republican, a Progressive and an Independent all being in the field. The Union concentrated on his district—the third—and his defeat was generally admitted to be the result of its campaign. For instance, the wife of an Oregon Congressman, lamenting the opposition of the Congressional Union, said recently, more in sorrow than in anger, "and they defeated Flegel."

In Utah, Mr. Moyle, the Democratic candidate, lost by 3,500 votes. This seat had been conceded to the Democrats. Various Democratic organs, notably the *New York World*, in their forecast of results the Sunday before election, counted the Senatorial seat from Utah as assured to the Democratic party. The Progressive and Democratic coalition in the State, whereby the Democrats ran no candidates for the seats in the House and in return received all Progressive support for the Senatorial candidate, was believed to have made Moyle's election a certainty. For the winning of the 3,500 votes which turned the scale, the Congressional Union campaigners seem to have been largely responsible, to judge from the vigorous opposition accorded these campaigners by the Democratic leaders in the State.

In Idaho the Democratic candidate, Governor Hawley lost out in his contest against Senator Brady. Governor Hawley had defeated Mr. Brady in the Gubernatorial contest four years before, and his position in the present campaign was strengthened by the feeling against the Republican ticket because of the embezzlement of funds by the State Treasurer, a Republican office holder. Had it not been for the opposition aroused against

the Democratic candidate by the Congressional Union campaign, based on the suffrage record of the Democratic party, Governor Hawley might quite probably have been elected. The Democratic candidate was defeated by only 6,000 votes.

The reduction of pluralities in the case of other Democrats was as effective as these actual defeats, in bringing to the minds of politicians the power of the suffrage movement.

These results were the more significant in view of the fact that it was in the States where the Congressional Union campaign was waged that the Democrats had looked for marked increase in power, since in these States there was not the dissatisfaction with the Democratic administration which was prevalent in industrial sections of the East where the tariff and currency regulations bore most heavily. The situation with regard to the effects of the tariff and curency legislation in the Western States was similar to that in the Middle West, and it had been predicted that the election results in the two would be the same. However, the returns show that the support accorded the administration in the Middle West was not maintained through the district where women voted. Mr. Gilson Gardner summed up the situation in an article for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, saying:

"The revolt against the Democrats was confined principally to the industrial States of the East, the largest majorities against them being cast in States like New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the New England States. In the States of the Middle West—the farming and grain-growing and cattle-raising States—the Democrats not only held their own, but made gains. This is true of Minnesota, South Dakota, Wisconsin and Nebraska. But when it came to the Suffrage States the women were able to prevent approval of the party by showing its suffrage record, and asking for the defeat of its candidates on the ground that the party in power had refused consideration of the Suffrage Amendment."

Analyzing the figures in detail, we find that in Arizona the two Democratic members of Congress, Senator Smith and Representative Hayden, were both re-elected. It was a foregone conclusion that in this rock-ribbed Democratic State this would be the result. Such inroads were made, however, upon the Democratic strength as to make Seantor Smith's election a matter of doubt for nearly a week. No comparison of actual figures with those of previous elections can be given for the Senatorial seat, since this was the first time that the State had the direct election of Senators, and no comparison can be given for the seat in the House, since the voting population of the State had been greatly increased since 1912 through the enfranchisement of women.

In California, five Democrats, three Republicans, three Progressives and one Independent were elected. This was an increase of three in the Democratic strength. This increase was due to the divided opposition to the Democratic party, a situation which did not exist two years before, the Progressives at that time having fused with or "captured" the Republicans. But for the opposition of Suffragists to the Democratic candidates, the Democrats might quite possibly have captured still more seats.

In Colorado the Democrats lost one seat and the majority in the others was greatly reduced. Senator Thomas' plurality of 45,000 in 1912 was reduced to a little over 3,000, and Senator Thomas himself confessed to a Congressional Union worker that the Union had given him the fight of his life. Representative Seldomridge's majority, as has already been stated, was entirely wiped out, and the majorities of Representatives Keating and Taylor reduced by many thousand, though no accurate comparison can be made in these two cases, since the State had been redistricted since the last election.

In Idaho all the Democratic candidates were defeated.

In Kansas, as already stated, the Democratic candidate for the Senate was defeated, as were two of the Democratic candidates for the House. The Democratic party captured one seat, however, that of Mr. Murdock, which was due to his withdrawal in order to run for the Senatorial seat. No comparison of figures can be made in this State, since the voting population had been increased here, as in Arizona, by the enfranchisement of women since the last election.

In Oregon all the Democratic candidates for the House were defeated, though Senator Chamberlain was re-elected on that ticket to the Senate. This left the Democratic strength of that State the same as during the preceding Congress. No comparison of figures can be made with regard to Senator Chamberlain, as this was the first direct election of Senators in that State. This State also permits of no comparison of figures with previous elections owing to the increase in voting population through the enfranchisement of its women.

In Utah, as already stated, the Democratic candidate for the Senate was defeated, and no Democrats ran for the House.

In Washington, the Democratic candidate for the Senate and four of the Democratic

candidates for the House were defeated, one candidate for the House being elected. This was an increase of one over the Democratic strength in the previous Congress. No comparison in figures can be made, however, as this State also was redistricted since the last election. It was a matter for congratulation that the Democrats won only one of the newly created seats, as it had been expected that they would capture both of the new districts.

In Wyoming there was only one contest, that for the House, and here also the Democratic candidate was defeated, Representative Mondell being elected.

To sum up:

Basing our estimate on the charges made by friends of the candidates whom we were forced, by reason of the action of their party, to oppose, the Congressional Union campaign defeated Representative Neeley of Kansas, Mr. Flegel of Oregon, and Representative Seldomridge of Colorado; and contributed in large measure to the defeat of Governor Hawley of Idaho, Mr. James H. Moyle of Utah, and Mr. Roscoe Drumheller of Washington, and greatly lessened the majorities of Senator Smith of Arizona, Senator Thomas and Mr. Keating of Colorado.

The campaign of the Congressional Union accomplished exactly what its members hoped and expected that it would accomplish. If their purpose had been merely to unseat Democrats, they would, of course, have taken the districts in the United States where the Democrats had won by very slight majorities. When they went into such strongly Democratic States as Arizona and Colorado, they did not expect to unseat any of the Democratic candidates in those States. Their purpose was to make Woman Suffrage an ever-present political issue in the States where women have political power until all the women of the United States shall be enfranchised, and to lay in those States the foundations for permanent and constantly growing support of the suffrage work at Washington. They succeeded in making the record of the Democratic party on Woman Suffrage (an issue which would not otherwise have been heard of) widely known and hotly discussed in the Suffrage States.

The result of the campaign was seen immediately in the action, described later in this report, of the Democratic Rules Committee in the House of Representatives in withdrawing its long-continued opposition to allowing the House to consider the suffrage measure.

Recognition of Union's Influence on Election Results

WHEN the election was over there was general public recognition of the part which the Congressional Union had played in the result. The following headline in one of the Denver papers is typical of the newspaper appreciation of the suffrage element in the situation:

"Meager Plurality Makes Thomas' Re-election an Empty Triumph.

Man Who Betrayed Colorado Interests and Double-Crossed Woman Suffrage Retains Job by Less Than One Thousand Votes."

A letter from the Lieutenant Governor of Kansas, Mr. W. G. Morgan, to Mrs. Latimer, one of the Congressional Union workers in that State, testified to the part Suffrage had played in the Kansas election.

"You notice we handed a few to Mr. Neeley," it ran, "and I think your statement in regard to him had much effect on the result."

Similar testimony came to the Congressional Union Headquarters from other States. For example, the *Colorado Springs Telegraph* (November 11th), commenting on the results, said:

"In the wide-sweeping results of the recent election, which indicates a loss of 120 members in the Democratic majority of Congress, it is an undoubted fact that the Woman's Congressional Union had a substantial part in bringing about this defection."

An article appeared in the papers of the Newspaper Enterprise Association shortly after election, as follows:

"The votes of women evidently played an important part in the recent election. The results of the campaign conducted by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage against the Democratic Party in the nine States where women voted are just beginning to be seriously considered by the Democratic politicians.

"Looked at in details, the result shows up badly for the Democrats. For instance, in Colorado, it was not until November 7th—five days after the election—that Senator Thomas knew he was re-elected by the narrowest kind of a squeak. In this State alone the women's plea for assistance helped in wiping out a Democratic majority of 45,000 votes, Senator Thomas having been elected by that majority in 1912. The Democratic Campaign Committee in Colorado acknowledged the power of the women's influence when it devoted its last campaign circular issued on the eve of the election entirely to the women's campaign and pleaded with the voters to disregard this issue. In addition, the women defeated one of the Democratic Congressmen in Colorado and reduced the majorities of the others.

"In Oregon, also, the managers for Senator Chamberlain acknowledged the power of the women's vote by devoting the opening paragraphs in their last campaign circular to a plea against the women.

"In Arizona, it was not until November 6th—four days after the election—that Senator Mark Smith was known to have been elected, so strenuous was the campaign waged against him by the women. In the other States where the women worked the figures showed greatly reduced majorities for the Democrats who were successful, and almost universal defeat for the Democratic candidates who tried to wrest from the Republicans and Progressives the seats which the latter held. * * *

"The importance of the situation will be more fully realized by the Democratic politicians when they understand that the wonderful fight which the women made this time was the result of a very short campaign, by only two women organizers in each State, with very little money on which to run the campaign. With two years more in which to prepare for a campaign, the women can absolutely assure Democratic defeat, if that party persists in refusing to allow a vote on the Suffrage Amendment."

Campaigners Welcome Home

THE campaigners were welcomed back to the National Capital on November 10th at a mass meeting at the Columbia Theatre, at which Mrs. Hooker presided. The speakers were Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, of England, and Mr. Charles Edward Russell, in addition to the returning campaigners.

The organizers, on their return, reported a very different situation in the Suffrage States from that which had existed two months earlier. Then there had been practically no members of the Union among the women voters. The enfranchised women had been but little informed on the work with Congress. At the end of the campaign there were hundreds of members of the Union in the Suffrage States eager to carry on the fight for the National Amendment, and there were three headquarters established in these States, equipped to continue the campaign until national woman suffrage was won.

Woman Suffrage Discussed in Congress

IN the meantime Suffragists had been keeping a vigilant eye upon Congress, anxiously awaiting the opportunity to press their measure.

Woman Suffrage was brought up in the House of Representatives on October 10, 1914, during discussion of the Philippine Bill, conferring a greater measure of self-government on Philippine men. Representative Mann of Illinois proposed on that date that the franchise measure in the pending bill be so amended as to give the vote to women of the Islands. This amendment was lost by a vote of 58 to 84. On October 12th, Representative J. W. Bryan of Washington, Progressive, proposed three other amendments: One, making women eligible to vote in school elections, which was lost by a vote of 11 to 27; one giving the vote to women property owners, which was lost by a vote of 9 to 27; and one giving the Philippine Legislature power to extend the right of suffrage to women at any future time, which was lost by a vote of 11 to 27. The amendments were defeated by strictly party votes, the Democrats voting almost solidly against them, while the Progressives and Republicans supported them.

A delegation from the Congressional Union was present in the gallery of the House during the debate and witnessed the Democratic opposition to suffrage for Philippine women while waxing most eloquent over the iniquity of refusing self-government to Philippine men.

Congress Adjourns

CONGRESS adjourned on October 24th, after sitting from April 7, 1913,—the longest continuous sitting of Congress in history. At the close of this session the suffrage amendment was upon the calendar of the Senate and the House, ready for a vote in both bodies. Mr. Mondell's resolution providing for time in the House for a vote on the measure was still before the Rules Committee. The adjournment of Congress did not change the status of the suffrage amendment, as it would still retain the same position on the convening of the short session of Congress in December.

Newly Enfranchised Women Appeal to President

THE last session of the Sixty-third Congress opened on Monday, December 7th. President Wilson's message, read on December 8th, made no mention of the woman suffrage question, though it expressly recommended the bill granting further independence to Philippine men.

Immediately following the President's message, Miss Anne Martin, leader of the Nevada Suffragists, waited upon the President to protest on behalf of the newly-enfranchised women of that State against this omission from his message, and to plead that the President use his power to further the passage in Congress of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, in order to save the women of other States from the laborious and costly referendum campaign through which Nevada women had just passed. The President gave evidence of an increasing friendliness toward the suffrage movement on this occasion, saying that he was very glad, indeed, to read of Nevada's success. He congratulated Miss Martin warmly upon the Nevada victory, but added: "That is the way I believe it should come,—by States."

Rules Committee Withdraws Opposition to Vote on Suffrage Resolution

THE Congressional Union recommenced its deputations to the members of the Rules Committee immediately upon their return to Washington. Mrs. Gilson Gardner and Mrs. William Kent, of the Executive Committee, called upon Chairman Henry as soon as he reached the city. To their astonishment, they were promptly assured by Mr. Henry that the Rules Committee would report favorably House Resolution No. 514, which had been before it since June, providing for the consideration of the Suffrage Amendment in the House. Mr. Cantrill of Kentucky and Mr. Goldfogle of New York, Democratic members of the Committee, also assured representatives of the Union that the Rules Committee would shortly bring the Amendment to a vote in the House.

The favorable report was decided upon at the first meeting of the Rules Committee, on December 12, 1914. Those voting for the reporting of the resolution were Foster of Illinois (D.), Lenroot of Wisconsin (R.), Campbell of Kansas (R.), and Kelly of Pennsylvania (P.). Those against the resolution were Henry of Texas (D.), Pou of North Carolina (D.), and Cantrill of Kentucky (D.). Goldfogle of New York (D.) abstained from voting. The other members were not present. Thus by a vote of 4 to 3 on the Rules Committee the suffrage amendment was advanced to a vote on the floor of the House of Representatives.

This 4 to 3 vote was clearly a Democratic arrangement by which Mr. Henry, Mr. Pou and Mr. Cantrill were enabled to put themselves on record against action on the Federal Amendment in Congress, while actually permitting such action. The fact that before the meeting of the Rules Committee three of the Democratic members of the Committee, Mr. Henry, Chairman; Mr. Cantrill, and Mr. Goldfogle, had stated that the favorable report would be made, showed that the Democratic majority on the Committee had decided to withdraw their long-continued opposition to permitting the amendment to be considered by the House. The Democratic majority of three on the Committee was such that the Democrats could have continued to prevent the report of the resolution, had they so desired, even though allowing Foster of Illinois to vote in favor of it, in deference to the women voters of his State, and Goldfogle of New York to vote in favor or refrain from voting, out of respect for the strong suffrage sentiment in his district.

The favorable report of the Rules Committee was of particular interest, in view of the fact that Mr. Henry had repeatedly said the Rules Committee could take no action without instructions from the Democratic Caucus, and yet no Caucus had been held. Presumably the Western campaign, as well as the long succession of deputations had something to do with the change of heart on the part of the Committee.

The *Washington Herald* (December 14th) commented as follows on the belated report of the suffrage rule:

"That the action of the House Rules Committee Saturday in favorably reporting a rule requiring a record vote on the resolution proposing a Constitutional Amendment enfranchising women, will remove, in large part, a thorn from the side of the Democratic Party, is the hope of leaders in Congress.

"It is hoped that by permitting the question to come to a vote in the House the party will be relieved from the blanket opposition which it met in the fall campaign when all Democratic candidates were opposed by the women, regardless of candidates' individual views on Suffrage.

"The record vote, which probably will be taken before Christmas, will permit each Democratic member who favors the proposed Amendment to record himself, thus offering a strong weapon of defense in the next campaign."

This was the first time in history that a hearing was secured in the National House of Representatives for an amendment enfranchising women. The debate and vote took place shortly after the close of the year. The bringing of the measure to a vote was the greatest political triumph secured by Suffragists in the Sixty-third Congress.

General Work

IN addition to the general political activities of the year, as outlined above, the Congressional Union continued to canvass Congress, to gather information concerning Senators and Representatives, to interview doubtful members repeatedly, and to organize deputations of constituents to visit them both at Washington and at home. It also continued to keep suffragists everywhere informed of the successive stages in the work at Washington, and of opportunities for them to aid by sending letters and telegrams to their respective Representatives. A mailing list of many thousands of names was in constant use for this purpose.

In Washington and in other parts of the country the holding of mass meetings and of

other meetings, both indoor and outdoor, to arouse public sentiment in support of the Amendment continued unabated, as in 1913. In Washington there was a brilliant ball at the Willard, a Thé Dansant, a performance of the play, "How the Vote Was Won," given for the purpose of raising funds, besides lectures, receptions and teas. Here and elsewhere these and similar activities of the Union surpassed those of the preceding year in number and attendance.

Press Bureau and Literature Departments Developed

THE Press Bureau of the previous year was enlarged and its work extended under an experienced chairman, who devoted all her time to the national press work. The literature department was developed and millions of leaflets and handbills on the National Amendment printed and distributed, particularly in the Suffrage States.



THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN

Congressional Union Meeting on the Boardwalk at Atlantic City.

Growth of the Suffragist

THE *Suffragist*, the weekly organ of the Congressional Union, continued to gain subscribers until now it has readers in every State. Its subscription list trebled during the year.

Work in Constituencies of Congressmen

WHILE the work of the Union was concentrated mainly at the National Capital, constant endeavors were made to spread interest in the amendment in the constituencies of members of Congress. To this end the summer campaign of 1913 was repeated, though on a much larger scale. It opened the first day of July, 1914, with headquarters at Newport, Rhode Island, under the direction of Miss Doris Stevens. Members of the Union took up the work of spreading interest in the National Amendment, and of securing members, and subscribers to the *Suffragist*, at the various resort regions where they were spending the summer. In this way the constituencies of a large number of Senators and Representatives were reached.

Headquarters under a trained organizer were continued during the year in Delaware, so that Delaware is now seething with suffrage interest. This State was considered of particular importance because it is the only one in the Union in which women can receive full enfranchisement by action of the Legislature without a referendum to the people. The State has been thoroughly organized by the Congressional Union, with Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, daughter of the late Senator Bayard, member of Cleveland's Cabinet, and the first Ambassador to England, as the State Chairman; Miss Edith Spruance, a member of an old Delaware family, as Treasurer; and with a chairman in each county and local division of the State.

A branch of the Union was organized in Philadelphia in the spring of 1914, with an Executive Committee consisting of Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Chairman; Miss Harriet W. Dulles, Vice-Chairman; Miss Mary A. Burnham, Miss Fanny T. Cochran, Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Mrs. Lucretia M. B. Mitchell, and Miss Sarah G. Tomkins. The work in Philadelphia was conducted with such vigor that it soon required the services of an organizer, Miss Emily Perry first acting in that capacity, and later Miss Anna McCue. The interest continued to grow to such an extent that a branch of the Union was organized in the suburbs of Mt. Airy and Germantown.

In Minnesota also a branch of the Union was formed through the efforts of Mrs. Florence Bramhall, who became its chairman.

Besides these branches, permanent headquarters of the Union have been established during the year in Colorado, California and Oregon. Each is under the direction of a Congressional Union organizer maintained from Washington. From these centers an unremitting agitation has been kept up among the women voters, by which they have been kept in touch with the progress of the Federal Amendment, and aroused to make known their wishes concerning the Amendment to their Representatives in Congress.

The Congressional Union also organized during the year the first suffrage society in the State of New Mexico, in order that there might be organized suffrage sentiment in that State, to which an appeal could be made when action was desired from the New Mexico Congressmen.

Work for Presidential Suffrage

WHILE the purpose of the Union is to obtain an amendment to the National Constitution, it has also endeavored to aid, where possible, in the work for Presidential suffrage in the States, because Presidential suffrage increases the suffrage strength in the national political field. For this reason, Miss Emily Perry, organizer for the Union, spent the month of March, 1914, in Rhode Island, working with the Legislature for the Presidential suffrage bill, Rhode Island being the State in which the most active campaign for Presidential suffrage was in progress at that



THE WORK THAT WON NEVADA.

Miss Mabel Vernon, Congressional Union Organizer, and Miss Anne Martin, President Nevada Equal Franchise Society, Waiting to Speak in a Nevada Hayfield Shortly Before Election

organization of the women voters,—that great power heretofore untouched and in which lies much of the hope for the speedy success of the Amendment.

The two years end with a large, well-equipped national headquarters at Washington, consisting of seven offices and a staff of five stenographers and office workers; six branch headquarters, each under a trained organizer and with its own stenographic force; a national press bureau, under a trained presswoman; a research department under a specialist in that line of work; a literature department devoted to the compiling and printing of literature on the Federal Amendment; a weekly organ carrying the national news to many thousands of homes, and a membership covering every State in the Union.

The early days of the struggle are over. Two years ago the Federal Amendment had dropped into obscurity. Today it occupies the center of the stage. Suffrage workers are turning to it as the most speedy means to enfranchisement. Women already enfranchised are rising to put their power behind it.

At last we are in a position in which we can look with confidence to the passage of the Amendment by the next Congress. With a large organization devoted to that one end, enthusiastically supported by the women voters, we turn to the Sixty-fourth Congress with the belief that we have in our hands an instrument which will make certain the passage of the Amendment before that Congress adjourns.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Submitted by Miss Joy L. Webster, Treasurer

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE FROM JANUARY 1st, 1914 TO JANUARY 1st, 1915

(The Treasurer's Report for 1913 was printed in The Suffragist of February 7, 1914, and in the Report for 1913 of the National American Woman Suffrage Association)

RECEIPTS

January 1, 1914:		
To balance on hand		$25.64
To receipts as follows:		
Collected for other Societies	$12.00	
Contributions and collections	28,607.62	
Membership fees	685.42	
Miscellaneous	1,077.97	
Sale of literature	406.64	
Sale and rental of costumes	70.27	
Sale of regalia	263.41	
Sale of tickets for meetings, play, ball, automobile, seats in procession, etc	$3,630.32	
Sale of banners	1.85	
"Suffragist"—		
Advertising	$766.83	
Miscellaneous	.65	
Sale of papers	532.82	
Subscriptions	1,311.45	
	2,611.75	
Total receipts		37,457.25
Sum total		$37,482.89

EXPENDITURES

Anniversary Meeting, Mrs. William Kent's Home, Washington, D. C., January 11, 1914. (Postage, Printing, Stationery)	$19.25
Anniversary Meeting, Rauscher's, Washington, D. C., January 10, 1915. (Preliminary expenses—Postage, Circular Letters)	20.00
Auditor	263.99
Ball to raise Suffrage Fund, April 21, 1914, Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. (Advertising, Badges for Floor Committee, Orchestra, Postage, Printing, Invitations, Tickets, Stenographer, Rent of Ballroom, Supper)	1,173.88
Banners. (Hauling, Shelving for Banners, Storage, etc.)	31.85
Barry Memorial Meeting, May 16, 1914, Washington, D. C. (Cornet Player, Balloons, Laurel, etc.)	7.46
Blount Garden Party, Home of Col. and Mrs. Henry F. Blount, Washington, D. C., September 13, 1914, given in honor of campaigners leaving for election campaigns in nine suffrage States. (Invitations, refreshments, rental of chairs, postage and miscellaneous expenses)	80.20
Christabel Pankhurst Meeting, given at the home of Mrs. John Jay White, November 8, 1914. (Invitations)	16.65
Club Women's Deputation to President, June 30, 1914. (Band, banners, postage, printing and telegrams)	153.79
Colorado Headquarters (November 15 to January 1). (Gas and electric lights, newspapers, postage, publicity, rental of chairs, rent of headquarters, salary organizer, stationery, stenographer, office supplies, telephone, telegrams, typewriter, etc.)	273.35
Delaware Headquarters (January 1, 1914, to January 1, 1915). (Advertising, clerk, janitor, printing, rent of headquarters, salary of organizer, office supplies, telephone, typewriter, postage, stationery, traveling expenses)	$1,023.29
Democratic Women's Deputation to President, January 6, 1915. (Preliminary expenses, postage)	6.15
Deputation to the Rules Committee, July 13, 1914. (Postage)	1.90
Election Campaign in Nine Suffrage States, September 15 to November 15, 1914. (Advertising, expressage, press clippings, rental of headquarters, stenographic work, office supplies, rental of office furniture, telephone, telegrams, traveling expenses of campaigners, salaries of organizers, campaign literature and supplies, packing cases, postage, etc.)	7,617.24
Hearing Before Judiciary Committee, March 2, 1914. (Printing, postage, telegrams, traveling expenses)	67.21
Labor Deputation to President, February 2, 1914. (Bands, banners, hospitality, luncheon for deputation, postage, reception to deputation, traveling expenses)	664.20
Lansbury Meeting, held at the National Rifles, Armory, January 17, 1914, Washington, D. C. (Printing)	17.00
Legislative and Research Department. (Postage, printing, rent, salaries, stenographer, supplies, telegrams)	1,157.22
Literature. (Rent, supply of literature, miscellaneous expenses of literature chairman, postage, expressage)	428.04

time. Miss Perry spoke from one end of the State to the other, addressed the Legislature and interviewed its members.

Nevada Campaign

BELIEVING that Nevada was a hopeful point of attack and offered great chances for success if sufficient money and effort were spent there, the Union sent one of its organizers, Miss Mabel Vernon, to aid the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, in March, 1914.

Miss Vernon remained in Nevada from March until after the election, the Union paying her expenses to and from Nevada, her traveling expenses in Nevada during three months of her stay there, and her salary for all but the last month. During this month she remained at the request of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, the Union in consequence paying a substitute to do work which Miss Vernon was to have done elsewhere.

During all but the last two months of the Nevada campaign, Miss Vernon was the only suffrage organizer in the State. Her work is generally conceded to have been one of the main factors in the winning of Nevada.

Contributions Increased $16,000 Over Previous Year

NO feature of the year's history has been more encouraging than the financial support which the members of the Union have accorded it with ever-increasing devotion. During the year 1914 the total receipts as detailed in the financial report were $37,457.25, while the total disbursements were $37,426.88. This is an increase in receipts of over $10,000 over the previous year. Particularly encouraging is the increase over the previous year of $16,000 in contributions, these amounting in 1913 to only $12,597.79, while during the year 1914 they totaled $28,697.62.

Summary of Work During 1914

THE work of the year 1914 covered a greater territory and was on a much vaster scale than that of the year 1913. In 1913 it had been confined almost exclusively to Washington. During the second year, however, the two principal achievements, the organization of the nation-wide demonstration on behalf of the National Amendment, and the autumn election campaign in the nine Suffrage States, extended the work for the National Amendment to the remotest sections of the country. The year's work included, to summarize it briefly, the re-introduction of the Amendment in the Senate; the organization on behalf of the Amendment of the nation-wide demonstration; the demonstration in Washington at which the resolutions passed at the nation-wide demonstration were presented to Congress; three deputations to the President, two of which were on a much larger scale than any previous ones; a hearing before the Judiciary Committee; the conducting of an election campaign in the nine Suffrage States against all Democratic candidates for Congress; the maintenance of a permanent lobby at Washington devoted to interviewing Congressmen, organizing deputations to them and collecting and tabulating information about them; a summer campaign, of much wider extent than that of the previous year, in the constituencies of Congressmen; the establishing of three permanent headquarters (Colorado, California and Oregon) in the Suffrage States as centers from which these States could be covered; the continuance of the headquarters in Delaware; the establishing of Congressional Union branches in Minnesota and Pennsylvania for the purpose of extending interest in the Federal work in those States; the organizing of a notable conference of suffrage workers at Newport; the enlargement of the press bureau; the printing and distribution of more than a million pieces of literature on the Amendment; the developing of the *Suffragist* so that its circulation was trebled and readers obtained for it in every State; the trebling of the membership of the Union so that at the end of the year it also covered every State; the constant organizing at the Capital and through the country of meetings ranging from small outdoor gatherings to theatre mass meetings; the giving of a suffrage play, a ball and a Thé Dansant for money-raising purposes; the giving of two garden parties, a luncheon, a reception and several teas in connection with different political events at the Capital; the organizing of the first suffrage society in New Mexico; a month's campaign in Rhode Island to assist Rhode Island suffragists in their work for Presidential Suffrage; a campaign of more than seven months in Nevada for the purpose of helping the Nevada women in their suffrage referendum; and the raising of over $37,000.

Summary of Results Accomplished

THE political progress of the year included the making of suffrage of such national importance that for the first time in history it received the consideration of a Congressional Caucus of one of the two great national parties; the reporting of the Suffrage Amendment from the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives for the first time since 1896; the obtaining of a more extended and serious discussion of the Amendment in Congress than that accorded it the preceding year; the securing of a vote in the Senate (though taken at an inopportune moment) for the first time since 1887; and the securing of a vote in the House of Representatives for the first time in history. Outside of the national field it included the helping in winning suffrage in Nevada.

End of the Two Years

THE two years' work finds the Federal Amendment in a much stronger position than when the Headquarters were opened in F Street.

The National Amendment was then almost forgotten, receiving no attention beyond a formal hearing once every two years. Suffragists were then divided into thirty-eight groups (one in each of the unenfranchised States), intent on their own State work and neglectful of the national field. Moreover, in the States where the franchise had already been won suffrage organizations had practically disbanded and there was no organized means of utilizing the woman's vote of the West to aid in obtaining National Suffrage through action by Congress.

During the two years the National Amendment has been made a subject on which Congressmen have been compelled to think every day in the week. It has been forced to the floor and to a vote in both Houses. More than that, it has been made a national political issue through the campaign in the Western States. A national basis has been laid for the



ONE OF THE BRANCH HEADQUARTERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION
The Office at Wilmington, Delaware

May 2d Demonstration Over Whole Country.
(Postage, traveling expenses for meetings in New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware; traveling expenses connected with organizing May 2d demonstrations by trips through Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota. Indiana, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Washington, Oregon, Utah, Illinois, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa, West Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Kansas, Arkansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, California, Nevada)..... $1,058.79

May 5th Demonstration in Washington, D. C., following Report by Judiciary Committee.
(Band) 44.00

May 9th Procession and Mass Meeting in Washington, D. C.
(Advertising, automobiles, bands, banners, cavalry, children's section, flowers, garlands, music, postage, printing, regalia, rent of theatre for meeting, stationery, stenographer, telegrams, traveling expenses)..... 3,697.25

Miscellaneous and Refund Account..... 262.85

Nevada Campaign (March 31st to November 15th, 1914).
(Salary and traveling expenses of organizer, telegrams, postage and miscellaneous campaign expenses)..... 726.99

Oregon Headquarters Expenses (November 15th to January 1st).
(Office supplies, postage, rent of headquarters, salary of organizer, stenographer, telephone, etc.)..... 158.94

Other Organizations.
Transfered to—
(Sale of Woman's Journal; sale of tickets for other societies) 30.18

Petrick-Lawrence Meeting, Columbia Theatre, Washington, D. C., November 15, 1914.
(Advertising, circular letters, tickets, window cards, rent of theatre, postage, signs, posters, lantern slides, etc.). 175.30

Play "How the Vote Was Won," Columbia Theatre, Washington, D. C., February 20, 1914.
(Advertising, costumes, music, postage, professional services, rehearsals, royalties, staging play, electrician, stage hands, stage properties)..... 326.47

Philadelphia Headquarters (April 15th to January 1st).
(Advertising, banners, printing, regalia, salary of organizer, traveling expenses)..... 990.90

Press Bureau.
(Clipping Bureau, daily papers, duplicating machine, messenger for delivering press copy, office furniture, photographs, postage, rent, salary press chairman, stenographer, supplies) 1,961.03

Printing.
(Miscellaneous) 106.86

Regalia Account 287.00

Rhode Island Campaign (March 5th to April 1st).
(Meetings, postage, regalia, salary of organizer, stationery, stenographer, telegrams, traveling expenses). 131.54

Star-Spangled Banner Centennial Parade (Labor Day, September 1, 1914), Baltimore, Md.
(Expenses of Congressional Union section of parade, including circular letters, postage and contribution to Just Government League of Maryland toward expenses of organizing suffrage section in this parade)..... $208.00

"Suffragist, The"—
(Clerk, commissions on sale of paper, engraving, furniture, mailing, photographs, postage, printing of paper, rent, salaries of editor, business manager and stenographer, stationery, supplies, wrapping "Suffragist," etc. 6,979.62

Summer Campaign—
General Campaign Expenses.
(Postage, printing, stationery)..... $102.50

Atlantic City Headquarters.
(Expressage, hauling, photographs, publicity, postage, rent of headquarters, salary of organizer, expenses of assistant, signs, telegrams, telephone, traveling expenses, beach umbrella, booth, etc.)..... 339.64

Maryland Walking Trip 18.68

Newport (R. I.) Headquarters.
(Electric lights, expenses of Conference of Advisory Council, expressage, garden party, luncheon, janitor, post cards, printing, refreshments for teas, rent of headquarters, rent of chairs, rent of typewriter, salary of organizer, stationery, stenographer, supplies, telephone, telegrams, traveling expenses.... 1,026.99

1,487.81

Sunday Teas and Lectures, Congressional Union Headquarters, Washington D. C..... 97.50

Telephone.
(General) 509.20

Thé Dansant, Rauscher's, Washington, D. C., November 27, 1914.
(Accompanist, decorations, orchestra, Rauscher's bill, stamps, printing tickets, etc.)..... 64.52

Training Organizers from outside of Washington..... 63.40

Traveling Expenses (General)..... 397.31

Washington Headquarters.
(Furniture, meetings, office supplies, organizing work, postage, rent, salaries of organizers, stenographers, telegrams, typists, telephone operator, etc.)..... 4,638.80

Total Expenditures for the Year Ending January 1, 1915..... $37,426.88

Balance in American Security and Trust Company January 1, 1915 56.01

$37,482.89

I have examined the Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, as shown herein, for the year beginning January 1, 1914, and ending December 31, 1914, and find same correct, the disbursements being supported by proper vouchers.

JOHN C. ATHEY,
Auditor and Accountant.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

From JANUARY 1, 1914, to JANUARY 1, 1915

A

Abrahams, Mrs. Kate Trenholm.. $1.00
Ackermann, Mrs. Frances B..... 10.00
Adamson, Mrs. Robert 10.00
Adcock, Mrs. E..... 5.00
Alexandria County Suffrage League, Virginia..... 2.00
Alexander, Miss ..... .30
Amberg, Miss Bertha E. R..... 1.00
Ames, Dr..... 1.00
Andrews, Mrs. Eliphalet F..... 7.00
Angell, Mrs. Louise B..... 1.00
Annall, Miss Emma 1.00
Anonymous 279.17
Anthony, Miss Jessie 5.00
Anthony, Miss Mary B..... 7.00
Arden Equal Suffrage Association, Delaware..... 5.70
Armes, Mrs. George A..... .25
Armstrong, Miss Bertha ..... .10
Arniel, Mrs. Annie 7.25
Arnold, Miss Virginia (collected). 4.68
Atherton, Miss N. L..... .25
Athey, Mr. John C..... .50
Atkinson, Mr. Wilmer 20.00
Austin, Mrs. Calvin 5.00

B

Bach, Mrs. Annie E..... .25
Bach, Mrs. F. E..... 6.00
Bagot, Mr. P. J..... 2.00
Bailey, Dr. Emma Reba 3.00
Bailey, G. G. G..... 1.00
Bain, Miss Harriet 22.00
Baker, Miss Jessie 1.00
Baker, Miss Katherine ..... .25
Baker, Mrs. Robert W..... 18.00
Bales, Dr. Grace M..... 5.00
Ballantyne & Sons, Messrs. Wm.. 1.00
Baltimore, Md., Political Equality League..... 5.00
Bancroft, Mrs. Wm. P..... 22.00
Band, Mrs. Mary J..... 5.00
Barker, Mrs. Richard 1.00
Barkley, Miss Bessie ..... .25
Barnett, Miss Claribel..... 4.50
Barney, Miss Nannie 1.00
Barrett, Mr. John 50.00
Barry, Mrs. A. E..... 9.00
Barsky, Mrs. Nathan 5.00
Bassett, Mr. John Bessler 25.00
Bassler, Miss M. C..... 6.00
Bassin, Mrs. Mary ..... .25
Bates, Mrs. M. E..... 5.00
Baughmann, Mrs. Daniel 1.00
Baxter, Miss Emma F..... 14.50
Bayley, Mrs. Annette Warner.... 12.00
Bayly, Mrs. Charles 10.00
Beard, Mrs. Charles 5.00
Bearse, Mrs. H. L..... 6.00
Beck, Mrs. E. G..... 1.00
Beckwith, Miss Lorania C..... 10.00
Bedford, Mrs. J. Claude..... 5.00
Beeber, Judge Dinner 50.00
Beecher, Mrs. E. A..... $6.00
Beer, Miss Alice B..... 5.00
Beers, Mrs. Harriet 10.00
Bell, Mrs. Eliabeth M..... 37.00
Belmont, Mrs. O. H. P..... 12,160.00
Belmont, Mrs. O. H. P. (collected) 363.00
Benedict, Mrs. Crystal Eastman... 5.00
Bennett, Miss Grace L..... 1.00
Benton Equal Suffrage Club of Luzerne, Iowa 5.00
Berliner, Mrs. Emile 2.00
Berrell, Mrs. Rose B..... 5.00
Bestor, Miss Virginia T..... 1.00
Biesel, Mrs. Charles 5.00
Birtwell, Miss 1.00
Bishop, Dr. L. Brackett 25.00
Bishop, Mr. and Mrs. L. Brackett. 5.00
Blaine, Miss E. W..... .25
Blaine, Miss Rebecca 1.00
Blatch, Mrs. Harriot Stanton 1.00
Blount, Mrs. Henry F..... 11.00
Bloxhain, Miss Nellie L..... 1.00
Bodey, Mr. Francis C..... 1.00
Boeckh, Mrs. Kate J..... 10.70
Bogy, Mrs. Grace S..... 10.00
Boyd, Miss Mary E..... 2.00
Boyle, Mrs. Howard P..... 5.00
Brackenridge, Miss Elinor..... .25
Braden, Mrs. R. H..... 1.00
Bradford, Miss Anita 2.25
Brannan, Mrs. John Winters.... 25.00
Brassington, Mrs. J. W..... 3.00
Breitung, Mrs. Edward N..... 500.00
Brennan, Miss H. E..... 1.00
Brennan, Miss M. F..... 1.00
Brennan, Miss Mary ..... .50
Brewster, Miss Ethel H..... 1.00
Brigham, Mrs. A. G..... 1.00
Bright, Miss Brooke 1.00
Brightman, Mr. W. E..... 5.00
Bringhurst, Mrs. Frederick..... 1.20
Brodbine, Miss Annie ..... .25
Brooke, Mrs. C. M..... 1.00
Brooke, Mrs. Minnie E..... 11.52
Brooke, Mr. W. C..... 1.00
Brosius, Mr. Lewis W..... .50
Brown, Miss Edna F..... 2.00
Brown, Mrs. Frederick Davis.... 10.00
Brown, Rev. Olympia 2.00
Bryan, Representative J. W..... 10.00
Bryan, Mrs. Mary S..... .50
Buckley, Miss Mary 10.00
Burchenal, Mr. Caleb 1.00
Burke, Miss Emma 1.50
Burnham, Miss Mary 1,056.00
Burns, Miss Anna 25.00
Burns, Miss Helen 25.00
Burns, Miss Janet 5.00
Burns, Miss Lucy 2.50
Burrell, Mrs. Stephanie 10.00
Burritt, Dr. Martha C..... .25
Burrough, Miss Mary A..... 1.00
Burt, Miss Edith B..... 25.00
Burt, Miss M. Theodora 25.00
Business Woman's League of the District of Columbia..... 19.05
Butcher, Miss Mary P..... $ .50
Butler, Mrs. W. B..... 3.25
Butterfield, Mrs. O. B..... 10.00
Byrnes, Mrs. Eliabeth McKenzie.. 5.25

C

"C" 15.00
Caesar, Mrs. Albert 2.00
Calnan, Miss Eleanor A..... 5.00
Campbell, Miss ..... .50
Campbell, Mrs. B. A..... 1.00
Campbell, Miss Helen ..... .25
Campbell, Miss Louisa 5.00
Cann, Mrs. C. G..... .50
Carey, Miss Eleanor 2.00
Carnes, Mrs. W. F..... 8.00
Carr, Miss Anna G..... 1.25
Carr, Mrs. Cassandra S..... .50
Carr, Miss Emily 14.00
Carroll, Mrs. F. H..... 10.00
Carter, Mrs. Walter W..... 63.00
Casement, Mr. Dan 10.00
Catonsville, Md., Branch of Just Government League 5.00
Chamberlain, Jean Boster 5.00
Cherot, Miss Lydia ..... .25
Chestnut Hill and Mount Airy, Philadelphia, Branch of Congressional Union 5.00
Churchman, Miss Annie O..... 4.60
Clagett, Mrs. Mary Kealty..... 32.00
Clark, Mrs. J. Francis A..... 10.00
Clark, Miss Maud F..... 14.00
Clements, Miss F. F..... 1.00
Coale, Dr. Edith ..... .25
Cochran, Miss Fanny Travis 35.00
Cochran, Mrs. Travis 204.00
Cochran, Mr. Travis 100.00
Cocks, Miss Annie M..... 8.00
Coe, Mrs. R. D..... 1.00
Coffin, Mrs. Caleb 3.00
Cole, Mrs. A. Hyde 2.00
Cole, Mrs. Thomas ..... .25
Coleman, Mrs. Stuart Moseby..... .50
Collections 710.17
Colt, Mrs. Wm. L..... 40.00
Cendon, Miss Katherine F..... 2.00
Conkle, Miss Mary 22.13
Conner, Mrs. W. D..... 16.25
Connolly, Miss Ada 1.00
Constable, Miss Anna 25.00
Conway, Mrs. Margaret 2.00
Cooper, Miss Caroline 7.00
Corliss, Miss 1.00
Cost, Mrs. ..... .25
Cothren, Mrs. Frank 5.00
Cowlan, Miss Isabel..... 2.00
Cox, Miss 2.00
Coyne, Miss Grace M..... 1.00
Craig, Miss Margaret ..... .25
Crans, Miss Cornelia 1.00
Crans, Miss Lillian 2.25
Cranston, Miss Ella F..... 5.00
Cranston, Miss Helen 1.00
Cranston, Mrs. John A..... $13.50
Cregan, Miss Laura 25.00
Critten, Miss Marjorie 5.00
Crocker, Miss Gertrude 10.00
Crostlewaite, Mrs. Forest M..... 6.00
Cummins, Miss Anne M..... 2.00
Cunningham, Miss Mary 5.00
Cureton, Mrs. T. H..... 2.00
Currier, Miss Clare S..... 2.00
Curtin, Miss Marcia ..... .50
Curtis, Mr. E..... 10.00
Curtis, Mrs. H. W..... 3.00
Cuthbert, Mrs. Lucius M..... 100.00
Cutts, Annie Spencer 1.00

D

Dabney, Miss Anne 10.76
Dabney, Miss May 9.04
Dallam, Captain 1.00
Daniels, Miss L. C..... .14
Darlington, Bishop of Pennsylvania 2.00
Davidson, Mrs. Jessie L..... 5.00
Davis, Mrs. Ellen 6.00
Davis, Mrs. Henry C..... 30.50
Davis, Miss J. L..... .25
Davis, Miss Martha 7.00
Davis, Mrs. M. C..... 1.00
Davis, Mrs. Richmond Pearson.... 5.00
Davisson, Mr. Richard 1.00
Day, Mrs. 1.00
Day, Mrs. D. W..... 1.00
Day, Mrs. Frank Miles 1.00
Day, Mrs. Katharine B..... 60.00
Day, Mrs. Mary S. W..... 1.00
Dayette, Miss Emma E..... .25
Dayton and Montgomery Counties, Ohio, Woman Suffrage Ass'n.. 10.00
Deal, Miss Alice ..... .25
Dean, Mrs. S. Ella Wood..... 22.00
de Angulo, Mrs. Cary Fink..... 10.00
Delaware Equal Suffrage Ass'n... 120.82
Dell, Miss Jessie ..... .25
de Vou, Miss Mary R..... 14.55
Dickinson, Miss Anne V..... 1.00
Dickson, Miss Henrietta 5.00
Dilks, Miss Irene 1.00
Dixon, Miss Mary Bartlett 10.00
Dock, Miss Lavinia L..... 34.25
Doherty, Mrs. Cornelia R..... 1.00
Doran, Miss Helen F..... 1.00
Douglas, Miss Agnes 2.00
Douglas, Miss Lillian 2.55
Draper, Mrs. E. D..... 6.00
Duchess of Marlborough..... 50.00
Duke, Miss Emma 1.00
Dunbar, Mrs. Anna ..... .50
Duniway, Mrs. Abigail Scott..... 1.00
Dunlap, Miss Amy 8.00
Dunlop, Miss Henrietta 1.00
du Pont, Mrs. F. I..... 24.00
du Pont, Mrs. Victor, Jr..... 4.00
du Pont, Mrs. William K..... 16.00
Durand, Mrs. E. Dana 14.00
Dutcher, Miss Eliazbeth 5.00
Dyar, Mr. John W..... 5.00

E

Earle, Mrs. Dorothy (collected).. $51.14
Earll, Rev. Irene 4.00
Earll, Miss Louise H..... 1.00
Eastburn, Mr. Horace 5.00
Eck, Dr. 1.00
Eckerd, Miss Eliabeth 1.00
Eddy, Mrs. S..... 5.00
Edward, Miss Grace O. 7.00
Elder, Miss Elizabeth 3.00
Elliott, Mr. W. H..... 2.00
Ellis, Mrs. E. A..... 1.00
Ellis, Miss Helen S..... 1.00
Ells, Mrs. Nathalie Briggs 5.00
Elmer, Mrs. Horace 8.00
Elsmere, Miss Charlotte ..... .50
Emmit, Miss Lydia F..... 2.00
England, Miss Virginia 2.00
Eppley, Miss Rita..... 3.00
Ernest, Rachel 6.50
Ernst, Miss Rebecca D..... 16.50
Espey, Miss Frances B..... 1.25
Estee, Mrs. J. Borden 20.00
Etheridge, Miss Florence 9.00
Etkinton, Mrs. Sarah 2.00
Evans, Mrs. Eva S..... 16.50
Evans, Mrs. Glendower 300.00
Ewing, Miss Lucy H..... 1.50

F

Faerber, Mr. Harry 1.00
Fairall, Miss Elizabeth 1.00
Fairbrothers, Mrs. Elarkey..... 2.00
Fairlamb, Mrs. Elizabeth 2.25
Fant, Mrs. Lillian 1.80
Farnum, Miss Agnes Cromis..... 1.00
Farnum, Miss Emily I..... 7.00
Farr, Miss Sarah M..... 1.00
Farrell, Mr. Frank W..... 1.03
Faucett, Mrs. W. R..... 2.00
Fay, Mrs. R. S..... 1.00
Fels, Mrs. Samuel..... 25.00
Fields, Mrs. Benjamin 5.00
Fields, Mrs. J. P..... 1.00
Finley, Miss Bliss 5.00
Finley, Mrs. Robert B..... 4.00
First Christian Church, Philadelphia, Pa..... 6.00
Fisher, Miss Katharine R..... 3.00
Fiske, Miss Carolin 5.00
Fitzhugh, Miss Lucy ..... .25
Fitts, Mrs. Alice E..... 1.00
Fletcher, Miss Mary ..... .50
Flogg, Miss Harriet G..... 5.00
Ford, Mrs. W. W..... 20.25
Foreman, Miss Stella 10.00
Foreshaw, Miss Betty 1.00
Forness, Miss Mary A..... .25
Forrest, Mrs. Randolph Keith..... 19.50
Foulke, Miss Caroline 5.00
Fowler, Mrs. Bertha W..... 27.26
Fox, Miss Frances 1.00
Francis, Mrs. Louis W..... 3.25
Franklin County Woman Suffrage Association, Ohio 26.50
"A Friend" 25.00
"A Friend" 5.00
"A Friend" 100.00
"A Friend" 593.51
Friedmann, Mrs. A. C. H..... 1.00
Fristoe, Mrs. Caroline B..... 3.00
Frothingham, Mrs. Mary Frances. .50

G

Gage, Mrs. Alexander K..... 1.00
Gaines, Mrs. Katherine A..... 2.00
Gardner, Mrs. Gilson 35.50
Gardner, Mr. Gilson ..... $ .50
Garrels, Miss Agnes F..... 1.00
Garrels, Mrs. Charles 2.00
Garrett, Mrs. Eli 2.00
Garrett, Miss Ruth 2.00
Gary, Mrs. Elbert H..... 1,000.00
Gates, Miss Georgia 2.00
Gault, Miss Bertha H..... 1.00
Gawthrop, Mrs. Alfred 2.00
Gawthrop, Miss Elizabeth 2.00
Gay, Miss Mary 5.00
Geary, Mrs. Claudia 7.30
Geary, Miss Elizabeth 12.60
Geary, Mrs. Kate F..... .25
Gentieu, Mrs. ..... .20
Gies, Mrs. J. H..... 5.00
Gifford, Miss Almira 9.00
Gifford, E. D..... .50
Gillingham, Miss Tacie E..... 15.00
Ginns, Miss James 1.00
Godey, Mrs. Harry 75.00
Goldberg, Mr. Maximilian 13.25
Golden, Miss Ellen 1.00
Goode, Miss Edith J..... 31.00
Gooding, Mrs. C. W..... 2.00
Gould, Mrs. Charlotte ..... .25
Gould, Mrs. Harrison ..... .10
Graves, Mrs. Henry S..... 2.00
Gray, Mrs. Thomas H., Jr..... 2.00
Greathouse, Mrs. C. H..... 1.00
Greeley, Mr. 1.00
Green, Mrs. Henry Woodhul..... 2.00
Green, Mrs. John P..... 150.00
Green, Mrs. R. M..... 10.00
Greene, Mrs. Karl ..... .25
Greene, Miss Marie Goucher..... 1.00
Greenough, Miss Cornelia 8.00
Greenough, Mr. Grafton..... 10.00
Greenough, Mrs. S. E..... 15.00
Grice, Mrs. Edwin C..... 15.00
Griscom, Mrs. G. A..... 10.00
Griswold, Miss Jennie L..... 5.00
Grogan, Miss Sara P..... 10.00
Grunewald, Miss I. O..... 1.00
Gution, Mrs. L. P..... 1.00
Gundry, Miss Mattie 2.00

H

Hacker, Mrs. Charles 10.00
Hall, Miss Annie S..... 2.00
Halligan, Mrs. Katherine G..... 130.00
Halton, Mrs. Helen A..... 1.00
Hamilton, Miss F. L..... 2.00
Hamilton, Mrs. J. T..... 1.00
Hammett, Miss Pauline 1.00
Hanks, Mrs. Charles Stedman 100.00
Hanzsche, Miss Edythe 2.00
Harbeck, Mrs. and Miss Ewing... 15.00
Harbeck, Mrs. Jervis R..... 20.50
Harbison, Mr. Thomas B..... 25.00
Harbour, Dr. Genette W..... 10.00
Hardesty, Miss Janet 1.00
Hardy, Mr. Abbott Lawrence..... 1.00
Harmon, Mrs. H. C..... 2.00
Harris, Miss Elizabeth C..... 1.50
Harris, Mrs. Jones 1.00
Harrison, Miss Carrie ..... .25
Harrison, Mrs. H. G..... 5.00
Hasbrouck, Mrs. Olive Halladay.. 27.00
Hawkins, Dr. Laura ..... .25
Hawkins, Mrs. Laura F..... 1.00
Hawkins, Mrs. W. J..... 2.00
Hawser, Miss Harriet E..... 2.00
Hay, Mr. Thomas A. H..... 2.00
Hayden, Miss E. A..... 1.00
Hayes, Mrs. James, Jr..... 10.00
Haynes, Mrs. E. L..... 3.00
Hazard, Mrs. F. R..... 110.00
Heald, Mrs. Pusey $1.00
Hellman, Miss Estelle..... .25
Hemmick, Mrs. Christian D..... 25.00
Henderson, Mrs. John B..... 44.00
Hendrie, Mrs. George T..... 2.00
Henkel, Mrs. Elise 1.00
Henkel, Mrs. Edward ..... .50
Hepburn, Mrs. Thomas N..... 5.00
Herkner, Miss Anna 1.00
Herrold, Dr. Maude 5.00
Heulings, Mrs. Laura Lloyd..... 1.00
Heyliger, Miss Irene 2.00
Hifton, Miss Harriet J..... 6.10
Hill, Mrs. Crawford 10.00
Hill, Miss Elsie 22.51
Hill, Miss Elsie (collected)..... 3.25
Hilles, Mrs. Florence Bayard.. 94.50
Hilles, Miss Katherine 10.00
Hirst, Mrs. John Cooke..... 6.00
Hiss, Mary Lee..... 5.00
Hitchcock, Mrs. G. L..... 19.00
Hitchcock, Miss Lena 1.00
Hitchcock, Miss Lucy H..... .10
Hite, Mr. Drayton M..... 5.00
Hitz, Mrs. William 5.00
Hodgetts, Mrs. Alfred 1.00
Hofer, Colonel E..... 1.00
Hoffman, Miss Caroline C..... 8.00
Hoge, Miss Ellen Douglas..... 10.00
Hollbrook, Mrs. F. T..... 1.00
Hollick, Mrs. Arthur 2.00
Holmes, Mrs. T. C..... .75
Hooker, Mr. Donald R..... 250.00
Hooker, Mrs. Donald R..... 288.00
Hooker, Mr. E. R. H..... 10.00
Hopkins, Mr. Berne 25.00
Hopkins, Mrs. Isabel 10.00
Hopkins, Mrs. Johns 12.00
Hopkins, Mrs. Nevil Monroe..... 9.00
Horvenden, Miss Martha M..... 2.00
Hovey-King, Mrs. L. M. R..... 1.00
Howe, Mrs. Marie Jenney..... 6.00
Howland, Mrs. Maud M..... 1.00
Howland, Miss Rachel 14.00
Howland, Miss Susan ..... .70
Hubard, Mrs. M..... .50
Hubbell, Miss Kemp 7.00
Humphrey, Mrs. Mary H..... 10.00
Hunt, Miss Jane ..... .50
Hunnut, Miss Julia S..... 85.00
Hurley, Mrs. James E..... 1.00
Hurst, Miss Katherine ..... .50
Hutchinson, Mr. Arthur E..... 86.00
Hyatt, Miss Mabel 1.00

I

Indo-American Book Co..... 1.00
Ingersoll, Mr. Charles H..... 10.00
Ingham, Miss Mary H..... 5.00

J

Jackson, Miss Elizabeth 5.50
Jackson, Miss Eva 1.00
Jackson, Miss Lesley 1.00
Jackson, Miss Sheldon 30.00
Jackson, Mrs. Willard 5.00
Jacobs, Miss Emma S..... 2.00
Jacobi, Mrs. Paula 5.00
James, Mr. Harry 5.00
Jenks, Mrs. Barton 51.00
Jenks, Mrs. Bertha M..... 25.00
Jenny, A. and L..... 1.00
Johnson, Miss Ella ..... .60
Johnston, Miss Charlotte 12.40
Jones, Mrs. W. O..... 1.00
Jordan, Mrs. E. S..... 2.00
Jourdain, Miss Sophie ..... .50
Justice, Mrs. Henry C..... 101.00

K

Kahn, Mrs. Julius $1.00
Katzenstein, Miss Caroline 11.00
Keech, Miss Susan P..... 3.00
Keen, Mrs. Charles 3.00
Kelley, Mrs. Mary B..... 25.00
Kelly, Miss Barbara 2.00
Kelly, Mrs. Henry K..... 5.00
Kelton, Mrs. John C..... 1.00
Kelton, Mrs. Josephine 6.00
Kennedy, Miss Marie ..... .75
Kenosha County Equal Suffrage League (Wisconsin) 5.00
Kent, Mrs. Alexander 1.00
Kent, Miss Elizabeth 2.00
Kent, Mrs. Florence 1.00
Kent, Miss Isabel 5.00
Kent, Mrs. William 509.00
Kent, Representative Wm..... 100.00
Kent-Menzel Circus, per Sherman Kent..... 4.31
Kerby, Miss Katherine ..... .50
Kerchwey, Miss Dorothy 1.10
Kerr, Mrs. Robert 5.00
Kessler, Mrs. Margaret 1.00
Kettering, Mrs. Mattie B..... .25
Kiebs, Mrs. Henry J..... 1.00
Kimball, Miss Martha S..... 25.00
King, Mrs. Harriet L..... 5.00
Kinney, Miss Annie 1.00
Kitchelt, Mrs. Florence Cross..... .25
Klahr, Miss Emma 7.00
Klauder, Mrs. Charles Z..... 5.00
Knox, Mrs. W. W..... 1.00
Koonce, Miss Mildred ..... .25
Kundiger, Mr. Wm..... 2.00
Kyle, Miss Mary 1.00

L

Lang, Mrs. G. H..... 7.00
Lanning, Mrs. Edward 1.00
Lathrop, Miss Julia C..... 25.00
Latimer, Mrs. Edna S..... 5.00
Latimer, Mrs. Edna S. (collected). 2.00
Lattomus, Judge J. W..... 1.00
Lauder, Miss Mary A..... 3.00
Lawler, Eleanor 2.00
Lawrence, Mrs. Arthur ..... .75
Lawton, Miss Louise Marie..... 1.00
Lawyers' Section of the 9th Procession (Miss Sheldon Jackson, Chairman) 9.30
Lea, Mrs. George 6.00
Lee, Mrs. Dupont 12.00
Leith, Mr. Arthur T..... 1.00
Lent, Mrs. 1.00
Leonard, Mrs. Gertrude H..... 5.00
Lesh, Mr. W. W..... 1.00
Lewis, Mrs. Ida 1.00
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence, Jr..... 203.33
Lewis, Miss Louise 11.00
Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Shippen..... 47.00
Lewis, Mrs. Wilfred 6.00
Lewisohn, Miss Alice 50.00
Linton, Mrs. Alfred 1.00
Lippincott, Mrs. Catherine B..... 1.00
Lloyd, Mrs. Horatio Gates..... 12.00
Lloyd, Mrs. William Bross..... 90.00
Lockwood, Mrs. Mary Morris..... 11.00
Lockwood, Mrs. Mary Morris collected)..... 25.00
Lockwood, Mrs. Mary S..... 5.00
Lohr, Miss Margaret C..... 1.00
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Warner, Mrs. Charles	5.00
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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony, in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the United States Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon,

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator Geo. E. Chamberlain of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913; favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914; reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913; twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913; Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914.
Debated almost continuously from March 2 to March 19.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, 1914; thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House: January 12, 1915; 174 in favor, 204 opposed; failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, 1914; favorable report.

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

Non-Partisan

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3320 Arch Street.
Organizer, Miss Anna McCue.

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG., MINNEAPOLIS :: MINN.
[Feb. 1914]

Votes for Women a Success

The Map Proves It



Alaska 1913

WHITE STATES: Full Suffrage SHADED STATES: Taxation, Bond or School Suffrage
DOTTED STATE: Presidential, Partial County and State, Municipal Suffrage BLACK STATES: No Suffrage

Suffrage Granted

1869—WYOMING

1893—COLORADO
Bounds Wyoming on South

1896—UTAH
Bounds Wyoming and Colorado

1896—IDAHO
Bounds Wyoming and Utah

1910—WASHINGTON
Bounds Idaho on West

1911—CALIFORNIA

1912—OREGON
Bounds California on North

1912—ARIZONA
Bounds California on East

1912—KANSAS
Bounds Colorado on East

1913—ILLINOIS
Starts a New Cycle

1913—ALASKA

Would any of these States have adopted EQUAL SUFFRAGE if it had been a failure just across the Border?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS FOR THE
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue PUBLISHED FEBRUARY, 1914 New York City

[Feb. 15, 1914]

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1 ¢

Feminism and Suffrage

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

What is feminism? A world-wide revolt against all artificial barriers which laws and customs interpose between women and human freedom. It is born of the instinct within every natural woman's soul that God designed her as the equal, the co-worker, the comrade of the men of her family, and not as their slave, or servant, or dependent, or plaything.

The movement has no leaders, no organization. It is an evolution, like enlightenment and democracy. Here and there societies have made organized efforts to push some phase of these great world movements and have disbanded when their tasks have been accomplished; but the great movements of which they have been a small part go on. They are not confined to one land or to one age, but continue through centuries.

When the woman movement began no one knows. Personally, I believe it has always existed as a slumbering protest in the hearts of women since their overthrow and subjection by war in the long ago. Naturally the movement as we know it to-day varies in different parts of the world, and women very logically protest against these oppressions which bear most unhappily upon them.

In Persia feminism is a demand for education; in Turkey it is an attempt to unveil; in China and India the crying demand of the women is to substitute a free choice of husbands and wives, after our American fashion, for the system by which hired "go-betweens" arrange wedding contracts between the fathers of young people who never see each other before the wedding day.

The yearning desire of all these Asiatic women is to escape from the harems, to breathe God's free air, to see the outside world and be a part of it. Their men and the mass of the women of those lands, sunk in ignorance and superstition, are shocked and indignant at such proposals. The morals of society, judged by their standards, depend upon keeping women shut up.

In our Western world women who possess all the privileges the Asiatic women covet press forward to remove other barriers. In many European countries women are striving to better the conditions of marriage, which now rob women of property, children and personal rights and give all divorce privileges to the husband; in others their aim is to secure the legal right of political organization. In the more advanced civilizations the radical wing of the women's movement demands the ballot.

The suffrage movement is one phase of the great woman movement of the world and has no other plank in its platform than Votes for Women. It has never been connected with "free love." In twenty years of suffrage work, which have acquainted me with many thousands of suffragists, I have met no "free lover" among them.

Yet because a man, utterly unknown to suffragists, chooses to express an opinion (which he takes pains to make clear as his personal belief only) that marriage will be suppressed and free alliance be substituted as the ultimate effect of feminism, there are those who are crying from the housetops that free love has been the concealed aim of suffragists all along. "Now," they say, "the cat is out of the bag at last."

Free love is not and never has been a tenet of suffragists. All the world around the leaders of the advanced movements in behalf of the emancipation of women have held quite opposite views. An individual here and there, like the unknown Mr. W. L. George, may hold prophetic views on future morals, but they are no part of the great woman movement. Mr. George himself is quoted as an opponent of woman suffrage, and, so far as I can learn, most of those who hold similar views are. Ellen Key, the great Swedish advocate of free love, is an anti-suffragist, unless she has changed her mind of late.

Society is not going to lose its common sense, nor its decency, nor go back to the customs of barbarism because women vote. Evolution is not going to stop, nor cease putting an increasing amount of moral sense and reason in human heads as the years go on. If at any time free love becomes a movement of sufficient moment to merit consideration, sensible people will give it sensible attention, and in my judgment will relegate it to the realm of reactionary morals, where it belongs. If suffragists have a common aim along the line of morals it is toward self-control in private life, stricter laws for the control of public vice, and the enforcement of those laws.

Meanwhile the bugaboo of free love serves a badly frightened opposition with an excuse behind which to hide the weakness of its position. "Those whom the gods destroy they first make mad." Those who are not afraid fight fair; those who are, avoid the issue and throw stones at the leaders.—(Reprinted from the New York Times, Feb. 15, 1914.)

NEW PAMPHLET BY DR. SHAW

Ten Extempore Answers to Questions. Postpaid Price, $0.05 each; $0.35 doz.; $2.50 per 100.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

[Feb. 18, 1914]

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.
930 NICOLLET AVE.
MINNEAPOLIS, :-: MINN.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE SUTHERLAND

OF UTAH

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 18, 1914

WASHINGTON
1914

30940--12838

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE SUTHERLAND.

The Senate had under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. President, I wish to say a few words upon this resolution, and as I shall probably occupy more than 5 minutes—perhaps 10 or 15—I should like the permission of the Senate to proceed until I have finished.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Mr. President, I ask——

The VICE PRESIDENT. The five-minute rule has been suspended.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I do not underestimate the value of tradition, to which we are indebted for a good deal of wisdom; but since tradition rides in an omnibus which carries all sorts of passengers from one generation to another and not in a golden chariot whose seats are reserved exclusively for the righteous, it has been responsible for the perpetuation of a good deal of foolishness as well. On the whole I entertain a profound regard for notions which have long persisted, because, having passed the scrutiny and survived the buffetings of time, they are more likely to be right than wrong, and yet error has a pernicious habit of sometimes clothing itself in such seemly garb that it is passed along without question from age to age until some doubting hand strips off the disguise and exposes the deception. One of these respectably clothed traditions which we are just now engaged in overhauling is that which teaches that women are either too good or too bad or too weak or too busy in the kitchen to participate in the tribal councils.

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Let us inquire by way of cross-examination. If the ballot on the whole elevates man, what particular element of weakness in the character of woman will enable the ballot to pull her down? Have women in the aggregate less native intelligence than men? Have they less desire for social and governmental righteousness? Are they less patriotic? Are they less interested in the common welfare? Have they less at stake? If not, wherein lies the superiority of the male portion of the population? In one respect only is there common agreement as to the inferior condition of womankind, and that is in the matter of physical strength. I am not sure but that in this element of inferiority lies the explanation of the fact that for thousands of years women were not accorded an equality of legal status, an injustice which in civilized communities has been or is in process of being consigned to the limbo of discredited superstitions, and I suspect that it is the survival of a rudimentary bias reaching back for its primal origin to this ancient condition which accounts for the persistence of the obsession which leads so many worthy people to deny her equality of political status in this day of broadened vision. We have many examples of such survivals long after the decay of the root from which they grew. Intelligent men have ceased to believe in the malign influence of sorcery and witchcraft—in spells—in the ill luck inseparably associated with the possession of certain inanimate objects which have received the sinister attentions of the devil—in the malevolence of black cats and cross-eyed gentlemen of color—but a good many of them continue to entertain suspicions respecting the number 13, in spite of its harmless character, and derive more or less mental discomfort from the initiation of any enterprise on Friday, although Friday is in truth as benign a day as any in the calendar. And so in the matter of our objection to woman suffrage are we quite sure that what we regard as twentieth-century wisdom is not the fag end of a medieval superstition?

We are told that if women are given the ballot the household will suffer; that woman's place is the home. The obvious retort is that if the workshop, and the farm, and the mine, and the

office, and the countingroom continue in operation, notwithstanding the responsibility which now rests upon the male voter, the household may survive even if the women of the country study politics and take a few minutes off on election day to vote.

It is urged that giving the ballot to woman will destroy her charm and femininity; that she will develop unattractive masculine traits. These are new words set to a very old tune. The same thing was urged against the new woman a hundred years ago when she demanded an equal opportunity for education. She was told that that was exclusively masculine business and solemnly warned to return to her spinning wheel at the peril of losing her womanly sweetness, but girls to-day go to school with their brothers and the brothers of other girls, and young women to-day go to college in brazen disregard of ancient conventionalities, and they are better wives and better mothers and better women and better citizens not in spite of it but in consequence of it. The objection is in a class with the demand for the preservation of the sidesaddle, lest we give verification to the suspicion that the normal tendency of humanity is to accumulate legs in pairs quite irrespective of the accident of sex.

Some people are fearful that if we enfranchise the women the bad women will vote and the good women will refrain from voting. But if the right to vote carries with it the correlative duty to exercise the right in the case of women, as it is supposed to do in the case of men, there is no good reason to expect that good women will shirk in greater proportion than good men do, for women on the average are quite as conscientious as men in faithfully discharging their responsibilities. However that may be, if we are justified in allowing men to vote irrespective of good or bad character, because of our inability to separate them in terms of legislation, how can we justify withholding a similar right from women because of a like unfortunate division among them of good and bad?

Again, it is said by some that the result would simply be to double the vote without changing the result; that the women would generally vote as their husbands do. And it is said by

others that it will develop unfortunate antagonism between husband and wife over political differences. I think generally, though not always, in those States which have adopted equal suffrage, that husband and wife vote the same ticket just as generally, though not always, they attend the same church. There is nothing remarkable or sinister in this any more than there is in the fact that generally, though not always, the male members of the same family agree in their political affiliations. There are, it is true, occasional differences of opinion between husband and wife, but I have not observed that it is followed by anything more serious than generally follows from the occasional differences about other matters or from similar differences among brothers and sisters or between mother and son.

I have no intention of entering upon any affirmative argument in justification of woman suffrage. Indeed, to my own mind, the most convincing argument for the political enfranchisement of women is the absence of any really persuasive argument against it. If it be right to extend the voting privilege to all sorts and conditions of men, I am not quite able to see the justice of denying the same right to all sorts and conditions of women. If we have extended the privilege too broadly in the case of men and wisdom demands that we should eliminate the unfit, the thriftless, and the illiterate, that is a good reason for denying the privilege to these classes of both sexes. It is no reason for denying it to the women who are fit and capable. In other words, the line which should separate the voters from the nonvoters is one of character and not one of sex.

In my view of the matter it is not important to consider whether woman suffrage will result in a betterment of conditions. It is enough for me to be convinced that conditions will certainly be no worse. I do not put my support on the ground of expediency or on the theory that society will be greatly or at all or immediately or ever benefited by the change. I suspect that the human nature of men and women in the aggregate does not materially differ. I would not, therefore, expect the political millennium to be noticeably hastened by the change.

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Things would probably go on pretty much as they do now. We would continue to move forward more or less slowly, more or less painfully, sometimes slipping backward, as we do now, sometimes falling as we now do, but in the end recovering ourselves, picking ourselves up and going on afresh, and on the whole, I hope, toward wiser and better things.

I give my assent to woman suffrage because, as the matter appeals to me, there is no justification for denying to half our citizens the right to participate in the operations of a government which is as much their government as it is ours upon the sole ground that they happen to be born women instead of men.

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Don't worry about the tenement-house woman. She grapples with political problems every day, but she doesn't know it. All she has to do is to realize that her daily task and politics are one and the same thing. She is the realist in politics. You can't delude for long those who are dealing with bedrock facts. If there's any one who can be trusted with the ballot more than any one else, its the tenement-house woman.

NEEDS THE BALLOT

But she must be brought to see the connection of her home life with the life of society. Her responsibility is constantly increasing. She needs the vote to do her work thoroughly.

For a vote is the effective registration of an individual's opinion on a matter relating to the common welfare. Woman's life of seclusion within the home is now increasingly supplemented or supplanted by a life in industry, the professions, or in business. Over her home life woman has had in the past a certain amount of control. But the home has now ceased to be self-sustaining and has become an integral part of a larger society. Woman's control has to this extent been weakened. To regain this control it is essential that woman shall effectively control the larger field with which the home is so vitally connected.

Moreover, woman's entrance into a business life means that the same control which she has always with more or less success exercised in her home she now expects to exercise in the other occupations which she is entering. In fact, every one as his or her personality develops, desires to be master of the situation in which one finds one's self, and also to decide one's own fate. As civilization increases the more complicated our group life becomes, and the more necessary it is that each member of the group hold his own. As woman's personality develops, no excuse presents itself for her to fail to express herself in every relationship in which she lives. Voting is an important element in woman's self-expression in her larger home, society. —Reprinted from the New York Evening Post, Feb. 25, 1914.

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National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.,

Publishers for the

National American Woman Suffrage Association,

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403 [illegible]
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

[Feb. 25, 1914]

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Votes in the Tenements

By **Mary K. Simkhovitch**

Head of Greenwich House Settlement

My life has been lived for fifteen years in tenement neighborhoods. It is true that the men and women of many of these neighborhoods are not interested in suffrage for women. The reason for this is plain. Man in many of these neighborhoods regards politics as a game with a chance for profits. Women regard politics as an occupation indulged in by men which is connected with getting a job or with having a good time. As fast as politics gets to mean an improvement in living and working conditions and an effective way of humanizing life, it appeals to all. The important task for the up-to-date politician is to translate politics into terms of daily life, and the suffrage then becomes important, interesting, and desirable.

There is a very widespread conviction that suffrage will be extended to women very generally at an early date. It is interesting to note that all groups that are already organized in any way look forward with complacency or at least no alarm to the extension of the franchise to women. Teachers, members of trades unions, and similar groups, are so interested in certain aspects of the public welfare that they can readily acquire the social viewpoint to see that other aspects of life need also the effective regulation of public opinion through the use of the ballot.

It is the unrelated individual, the woman who has never lived in association except in the family, who can see no farther than her front door. As women become more commonly banded together for any purpose whatsoever they come to see the importance of a wider knowledge and more effective action.

THE WOMAN IN THE HOME

But the woman in the home is just as competent in her way as the business woman. The home women form the great majority and are likely to continue to do so. The American workingman goes out to work and brings his wages to his wife. She spends them. As disburser of the family income she has a power which is relatively larger than that of the wife and mother of families higher up in the economic scale. And yet some people think that the real danger in woman's suffrage comes from the ignorance of the tenement-house woman.

But look at what actually happens. The steamfitter or the bricklayer is a specialist. He knows about his work. But his wife has to deal with the education of the children, the health of the family, and everything that pertains to the daily life of the community. In one sense her life is very restricted. In another it is far larger than that of her husband. She has the vital interest that only the holder of the family purse can have in spending that money satisfactorily. And when one considers how extraordinarily well on the whole she meets her problems, why should we think that her common-sense stops right there?

[Feb. 25, 1917]

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The Working of Equal Suffrage

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The extraordinary uses to which the national platform of the dominant political party have been put of late call for more precise analysis and more extended consideration than can well be accorded in this number of the Review. In passing, however, while cheerfully heeding the call of consistency to indorse the Kansas farmers' opinion that "there is a mighty smart man in the White House," we can not but question the sagacity of the President's response to the advocates of equal suffrage who sought his aid and uncommon counsel. To hold seriously, in view of certain unauthorized proposals already made to Congress, that he could not properly urge legislation not yet subjected to "organic consideration," seems altogether too much like shilly-shallying behind an unpetticoated platform.

Mr. Underwood defined the traditional Democratic position perfectly when he replied that all matters of the franchise were reserved to the States, and that, consequently, the suggestion of Federal action could not be entertained. Possibly Mr. Wilson felt that he could not well make his wholly natural and conclusive rejoinder while simultaneously he was demanding presidential primaries, but if so the circumstance is unfortunate in consideration of the fact that more than one-sixth of the electoral vote in 1916 will come from States where women vote.

But it is not the political aspect of this incident, nor, indeed, the incident itself in its broader phase, that now engrosses our attention; it is the working of equal suffrage in actual practice as ascertained by an impartial investigating committee composed of 12 distinguished English ladies, headed by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, and the Marchioness of Salisbury. These ladies obtained letters of introduction to a representative selection of prominent citizens of the States concerned—clergy and ministers of different denominations, lawyers, educationalists, publicists, business men, former holders of public office, and the like, and a few eminent women; to all of whom a list of questions was forwarded, accompanied by the following appeal:

"Several Englishwomen who are much interested in the question of the enfranchisement of women are desirous of knowing how it works in the States of America where it has been put into operation.

"They hold very different views on this subject, some being in favor of the change and some against it, but they all wish to know the result in those countries where it has been tried.

"They therefore beg that you will answer the questions on the inclosed paper, or as many of them as you can, and return it in the addressed envelope which is inclosed."

Sixty-three replies were received, and are summarized in the Nineteenth Century from the suffragist and anti-suffragist points of view by the Hon. Robert Palmer and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M. P., respectively. A rough classification shows 46 favorable to equal suffrage, as against 8 neutral, 5 vaguely unfavorable, and only 4 definitely hostile. This Mr. Palmer pronounces "a very striking result," showing that the principle "is passing from the realm of con-

troversy to that of universal approval among those who have seen it at work." Following is a consensus of the replies under the seven headings into which the questionnaire was divided:

"Q. 1. Reasons for adoption.

(a) Was it a party question? A. Nowhere, except partially in California and Colorado.

"(b) Was there militancy? A. None anywhere.

"(c) Where did the strength of the movement and opposition to it lie? A. Strength mainly came from 'moral' influences and women's clubs; opposition from saloons and machine politicians.

"Q. 2. Conditions.

"A. The qualifications are the same for men as for women; about 15 per cent fewer women are on the register, on an average; women are everywhere eligible to the legislature.

"Q. 3. How is the vote exercised?

(a) What percentage polls? A. About 5 per cent. fewer than men, on an average.

"(b) Have women formed new parties? A. Nowhere.

"(c) Is the balance of existing parties altered? A. No.

"(d) Do wives vote with their husbands? About half say 'yes' and half 'no'; clearly individuals vary.

"(e) Has the female vote affected the character of candidates for offices? Thirty-eight replies say 'yes,' often quoting instances; 13 say 'no.'

"Q. 4. How has equal suffrage affected women's position?

"(a) Has it caused ill feeling between men and women? Over 50 say 'no'; 3 say 'yes.'

"(b) Has it increased women's interest in politics? Over 50 say 'yes'; about 6 doubt it.

"(c) Has it impaired their usefulness in the home? Nearly 50 replies say "no"; 8 say that in some cases it has. One picturesque answer perhaps hits the nail on the head in saying, "Your flannel-mouthed suffragist is not a home-making woman at all." But, after all, it is the agitation for suffrage which breeds the flannel-mouthed type; the grant quiets them.

"Q. 5. Is there any agitation for its repeal?

"A. None.

"Q. 6. What is your general impression of the change?

"A. This has already been summarized.

"Q. 7. What legislation dealing with the following subjects has been passed since the women had the vote? Can the influence of the female vote be traced in any such legislation?

"(a) Conditions of female labor.
"(b) Protection of women and girls.
"(c) Temperance.
"(d) Education.
"(e) Sanitation and milk.
"(f) Industrial arbitration.
"(g) Widows' pensions.
"(h) Divorce."

Legislation on subjects a, b, and g is recorded in every Suffrage State except Kansas, which had had no legislation since the grant, and "useful laws" have been passed in all of the States except Oregon and Arizona on subjects a, b, c, d, e, f, and g. The questionnaire selects the eight subjects on which it is thought women are most likely to use their votes. The replies from Washington and California, where three and two sessions, respectively, have been held since the grant of woman suffrage, show that the legislatures of both have already passed laws on seven out of those eight subjects in those sessions. On the "coincidence" theory the odds would be almost infinitely against such a thing happening, and when we find 21 answers from these two States affirming in unequivocal terms that these laws have been carried by means of the women's votes, no impartial mind can resist the conclusion that such is the truth. And in the still more extreme case of Oregon, where equal suffrage had been in force nine months, the only reply which deals with this part of the questionnaire enumerates laws of 1913 on subjects a, b, e, and g, and adds: "These were all due to the influence of women."

It may be further mentioned in this connection that on the only two of these eight topics on which reliable information covering all the States of the Union is to hand at the moment, namely, widows' pensions and the proctection of girls by raising the age of consent to 18, the proportion of suffrage States which have legislated on these points is strikingly higher than that of non-suffrage States. Thus 17 States altogether have widows' pension laws. Of these, 6 are suffrage States and enacted the laws since becoming so, and 11 are non-suffrage. But the 6 are 6 out of 9 (2 of the remaining 3 having had equal suffrage less than a year), and the 11 are 11 out of 39. Similarly, of the 9 suffrage States, 7 have raised the age of consent to 18 since granting equal suffrage (an eighth having done so just before the grant), while of the non-suffrage States the figures for 1911-1912 (the latest available) show that then only 4 out of 39 had so raised it.

The eight neutral answers are perhaps the least instructive, as they come from those who either think it is too soon to judge or from those who have not observed any results from the change which justify a definite opinion. Not one of them mentions a single evil result, or fear of any, from the grant of equal suffrage.

The answers classed as vaguely unfavorable read like those of men who were opposed to woman suffrage and still bear it a lingering grudge, but can find no definite charge to lay against it. Most of them describe themselves as neutral. The worst they can find to say are the following: "Personally, I do not believe in women voting, but I believe we cannot help it." "Much freak legislation, possibly due to women's influence." Nothing accomplished which could not have been done as well or better without suffrage." These are absolutely the three most unfavorable phrases in these answers, which can none of them allege any definite harm to have resulted from women's votes, while four of the five admit some definite good.

Of the four definitely anti-suffragist replies, the following is a fair example:

"I should say * * * that women's suffrage has not affected the situation in legislation at all. It has added an increased responsibility, which responsibility has, I think, been well borne, and it has sharpened animosities and lengthened them. Plainly speaking, the granting of the suffrage is an increase of the ignorant vote. That it has not been so in Wyoming is due to the fact that * * * there is a very high intellectual average among our women. The experience of Wyoming is no guaranty of the effect of suffrage where conditions are different."

"And this," remarks Mr. Palmer, "is what on a rough classification was set down as one of the four hostile replies. On second perusal, its place seems to be rather (unconsciously) among the most favorable. For here an obviously 'unfriendly witness' coming from the Eastern States (where he had not seen equal suffrage at work), full

of prejudice against it, tries to answer that it has been a failure, and is inadvertently betrayed into admitting that it is a success, but hastens to add that it might very likely be a failure somewhere else. The rest of the replies are uniformly favorable."

He concludes with these words:

"Is not the matter quite fairly stated thus? If the women of England use their votes in the same kind of way and on the same kind of subjects as the women of these nine American States are stated to be using them, then the grant of woman suffrage will surely be a notable gain to England's welfare. And is there any ground whatever for supposing that they will use them otherwise or less sensibly? Let us leave it at that."

Mr. MacCallum Scott's summary differs in no material point from Mr. Palmer's. Indeed, the most noteworthy feature of both reviews is the scrupulous impartiality of admitted partisans as to matters of fact. But each is "of the same opinion still." Mr. Scott sums up as follows:

"The conclusion to which I have come after reading through all the answers is that women through their votes have had some influence, quite different from the moral influence which they exercise without the vote, upon legislation. It is difficult to define this influence precisely. Frequent reference is made to the manner in which 'moral issues' appeal to women. I cannot accept the view occasionally expressed that women have 'a somewhat higher moral standard' than men, but it is quite possible that, holding the same moral standard, they may give different effect to it in politics.

"I am impressed by several suggestions that women are much stricter and more ardent partisans than men; that they look to moral character in candidates rather than to ability; and that they have, in a greater degree than men, 'a tendency to regulate morals by law.' Men are on the whole more tolerant than women and inclined to allow a wider latitude of personal moral freedom so long as the rights of others are not interfered with. Women are, on the whole, more inclined to make their personal moral code a moral code imperative for others also and to apply coercion to secure conformity.

"Coercive legislation, depending as it does upon the physical arm of the law for its enforcement, if it is to be effective, must have behind it the physical strength of the country. If the majority of men should be against it, if its chief support comes from women who, while unable as individuals to exercise physical coercion, are yet able, through the ballot box, to evoke the physical arm of the law, then there is grave danger in extreme cases of a general conspiracy to evade the law. Authority, finding itself with a task beyond its power, will wink at the offenders. Law will fall into disrespect. There will gradually grow up a hypocritical feeling toward legislation. What does it matter what they pass? Let them pass anything they like, and if we find it inconvenient we will evade it.' If this became a general attitude, it would destroy that sense of responsibility and of respect for law which is the firmest foundation for stable government."

Suffragists will take slight exception to an argument whose sole basis is vague apprehension that the enactment of better laws will imbue men as a sex class with a spirit of law defiance. The plain logic of such reasoning is that it is not women, but men, who are unfitted to perform the duties of citizenship.

Taken as a whole, the result of the interesting inquiry constitutes a powerful backlog of evidence in favor of equal suffrage.

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[March, 1914]
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WHEN ALL THE WOMEN WANT IT

By

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
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505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK
March 1914

"When All the Women Want It"

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Opponents more and more fall back upon the plea that the ballot ought not to be granted until all women want it, or at least until the majority of women ask for it.

Neither all men nor all women have ever been unanimous in wanting anything. Even the desire for life is not universal, since every year some people commit suicide. The proposition that the ballot should not be granted until the majority of women want it seems more plausible on its face. Let us consider it candidly.

In the first place, why should there be two standards of ethics in this matter for men and women? It is notorious that large numbers of men are indifferent to the right of suffrage. Published statistics show that, except at Presidential elections, the majority of the men who could register and vote do not generally do so. Often the total vote of a city or county represents only a fraction of the male population. At one election in Gosnold, Mass., not a single vote was cast. The same thing recently happened in a Michigan township. In spite of the most strenuous efforts by the political parties to "get out the vote," through brass bands, campaign oratory, personal work, and the most fervent printed appeals, so many men stay away from the polls that every year a bill is introduced in some State Legislature to impose penalties upon men who neglect to vote. These bills are uniformly voted down. Where the majority of the men are indifferent, their indifference is never cited as an argument for disfranchising the more public-spirited minority. The suffragists believe that if only one properly qualified woman wishes to cast her vote, the indifference of any number of other women is no good reason why she should be deprived of the opportunity.

If, in the case of women, it were conceded that the matter ought to be decided by majority rule, then it ought to be decided, as other questions put to vote among men are decided, by the wish of the majority of those caring enough about the matter to vote upon it. This is never proposed by the anti-suffragists, and is the last thing to which they would be willing to consent. Upon that basis, the suffragists would carry it every time.

The anti-suffragists claim to represent "the majority of women." This claim is distinctly untrue. There is a great deal of indifference among women, but, as Mrs. Julia Ward Howe said, "Of those women who take any lively interest in the question either way, the vast majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test." In every State of the Union, where petitions for and against suffrage have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have invariably outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them fifty or a hundred to one. The same thing was demonstrated on the only occasion when an official vote on the question was taken. In Massachusetts in 1895 both men and women were invited by the Legislature to vote yes or no on the question, "Is it expedient to grant municipal suffrage to women?" An influential Man Suffrage Association was formed which covered walls and fences throughout the State with large posters, urging women to vote no. Yet, in 238 out of the 322 towns of Massachusetts, not one woman voted no. Out of about 575,000 women in the whole State who might have voted in the negative, only 861 did so, or less than one-sixth of one per cent. On the women's vote, every county and every Congressional, Senatorial, and Representative district went for suffrage by an overwhelming majority—on an average about 26 to 1. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe said of the negative vote: "It will be said that this did not show the whole number of women opposed. This is true. But it showed with absolute accuracy the number of those women opposed who really believed that the right to vote implies the duty to vote." No others could complain that the

gift of the franchise would impose upon them an unwelcome duty.

The vote showed that two-thirds of the men were either indifferent or in favor. But, as the 33 per cent. who voted no outnumbered those who voted yes, their verdict was properly taken as that of the men who cared enough about it to express themselves. The figures of the women's vote ought to have been taken as equally conclusive as to the wish of those women who cared.

As it becomes increasingly hard to defeat woman suffrage on a square legislative vote, there are increasingly numerous attempts to dodge the issue by proposing to take a vote of the women themselves upon the question. These propositions in recent years have been voted down by every Legislature in which they have been raised; but the shape in which they are brought forward is significant. The proposal always is that, if a majority of all the women in the State vote in favor, it shall be considered an indication that women ought to have the ballot, and if not, not.

In most States, when any set of men want to amend the Constitution they are only required to show that more men favor the change than oppose it. Two or three years ago, four constitutional amendments were submitted in New York. The vote showed that only about 25 per cent. of the voters wanted these changes, while 75 per cent. were "either indifferent or opposed." Yet, since less than 25 per cent. were actually opposed, all the amendments were declared carried. In the last debate on woman suffrage in the Massachusetts Legislature, it was pointed out that a constitutional amendment had sometimes carried when only 10 per cent. of the men in the State voted for it. No State requires that a majority of all the men who could register and vote shall vote for an amendment, in order to carry it. A few States require a majority, not of all the votes cast on the amendment, but of all the votes cast at the election. It is said that none of these States have ever been able to carry at a general election any amendment whatever, no matter how slight the opposition to it; simply

because a majority of the men voting for Governor do not take the trouble to vote even for the most popular amendment.

A member of the New York Legislature, thinking that it is at present too easy to amend the Constitution, lately tried to make it harder. He proposed to require that an amendment should receive not a majority vote of all the men in the State who could have voted, not a majority of all who actually did vote at the election, but 35 per cent. of the number actually voting for assemblymen; and even this did not pass the Legislature. If any one should propose to require for an amendment a majority vote of all the men in the State who could register and vote, his suggestion would be dismissed with ridicule. People would say that such a measure might as well be entitled, "A bill to make it forever impossible to amend the Constitution of New York State." Yet it is this impossible condition which it is seriously proposed to require of women.

Some men say with sincerity that they are willing women should have the ballot whenever the majority of women want it; but the declaration is often made in pure hypocrisy. This was demonstrated on two important occasions. In the territory of Wyoming, women enjoyed full suffrage for twenty years. Ninety per cent. of them voted. Wyoming then was about to come into the Union as a State. A Constitutional Convention elected by men and women framed a constitution in which equal suffrage was included by an almost unanimous vote. The constitution was submitted to the voters, men and women, and was accepted by a large majority. It then went to Congress for approval. It had been shown beyond a question that in Wyoming the majority of the women wanted to vote. Yet the opponents of woman suffrage in Congress first tried to have the woman suffrage clause stricken out bodily. Failing in this, they tried to have the woman suffrage clause submitted again to a vote in Wyoming, not as a part of the whole constitution, but separately; and how submitted? To a vote of the women alone, so as to make quite sure that the majority of the women

really wanted it? By no means, but to a vote of the men alone, the women to be allowed no say in the matter; and this precious proposition came very near carrying Congress.

The second occasion was in Washington Territory. The territorial legislature gave women the ballot in 1883. The women used their ballots in large numbers, and in such a way as to antagonize the vicious interests. When Washington was about to come into the Union as a State, these interests became very solicitous to have the women disfranchised. It was generally recognized that, if women had a vote in choosing the members of the Constitutional Convention, and had a vote upon the acceptance of the constitution afterwards, it would be impossible to get rid of woman suffrage. New judges of the Territorial Supreme Court, hostile to equal suffrage, had been recently appointed from Washington, D. C. A gambler who had been convicted by a jury partly composed of women brought suit to have the woman suffrage law declared unconstitutional. The Territorial Supreme Court so decided, on the ground that the bill had not had a sufficient heading. It had been headed, "An Act to amend Article so and so, Section so and so, of the Code." (More than a dozen other bills passed by the same legislature had been headed only by Section and Article, and a little later, when an attempt was made to overturn one of these other laws on the same ground, the Territorial Supreme Court unanimously decided that a heading by Section and Article was sufficient.)

After the woman suffrage law had been declared unconstitutional on the ground of an insufficient heading, the Territorial Legislature re-enacted the law, giving it a full description in its heading; but the Supreme Court was determined to abolish woman suffrage. Upon a test case made by a bartender's wife, they again declared the law unconstitutional, this time on a totally different ground. The court held that it was beyond the power of a territorial legislature to enfranchise women. In the Organic Act establishing the Territory, Congress had said that at the first territorial election persons with certain qualifications should vote, and at the

later elections, such persons as the territorial legislature might enfranchise. The court decided that Congress did not have it specifically in mind that the Legislature might enfranchise women, and that therefore they could not do so—although the legislatures of several other territories had given women full or partial suffrage, and the constitutionality of it had never been questioned. Five-sixths of the women of Washington had voted at the last election before they were disfranchised. The opponents of woman suffrage clearly thought that the majority of them wanted to vote, or they would not have taken these high-handed measures to keep the women from having any say as to whether they should retain the right to vote or not. Neither in the case of Wyoming nor that of Washington was there a word of protest from any of those persons in the East who make a specialty of opposing equal suffrage, and whose favorite slogan is that the wish of the majority of women should be decisive.

Evidently, in their case the statement is purely hypocritical. But it is made in good faith by others. But the aggregate of the successive changes that have been made in the legal rights of women during the last century is greater than the change now proposed. There is less difference to-day between the position of a woman in Colorado and a woman in New York than between that of a New York woman of to-day and a New York woman of a hundred years ago. Then women were practically shut out from almost all occupations except housework and sewing, debarred from all but the most rudimentary education, forbidden by public opinion to speak, or write, or organize (in Susan B. Anthony's youth most people looked upon it as unwomanly even to join a temperance society.) A woman was unable, if married, to control a cent's worth of her own property or earnings, and had no rights whatever over her own children during her husband's life, or after his death if he had chosen to bequeath them away from her. All the changes that have been made up to this time are now approved. Yet it is a simple historical fact that each one

was secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties, and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In every case the advocates of progress had to contend not only with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

Women as a sex are not belligerent, and under whatever conditions of injustice or hardship they have been placed, the majority of them have never protested.

Human nature is conservative, and it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons who take a strong interest in any reform are always comparatively few, whether among men or women.

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.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SENTIMENT

By

MAX EASTMAN

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March 1914

Woman Suffrage and Sentiment

By Max Eastman

Two thousand years ago when Plato stated his belief that women should take part in state affairs, he had to beg his hearers to refrain from laughing. Yet the dignity of the ideals he advanced in support of his belief, was commonly recognized. Woman suffrage meets the same kind of opposition to-day—not sober reasoning but an emotional rejection of the whole program. This is because the idea of women at the polls offends a strong instinct in the majority. It offends their sex taste. It goes against the prevailing type of sexual selection, as Darwin would say, and is therefore opposed by the most powerful feelings that society inherits. The one person who is air-tight against all arguments, is the man in love with a girl of the drawing-room variety. But society as a whole has long been in love with a girl of either the drawing-room or kitchen variety, and hence it is that, in spite of the number and age and nobility of its "arguments," the movement is exposed to ridicule. Powerful hereditary feelings are against it.

If these feelings are ever overcome, they will be overcome, not by practical considerations, but by feelings equally powerful. And it is within belief that the advocates of woman suffrage have such feelings. They are not a handful of sexless intellectuals, who desire, in the interest of a practical reform, to uproot all the emotional idealism of the world. They are, on the con-

trary, the very people of passionate hope and imagination, who have discovered in themselves new emotional ideals which they believe to be intrinsically richer, as well as ultimately more serviceable, than the old. Let us then candidly regard the conflict about women's voting as a conflict of sentiments, and let us compare the sentiments of the suffragists with those of the opposition. In order to do this well, we shall have to put away for the time our own sentiments, we shall have to forget what type of woman we are personally lorn of at this present writing, and view the two kinds of ideals as though we were looking down from a height. We will try how they feel each of them, and see which is most nobly suited to the spirit of man.

Let us begin with the most old-fashioned and least vital feeling of the opposition. And let us call it the *beautiful futility sentiment.* It comprises those yearnings which find their satisfaction in the luxurious weakness, inefficiency, unintelligence, and general dependency of women. An ideal begotten of feudal civilization and flourishing up to the last century, it denies to the lady all the hero-virtues except the heroic endurance of vacuity. This it demands of her. She is divinely free from all active duties, but she is despotically denied the privilege of free activity. She is thus a voluptuous mixture of the goddess and the menial, and may be flavored one way or the other to the taste of her husband.

"She made shift to have her woman bleed her for the ball," says the disgusted Courtier, "but looked not pale as she fain would, but of a sorry hue!" Yet after all she was doing her best to meet his tastes, which demanded this weak and languorous uselessness as of divine creatures eternally reclining, subject to his worship and his tyranny.

The tyrannic element declines as we approach our times, or is disguised in a more fatuous worship. From Lyman Abbott we learn that "the womanly woman" *is glad* to make her husband's will her own. If she happens not to be glad, she is not damned to hell, as Martin Luther would have had her, but she is simply *not* a "womanly woman."

In the mind of Marie Corelli she makes another stride heavenward. "Woman has as the natural heritage of her sex the power to persuade, enthrall and subjugate man. She has no need to come down from her throne and mingle in his political frays." Though this sounds imperious, still we find in it the same two elements. Woman is enthroned, but she is chained by nature to her throne. She must not come down. This seems to be but a highly evolved manifestation of the *beautiful futility,* or *slave goddess sentiment.*

With what feeling do the suffragists replace it? We shall find in the majority of them two enthusiasms, which they consider more congruous with what is best in human life. One of these is the love of health in a woman—health of body and mind. We have outgrown the days of bleeding for the ball, they say, let us outgrow the days of decorated sloth and purposelessness, which drain the blood and the mind of virtue. That women should sit in an upholstered corner, and be fed with sugarplums and kissing-comfits, while men enjoy the rigors of life, is an idea for which these ages will be held up to ridicule. Animals, and the energetic earth herself, rebuke the sexual silliness of it.

That the women who are brought up in these insipid circumstances should attach to them and grow fearful to leave them, is but an effect of habit, and it is inevitable that they should need much educating in order to apprehend a better ideal. But

that their husbands who could not endure one day of so tasteless an existence, should point to it as the supreme fulfilment of human aspiration, and say to the women who have waked to higher possibilities, "How can you ask for more than this luxurious inaction which we furnish you? How can you want to step down out of heaven?"—that men, devoted to the strong flavor of genuine life, should so belie themselves, makes it appear that they are incapable of imaginative thought. Their education will be no less difficult, albeit they know in their own lives exactly what the awakened women are trying to point out, that happiness for the best people lies in purpose and achievement.

Yet to those who are still sure that their highest happiness is "to live softly and waste money and have no order of life," to those who are born to the manner of the slave-queen, the minority have another sentiment to offer. It is that of true chivalry, a chivalry which renders to every woman as good a birth-right to individuality as has a man. If woman-in-general is to sit on a throne, says this sentiment, let her be arrayed in the true powers of a queen—the most notable of these powers being, to many natures, the power to abdicate. When the sentiment of chivalry is purged of all tincture of the tyrant, it can only say: If you find your joyful adjustment in a throne, it is yours; but if you find a throne an irksome place to sit, the world is open to you. Speaking in other terms to a woman who desires action, chivalry is but the courteous exterior of a bigot.

But this polite tyranny, which would imprison women in their drawing-rooms, is luckily beyond the means of the majority. Futility is too expensive for them. Therefore, although it may be the remote aspiration of all males to maintain an establishment containing a creature of this languishing type, the type itself

is confined to the more luxurious classes. The laboring millions must content themselves for practical purposes with a much inferior ideal. Their queen must reign, not in the drawing-room, but in the kitchen and dining-room, where her futility is stained with actual productive labor. Only two things can make this humiliation endurable. One is that she shall never receive a direct pecuniary compensation for such productive labor, and the other, that she shall never extend the sphere of such labor beyond the privacy of the home. When she appears publicly she shall wear the garments of enforced inactivity, and maintain until her return a strict and uncompromising uselessness. Thus we have a changed but still exceedingly respectable form of the slave-goddess sentiment: *"Woman's sphere is the home."*

The chief objection to this dogma is not that it is untrue, or that as a matter of fact the sphere of those women who most need the consideration of the laws is not the home but the factory and market. Most dogmas are untrue. The chief objection to this one is that, by setting an unnatural standard, it denies to a great many people the possibility of a reasonable adjustment to their circumstances.

There lives in our town a family of genteel derivation but reduced circumstances. It consists of a father and numberless mature but unmarried daughters. The father contributes very little besides its derivation to the welfare of the family. But he has brought up his daughters in the unshakable conviction that they *are* genteel, and the sphere of a genteel woman is the home. A profitable employment in the generous market that awaits their talents would lower them beyond recovery. They therefore compel themselves to subsist upon the meagre earnings of a reduced father, which they piece out by "taking

into the family" a pair of similarly reduced but equally genteel uncles. For them they perform the services of housekeepers, cooks, dish-washers, and chambermaids, but fortunately for their gentility they are not directly paid for these services. Thus their pride, and the pride of the family, and the sacred old dogma, are preserved. But their fine talents are wasted in menial attendance upon a few incompetent males; their genteel aspirations are confined to a painful sewing upon modish dresses which they make for themselves betweenwhiles; and their lives are but intermittently illumined by the receding hope of marrying among the unreduced, where they may move forward from the kitchen to the parlor. Such is the extreme fate of the daughters of a decayed gentility, laboring under no genuine adversity whatever but the inheritance of a sentimental dogma.

An extreme folly so easily cited suggests the innumerable other sets of "circumstances" in which an adherence to the *home-sphere sentiment* prevents the natural and hopeful progress of a life. Not only does it prevent a right adjustment of persons to differing circumstances, but it prevents a right adjustment of circumstances to the differing temperaments of persons. For, let the dogmatists lay it down how they will, the rebellious fact remains that all women can not be happy in the same sphere. Outrageous females continue to be born who can not content themselves with cooking, sewing, looking for husbands, or hoping for children. They become under such circumstances distressed and neurotic. In short, there arise in various circumstances persons by the million to whose lives this dogma means wreckage. "Well, in those cases it were better to break over," say the best of the dogmatists, "but in general *woman's sphere is the home.*" Which concession is all but enough. If the rule

may be broken whenever it contradicts the dictation of conditions or characters, it is not so bad a rule. Only let us get it out of the way. Let us say that woman's sphere is the home whenever it is, and when that is not the case then it is not. Let us say that woman's sphere is a joyful life, and as joy comes by the right adjustment of various characters to various conditions, we will stop trying to confine her to one character or one condition.

A sentiment almost as prevailing as the home-sphere one, is that feeling for the inherited *privileges* of women, and the superior value of their *indirect influence.* If women obtain their rights, says this sentiment, they lose their privilege, which is a dearer thing. Or it says: "Women have their rights and they should know how to maintain them. But where is the necessity of using the ballot? Every woman of charm and attractiveness can draw what she needs from most men."

These views are familiar, and they are dear to the hearts of many people. Many people find it so pleasant to consider that a woman can get what she needs (either through privilege or influence) without asserting a right to it, that they are willing in the interest of their ideal to overlook the fact that she does not get what she needs by this method. This idea is especially dear, no doubt, to women who need to assure themselves that they have charm and attractiveness. But it is also dear to many men, who enjoy the feeling that it gives them to offer their chair to a woman, and enjoy it so well that they are inclined to think the female world in general ought to be more than satisfied by it.

Before we consider the supplementing of this sentiment with a new one, let us weigh the truth of the assertion upon which it rests. Have women so much privilege and influence in matters of great importance as it pretends? Have they not the need

of rights? The women teachers of New York exerted their influence in the sweat of their brows for a number of years, in the effort to get a law made which should secure them the payment that men receive for doing the same work that they do. But the gentlemen who control the passage of laws in New York proved most politely impervious to this influence. To a mind stripped for the moment of sentiment, it appears that if women had as a class a very vital "privilege," they would have been paid for their work at the very offgo. But it must be obvious even to the sentimental, that if they had an effective "influence," they would be able to secure the "privilege" of being paid for their work as soon as they made a special effort to do so.

This is the chief thing, then, to be said of the *privilege-influence sentiment.* It assumes that certain superficial features of polite society pervade the life of the community and the body-politic to its roots. It is a sentiment which falsifies and conceals the facts of human nature, keeping up an everlasting pretence that life is softer than it is.

It will be well indeed for us when we realize that chivalry and the excellent joys it adds to life belong to the surface and not to the structure of it. We need to beautify the relations of people. For manners, therefore, it is well that there should be a special excellent privilege or prerogative of the woman, a certain romantic coloring or contrast being thus added to a sufficiently monotonous society. But for morals no such decorative effects will do. To adopt so ethereal an achievement as chivalry for the fundamental determinant of the relations of people in society, is to found a temple upon a minaret. Does it never occur to these good ladies who sit in their parlors and extol the "privileges" they enjoy, to look out of their doors, and observe

how little leisure and how little time the sweating majorities of this world have for the cultivation of elite sentiments? Does it never occur to them to read some meaning into the tales of blood, rape, and fraudulent oppression, that are served to them every morning at breakfast? Can they not peruse and actualize to themselves the pages of history? Whoever looks with a deliberate mind abroad in this passionate world can see that the desired structure of a just society will never be erected with a tender and highly cultivated sentiment at its base. Chivalry thrives, with all culture, among the people of noble leisure, but the laws must remember the masses of mankind. Yet even in that fortunate sphere where chivalry thrives, it is a sign of decay that it should usurp the seat of basic moral ideals. It begets an unheroic spirit in the woman to lean upon privilege in the rough essentials of life; and no sentiment should exempt her from the ideals of independence and power. It begets a vainglorious bigotry in the man to be the constant purveyor of privilege, and no sentiment should exempt him from the ideals of humbleness and magnanimity. These moral laws have the prerogative over all shifting dictates of polite manners.

The third, and most forceful of the sentiments which oppose woman suffrage, is what we may call the *home-and-mother sentiment.* This is no degenerate outgrowth of a particular form of society; it is among the most aged of the virtuous feelings of man, the sentiment of the peculiar sacredness of his mother and the home that she makes. With what weapon shall the innovator attack such an ideal? What feeling can he find, of equal power and dignity, wherewith to replace it? Surely it can not be replaced by anything we have yet discovered. No, nor can it be replaced by anything we shall hereafter discover. It can not

be replaced, it can not be ignored, but it can be illumined with intelligence. So say the believers in woman, and the weapon with which they attack this sentiment is but the sentiment itself perfected.

The feeling of the anti-suffragists seems to express itself in two forms. In the first place, if the mother is going to make good her home and her children, they say, she will not have time to follow the affairs of the nation. Baby will roll to the floor while she is reading the newspaper. In the second place, if the mother is to keep sacred the hearthstone and rear her offspring in the ways of God, she must not have her thoughts polluted by the evil atmosphere of business and politics. She must preserve, for her children's sake, a holy and innocent mind.

To these sentiments the new believers in home and mother have an earnest answer: If a mother is to educate her children, she will need to have something in her mind besides holy innocence. She will need to know the world into which she is educating them. She will need to be the true comrade of her children, and go with them into the place of their experience. Moral culture does not consist of leading a child in virgin purity as far as the front door, and saying, "Now run on, and be a good child!" The mothers to whom tributes have been paid in history are the ones who have lived *with* their growing children the fullest and the longest. It is not innocence that compels, but active and amiable virtue.

And if it be repeated that a mother has not *time* to become a citizen of the world into which she is ushering her children, what shall we say? Shall we entirely dismiss the ideal of a

great mother? Shall we not rather say, if the mother has not time to be great and wise for her children's sake, let her retire into the drawing-room where she may harmlessly exercise her innocence, but for the purpose of fostering her children's souls we will hire a woman to whom time has been more generous? For a wise stranger is worth ten silly mothers, and to this every striving son can bear witness. No jewel so becomes a mother as wisdom.

With such hopes and emotions in their hearts, the suffragists dare to assail those sacred sentiments of the majority. And they dare to assert that the newer ideals have both a superior vitality and power for good and a greater beauty. Of this the last evidence is that they are congruous with one another. The old ideals, when we view them intellectually, are inconsistent, like a child's whims. If the woman ought to be "innocent of affairs," how ought she to exercise that indirect influence upon them? If she has not time to know what she is about, how ought she to be given privilege in any matter of moment? If she is weak and without practical wisdom, how can she influence a good man, or how can she influence a man for good? To a person looking down, as we have ventured to pretend to look, from a dispassionate distance, this incompatibility of the inherited sentiments is a serious fault in them. It shows that they and the actual world are out of gear.

Therefore we cannot better conclude our review, or more wisely descend from our impartial attitude, than by declaring that the newer ideals are a complete reasonable possibility, and we can attach thoughtful emotions to them. We will train our

sentiments to cling about these intelligible hopes—that women shall be healthy of mind and body, that they shall be individuals of free choice, that they shall rely in matters of moral importance upon assured rights and not upon precarious privilege, that for the sake of reviving and illumining the home they shall awake to the activities of the world beyond it, and that for the sake of motherhood they shall acquire the wealth of experience.

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NORMAL WOMEN NOT NEUROTIC

By

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Normal Women Not Neurotic

By Dr. Frederick Peterson

Professor Sedgwick's interview in The Times on the subject of feminism and woman suffrage is not as calmly judicial as one would expect from a man of science.

If the revolutionary views of Mr. George on feminist intentions as set forth in The Atlantic Monthly should ever in some distant future take such shape as to be the actual menace to the world that Prof. Sedgwick apprehends, then, no doubt, the race will rise up to protect itself. But at this time our only concern need be with the question of enfranchisement for women, already granted in many States and on the eve of affirmation in others.

I had supposed that to a biologist "equal rights and equal opportunities" for every human being would be a truism, founded on his large dealings with natural biological phenomena and upon the sense of abstract justice which should develop in such an observer. Prof. Sedgwick makes too much of the differences between men and women. The fundamental differences are too apparent to need discussion, but I should think a biologist could hardly overlook the essential points in which men and women are exactly alike—alike in their human nature, each alike possessing individuality, and alike in potential ability to perform most kinds of the world's work. In these respects individual capacity varies in both sexes, but the differences in capacity between men and women are no greater than between various groups or classes of men alone. Most scientists freely admit this.

In a letter to The London Times Thomas Huxley remarked:

> "Without seeing any reason to believe that women are, on the average, so strong physically, intellectually or morally as men, I cannot shut my eyes to the obvious fact that many women are much better endowed in all these respects than

> many men, and I am at a loss to understand on what grounds of justice or public policy a career which is open to the weakest and most foolish of the male sex should be forcibly closed to women of vigor and capacity. We hear a great deal about the physical disabilities of women. Some of these alleged impediments no doubt are really inherent in their organization, but nine-tenths of them are artificial—the product of their mode of life."

Nevertheless, while women now deny many of the alleged differences, it is precisely because of the true differences that they are demanding a voice in government. Wendell Phillips said long ago:

> "Either a woman is like a man and entitled to all the rights and privileges of a man or she is unlike him and therefore no man has a right to speak for her."

Prof. Sedgwick's biological citations of the hen and the cow seem somewhat fragmentary. He says that "the hen and the rooster," the "cow and the bull" have "both had the same environment and opportunity," and adds that the same is true of the dog. He seems to have overlooked the most important factor in the environment of these domestic animals, which is the master mind of man for countless generations directing and specializing to his own uses the functions of each—one to be exclusively a milk-producer, another to lay eggs all the year round. How powerful the influence of man in the environment may be is shown in the case of the dog, molded into innumerable varieties of form, size, qualities, and attributes in answer to the will of man.

But granting the difference between the cock and the hen, the bull and the cow, it appears to be all in favor of the hen and the cow. Which are the more industrious and useful members of barnyard society? The males strut and fight and scratch or paw the ground, while the females do all the work.

Let us take a few more instances—what the horse does, the mare can do. Perhaps, indeed, it was she who first set us an example of "team work." Among cats, for which man has

never found any economic use, the differences of sex are scarcely perceptible.

Among wild animals, which Prof. Sedgwick neglects to mention, the female is supreme in all the serious and essential affairs of life. It is the female elephant who leads the herd, the lioness who kills, and the tigress who feeds, defends and rears her young without any assistance whatever from the tiger. In the insect world the female is always the sovereign power.

Professor Leslie Ward states that in the order of biological evolution the male was primarily and normally an inconspicuous and insignificant afterthought of nature. It is certain that all through the animal world up to man the female of every species feeds and defends herself and honorably earns her own living. Only the human female has ever been dependent on her mate for her living. It is also certain that this was not the case among primitive races, but that it gradually came about. There have been periods in human society where mother-right was supreme and races still exist where it can be observed.

One assertion made by Prof. Sedgwick is that "in spite of the open door * * * so few women become doctors," and "it is significant that there are almost no women surgeons." In the first place, the door is not open in the sense of being wide open. It is open enough to squeeze through. There is scarcely a university in America whose medical department admits women students, and it is as yet impossible in this country for any female student to get hospital training equal in quality to that afforded to male students.

In the second place, this crack in the door has been open for just about one generation. The first woman in America to graduate in medicine, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, died less than five years ago. Yet it is surprising how many women doctors there are now all over the United States, and in every large city there are among them many good surgeons. The United States Census for 1900 gives the number of women physicians and surgeons as 7,387.

For a number of years I was a teacher in the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary. Judging from that experience with women students, I believe there is no physical, psychical or sexual reason why, in time, when all the barriers against them have broken down, there should not arise some woman surgeon equal or even superior to any man we have now.

Prof. Sedgwick quotes Sir Almroth E. Wright in reference to nervous and mental disorders which sometimes appear with pregnancy and the climacteric. Sir Almroth's assertions are made as if such disorders were the usual thing, whereas in fact they are unusual. These physiological commotions in the body sometimes do evoke symptoms due to an already underlying neurotic constitution, or to actual diseases present at the time, such as sepsis or auto-intoxication, anaemia and the like. But the normal woman in my experience is never made abnormal by these normal physiological conditions. In cases of pregnancy nervous symptoms are not always limited to the female member of the family.

The destruction of the home! Whenever a new idea gets afoot in the world in regard to women somebody is sure to prophesy the destruction of the home. Of course, it used to be doubted whether women had souls. It was thought probable that only men were endowed with immortal souls. And when some wicked agitators began spreading the idea among women that they, too, were creatures of soul as well as sense the destruction of the home was promptly to follow any such dangerous propaganda. It was the same when they learned to read and write, to manage their own property, when they asked for college education. The first women to study medicine in this country suffered a sort of social crucifixion.

Women suffragists do not propose to destroy the home. On the contrary, they believe that the home is the sacred cornerstone of society and government. They want to vote in order to help to make better homes possible. What are

the homes to which it is feared woman suffrage will put an end? The hideous tenements of the congested districts of our cities? The homes of widows who must go out all day at hard labor for a scanty wage, leaving their children to what unnameable perils? Or the homes of the unemployed, to which the breadwinner returns day after day sick with discouragement—guilty of no fault save that no man has hired him? We have been told recently that there are 325,000 men in this city out of work, and that out of these not more than 20,000 can be called outcasts. The rest are men with wives and families to support.

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Surely the woman who bears and rears the child carries a greater responsibility in the home than the man. Surely she should have an equal voice with his in all matters which concern its safety and protection. And this means practically all the laws—for all laws, whether of public health, pure food, sanitation, education, transportation, liquor traffic, taxation, crimes, national defense or what not, come back at last to the home and centre there.

Woman has a deeper conscience, a greater sense of responsibility than man in all that pertains to homekeeping and the rearing of children. In short, to give women the ballot will be to fortify the home and strengthen it against the disintegrating influences of modern life.

It is quite true that there is a ferment of new interests and ideas among women in all parts of the civilized world to-day, perhaps transcending in biological importance any world-movement of history. The uplifting of women means the

uplifting of men also, and both in time will reach a higher plane in the scale of being than they have yet attained. This ferment of new ideas is no doubt in part a reaction from immemorial tyranny and subjection. Herbert Spencer says:

> "In the history of humanity as written, the saddest part concerns the treatment of women; and had we before us its unwritten history we should find this part still sadder. I say the saddest part because, though there have been many things more conspicuously dreadful—cannibalism, the torturings of prisoners, the sacrificings of victims to ghosts and gods—these have been but occasional; whereas the brutal treatment of women has been universal and constant."

It is an affront to the great body of able and dignified women who are supporting this movement for the betterment of the whole race to stigmatize their efforts as "insane restlessness" and to speak of them as "masculine women," "wild women" and "idle women * * * in search of sex adventure."

There was similar intolerance among all those old-time reactionaries who fought against the abolition of slavery, against public school education, against giving the Bible to the people, against freedom of religious opinion, against every good and great idea by which the progress of mankind has been achieved.

As for the "feminine men" Prof. Sedgwick alludes to, we who believe in votes for women may console ourselves. In the company of Plato, of Abraham Lincoln, of John Stuart Mill and Condorcet, of Herbert Spencer and Huxley and Agassiz, of William Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Bernard Shaw we need not be ashamed. If these are types of "feminine men," we may rest content to wear the label.—(Reprinted from *The New York Times,* Feb. 15, 1914.)

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505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

March 1914



[March, 1914]

THE BIOLOGICAL ARGUMENT AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By

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The Biological Argument Against Woman Suffrage

From time to time arguments have been brought forward to show that because of their physical constitution women are biologically unfitted for the duties of citizenship. These arguments have been assembled especially by Professor William T. Sedgwick of Boston and given wide publicity by him. That they do not appear sound or convincing to many biologists of distinction or to all careful students of human history is proven by the following letters originally published in the New York *Times* of February 14th, 1914. The letter on *Feminism* by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, which appeared at the same time, has been issued in separate form by the Empire State Campaign Committee and can be bought of it.

ANATOMY NOT A TRUE GUIDE.

By Dr. Simon Flexner.

No one with any knowledge of anatomy and physiology would to-day contend that men and women are precisely the same. While on this point I agree with Prof. Sedgwick, I differ from him completely in his main contention. I do not believe that there is physiological foundation for the assertion that the functions of the brain, and thus the operations of the intelligence, are in any way affected by the differences in anatomical structure in the two sexes.

We all allow among both men and women for wide divergences of individual traits, and while it is doubtless true that, so far as emotional sensibility is concerned, women are more reactive than men, yet many

men are emotionally highly responsive, and there are by no means a small number of men who are more emotional than many women. And yet, as no one has undertaken to determine fitness for public responsibility among men upon such a temperamental quality, it may justly be asked why the test should be applied to women.

Like Prof. Sedgwick, I have had experience with teaching women under as trying conditions as ordinarily arise in laboratories. The study of medicine to-day makes a heavy demand on the fibre and endurance both of men and women. I have seen failure and success achieved, but the cleavage was not along sex lines. My observation is that women in laboratories toil on day by day and month by month, and as a rule have themselves under a degree of physical and emotional control that makes any difference in their daily physical state imperceptible.

It seems to me exceedingly questionable to base a decision of suitability for the offices of citizenship upon anatomical and physiological criteria which probably have at best only remote and indirect bearing upon the problem.

Modern society has seen a revolution in woman's state within half a century, and not only has survived the change, but has proceeded to exploit women still further in industry and the higher functions of the State. Indeed, New York at the moment possesses notable examples of efficient women devoting their able talents to the public welfare. Doubtless, therefore, when political enfranchisement comes, it also will be survived; and under the political conditions then created the State will develop the new asset, not only for the women who will be directly benefited, but to the advantage of society as a whole.

NORMAL WOMEN NOT NEUROTIC.

By Dr. Frederick Peterson.

Prof. Sedgwick's interview in *The Times* on the subject of feminism and woman suffrage is not as calmly judicial as one would expect from a man of science.

I had supposed that to a biologist "equal rights and equal opportunities" for every human being would be a truism, founded on his large dealings with natural biological phenomena and upon the sense of abstract justice which should develop in such an observer. Prof. Sedgwick makes too much of the differences between men and women. The fundamental differences are too apparent to need discussion, but I should think a biologist could hardly overlook the essential points in which men and women are exactly alike—alike in their human nature, each alike possessing individuality, and alike in potential ability to perform most kinds of the world's work. In these respects individual capacity varies in both sexes, but the differences in capacity between men and women are no greater than between various groups or classes of men alone. Most scientists freely admit this.

In a letter to *The London Times* Thomas Huxley remarked:

> "Without seeing any reason to believe that women are, on the average, so strong physically, intellectually or morally as men, I cannot shut my eyes to the obvious fact that many women are much better endowed in all these respects than many men, and I am at a loss to understand on what grounds of justice or public policy a career which is open to the weakest and most foolish of the male sex should be forcibly closed to women of vigor and capacity. We hear a great deal about the physical disabilities of women. Some of these alleged impediments no doubt are really inherent in their organization, but nine-tenths of them are artificial—the product of their mode of life."

Nevertheless, while women now deny many of the alleged differences, it is precisely because of the true differences that they are demanding a voice in government. Wendell Phillips said long ago:

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NO FOUNDATION IN SCIENCE FOR THE DOCTRINE OF WOMAN'S INFERIORITY.

By Dr. William H. Howell.

There seems to be a tendency in these latter days for those who discuss questions of sociological import to fall back upon the findings of biological science in support of their views, in somewhat the same spirit of finality with which in former times controversialists were wont to quote the Scriptures.

The tendency is natural and in a measure justifiable, since the knowledge derived from biological studies ought to shed some light on the relations and reactions of mankind. But from time to time it has been necessary for scientists to raise a voice of warning when this application of scientific knowledge is carried beyond permissible limits. Dr. Sedgwick some years ago in a timely and earnest address protested vigorously against what he designated as the subjection of science to propaganda. He was entirely right in the stand that he took at that time, but it may be claimed fairly that what is sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander, and that, if the propagandists must be circumspect and just in their use of scientific facts to further the aims upon which their hearts are set, the anti-propagandists should also display a similar moderation.

In his discussion of woman suffrage and the feminist movement in general, Prof. Sedgwick has brought in the argument from physiology, but to my mind he has made the general facts that he quotes a starting point for some very wide and surprising flights, not exactly of fancy, but of prophesy.

There can be no doubt, of course, that men and women differ anatomically and physiologically as regards the primary and secondary sexual characteristics. Recent investigations in fact have gone so far as to show that the so-called secondary sexual characteristics are dependent for their development upon the internal secretions furnished by certain specific cells contained within the substance of the reproductive glands, and furthermore to indicate that the secretion in one sex is probably different from that in the other, since the resulting anatomical developments are so distinct.

But it is a far cry from this conservative and indefinite statement to the conclusion that between man and woman "there is a deep-seated structural difference affecting probably every organ, every tissue, and every cell of the entire body." No one would be so rash as to claim, on scientific evidence, that the digestive or the circulatory organs of a woman differ from those of a man. No one, perhaps, would go so far as to maintain that the nervous system in general of one sex is in any known respect different from that of the other. There may or may not be some deep-lying dissimilarity in structure or function of these organs associated with sex, but if so the nature of this difference is entirely unknown to physiological science.

If any one cares to claim that the brain of woman is inferior to or in any essential respect different from that of man he must seek the evidence for his belief in his personal experience or in the archives of history—certainly not among *the sober records of science.* So far as my personal experience as a teacher goes, I may say that it has been my duty for many years to instruct mixed classes of men and women in the classroom and in the laboratory, but I have never been conscious in any way that it was necessary to make concessions to the women as the weaker vessels.

On the contrary, in the matters of zeal for work and of intelligence in grasping facts and principles they have shown themselves, on the average, quite as capable as the men students, while in one respect, namely, the ability to express what they know in clear and logical English, I have found them as a rule superior to men. Somewhere in their previous education they seem to have been better trained in this latter respect.

Feminism as interpreted by Mr. George is as abhorrent to me as it is to Dr. Sedgwick, but "the suppression of marriage and the institution of free alliance" is an eventuality so improbable that it does not seem worth while to grow excited over it or to make uncertain deductions from physiology to prove its danger and impracticability. When, however, the argument from physiology is used against the granting of suffrage to woman or against her privilege of preparing adequately to make an independent living, it must be recognized that

the few facts of physiology which can be supposed to have a bearing on these questions are not in themselves significant or determinative.

There is nothing in the peculiar physiology of woman to prevent her from casting her ballot regularly and intelligently. Men are perfectly well aware that the physical duties connected with suffrage are neither exacting nor onerous—and even the labors of campaigning, which most of us fortunately escape, are not of a greater magnitude, physically considered, than many of the social achievements which women carry off so successfully. So far as intelligence is concerned, there is surely no known physiological fact which would justify any suspicion that woman will not be able to measure up fully to the best standards that man can hope to attain.

In the matter of earning a living woman is undoubtedly at a disadvantage compared with man. Nature imposes on her a periodic function which in some cases at least makes the performance of routine duties, whether in the household or in the outside world, more difficult than in the case of man, but as a matter of fact this handicap has not proved to be so serious as to make her an inefficient worker. She has discharged successfully her duties as a housewife in spite of this handicap, and in modern life she has demonstrated fully her ability to make good in many of the vocations in which she has been brought into competition with man.

For a woman to marry is well, and in all probability nature will insure that the great majority of women will take this path, but it is intolerable to hold that a woman must be limited to a choice between marriage and dependence on the charity of relations or of the public. The conditions of modern life happily are making it increasingly possible for a father to give his daughters as well as his sons such training as will enable them to be independent wage-earners in case opportunities for a suitable marriage do not offer, and it is entirely gratuitous, in the present state of our knowledge, to urge against this just privilege that women are physiologically incapacitated for efficient service.

WOMEN STUDENTS NOT INFERIOR TO MEN.

By Dr. Franklin P. Mall.

As a teacher of biology Prof. Sedgwick comes forward with his chief argument, namely, women students must be treated with especial consideration in his classes. When teachers of biology disagree with him they are "prejudiced," and their evidence is to be ruled out.

My own experience certainly does not correspond with his. I have also had at least twenty years' experience with more than one thousand picked college graduates in biological teaching and have yet to learn that women students need special consideration. In fact, no concessions have been made the women, and as a group they have invariably stood above the average. This year we shall graduate in medicine eighty men and ten women; two men and four women lead the class!

If voting adds dignity to the laborer, if it is prized by the negro, it surely may have a similar influence upon women. In fact, we must pay this price also for having allowed women to obtain a higher education, for having forced her out of the home, and for having taken from her many of the industries which belonged almost exclusively to her before the days of the factory.

We must not go to the polygamous barnyard to find an example for the human race, as Dr. Sedgwick does. Let us study woman suffrage where it has been tried and see whether it correlates with the evils which he predicts. Instead of darkness we shall find the spiritual atmosphere of his own Abigail Adams, which is more exhilarating.

MEDIAEVAL OPINIONS OF WOMAN'S POSITION NOT MORE VALID THAN MEDIAEVAL SCIENCE.

By James Harvey Robinson.

To judge from the report of Prof. Sedgwick's views given in *The Sunday Times,* he contends that the physical differences between men and women are quite sufficient to explain and justify the convictions which he and other conservative people hold to-day in regard to woman's proper sphere.

To a student of social and intellectual history this assumption seems a very hazardous one indeed. No one, not even Mr. W. L. George in his "hideous dream" of feminism, is likely to deny that women are different from men in the breadth of their shoulders and hips, in the amount of fatty tissue beneath the skin, in their sexual functions and periodical disabilities. The real question is, "Do these differences make it necessary for us to perpetuate the conception of the sphere of woman which we derive mainly from the Middle Ages?"

Prof. Sedgwick, as a distinguished biologist and cultivated gentleman of the early twentieth century, would in all probability reject a great part of the scientific ideas of the Middle Ages; he and his fellow conservatives would in general be out of sympathy with the mediaeval institutions of serfdom, feudalism and monasticism, but they would have us believe that the mediaeval church closely followed the immutable ordering of nature when it defined the proper range of woman's activities and prescribed her relations to the other sex.

Those who are aware of the circumstances in which our traditional ideas of woman's place grew up can have no confidence at all in this assumption. Mediaeval conditions were so different from those which prevail to-day that it seems most improbable that mediaeval conceptions of woman's place in society will be found in some marvelous way to suit us permanently, and one takes great risks in declaring that of all the possible relations between men and women biology confirms only the mediaeval.

The relation of cocks and hens and of bulls and cows throws little or no light upon the problems of civilization, for the simple reason that civilization is a unique and peculiar thing confined to man. As a biologist Prof. Sedgwick ought not to confuse man's brute nature and civilization; yet he and many others do so when they appeal to "nature" to substantiate their conservative views.

In order to get an idea of our real nature we must imagine ourselves transported in earliest infancy to some salubrious clime where we should in some wondrous way survive and grow up free from intercourse with civilized fellow-creatures. We should have no language except such as we invented for ourselves, no knowledge of the use of fire, unless we discovered how to produce it; such

things as the chipped flint hatchet and the ingenious bow and arrow might not come until after generations had slowly accumulated a groping knowledge of the possibilities of things.

It is biology that enables us to make the sharp distinction between nature and nurture. Our natural traits are inherited and transmitted hereditarily. All civilization, on the other hand, has to be learned by each generation or be lost. It never gets into the blood. Our ideas of marriage and of the suitable emotions and occupations of woman are surely largely matters of civilization rather than of nature in the proper sense of that term. Nature may remain the same while these things change vastly, as history proves.

Nature underlies but does not determine civilization, just as real estate underlies New York City but does not determine whether wigwams or sky-scrapers shall be erected upon it. Biology bears the same relation to questions of civilization that geology bears to architecture. We have to have something to build upon, but just as Manhattan Island is good enough to hold up a far finer city than it now supports, so the human being while retaining the same nature may expect to be very different and hope to be far better in matters of civilization than he has even been before.

The fact that women are on the whole somewhat weaker physically than men and are subject to periodical disabilities from which men are exempt would be highly important were it not that physical force has played a very subordinate part in the development of civilization. It is not the physically strong that have commanded and controlled mankind and added to mankind's resources of knowledge and art. Even in a direct encounter it is more advantageous to have a well-directed revolver, a product of civilization, than a mighty fist, a product of nature.

To sum up, nature tends to remain the same, civilization to alter according to circumstances; brute force is rather unimportant in the changes which take place in our social relations and ideals, and all of us should be constantly upon our guard when tempted to appeal to nature as sanctioning any particular scheme of human adjustment which may happen to meet our approval.—Reprinted from the New York *Times,* Feb. 15, 1914.

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The magazine of The Empire State Campaign Committee

of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is Chairman.

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[March, 1914]

WHY MAN NEEDS WOMAN'S BALLOT

By

CLIFFORD HOWARD

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Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot

CLIFFORD HOWARD

Woman suffrage is no longer a question merely of woman's rights. It has ceased to be a partisan or an argumentative question. It has become a big, vital, economic necessity. We grant that woman needs the ballot; but, more than that, the time has now come when the ballot needs the woman. The nation, the state, the man needs the woman's ballot.

It will be found, however, that the great majority of men do not see that they have anything to gain by granting the franchise to the woman. Those who favor the doctrine of equal suffrage are animated wholly by a sense of justice, of fair play, or of chivalry toward the opposite sex. They want to see the woman enfranchised because they believe it will prove a benefit to her; because they believe it is a right she ought to enjoy; but they do not see in it any particular profit to themselves.

However, there is one class of men who do realize the bigger import of this big question. Wherever you go—whether it be to California or to Kansas or New York or to England or Australia, it matters not where—you will find woman suffrage opposed full strength by the saloon men, the gamblers, the corrupt politicians, and the traffickers in vice. And why? Because these men are afraid of the woman's vote. They know what it means. They know that to grant the woman the ballot means an instant and a powerful menace to their business and to their corrupt and evil practices. They know that the woman will exercise her political authority in behalf of decency and purity; that "business" and politics and party interests will

weigh not at all against her simple, primal notions of right and wrong. They know this, and therefore they fear her.

Those who thrive on vice and corruption are universally opposed to a feminine voice in the affairs of government, because they see what many of its advocates fail to see, that equal suffrage means more than equal rights. They know that to grant the woman the vote does not mean a mere duplicating of the man's vote, but that it means the bringing into existence of a distinct and a determining factor in the regulation of social conditions.

The woman should have the ballot, not only for her own benefit, but for the benefit of you and me and every other man who stands for good government and public cleanliness and purity. She is not alone to be the beneficiary of her suffrage right. Her brother, her community, her nation needs her vote as much as she does herself. Not only will it enable her to express her individual judgment as a citizen, but, more than that, it will mean the active expression in our body politics of that feminine moral force of society, without which no nation can hope to thrive or endure.

It will be found that many of the prejudices and arguments against woman suffrage are based upon conditions that no longer exist. Our nation has moved forward with such prodigious speed, that only the most nimble-witted among us have been able to keep pace with it. While we are to-day riding in automobiles and electric cars, the ideas of the great majority of us are still traveling by stage coach. And thus it happens that many of the arguments in opposition to woman suffrage are to-day as thoroughly out of date and ridiculous and old-fashioned as is the hoop skirt. Would we discuss the subject intelligently we must regard it in the light of present-day conditions; we must realize the tremendous transformation that has taken place in our social and economic conditions within the past two generations.

Fifty years ago, for example, there was but one woman's college in America, and that was not much more than a seminary. To-day there are a hundred and fifty women's colleges, to make no mention of the many co-educational institutions. Seventy per cent. of the graduates of our high schools are girls, and to-day there are more young women preparing for college than there are men. In the educational status of woman, therefore, there has been a most remarkable change. Our fathers opposed woman suffrage on the ground that the women were not deserving and were not capable of a liberal education, and behold! to-day the women are fast becoming the better educated half of society.

Sixty years ago there was not a woman physician in the United States. To-day there are more than eight thousand of them. There was not a woman lawyer; to-day there are nearly three thousand. There was not a woman clergyman; to-day there are nearly six thousand. And so with all the professions and technical callings. In our fathers' days none of these was open to the women. The women were not considered capable of filling them.

Sixty years ago there were but five or six occupations open to women—teaching, sewing, housecleaning, and the like—and, all told, there were but a comparatively few thousand women who were earning their own living. To-day there are more than three hundred occupations open to women and there are to-day upward of six million women who are supporting themselves by their own labor.

In the face of this tremendous fact, what becomes of the one-time argument that women were not capable of supporting themselves? Our fathers could not have conceived of the coming of a time when the industrial, the commercial, the business life of this nation would be vitally dependent upon the labor of women. Were the women to withdraw from the industrial work to-day and return to the conditions of fifty years ago, the nation would collapse. The business and commercial world would be thrown into a state of chaos.

Fifty years ago there was not a woman's club in existence.

To-day there are more than eight thousand of them, with a total membership in excess of two million women. It was contended a generation or two ago that women had no capacities for organization or for collective work. What weight has an argument to-day based upon that contention?

We are to-day the witnesses not only of an evolution, but a revolution, in the social and economic status of the woman. And what is true in reference to woman is true also in reference to our nation as a whole. Seventy years ago there was not a city in the Union with a population equal to that of Los Angeles to-day. New York had a population of a bare three hundred thousand, and that was three times greater than that of any other city of the time. Chicago was a mere village, with four or five thousand inhabitants. Altogether there were but five cities with a population of more than fifty thousand. To-day, we have fifty cities with a population of more than a hundred thousand; we have a hundred cities with a population of over fifty thousand, and we have seventeen cities with a population greater than that of New York in 1841.

These tremendous increases in city population, these vast aggregations of people in hundreds of places, together with the changes wrought by invention and the onmove of national progress and expansion, involve social and political problems wholly beyond the concepts of our forefathers. We have to deal to-day with conditions absolutely unique. The city, for example, is no longer a mere political corporation with interests wholly distinct and apart from personal and domestic problems. In point of fact, the modern city is a big, co-operative housekeeping business.

One after another the duties that formerly belonged exclusively to the individual households have become the common duties of the community—the care and protection of children; their schooling and physical training; the regulation of morals and health and cleanliness; the supervision of food, the inspection of buildings, the prevention of disease, the regulation of drainage and sanitation, and a score of other

like duties. All of these are essentially domestic. Primarily, they all relate to the welfare of the child, the home, the family; and yet more and more are they becoming the chief concern of the city and of the nation; and more and more is it becoming evident that in the proper management of these duties we require the assistance of the woman.

For we must remember that these are really women's duties. They have merely been transferred from the individual family to the bigger municipal family.

That there has come a radical change in our domestic conditions does not affect the natural instincts of the woman. She is still the woman, with the self-same powers and capabilities and desires. The only difference is that to-day these functions must find their expression under different conditions, under different auspices. And that is precisely what is happening. With the constant lessening of individual household duties, with the decrease in the size of families, and with the increased efficiency and capacity of women, the alert, progressive woman of to-day finds her housekeeping instinct extending to the municipality and her instinct of motherhood to the children of the whole nation. She is still maternal, and will ever remain so, and the home is still her sphere.

When the anti-suffragists declare that the woman's place is the home we grasp them by the hand and say amen most earnestly. The woman's place *is* the home. But to-day would she serve the home she must go beyond the house. No longer is the home compassed by four walls. Many of its most important duties lie now involved in the bigger family of the city and state.

In the matter of schooling, for example, not only does the public government supervise the studies of the children and provide them with the traditional routine book knowledge, but to-day it is taking the little tots from the mother and teaching them in the kindergarten, and the older children are being taught music, and sewing, and cooking, and domestic economy, and manual arts, and trades—subjects of in-

dence that the women do not need the ballot. It is pointed out that women are now serving on public commissions, that their advice is sought in the solving of domestic and industrial problems and that they have been responsible for many of our best reforms and institutions and laws relative to the child and the public health.

That this is so none of us will for a moment deny. In truth, it may be questioned whether any of us, even among the women themselves, realize how much women have done and how much they are doing in behalf of the city and the state. Through local organizations, through confederated state organizations and through the big national organizations, they are to-day performing a wonderful work in the interest of social and political betterment. There are to-day fully a million women in the United States who are interested in civic affairs and who are devoting themselves to the cause of a better and purer nation. And what these progressive, earnest, active, intelligent women have already accomplished is beyond calculation in measure of gold.

Fully nine-tenths of the laws and institutions and reforms of the present-day relative to the welfare of the child and of the woman, and of public health and morals have been inspired and secured by women. Our juvenile courts, our public playgrounds, our vacation schools, our homes for delinquents, our child-labor laws, the laws forbidding the sale of liquor and tobacco to minors, the laws requiring the physical examination of school children and many others of like character must all be credited to the work of women. It is they who initiated them and secured their adoption.

And this is equally true of the laws and reforms relative to health and morals and sanitation. The cleaning of city streets and alleys, the collection and disposal of refuse, the filtering of city drinking water, the inspection of milk, the pure food laws, the laws abolishing lotteries and prize fighting and horse racing, the laws forbidding expectorating in public places, precautions against disease, the sanitary inspection of stores and factories and school houses—all of

these are now ours by reason of women's interest and work in behalf of the public weal.

Follow back any one of these important and vitally necessary measures and at its inception stands a woman, or a woman's organization.

Because women have done all these things and because more and more are they taking a keener and more influential interest in the national welfare, are we to deny them the ballot? Could any question be more unreasonable, more unfair?

The very class of persons who are to-day accepting as a matter of course these efforts and accomplishments on the part of women and for this reason would deny them the ballot, are the ones who a few years ago were denouncing these selfsame women for daring to meddle in public affairs, for daring to come before the public, for daring to ask for an education. Only fifty years ago Susan B. Anthony addressed a teachers' convention in New York, pleading that the girls be allowed the same educational advantages as the boys, and at the conclusion of her address the president of the convention could not refrain from congratulating her upon the force and eloquence of her remarks. "But let me tell you, Miss Anthony," he added, "I would rather follow my wife or my daughter to the cemetery than to have her stand up here as you did to-night and speak in public."

That was the attitude of the public only fifty years ago; that same public that has persistently opposed the advancement of woman; and now that she has advanced, in spite of opposition and ridicule and persecution, and has shown her true worth and her true abilities and powers, this same intolerant public is not only obliged to admit her capabilities, but would now make of them an argument against granting her the franchise, because, forsooth, woman is smart enough to accomplish all she wants without the ballot.

To say to the woman of to-day, "You may take all the interest you like in public affairs and may help us all you

struction which but a few years ago were matters of private and individual concern and subject to the direct supervision of the mother. To-day, therefore, this one-time home duty can be exercised only by taking an interest and a part in government administration. It has passed from the individual home to the community home.

So, also, in the matter of food. To-day the woman cannot exercise any direct, personal supervision over the production of the necessities of life. If she would assure herself that the flour, the bread, the meat, the milk, the canned goods and the prepared foodstuffs of all kinds that come into her house are wholesome and pure and fit to eat and are served in correct measure, she must see that the state and city laws with reference to the production and disposal of food are being properly enforced and properly complied with.

And so, again, in matters of morals and health. Are the streets in proper condition? Are the alleys kept clean? Is the garbage properly collected? Is the city water fit to drink? Is the drainage in good order? Are the children protected from contamination in the public schools and in places of public amusement? They are essentially home matters, family matters, but they can be attended to to-day only through public channels.

We see, therefore, that if the woman of to-day would exercise her natural prerogative as the guardian of the home, she must of necessity interest herself in public affairs and take a part in their management. The woman who to-day remains quietly and passively within her own household, contenting herself with the assurance that she is doing what her grandmother and her mother did before her, is grossly deceiving herself. She is not doing what her grandmother did; she is not attending to the duties and the cares and the responsibilities that fell to the lot of the women of two generations ago. She is not fully serving her home, because so many of her duties are no longer to be found within the immediate home. Would she serve the individual family,

she must serve at the same time the bigger family, of which her own is to-day but a part.

And, in turn, if the city and the nation would succeed in the efficient management of the many household duties that they have been steadily assuming, they must, of necessity, call upon the women to co-operate with the men in maintaining the new social household.

The men cannot keep house alone. There is nothing that the man himself is more ready to admit. In his individual household he does not for a moment question the truth that the woman is the regnant and supreme power in the kitchen, in the management and care of the children and in the administration of the domestic economy. And if this is so with reference to his individual family. is it not equally so in regard to the bigger municipal family? Many of the most important duties of city government are to-day domestic duties, the collective duties of thousands of individual households, and wherein is the man fitted to perform these duties alone? As a matter of fact, he is not competent to do it. He has assumed tasks for which he is wholly unfitted, both by inclination and experience, and it is small wonder, therefore, that he has proved himself notoriously incompetent and incapable in the management of modern city governments.

The very character of the modern city, with its multifarious and complex duties, calls for the assistance of the feminine mind, the mind accustomed to detail and variety of work and to a sense of responsibility for the comfort and the welfare of others. And we will find that such success as our men-governed cities have met with is due entirely to the fact that the women have come to the help of the men and have given them of their knowledge and training and judgment. In truth, as time goes on the women are becoming more and more interested in civic and public matters, and despite their political nonentity are exercising a potent influence in the administration of our social and political affairs.

The anti-suffragists are seizing upon this fact as evi-

wish, but don't ask for the ballot," is to place her in the same awkward and rather embarrassing situation of the young lady in the nursery rhyme:

"Mother, may I go out to swim?"
"Yes, my darling daughter;
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
But don't go near the water."

Could there, indeed, be presented any stronger argument in favor of woman suffrage than the civic work accomplished by women without the ballot? Has she not shown us her fitness to be clothed with the full powers of citizenship? She has served a splendid probation in the last few years, and comes to us with credentials that we dare not ignore.

No other electorate ever taken into our body politic has come thus prepared to exercise its duty. These million intelligent, earnest women of the United States, typifying the true womanhood of our nation, have shown us conclusively the stuff that women are made of. The work they are doing and have done makes clear to us in what direction their interests lie. It shows us the character of their aims and their purposes and their abilities.

Moreover, we must not forget that these accomplishments of hers in behalf of the social welfare have not been attained without struggle and effort and in many instances have been gained only after years and years of unremitting energy and determination. In all her work she has felt and has been made to feel her political inferiority, and although she has accomplished much, there is much more that she has been unable to do, simply because she lacks the power to enforce her wishes. Let one example suffice. For fifty-five years the women of Massachusetts sought to obtain a law making the mother an equal guardian with the father over the child. Reasonable and just as this law was, the women of Massachusetts did not succeed in securing it until a great tragedy aroused the state. On the other hand, the women of Colorado, desiring this same law, secured it in just one year. In this

single instance, chosen out of hundreds, we have an illuminating example of the difference between the power of the woman without the ballot and the power of the woman who stands equal with the man as a political sovereign.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that the securing of good laws is, after all, only half the battle. If these laws are not properly enforced they are well-nigh useless. Many of our public-spirited women of to-day are finding their chief work in endeavoring to secure a proper administration of the laws that they have been instrumental in introducing. It is one of the hardest tasks and one of the most discouraging of all with which the women of to-day have to contend. They find the men, the public officials, unsympathetic and indifferent, and against this indifference and lack of sympathy it is well-nigh impossible to make any headway. These men are the public servants, as much the servants of the women as of the men, and yet the women have no control over them and have no choice whatsoever in their selection. They are obliged to accept whomsoever their brothers select for them, and the results are fully as disheartening and confusing as if the housewife were obliged to employ only such help as her husband insisted upon selecting for her and whom she could neither discipline nor remove for a violation of her household rules.

The only remedy for such a condition of affairs is to give the woman the ballot, that she may express a direct choice in the election of public officials. Surely, if we are to-day permitting women to help us in the framing of good laws, and are gladly availing ourselves of their voluntary services, and their judgment and advice upon matters in which we acknowledge their superior intelligence, surely, I say, they deserve in return the right to help us select our public servants.

She may have her political affiliations, she may be a Democrat or a Republican or a Socialist, but in any case

involving a moral issue, in any case involving the welfare of the child or the home—the foundation corners of the nation—she is above all else the Woman, the Mother. If, therefore, for no other reason than this, we need the woman's ballot, the woman's help. We need the feminine in our electorate. Every man of us who stands for honesty and decency and cleanliness needs the woman to help in the selection of good and worthy men. We need her judgment, her intuitions, her instinct. We cannot hope to attain our ideals without her.

Always, the man of America has needed the help of the woman, and he has always had it in every national crisis. In the colonial days, when the fate of the future nation rested upon the grit and the endurance and the intelligence of our pioneer ancestors, it was the women who upheld the faith and the courage of the men. They stood by their sides and shared equally with them the dangers and the trials and the hardships of those pregnant days; and in order that the man might have the full help and co-operation of the woman, he placed the musket in her hand, in addition to the spinning wheel and the knitting needles, for he realized that he must give her every means at his command, that she might assist him in defending and preserving the home. And when he gave her the musket it was not with any fear that she would not know how to use it. He knew that she would handle it efficiently and heroically, and we know how fully she justified his faith in her.

Now, again, are we come upon pioneer days. We are standing to-day upon the frontier of a new social world, a new democracy, faced with new and menacing problems, with tasks and duties untried and unprecedented, and upon the proper performance of which depends the fate of our Republic. We are not threatened with external enemies—the savage Indian and the wild beast of the forest—but with enemies just as dangerous and far more to be dreaded

—the internal foes of the social body, vice, corruption, disease, poverty. And would we succeed in our warfare against these evils we must have the full help and co-operation of the woman, even as our forefathers had the help of the woman in their troublous days. And even as they gave her the musket, the final and most efficient weapon at their command, so to-day must we give her the best within our gift, in order that she may be fully equipped to stand with us in our mutual struggle in behalf of the nation and the home. If, therefore, it be our wish that we shall endure and prosper we must, of necessity, give her the ballot.

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EFFECT OF VOTE OF WOMEN ON LEGISLATION

An Investigation in the Equal Suffrage States made in December, 1913, by "The Evening Sun," of New York City

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April 1914

Effect of Vote of Women on Legislation

Do women who have the vote vote?
What laws have their votes passed?
Is woman suffrage considered a success by the States that have it?

The gist of an exhaustive questionnaire sent out by *The Evening Sun* is in the three sentences above. Eight questions in all were forwarded to correspondents of this newspaper in the suffrage States, with orders that the investigation be absolutely unbiased.

The results are offered at a time when both suffrage and anti-suffrage organizations are making year-end estimates, claims and counterclaims in regard to "votes."

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.

That is the gist of the inferences to be drawn from a compilation of the correspondents' replies.

THOROUGH IMPARTIAL INQUIRY.

The information, it was hoped in planning the investigation, would have two characteristics. It would be first hand information, direct from the suffrage States, and it would be impartial, obtained by trained reporters. It has taken a number of weeks for the correspondents to complete the inquiry.

The questionnaire sent out by *The Evening Sun* to its correspondents read as follows:

THE EVENING SUN'S QUESTIONS ON THE EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

1. What laws, if any, have been passed in your State which are directly traceable to Woman Suffrage?
2. What popular reforms, if any, can be traced to Woman Suffrage?
3. What laws or reforms are being agitated but not yet adopted as a result of Woman Suffrage?
4. How many women are entitled to vote in your State? What proportion of them do vote?

5. Have women derived any direct benefits from Suffrage?
6. Are women generally in favor of radical legislation, such as the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall? What is their attitude on the liquor question? On factory laws?
7. Do the disreputable women generally vote, and have they ever produced any noticeable effect on the result of any election in favor of corrupt politicians or bad measures?
8. Is Woman Suffrage generally considered a success in your State? Has it improved the tone of politics?

The Evening Sun desires absolutely impartial and unbiased replies to all these questions.

The actual legislation directly resultant from the woman vote was what the correspondents paid particular attention to. The legislation runs along parallel lines in every State where the women have the ballot and deals largely with labor questions particulary affecting the working conditions and wages of women and children, the social evil, pensions for mothers and education and care of children.

Some of the suffrage States have passed no legislation on these questions and it is noted that elsewhere similar legislation was adopted before women voted. However, the investigators seemed to consider that women's influence passed the bills where women's votes had no chance to help.

This comparative statement does not take in Illinois, where women, who have been granted limited suffrage, have not as yet voted in any State elections, or Kansas, where women have voted in only one State election, "their" Legislature not having met as yet.

GENERAL TENOR OF "WOMEN'S LAWS."

Labor laws directly affecting women and children have been passed in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. California, Colorado, Oregon and Utah have minimum wage laws and Washington has an industrial commission now investigating this question.

California, Colorado, Oregon and Washington have employers' liability or workmen's compensation laws with pensions and minimum wage for school teachers in California and Colorado.

California, Colorado, Oregon, Utah and Washington have passed factory inspection laws.

There are mothers' pension laws in California, Colorado, Idaho, Oregon, Utah and Washington. There are laws punishing husbands and fathers for desertion in Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In California, Colorado and Utah the women have been granted guardianship of their children equally with the father, and in California, Colorado, Oregon and Wyoming the property laws have been revised so that the married woman stands on an equal footing with the man.

Laws against disorderly women have been adopted in all the suffrage States. California, Idaho and Wyoming have passed extraordinarily stringent white slave laws.

California and Oregon have passed laws requiring health certificates before the granting of marriage licenses.

Colorado and Washington have adopted the initiative, referendum and recall, most of the other States having these laws before suffrage was granted the women.

The following are the reports of the correspondents, given for the most part in full:

ARIZONA.

In alphabetical order Arizona comes first, but ranks last in effects of woman suffrage. This is due to the short time that the women of this State have had the vote. The report follows:

The most important Arizona law directly traceable to woman suffrage is the female labor law.

The women vote in about the same proportion as the men.

Their interest in legislation leans toward moral and social reforms.

On the liquor question they are strongly in favor of prohibition.

The vote of women of the disorderly houses does not count in any way.

CALIFORNIA: MUCH ACCOMPLISHED.

Although the California legislature has had but one session since the women of the State won the ballot a number of laws providing for radical reforms have been passed.

The report from the California correspondent is as follows:

But one session of the California Legislature has been held since women were granted the ballot in this State. The following laws, all of which had the official indorsement of the women's organizations, were passed:

The "red light abatement" act, making disorderly houses a nuisance.

The minimum wage law, creating a commission of industrial welfare, with powers to investigate industries where women and children are employed and regulate conditions of employment.

An amendment to the women's eight-hour law already in force, extending its provisions to nurses in training and workers in apartment houses. (This amendment is being tested in the courts.)

The child labor amendment, providing that no minor under 18 shall be employed more than eight hours a day, and that no minor under 15 shall be employed for wages or profit. Certain exceptions are made. (The previous law read 12 years.)

A law establishing a State training school for delinquent girls, with an appropriation of $200,000.

The equal guardianship act, giving the mother equal rights with the father to the custody, services and earnings of a legitimate unmarried minor child.

A law providing that a married woman may sue and be sued separately from her husband in cases concerning her separate property, her right to homestead property, &c.

A law defining crimes against women and raising the age of consent from 16 to 18 years. A law raising the penalty for such crimes; now ten to fifty years imprisonment, formerly five to ten years.

An act requiring fathers to support foundling children.

In 1912, 613,626 women were entitled to vote in California.

Over twenty new women's organizations have formed since the suffrage was granted.

COLORADO: SUFFRAGE A SUCCESS.

The most notable thing about Colorado is the large percentage of women who take advantage of their voting privilege. Of the 125,000 women who are registered in the State, fully 90 per cent. go to the polls regularly. The report is as follows:

Since the adoption of equal suffrage in Colorado important laws, owing their inception or final enactment to woman suffrage, have been placed on the statute books.

The initiative, referendum and recall have been adopted, with a disorderly house law.

Woman suffrage is generally considered a success in Colorado and has resulted in cleaner politics.

IDAHO: CONDITIONS BETTER.

Women have voted in Idaho for seventeen years. The subjects of working conditions for women and children and in general the care of children, the putting down of the social evil, the restricting of the sale of liquors, and similar legislation have been particularly noticeable since women have begun to vote.

The report of the Idaho correspondent on the questions sent him was as follows:

"Idaho has a good labor law affecting women and children, including a nine-hour restriction for women and the same for children over the school age. It is forbidden to employ children in theatres or resorts.

"A white slave law was passed and a disorderly house law giving

city and village authorities power to suppress these places. Inmates of these houses and proprietors are not allowed to vote.

"The benefits that women have derived from suffrage are mainly through legislation affecting their work and status in marriage.

"The women voters are not any more radical than the men.

"On the liquor question they favor restriction. In factory legislation they appear to favor legislation looking for the bettering of the conditions of workers.

"Woman suffrage has aided in bettering conditions generally."

ILLINOIS: BETTERMENTS UNDER WAY.

Illinois women vote in State elections, but not in national affairs. The Illinois report is as follows:

"In Illinois women may vote for offices created by statute, for Presidential electors and on all State questions.

"Suffrage leaders say they have had no chance as yet to institute reforms.

"Approximately 750,000 women are entitled to vote.

"Initiative, referendum and the recall are favored.

"On the liquor question the women are against the saloon.

"On factory laws the women take the credit for recent legislation for bettering working conditions.

"The disreputable element has taken little part in the elections."

KANSAS.

Equal suffrage has been the rule in all municipal elections in Kansas for the past fifteen years. The new law giving the women the vote in State elections does not go into effect until November, 1914.

The influence of the women, however, has been behind many reform measures according to the report which follows:

"In municipal elections the women have voted in about the same proportion as the men.

"Kansas women generally favor the initiative, referendum and recall, prohibition, and factory legislation which betters working conditions.

"The vote of disorderly house inmates hardly counts.

"Woman suffrage as far as it has extended in Kansas is considered a success and politics are cleaner."

OREGON: SHOWING IS GOOD.

Woman suffrage in Oregon already is beginning to show results. Laws indirectly benefiting women have been passed and the general tone of politics is better. The report follows:

"Woman suffrage was adopted in Oregon in November, 1912.

"State-wide prohibition is being agitated as a result in some degree of woman suffrage.

"Approximately 100,000 women are entitled to vote in Oregon. Registration, which is State-wide, shows about 40 per cent. of the women voters to be on the rolls. In proportion as many women as men voted in election of city officers.

"Benefits to women from suffrage have been indirect.

"It is thought that the women favor the initiative, referendum and recall.

"Disreputable women in Portland have abstained from voting."

UTAH: VOTING HAS HELPED WOMEN.

"In considering woman suffrage in Utah it must be noted that suffrage came with Statehood, so that all sessions of the State Legislature have felt the effect of the women's influence. The adoption of the anti-gambling law, the radical State liquor law and legislation looking toward the abatement of the social evil and the care of children especially are noted as showing the effect of the vote."

The following laws are listed as legislation directly due to woman suffrage:

"Appropriations for children's institutions, law giving husband and wife joint guardianship of minor children and joint rights to earnings of children, minimum wage scale for women, abandonment or wilful neglect of wife or child made punishable, mothers' pension bill.

"Probably 95,000 or 100,000 women are entitled to vote.

"Generally speaking, the women of Utah have been benefited by the passage of laws.

"Generally speaking, the women of Utah are in favor of either prohibition or strict regulation.

"Unless 'rounded up,' as formerly, the disreputable women show little interest in voting.

"Women's suffrage has improved the tone of politics."

WASHINGTON.

The report from Washington was in general the best in favor of the women voters.

The report is as follows:

"Among the laws in Washington which are directly traceable to woman suffrage are:

"An act providing for the creation of a women's industrial welfare commission.

"Mothers' pension law by which widows and deserted wives in destitute circumstances receive pensions from the counties in which they live.

"Red light abatement law, similar to the Iowa statute.

"Abolition of capital punishment through the Goss bill.

"'Lazy husband' law, by which deserting husbands are forced to

work in a county stockade and $1.50 a day is paid their families for each day's work.

"Among the laws which are being agitated are: State home for fallen women and more women on the school boards.

"It is estimated that 175,000 women are entitled to vote at the next election over the State. Seventy-five per cent. of those women registered vote.

"The attitude of the women is strongly against open vice and in favor of the limiting of sale of liquor. The women favor better factory legislation.

"The women are no more radical than the men. The percentage of disreputable women voters is low.

"Suffrage is generally considered a success and has helped politics."

WYOMING.

"The most important and notable victory forced and gained by the influence of the women's vote in Wyoming was the passage of the anti-gambling law in 1901.

"The women helped to give Wyoming a pure food and drug law.

"There are approximately 18,000 women voters in the State.

"Women in Wyoming have benefited from suffrage. They incline toward radical legislation.

"They are strong for strict regulation of the liquor traffic.

"The vote of disreputable women has not been noticeable.

"Woman suffrage is considered a success in Wyoming and has improved politics."—Reprinted from *The Evening Sun* (New York City), January 5, 1914.

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[April 15, 1914]

The White Slave Traffic

in Hartford, Connecticut

Some Striking Examples of the Need of Votes for Women taken from the Hartford Campaign Against Commercialized Vice

Address before the
National Association of Collegiate Alumnæ
in Philadelphia, April 15, 1914

by **Katharine Houghton Hepburn**

Published by
The Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association,
55-57 Pratt Street, Hartford, Conn.

6

Copies of this pamphlet can be had at 5 cents each, 50 cents a dozen, and $3.00 per hundred from the Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 55-57 Pratt Street, Hartford, Conn.

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MRS. THOMAS N. HEPBURN
President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association

The White Slave Traffic

in Hartford, Connecticut

by

Katharine Houghton Hepburn

I have been asked to tell you tonight of some of the lessons gained from the fight against commercialized vice in Hartford. First, let me tell you how the work began. It was about two years ago, a little before Christmas. Pigniuolo, a detective employed by the United States government to hunt out the white slave traders in the different states, had reason to believe that one of the greatest traders in the east was carrying on his business in a house near our police station. When Fusco, the keeper of the resort, knew that Pigniuolo was suspicious of him he told the police that Pigniuolo had blackmailed him and Pigniuolo was tried for blackmail. He was not convicted. It was at this trial that we got most of our evidence in regard to the policy of our city in dealing with the social evil.

The first day of the trial no women were there. When I read this in the paper it seemed to me that that was just the sort of trial at which women ought to be present. They were talking about the buying and selling of women and if women were concerned about any questions they were concerned about this. So the following day I went down to the trial with one of the women in our association. During the trial, Sergeant Hart, chief of our detective bureau, was on the stand. The attorney for Pigniuolo was cross-questioning him. It went something like this:

"You knew that Fusco conducted a house of ill-fame, did you not?"

"Yes."

"Did you ever make a complaint?"

"No, I didn't see why I should. The house was established before I went on the beat and I saw no reason why I should make a complaint."

"If you went on your beat at twelve o'clock and a burglary that had been started before that time was in process of operation, would you consider it your duty to arrest the burglar?"

"Of course."

"If you knew that an established house was running openly within the shadow of the police station ruining girls' souls and bodies would you consider it your duty to make a complaint?"

"No."

That was the attitude of the chief of the detective force of our city.

As a result of the trial, we learned that 135 girls, little young girls from seventeen years old up, were sent to our city from New York in a little over a year. Fusco, the keeper of the resort, said that although it was difficult to get girls from New York now on account of the Mann white slave act he could get all the girls he wanted from Connecticut.

After the trial the labor unions passed resolutions condemning the previous policy of our city. The Federation of Churches passed resolutions. The mayor closed the houses, and in a short time people began saying, "They will open up again in a little while. It was just like this two years ago and everything opened up again as soon as things quieted down." Some time went by. Then the *Hartford Times* came out with an editorial telling of the great good accomplished by segregating prostitutes in houses of ill-fame. Immediately a number of Hartford doctors published over their signatures a statement which proved that, even from the point of view of physical health, the policy of segregation and inspection was a failure. Every one knows that from a moral point of view it is unspeakable, but they showed that even from a physical point of view it is worse than useless. The papers, with the exception of the *Hartford Post*, never published this statement at all.

We waited. Apparently nothing was going to be done. A number of women decided that the time had come for action. We had a meeting and asked the mayor to appoint a vice commission to investigate conditions and recommend a policy for the city. Then we engaged the biggest theater in town and prepared to hold a great educational meeting. The billboards advertising the meeting said, "The White Slave Traffic. What It Is. The Results. What To Do," and then gave the date and place. There were four speakers. One took up the subject of the White Slave Traffic; one, the Venereal Diseases; one, the Different Methods of Dealing with the Social Evil; and one, What has been Done in some

of the Western States where Women Vote. They were speakers of national reputation; William S. Bennet of Col. Roosevelt's White Slave Commission, Dr. Robert N. Willson of Philadelphia, Dr. O. Edward Janney of Baltimore and Rheta Childe Doer. As the time of the meeting drew near the newspapers began abusing us for holding it. They did not like the handbills that we had had printed about the



Picture that shocked the Hartford Times and other papers[1]

meeting. These handbills contained a simple, direct statement of the previous policy of our city toward the social evil and the results. On the outside was a picture of a working woman with her little daughter looking at a sign which read, "60,000 Innocent Girls Wanted to Take the Place of 60,000

[1]During the entire agitation the New Haven Journal-Courier and the Hartford Post took a high minded and courageous attitude in their editorials on the subject. Their support was of inestimable value.

White Slaves who Will Die this Year in the United States." Clifford Roe, who did such remarkable work in Chicago, had estimated that it took about 60,000 new girls each year to recruit the ranks of the prostitutes in this country alone. This picture shocked the *Hartford Times* and other papers. It was not the conditions that shocked them, strange to say, but the fact that we were determined to speak of these conditions. They protested that these circulars were being distributed where women could see them and we replied that women were the very ones for whom they had been written. Finally, when the night of the meeting came there was tense excitement on every hand. About an hour before the meeting was to begin the mayor called up and said that he understood that we were to show indecent pictures and that he should have to revoke the license of the theatre. Dr. Willson, who had brought his lantern slides with him, stepped to the telephone and assured him that they could not shock anyone. When we reached the theatre, crowds were pouring in at the door. They were greeted by trained nurses in uniform who gave out circulars. Just inside the door, women in cap and gown, doctors and college graduates, ushered them to their seats. In all there were forty women who acted as ushers, dressed in white, wearing regalia inscribed with the words, "Knowledge is Power." They had come from all parts of Connecticut to help when they learned of the opposition with which we were meeting — a striking demonstration of the solidarity of women when a great moral issue is at stake. The following morning one of the papers that had been most vindictive in its opposition devoted nearly a whole page to the report of the meeting, and the subject was written up with a frankness and a directness that would have been impossible a month before. This alone from the educational point of view was a great step forward.

Many of the women who were carrying on this agitation knew something about what other places were doing in combatting the social evil. Some of us had looked into conditions in Germany and France and knew how the systems of regulation were working there.[2] We

[2]A complete and authoritative treatment of this topic is contained in, "Prostitution in Europe", by Abraham Flexner, published by The Century Co. This book is in the circulating library at the Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 55-57 Pratt Street, Hartford.

knew, also, that every vice commission that had reported during the past twenty years had condemned the policy of tolerating houses of ill-fame, as one which provides an open market for white slaves and gives public sanction to the debauching of young men and boys. We knew that they had all said that the first step in an honest effort to combat the evil was the closing of the regular house, the open market for women.

Many of us were mothers who had little boys that we should some day send out into the city. And I want to ask the women in this audience, "How much chance do you think you will have with your boys even if you have brought them up as most mothers of our generation are doing, with full knowledge of what their sex powers are for: if you have taught them that the great passion that brought you and their father together is not a thing to be ashamed of and to degrade; if you have taught them that the foundation for the double standard of morals is a lie; if you have taught them about their own physiology so simply and so fully that you feel that they are safe; how much chance, I ask you, do you think there is that your point of view will prevail if when the boy goes out into the outside world, into the man's world where the woman's point of view does not count directly, he finds that—from the mayor to the chief of police down to the patrolman on his beat—every one of these public officials knowingly sanctions in certain parts of the city the buying and selling of women at all hours of the day and night? And if you feel that your boy is not safe, how must the mother in the poorer districts feel whose girl is in danger, too? How must the mother feel who is trying to bring up her little daughter against the terrible odds of long hours of labor and low wages, of which Mrs. Kelley has spoken to us tonight, when she realizes that it is in her immediate neighborhood that these houses are "segregated?"

One thing that we learned as a result of our agitation was that the ignorant vote among women is not where it is commonly supposed to be. We found that the women living in the slums were the most to be depended on to take a right view of these questions. They never once told us that the toleration of houses of ill-fame "protects good women." They knew very well that the boys and men — many of them married men — whom they saw come down to these houses from the better districts, did not carry back protection to the women that they were supposed to love and cherish, but that they carried back disease and death, children born

before their time, or blind, and with no chance to grow up into normal, healthy human beings.

During our whole agitation we seldom found a woman of any class who told us that the toleration of the house of ill-fame protects good women, except in the case of a few protected women who did not realize what they were saying. If they had, I cannot believe that they would have said it,



The house on the left is the house of ill-fame, which was tolerated in Hartford under both Republican and Democratic administrations, and which became the headquarters of the notorious white slave trader Fusco. It is within a few blocks of the police station and is in one of the most densely populated residential districts of the city where hundreds of children are being brought up.

for think what it means. How many women here tonight would buy their protection at such a price? Suppose that you knew that the sacrifice of other women protected you — it does not, but if it did — how many of you would buy your protection at the cost of the lives of other women? I do not believe that there is one.

Well, to come back to the practical work that we were doing. We had kept up a continuous series of meetings for about two months. Just before the election of mayor we had a big meeting in Parsons Theatre. We showed lantern slides of city conditions, one of them of the resort that Fusco had kept. It was surrounded by other tenements and, as I took the picture, a dozen or more children were passing by and stopped so that they were in the picture. It was nothing unusual. Hundreds of children are being brought up in the neighborhood. The meeting was crowded. Nine-tenths of the audience were women. At the meeting we passed resolutions asking the candidates for mayor what policy they would adopt in dealing with the social evil if they were elected to office. There were at least twelve hundred women present. The results of our city's policy were such as I have described to you, and right on the eve of election we asked the candidates what they would do in regard to this question if elected to office. Neither one of them even replied. It seemed to us that there never had been a more striking demonstration of the need of women's having votes. If we had been voters would they have replied? Of course they would. They would have had to. They could not have afforded to ignore us if they had been trying to get us to vote for them. As it was they could ignore our request and the mayor of our city was elected without giving any assurance as to what his policy toward this evil would be, not even that the old policy that had proved so disastrous to the lives of women would not be returned to.

At about this time the newspapers were full of what California women with their votes had been able to do — how they had actually recalled a judge who played into the hands of the vicious interests and how they were preparing to get the red light injunction and abatement law passed by the California legislature.[3] Some of us almost felt like waiting to take up the fight until we had votes, but finally we decided that perhaps we could prevent a return to the old policy of our city in our work for the vote. We even felt that a knowledge of actual conditions might arouse to action

[3]On Wednesday, May 13, 1914, Judge Eberle of the Hartford Police Court fined Frederick Ewins $10.00 and costs, for assualt on a thirteen year old girl, and put him on probation. The girl was too young to be committed to any institution, but went voluntarily to the House of the Good Shepherd. The man was married, was a former sailor in the United States Navy and until recently was an usher in a local motion picture theatre. He was 23 years old.

the sort of women who are willing to wait for the vote to come instead of working for it. We went on with the work.

Finally last July the vice commission reported. They recommended that the policy of keeping the houses closed be adhered to rigidly, maintaining that the old policy of our city facilitated the white slave traffic and gave public sanction to license on the part of men. The vice commission gave five hundred copies of the report to the city to distribute. They sent out a thousand themselves. It was all they had. The board of aldermen had refused to appropriate one penny of the city's money for the work of the commission so that the members had had to raise it all by private subscription, and there was just barely enough money left to print the report.

These five hundred copies of the report were given out by the city clerk. I read in the paper one night that there was a great demand for copies of the report and that the supply which the city clerk had was exhausted. The executive board of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association happened to be meeting in Hartford the following day and at that meeting we voted unanimously to reprint the report, if we could raise the money, and to put it on sale at the suffrage headquarters. The suffrage headquarters is right in the midst of the shopping district with two big show windows on the ground floor. We had just moved in, which seemed almost providential. We looked up the firm that had printed the report, found that the type was still set up, and ordered five hundred copies. We asked no one's permission. No one had the right either to give or to withhold it. The report was a public document and any citizen could have had it reprinted who had wished to, at any printers from a copy of the report. There was some discussion as to just what would happen to us if we put it on sale at the headquarters, whether the police would try to stop it or not. Some one suggested that they might try to on the ground that it was indecent literature, and it seemed to a number of us that it would put the city in an interesting position if it tried to suppress the report of a responsible city commission on the ground that the facts disclosed in regard to the living conditions of the people constituted indecent literature. At any rate we decided to try it and ordered a window card reading, "Reprint of Hartford Vice Commission Report On Sale Here." After the window card had been put in the window it took about five minutes for the reporters to come in to ask about it.

"Were the city officials going to allow us to sell it?" We did not know but we thought that it would put them in a peculiar light if they tried to stop it. We wished they would. Were we sending any copies through the mails? The local postmaster was of the opinion that they were not mailable. Yes. And since then we have had orders from Julia Lathrop of the National Children's Bureau, from Abraham Flexner of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, from the University of Wisconsin, and from institutions all over the country. The decision that the reports were mailable was given by the postmaster at Washington when one of the commissioners mailed a copy to a friend of his in New York in order to make a test case of it.

All sorts and conditions of people came in to get the report. Antis drove up in limousines — for Antis always ride in limousines in our town — and came in and got the report and said, "I don't want to vote, but I am with you in this, I can tell you." It seemed odd that they could approve of this when they thought voting unladylike. What we were doing was so much more unladylike than voting could ever possibly be. Old and young, rich and poor came in. One of the reporters asked Mrs. Bennett whether we made any distinction in regard to sex in giving out the reports, and she asked him which sex he would discriminate against, that certainly women must have them. Men had known about these conditions for ages and confessed themselves unable to cope with the problem. The time had certainly come for women to begin to know something about these questions.

That brings me to the conditions under which we gave out the report. We gave it out under restrictions identical with those under which it had been distributed by the city, with the added restriction of a charge of twenty-five cents a copy. Each recipient of a copy of the report had to sign his (we said his or her) name and be twenty-one years old. It was hard for me to say that those who received the report must be twenty-one years old. Anyone who knows anything about this work knows that the danger period is from sixteen to twenty-one. The age of consent in our state is sixteen, and surely, if the state says that a girl can consent to her ruin at sixteen, she is old enough to know what a responsible city commission has to say in regard to the terrible dangers that surround her. There is no use teaching people after they are grown up and have learned their lesson for better or for worse. If our teaching

is to be of any avail it must be given before it is too late, before the harm is done. However, as the city had put the age limit at twenty-one we put it at twenty-one, though it was hard for some of us.

It was not long before the first edition of the report was gone, and a second and a third one had to be ordered. You can see how this was educating the people in regard to the need of each citizen's taking some interest in the city's policy toward this question. One reporter asked me if I thought that every man who read the report did so from the highest motives. I answered that I did not know, but one thing that I was sure of was that, whatever any man's motive in reading it, he would be a better man when he had finished. His education in the right direction would have begun. Education must precede any successful attempt to combat the social evil, and the widespread distribution of the report, together with the newspaper comment, both favourable and unfavourable, did much to educate the public in regard to the seriousness of present conditions. It would be more difficult for our city to go back tothe old way now than it would have been two years ago. The vicious interests, of course, attacked us unmercifully in anonymous letters and in more subtle ways for hurting their business. Many of the comfortable people, too, being averse to talking about such unpleasant subjects and knowing almost nothing of the great price that thousands of women were paying for their silence and respectability, did what they could to stop us. But it was useless. Women in the present day cannot keep silent any longer. They have already kept silent too long. The great shame is not that we are beginning to cry out against these evils but that we are living in the midst of them and doing so little about them.

Our attention was next directed to the city council. The vice commission had been appointed by the city council at the request of the mayor so their report was made to the city council. The report contained ten specific recommendations, a number of which called for action by the council. They kept putting off action. Finally, Mr. Beadle, one of the councilmen who was determined to make the council at least show its hand, introduced a resolution endorsing the policy recommended by the vice commission, that of keeping the houses closed. This resolution was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 24-5. It seemed to us that this action on the part of the city council should be shown up. We had a large sign made — about 5 ft. 6 ins. by 5 ft. — just

to fit in one of our show windows. It read: "Mothers of Hartford—Do you Know How the Following Members of the Hartford City Council *who Claim to Represent You* Voted in regard to the Suppression of Commercialized Vice in Your City?" Then followed the names and addresses of the



Signs which appeared in one of the show windows of the Woman Suffrage Headquarters, September 26. 1913.

twenty-four men. As we had no political pressure to bring to bear we thought that we would bring a little domestic pressure to bear. The wives and daughters of these men as well as their neighbors were sure to pass our windows, as we are right in the midst of the shopping district. In one of the little windows at the side of the front we had a long narrow sign reading, "Come in and Get a Pamphlet Free, Telling What the Vote of these 24 Men Means to You." I can assure you that the names of these councilmen will be remembered for their action on this question if for nothing else. The big sign in the front window acted almost like a rope across the street. People going by would see it, stop short, read the names, and then come in and get a copy of the pamphlet. We distributed thousands of them. The pamphlet contained a quotation from the vice commission report, a statement of the previous policy of our city and the results, the resolution introduced in the council and the names of the councilmen again. We could not leave those names out. We wanted each one to take them home, especially the voters, to refer to at election time. On the outside of the pamphlet was the picture of the resort that Fusco had kept with the children on the doorstep, and a statement underneath, reading, "The house on the left is the house of ill-fame, which was tolerated in Hartford under both Republican and Democractic administrations, and which became the headquarters of the notorious white slave trader, Fusco. It is within a few blocks of the police station and is in one of the most densely populated residential districts of the city, where hundreds of children are being brought up."

Now, what has been the result of this work? At the recent election in our city, the men who were running for office were very careful to show us every consideration at election time — quite in contrast to their former action. We had another big sign in the window, headed "A Disgrace", and giving the names of those of the twenty-four men who had been nominated for re-election.[4] A number of them came into the headquarters assuring us of their interest in the question that they had voted to postpone indefinitely only a few months before. We told them that we should be interested to watch their records in the future, gave them some suffrage literature, and sent them on their way.

[4]Seventeen of the twenty-four men whose names we had posted previously were nominated for re-election. Fifteen were actually re-elected by the voters.

We wished that we had votes for we realized that votes are what really count at election time. The men, however, knew that we stood ready to give publicity to their actions and that was something. Another result, the far-reaching effects of which can not even be estimated, is the popular education that has followed the newspaper publicity, the widespread distribution of the vice commission report, and the circulation of the different leaflets that have been given out in connection with the work. This continuous agitation has made it impossible to open up the houses again. Houses of ill-fame have been closed in Hartford for two years — I say this on the authority of trained detectives who have looked over the ground from time to time during the past two years. These specific results we can see, but one of the most important results of all, to my mind, has been the training of the little band of women who have carried on this work. They have learned what it really means to stand out against the customs and traditions of society even when those customs mean the poisoning of the very sources of life. They have learned what it means to attack the great money making business of the traffic in their own sex, and they have seen how subtle and varied are the means at the command of these interests to discourage any one who tries to break them up. They have come to know in terms of their own experience that to be abused, even by some good people, does not necessarily mean that you are wrong but may mean that you are tremendously right.

Women have the weapon of publicity now and it is a powerful one. It is a hard one for them to use because they have not been accustomed to it. It is hard for them at first to discuss these matters in public. They have been taught that a modest women ought not even to know about them. But once they are aroused they are almost more unflinching than men in their determination to face the facts and to arouse the public conscience. The women with us have been the ones who could not be discouraged or turned aside. The reason for this is not that women are good and men are bad. It is because all through the ages women have been bearing the burden of the social evil. We have been reaping the wild oats that the men have sown; from the prostitute, to the girl with an illegitimate child, to the wife with a hidden disease that she dare not even mention. It is one of the most striking facts of modern times that, although for the first time in the history of the human race thousands of girls of

tender age are working in factories and shops away from all restraint, a regular traffic in women has had to be organized to supply the demand made by men. Even low wages and long hours cannot drive enough women into the life to supply the demand. A regular traffic like the old traffic in the black slaves has had to be organized. From generation to generation women of all classes have borne the burden of the social evil and they have learned their lesson.

Moreover, women have been trained to a sense of responsibility in regard to sex which men have never had. That is one of the great things that men have done for us. Men have said to us, "If we are going to take you into our homes and make you the mothers of our children then you must prove that you are fit for motherhood. You must bring a clean record." They have made this one demand of us so uncompromisingly that the very term virtue as applied to women has come to mean virtue in regard to sex. Women have not been in a position to make demands of men. Until recent years men have owned even our property and our children, our legitimate children,—women have always owned their illegitimate children,—men have had all of the education, all of the control: financial, social and political. Women have not been in a position to make any demands of men at all. When we are—and we shall be some day—I believe that the first demand that we shall make of men will be the demand that men have made of us. We shall say to men as they have said to us, "If you are to come to us in that intimate relationship between man and woman you must have lived a pure life. Your mind must not be tainted with sordid memories and the children that you give us must have every chance to be strong and healthy." When women have grown in knowledge, in power, and in self respect, I believe that the time will have gone by when again and again women will risk their lives to bring into the world children to fill our blind asylums, our insane asylums, and to swell the ranks of the unfit on every hand. And when that time comes I believe that men will have gained as much as women, for every man, even the worst, knows in his heart that the present state of affairs is wrong and that it does not bring happiness even to himself.

LITERATURE PUBLISHED BY THE CONNECTICUT WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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Pamphlets **Price, 5c. each, 50c. per doz., $3.00 per hundred**

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(A reply to Miss Minnie Bronson.)
By Florence Kelley, Josephine Goldmark and Pauline Goldmark

Measuring Up Equal Suffrage By Judge Ben B. Lindsey
(Judge Lindsey's Protest is printed on the last page)

The Causes of the Revolt of the Women in England
By Annie G. Porritt

The Militant Suffrage Movement in England By Annie G. Porritt

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MINNESOTA
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
ESSEX BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS

[post - April 22, 1914]

SUFFRAGE AND TEMPERANCE

By Alice Stone Blackwell, Editor of the Woman's Journal

Ill-informed anti-suffragists often claim that equal suffrage has nowhere lessened the number of saloons.

The Pacific, a journal representing the Congregational churches of the Pacific coast, said in its issue of Dec. 4, 1912: "Two years ago we had but 200 dry towns in all California. To-day we have about 675." The editor of the Home Alliance, a temperance paper published at Woodland, Cal., gives the exact number of California's dry towns at present as 682.

The State president of the Wyoming W. C. T. U. writes The Woman's Journal that before the granting of equal suffrage all Wyoming was wet, and that now 90 per cent. of the State is dry territory.

The State president of the Utah W. C. T. U. writes us that when the Utah Legislature in 1911 passed a State-wide local option law, 110 cities went dry and only 18 went wet—and out of these 18 so-called cities, 16 were mining camps. Every county in Utah but one is now dry.

In Colorado, within four years after the granting of equal suffrage, the number of no-license towns had more than quadrupled, and it has increased still more largely since. When State-wide prohibition was lately defeated in Colorado, Ellis Meredith, the head of Denver's reform Election Commission, and a strong advocate of the "dry" policy, wrote in the Woman's Journal for Nov. 16, 1912, concerning the result of the election: "It is because under our local option law conditions are so good and dry territory increasing so fast that many people feel we shall come nearer regulating the traffic in this way than by so-called total prohibition, with the police power in all the big towns opposed to it." The organ of the brewers in Denver says Colorado made a great mistake in giving votes to women. So far as we know, it is the only paper in the State which takes this ground.

The State president of the West Washington W. C. T. U. writes us that in her State the "wets" have gained two towns and the "dry" have gained 115. When one or two towns in

an enfranchised State go wet, opponents of suffrage in other States make a great outcry about it, and avoid mentioning the hundred or more towns that went dry.

In Oregon since equal suffrage was granted in November, 1912, sweeping no-license victories have been won by the aid of the women's vote, even the capital city going dry.

In Illinois, since the woman suffrage bill passed the Legislature in June, 1913, a long string of towns have gone dry through the women's vote; and the liquor interests are making a great effort to have the woman suffrage law set aside as unconstitutional.

The experience of all enfranchised States is similar, and it is so even at the antipodes. Lady Stout, wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand, contributed to The Englishwoman of May and June, 1910, two noteworthy articles on "What the Franchise Has Done for the Women and Children of New Zealand." She enumerated many benefits, including the improved care for child life which has made New Zealand's death-rate the lowest in the world. Among other things, she mentioned the great increase in dry territory, and added: "I think I can safely say that these results could never have been achieved without the women's vote."

Equal suffrage has nowhere led to State-wide prohibition, but it has everywhere led to a large extension of no-license territory. Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, who was for years Presiding Elder of the M. E. Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming, says of woman suffrage: "Liquor-sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing it."

An effort is being made by opponents of equal rights, in Michigan and elsewhere, to show that it is the suffragists and not the antis who are in alliance with the liquor traffic. The audacity of this is enough to make a mummy smile. Suffragists as well as antis are divided in opinion as to whether license or no license is the wiser policy; but the liquor interest is practically unanimous in its conviction that votes for women would be bad for its business. Moreover, it is willing to back up that conviction with unlimited cash.

Asked why the liquor interest opposes equal suffrage, Mrs. A. J. George (herself an advocate of license) answers, "It does not." This is so contrary to universal knowledge that it is hardly worth denying.

The official organ of the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association in Wiconsin bears the inappropriate name of "Progress." It fought equal suffrage bitterly all through the campaign of 1912, and afterwards boasted editorially of having helped defeat it. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who took part in the Ohio Campaign of 1912, says she never saw anything like the ferocity of the fight the liquor dealers put up against it. She brought home samples of the anti-suffrage cartoons that were hung up in the barrooms, and no doubt she would be willing to show them to anyone who calls to see them at the office of the Boston E. S. A., 585 Boylston street.

Anti-suffragists are also expressing great horror because some suffrage speakers have reminded their audiences that women as well as men are divided on the license question, and that none of the suffrage States have State-wide prohibition. This professed horror is purely hypocrisy. The antis are always glad of all the votes the liquor interests can bring them, and do not hesitate to appeal to pro-liquor sentiment. Some years ago, the Massachusetts W. C. T. U. petitioned for a bill to give women a vote on the license question. The "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" opposed it. At the hearing, their attorney (Mr. Thomas Russell) said: "If this bill passes, prohibition will be carried in every town and city of the commonwealth, contrary to the will of the people." On this occasion members of the Legislature's Committee on Election Laws asked several officers of the M. A. O. F. E. S. W., including its president, whether they would vote for license or no-license if they had the ballot. Every one of them answered that she would vote for license. Mrs. Francis Goddard of Colorado Springs, whom the antis are always quoting against suffrage in Colorado, fought with might and main to have her home town go wet. Very good people are to be found on both sides of the license question, but it is unworthy to be a hypocrite, to criticise others for opinions that we ourselves hold, or to deny a fact known to all persons who are even ordinarily well informed—that the liquor interest in general is in warm sympathy with the anti-suffragists.

At another legislative hearing in Massachusetts, after several antis had argued that woman suffrage would not promote temperance, the attorney of the Wine and Spirits Association unexpectedly arose and announced that he was there in behalf of his association to oppose the bill. The anti-suffrage ladies looked rather blank.

Dr. Samuel Garvin, a Presbyterian pastor of Colorado Springs, is quoted as charging the women with being responsible for the town and county "going wet." He is also quoted as saying that in the Colorado Legislature of 1911 the women members all voted against the "search and seizure bill" (a very drastic measure), and that but for this it would have been carried.

The State President of the Colorado W. C. T. U., Mrs. Adrianna Hungerford of Denver writes in the Woman's Journal of Feb. 28, 1914, that she is amazed at the statements attributed to Dr. Garvin. She says the women, both in Colorado Springs and throughout the State, worked much harder for the success of the "drys" than the men did. When the search and

seizure bill came up, some of the women in the Legislature voted against it, but if all of them had voted for it, they could not possibly have carried it. She adds: "I did legislative work during that session, and know whereof I speak."

Dr. Garvin writes in the Woman's Journal of the same date: "If I had a vote to cast on either side, I should cast it for woman suffrage."

When the charge that the women were responsible for Colorado Springs going wet was made some little time ago, Rev. Merle N. Smith, pastor of the First M. E. Church of Colorado Springs, wrote: "There is no doubt here that the women voted wet in smaller proportion than the men." Rev. William Watson Ranney, pastor of the First Congregational Church, wrote: "I am confident that the women of this city voted dry more largely than the men. Our experience in Colorado Springs furnishes no capital for the opponents of woman suffrage."

At the elections held in Illinois outside of Chicago on April 7, 1914, the women voted dry much more generally than the men. Thus in Rockford, 5,155 women voted dry and 1,048 wet; 4,480 men voted dry and 5,155 wet; in Bloomington, 3,806 women voted dry and 2,311 wet; 2,655 men voted dry and 3,896 wet; in Freeport 2,890 women voted dry and 1,877 wet; 1,984 men voted dry and 2,867 wet; in Pontiac 1,137 women voted dry and 364 wet; 768 men voted dry and 797 wet, and so on.

According to the official returns published in the Chicago Tribune of April 22, 1914, in all 121,315 women voted dry and 67,418 wet, while 144,925 men voted wet and 98,179 dry. Out of the 329 townships that voted, there were only 20 where a majority of the women voted wet. There were 115 townships formerly wet that went dry, and 83 of these went dry because of the women's vote. There were 41 townships formerly dry that stayed dry, and 13 of these stayed dry because of the women's vote. Of the women 64.3 per cent. voted dry and 35.7 per cent. wet; of the men 59.7 per cent. voted wet and 40.3 per cent. dry.

On April 21, 1914, a large number more cities and villages went dry, largely by the women's vote.

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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.

Massell Bros., Printers 40 Hanover St., Boston

[post - Spring 1914]

Mayors of Illinois Appreciate Benefits of Equal Suffrage

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCI
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MIN

.05 each
.25 per doz
$1.00 per 100
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Illinois Equal Suffrage Association
Room 604 Tower Building
Chicago, Ill.

228

Mayors of Illinois Appreciate Benefits of Equal Suffrage

Men as Well as Women Testify in Favor of Equal Suffrage in Illinois.

Many of the chief executives of the leading cities of the state have replied favorably to the letter sent out by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association.

Alton.

"The women took an active part in the election held here last April, and the woman's vote nearly equalled the vote of the men. Their services in assisting the municipal authorities in Alton are very valuable and much good has already been accomplished in Alton since giving them the privilege of the franchise."

EDMOND BEALL, Mayor.

Aurora.

"Equal suffrage has accomplished more for our community than anything that has been in operation for years. You will generally find the women on the right side of any question and 'when the women will, they will.'"

JAMES E. HARLEY, Mayor.

Chicago.

"To my mind the most important accomplishment of Woman's Suffrage has been the elevation of politics generally to a higher and broader plane. Woman's Suffrage has brought about the dawn of a new and better era in politics."

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON, Mayor.

Clinton.

"I believe suffrage has stimulated a very great interest in public affairs and has made our elections very much better."

FRANK RUNDLE, Mayor.

Evanston.

"The women took a great interest in the last mayoralty campaign in Evanston, and as a consequence the largest vote ever polled in the city of Evanston was that of the last election.

"I firmly believe that the women, if they will only get together, organize and work as men do in politics can accomplish more than they now dream."

HARRY P. PEARSONS, Mayor.

Freeport.

"I believe public sentiment has been awakened as never before to the importance of having better government in all departments of municipal affairs. Moral conditions have been greatly improved and many other benefits derived from and through the franchise for women.

"The state as a whole will eventually be better, cleaner, healthier and a more prosperous commonwealth in which to live by having given women a voice in public affairs.

"I wish to express to you my appreciation of the invaluable work done by you and your legislative chairman at Springfield this year."

HARRY H. STAHL, Mayor.

Galesburg.

"Our experience with Woman's Suffrage in Galesburg has been indeed very happy. On the Wet and Dry issue a year ago, somewhat over ninety per cent of the woman's vote was registered against the open saloon. This alone is testimonial enough, but if one needed more he could

easily gather it by noting the enemies of Woman's Suffrage in our city, county and state—there is not a single organized iniquity but what is opposed."

J. L. CONGER, Mayor.

Jacksonville.

"Equal Suffrage is such a potent factor for good that none dare ignore it. It brings the people closer together, so they see and know the frailties of people, and causes us to be broader and more considerate of others."

HENRY J. RODGERS, Mayor.

Joliet.

"At least two out of four of the Commissioners, as well as myself, are indebted to the women of the City of Joliet for our election. Personally, had I been dependent upon the male vote I should have been defeated. Whether the women of Joliet were wise in their selection or not remains for the future to disclose.

"I have no hesitancy in saying that I believe that the women of this country will leave a very positive impression upon the policy of municipal, state and federal government in the future."

WILLIAM C. BARBER, Mayor.

Kankakee.

"Replying to yours of August 6, I will say that the votes of women have made it incumbent for the various political parties to put up for office more acceptable candidates. Especially is this true in the smaller cities of the state."

B. W. ALPINER, Mayor.

Moline.

"I wish to say that it is impossible for me, or anyone, to state in a few words what woman's suffrage has accomplished in the State of Illinois, and there is no telling how much more good women can do if they had full and equal suffrage with the men.

"There is no phase of political questions that does not interest, in some manner, the home, and inasmuch as the woman is half owner in what man has she must, therefore, be equally interested, and there is no question in my mind that women can understand political questions as readily as men. The women stand for clean, honest politics and are morally influenced by that which is right or wrong and have a keen conception of justice.

"Moline has operated under the Commission Form of Government for four years last April. During this administration of the Commission Form a number of reforms were passed which meant efficiency, a cleaner and better City morally. This action did not meet with the approval of some of our citizens and early this spring they instituted a campaign to oust the Commission Form of Government and again adopt the old Aldermanic system, but thanks to the woman's vote they saved the Commission for, while the majority of men, who exercised their right of franchise, voted against it, the women took a very decided stand in favor of the Commission Form for the reasons above stated. They went thoroughly into the difference between the Commission Form and Aldermanic Form and through the Woman's Club have kept in close touch with the administration on playground, and park questions and general morals of the city. I believe the day is coming ere long that they will have the right to vote upon every question and every official who is elected to a public office. I am in favor unequivocally for full and equal suffrage, my opinion being based on my experience as a public official for the past six years."

MARTIN R. CARLSON, Mayor.

Monmouth.

"Equal suffrage has found approval in the eyes of the public in this community. Statistics speak for themselves. Equal suffrage has during its short reign in this community accomplished more toward the betterment of existing conditions than any other political force could have hoped to do."

OTTO FOWLER, Mayor.

Pekin.

"The votes of the women have accomplished a great deal, in the judgment of the writer, along the line of creating greater independence in the selection of municipal officers and in general betterment of municipal matters."

CHARLES SCHAEFER, Mayor.

Pontiac.

"I favored the desire of the women for equal suffrage, believing that their participation in our elections would raise materially the average of the ideals of the electorate. I find that I was not mistaken in this belief. This results, not only by reason of the addition of an intelligent body of voters, but equal suffrage has aroused the conscience and modified the viewpoint of the male voters. But above all, the knowledge of the existence of these ideals and of the voting power to give expression to them, has been the most effective force behind our administrative officers. It has made the enforcement of law comparatively easy. It has discouraged and made ineffective an adverse, or even indifferent public opinion. Their attitude on our municipal questions is a most potent force for good."

H. E. TORRANCE, Mayor.

Rockford.

"Rockford declared against the legalized saloon in the Spring of 1914, I am sure never to return to the system again so long as women are able to vote.

"To say nothing about the moral proposition, it is a great thing for this city as an economic proposition that we are not supporting in times like these the fifty-three legalized saloons that formerly were a drain on this community.

"I am sure that the greatest good has been done and will be accomplished through the association with us by the women voters of this state. My sincere desire and hope is that they will be given at no late date universal suffrage."

WILLIAM W. BENNETT, Mayor.

Rock Island.

"If I were to give my full views of the subject in a few words, I should say that I am a firm believer in suffrage for women and have always been, and that without limitation.

"In my opinion if a woman is given credit of having judgment enough to vote on school trustees and municipal offices, she should be given credit for having enough common sense to select our Legislators and Senators. Even limited suffrage in this part of the state has proven very popular and I believe the women by the way in which they are handling the situation at present will before many days be in full possession of their stolen birthright.

"I assure the ladies that I have implicit confidence in their judgment and that I will co-operate with their organization whenever and wherever it is within my power to do so."

WILLIAM McCONOCHIE, Mayor.

Sycamore.

"With the help of the woman's vote, a better class of men have been elected to public offices and from now on men seeking office will have to be men of good standing and business ability, and not simply politicians."

J. D. BECKLER, Mayor.

Sterling.

"The effect of equal suffrage here politically has not been noticeable except on the 'wet' and 'dry' proposition. The vote of the women put our Township dry, whereas if the vote had been that of the men only Sterling would have been wet."

A. J. PLATT, Mayor.

Urbana.

"I have been particularly interested in the advancement toward better civic conditions in the cities, and an improved moral tone therein, by the advent of women in politics. Segregated vice, graft in office and other forms of political and social corruption will be greatly eliminated in proportion to the increase of women in our state and municipal affairs."

O. S. BROWDER, Mayor.

Warren.

"It is difficult to measure the amount of good that has been done as a result of the woman's vote, especially along temperance lines.

"There is nothing that women cannot do when they stand shoulder to shoulder with the men and help make the laws. Women do not seek to fill office because they are women, but because they know that by so doing they can do good in the world."

ANGELA R. CANFIELD, Mayor.

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 LOCUST BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

2 ¢

MY MOTHER—AND THE LITTLE GIRL NEXT DOOR

[May 3, 1914]

By Caroline Bartlett Crane

Today, which means to us, as to millions of American women, the day dedicated to a concerted demand for political freedom, means also to me a personal and very sacred anniversary; for eighty years ago this day was born—my mother.

Looking forward towards this day, I have meditated much upon my mother's life and upon her feelings about the sphere of woman, and upon what her attitude might be had she lived unto this day. But more than thirty years ago my mother died.

My mother was one who looked well to the ways of her household, applying the knowledge of her day to the protection of her family. Comfort, health, life itself, she would gladly have sacrificed for them (such is the blessed way with mothers!).

Yet two of my mother's children lay dead on one day from a sudden terrible scourge of infant life that her love was powerless to combat. Four sacred years of hers were passed by the bedside of a little child, victim of "hip-joint disease," and only her devotion wrought the miracle of his recovery.

My mother was a good neighbor. To sit up with the sick, to carry them fruits and flowers from her cherished garden,—even to take them into our home to care for,—seemed to her a commonplace duty deserving no praise.

My mother was a charitable woman. In the little town in which we lived the few poor families were known to everyone. My mother was one who brought not only bread and meat, but kindness, to the homes of the poor. Her heart was even large enough to take unmothered children, one after another, to rear in our home, saving them from poverty, ignorance, evil surroundings and an unloved childhood.

A good wife and mother, a good neighbor, a good friend to those in need. Was my mother a good citizen? At that question I fancy a smile on her serene face as she would reply that women are good citizens if they are good wives and mothers and rear their sons to be good citizens. Living a sheltered, happy life in a little town, unacquainted in any intimate way with threatening problems which even then beset the city, she saw no reason why women should have the ballot. Indeed, it savored of things not fitting in with her ideals of womanhood. Why did a woman need to vote when she could fill her days with useful service to those around her, near and far?

But, had my mother lived to see the village wane and the city grow, and forlorn, neglected children (such as she took in and mothered) multiply in throngs, and the captains of industry grow rich on the labor of little hands and broken lives—would she have wanted a vote?

Could my mother, in that little town of years ago, have foreseen the evil conditions of our present urban life,—the slums, the filth, the lack of space to play, the commercializing of the amusements of even the children, the pitfalls for youth, the discouragements of decent poverty, the aged poor cast into our almshouses and forgotten—would she have wanted a vote?

Alice Stone Blackwell
Agnes E. Ryan

Had my mother known the havoc wrought in human life by adulterated, polluted and diseased foods; could she have known, as we now know, that "hip-joint disease" is bone tuberculosis, and that it reaches children through tuberculous milk, and that her little boy should not have suffered; that a low infant mortality is a thing purchasable by money wisely expended in public health service, and that her little girls perhaps need not have died—would she have wanted a vote?

A stretch of precisely eighty years lies between the birth of the little girl who grew to be my mother and the birth of the little girl this morning to my dear friends next door.

My mother and her generation did not ask nor want the vote, because it seemed foreign to the womanhood of their day.

The little girl next door will never ask it, because it will be hers without the asking, and its use will seem as natural to her as to her brother. With open-eyed wonder the little girl next door will listen to the tales of those strange, ancient days when there were no telephones or airships or movies—and when mother could not vote! Yes, of those yet stranger days when mothers did not want to vote!

The little girl next door, born on the very day of our great demonstration, will surely have her freedom, because we are going to win it for her and for her daughters.

The higher meaning of this day, this hour, when women over the whole length and breadth of the nation are holding such meetings as this, is not that we want the vote,—yes, and will have it. The higher and more solemn meaning is this:

We have suffered the pains and handicaps and humiliations that have dwarfed and crippled the race of women yesterday and today. We are resolved that the little girl next door, and all the oncoming throng of girl children, shall be free to become good women, good wives, good mothers, good neighbors, good friends to the friendless, and good citizens, as this goodness shall be required to be accomplished in the world's great tomorrow.

This morning I reverently touched the tiny hand of my new little neighbor next door, thinking, in what reverence, of that other little hand that first reached out for life's good just eighty years ago. Thinking, too, of how much (that was denied my mother because she was a woman) the passing years have already gathered within the grasp of the little girl next door! "Give her of the fruit of her hands," says the Psalmist, of the virtuous woman. But she forever says: "Let me but lay the fruit of my hands in my children's hands, and I depart in peace." And thus, if our mothers died long ago, before the outward world had come to be as it now is, we yet pray that their beautiful spirit may never die, or fail to find its home in women's hearts—neither in ours nor in that of the little girl next door to each of us.—Address given at Kalamazoo, Mich., May 2, 1914.

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For news of the suffrage movement all over the world read the National Suffrage paper, The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. $1.00 per year.

E. L. Grimes Co., Printers, 122 Pearl St., Boston.

[post. May 26, 1914]

Letters and Addresses on Woman Suffrage

By Catholic Ecclesiastics

COMPILED BY
Margaret Hayden Rorke



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MARGARET HAYDEN RORKE

FOREWORD

Prompted by the desire to correct the prevalent impression that the Catholic Church is officially opposed to Woman Suffrage, the compiler offers the following letters and addresses. As a Catholic mother, she submits these expressions of Catholic Ecclesiastics (with their permission) in the hope that they may serve, not only to remove misapprehension and prejudice, but to inspire every woman with the desire to claim a share in the direction of legislation which affects her own status and the welfare of her children.

M. H. R.

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
408 N. Charles Street
BALTIMORE, March 27, 1914.

MY DEAR MRS. RORKE:

His Eminence, the Cardinal,* directs me to write and state that in answer to your letter regarding the Church's attitude concerning Woman Suffrage, the Church has taken no official attitude on the subject, but leaves the matter to the good judgment of her children, as to what they think best.

The statement that our Church is opposed to the enfranchisement of women is incorrect.

Faithfully yours,
EUGENE J. CONNELLY,
Assistant Secretary.

Mrs. William H. Rorke,
57 Strong Place,
Brooklyn, New York.

*His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons.

The following letter from the Most Rev. Patrick W. Riordan, Archbishop of San Francisco, was read in all the churches of the Archdiocese, Sunday, August 11, 1912:

REV. AND DEAR FATHER:

While our Catholic people, with the high ideals which the Church holds before them, ought to be models of right living and exemplars of the highest Christian virtue, they should also possess a high degree of civic virtue.

The enjoyment of the privileges and blessings of citizenship impose correlative duties and obligations which no citizen should ignore. Among these duties the chiefest is voting. Especially is this true in a country with our form of government, in which a vote has but an arithmetical value. Majorities rule, both in making the laws and in choosing our officials; hence, it is clear that the stability of our government depends ultimately upon the civic and moral virtues of its individual citizens.

Our Catholic people, therefore, should be not only law-abiding citizens, but should take part in the making of the laws under which they live, and in the election of officers worthy to administer the laws when made. This is true for women as well as for men.

In California, woman suffrage is now an accomplished fact. Women ought not, therefore, to permit their traditional love for the virtues of the home, their innate dignity and becoming reserve, to prevent them from discharging the chiefest of civic obligations. I wish, therefore, you would take a seasonable opportunity of advising our new electors to register, that they may be at all times prepared to give their services in making California a model State, and of handing down to the children that come after them, a tradition of righteousness and of unselfish patriotism.

Yours sincerely in Christ,
PATRICK W. RIORDAN,
Archbishop of San Francisco.

The following letter was issued by Rt. Rev. Paul P. Rhode, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Ill., on hearing that many foreign women of the Archdiocese hesitated to register without the sanction of the Church. This letter was read in all the churches under his jurisdiction on Sunday, March 15, 1914.

"Catholic women of Illinois, in complete harmony with the teaching of the Church, should all accept the new prerogative of their citizenship with which they have been invested by the extension of suffrage to them by law.

"Conditions demand that they be not reluctant to exercise their right of voting, but on the contrary, that they take a lively interest in the political life of the country. Let them do this provided they do not forget their home, their duties toward their families, and provided that their interest in politics be at all times dignified, modest, and in agreement with the dictates of their conscience.

"Let them shun blind partisanship, beware of demagogues, and hold fast to the ideals of Christian motherhood, Christian maidenhood, and earnest citizenship.

"Let the Catholic women remember the debt of gratitude to society and to the State for the benefits which they and all enjoy under its protection. When entering the polling place or voting booth no other motives should actuate them than the welfare of the State, the good of society, and above all the protection of the family life of the nation and of sound principles."

CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART,
457 West 51st Street
NEW YORK, May 26, 1914.

DEAR MRS. RORKE:

I hope you will pardon my delay in answering your courteous note of the 26th ult.

You asked me if the copy of a clipping you enclosed was authentic. I answer, yes, substantially. There is, however, one correction to be made.

It was not the other day but about two years ago that I expressed myself, as quoted in the clipping, to a representative of the *Globe* of this city.

Yours sincerely,
JOSEPH F. MOONEY.

"The Church has never taken any stand on this matter of extending the franchise to women," said Msgr. Mooney, Vicar-General of New York, the other day. "There is no reason whatever why any woman in the Church should not advocate votes for women, so long as she does it in an orderly lawful way. It does the Church a grave injustice to circulate the report that Catholic members in the different State legislatures are being influenced to vote against Suffrage because the Church is opposed to it."

"Whatever has been said on this subject by priests and members of the hierarchy has been said by them as individuals."

PAULIST FATHERS
660 California Street
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.,
April 16, 1914.

MY DEAR MRS. RORKE: Yours of the 10th arrived yesterday, and you see I am answering it without needless delay.

It is quite true that I am, and have been all along, in favor of woman suffrage; that is to say, as far as the right to vote is concerned; which is, of course, the strict and proper meaning of the word. As to being voted for, and holding public office, the principal objection to that, with regard to married women, especially with families, seems to be their necessary occupation with other duties. The same objection, of course, also applies to the clergy, to priests especially, and in fact to doctors and business men generally. But the man's business can usually be given up or delegated to some one else, whereas that can hardly be said of mothers of families.

When it comes, however, to voting for others for public office, or for measures submitted to popular vote, I regard the argument so commonly advanced about woman's "sphere" being the home as simply and obviously absurd. One might as well say that the doctor's sphere is his office or the hospital, or his patient's houses; or the priest's sphere the pulpit, the altar, or the confessional. The point is that no time need to be taken from one's regular duties in order to vote. I have never found that more than an hour, at the very outside, needed to be taken from my usual employments, in the whole course of the year, in order to register and vote. It seems to be absurdly assumed that women, if they vote, must plunge into a whirlwind of political meetings, parades, and the like. There is no reason why they should, any more than there is

why quiet and business-like men should do so. Men just inform themselves sufficiently to vote intelligently, and vote; that is all that most sensible men do. Women may have to make some fuss in order to get the right to vote; but when they have got it, as they have in this State, they make less fuss than men do. That is our experience here. They learn what is needed in order to vote correctly and avoid mistakes in marking their ballots better than men do.

As to what is really your main question, whether the Church is opposed to woman suffrage, the answer is simply that it is not. Probably the majority of our prelates and priests have been so; but just as a matter of private opinion, due mainly to a conservative habit of mind, which Catholics, especially ecclesiastics, naturally get into. But no official action has been taken, and there is no probability whatever that any ever will be.

Of course, by her Divine constitution, the Church excludes women from any share in *her* government. But she excludes the male laity just as entirely. But with regard to the government of the State, she has nothing to say. During the greater part of her history, the government of the State has been monarchical; but she never made any objection to queens regnant, any more than to kings. She has never opposed democracy as a form of government in the State. If, therefore, the people are to take the place of a monarch, why should she oppose the female people any more than the male? It would not appear that she would object, if the people chose, to restrict the suffrage in a democracy to women exclusively, and give the men no vote at all. It would, probably, be good for the interests of religion to have such an arrangement. This may seem to be merely a joke, but it is not meant that way. How good it would be for France and Catholic countries generally, just now!

And it is quite plain that with regard to moral questions, the interests of morality would be advanced by woman suffrage, in the sense in which I have used it; that is of women voting, not of their being voted for, for public offices. They seem, in some cases, to have made a success at the latter; but, for married women, at any rate, common sense would probably, as a rule, deem it unadvisable, just as it would be to elect a priest as mayor of a city. He has his own business to attend to, and the two cannot be combined. The temporal power of the Pope has its special reasons, the main one being to secure his independence; but he never attended to the details of government.

Yours very truly,

GEO. M. SEARLE, C.S.P.

WHY I BELIEVE IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY

REV. J. ELLIOT ROSS, Ph.D., C.S.P.

Chicago, Ill.

Author of "Consumers and Wage-Earners"

When I was living in an Italian seminary in Rome, I once startled the priests at the table out of their masculine self-complacency when I told them I thought that women were higher and nobler than men as a general thing and would make better priests. "How about St. Paul's legislation?" asked one. "Didn't he say that women shouldn't be heard in church?" "Certainly he did," I admitted, "but that was only local and temporary. It was probably dictated by the fact that St. Paul was such a confirmed bachelor."

"Then Christ made a mistake," objected another, "in selecting men to be His ministers." "Not at all," I answered, "because He chose the weak things of this world to confound the strong."

"But if women are stronger and nobler than men,"

said a third, "Christ should have become a woman." "No more," I said, "than He should have become an angel, because angels are nobler than men. Christ wished to empty Himself entirely, to humble Himself as much as possible."

With a shrug of the shoulders, they decided it was the American way of looking at the question and incomprehensible to a Latin.

I suppose the chivalrous devotion of American men to women is incomprehensible to a Latin, and I am afraid that you will never have the chance to show whether or not you would make better priests. You will never be able to actualize Gibson's picture called "In Days to Come Our Churches May Be Fuller," representing a crowded congregation of men listening to a beautiful woman discoursing from the pulpit. We Americans can't give our women the priesthood, but we can give and have given you the ballot. You have the chance to show there that you are better and nobler and more sweetly reasonable than men. You have the chance to show that you can vote honestly, fearlessly, intelligently.

Perhaps I am expected to give you the Catholic view of woman suffrage. If that be all that you wish to know of, you may as well stop reading now. That can be stated in less than a dozen words. For the Catholic view of this question, to put it in an Irish way, is that there is no Catholic view. You might just as well speak of the Catholic view of the tariff, or the weather, or the corn crop. There is no Catholic view of woman suffrage, because it is not a Catholic question.

As was recently said editorially in the official organ of the Archdiocese of Chicago, the Church "has never taken any stand either for or against the proposal. True, individual members of the Church, and even members of the clergy and hierarchy, have expressed opinions pro and con in regard to it, but these are but

individual opinions, and do not represent the attitude of the Church as a whole. There is no obligation placed upon Catholics by the Church binding them to oppose any more than to support the suffrage movement, simply because there is no intrinsic question of faith or morals involved in it." (*The New World,* Chicago, Ill., Oct. 18, 1913.)

Therefore, when I speak to you on woman suffrage, I am not giving you the Catholic view. I am giving you my own view. I am speaking to you as a citizen, not as a priest.

Personally, I am very much in favor of woman suffrage, and that for three reasons.

The first is, that women need the suffrage as much for their own highest spiritual and intellectual development, as for a protection against man-made laws.

The second reason is, that men need women as helpmates in political as well as in domestic life.

And my third reason for suffrage is, that there is no reason against it.

WOMEN NEED THE SUFFRAGE

In the first place, women need the suffrage. They need it for their own spiritual and intellectual growth. You have heard it said, doubtless, that the suffrage is going to hurt women spiritually. These objectors take the lofty ground of looking out for woman's best interests and profess to believe that she will be degraded by the foulness men have created in political life. But such persons underrate woman's influence for good. If we could conceive the home without a mother, family life would be worse than political life. And to extend woman's influence from the hearth to the machinery of government, is not going to injure her, but purify and ennoble our politics.

I believe that women, in order to fulfill their home duties, need to get out of the home in the wider life

of the nation. To center all our interests in one family is selfishness, no matter how big the family, and all selfishness is narrowing. As has been said, the history of civilization is the history of the enlarging concept of neighbor. At first confined to immediate blood relations, then to a village or tribe, then a nation, we are gradually growing into a realization of that sublime intuition of St. Paul, when there will be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, white nor black, but one brotherhood of man united through the fatherhood of God.

Also, woman needs the vote to protect herself against man-made laws, whether or not she have property.

It is a trite saying, but its triteness does not rob it of its truth, that the unmarried woman who is paying taxes is being taxed without representation. And the fact that this has been going on so long does not make it less tyranny than what our fathers fought against. Women who are going to pay the tax should have some voice in fixing the rate; women who are going to pay the assessments should have some voice in deciding upon the improvements.

And the married woman's rights in her own property and in that of her husband should be just the same as those of her husband in his own and in hers. There is absolutely no reason for any distinction favoring the man, except that men have made the laws. Yet in some States, the property relations between husband and wife are a virtual realization of the old joke: What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own. The wife has no control over her husband's property, real or personal. He may dispose of it without her consent and in any way. Whereas, the management of her estate is entirely in his hands. Her personal property becomes his property; her real estate is managed by him. He can eject tenants (even

his wife's own mother), collect rents and use the income in any way he pleases. He may give his wife a part but he is not bound to.*

Formerly in Maryland,† the surviving husband of an intestate woman took life estate in all the wife's realty. This arrangement might sometimes work extreme hardship to the children. For instance, a wealthy widow with one child, a daughter, remarries and dies without a will. The child, if her mother had only real property, becomes dependent upon the generosity of a step-father. She owns her mother's estate, but can get none of the income until her step-father's death.

In many States a man has a legal right to his own wages and they cannot be seized for any debt contracted by his wife without his consent. Yet his wife's wages can be seized for his debts, though she may have had absolutely nothing to do with making them and may have been seriously injured by such expenditure. A mistress was once about to pay her cook when she was handed a perfectly legal document requiring her instead to pay the money to a certain saloonkeeper, because the cook's husband had run a bill there. So this woman, besides taking the abuse and beating from her husband in his cups, actually had to pay by her hard work for the liquor that made a beast out of him.‡

*Sou. W. Rep., 63, p. 867, Rev. Stats. 1895, Art. 2967, Texas Sup. Ct., held during marriage husband has control of wife's separate estate. Tenn. Reps., 86-333: Husband may eject tenant of lease made by wife without his consent. As head of family he controls wife's lands. Id. 101, 374: Husband entitled on marriage to wife's personalty in possession and at her death to choses in action. Husband recovered land wife had willed to half brothers and sisters, she having no issue.

†Cf. Md. Code 1904, Art. 45, Sec. 7.

‡This happened in Illinois. Law has since been changed to protect their wages from creditors of husband. Cf. Ill. Rev. Stats. 1912, p. 1284, Sec. 7.

The property relations of man and wife should be recognized as an equal partnership, though even then, probably most women would not be getting what they really contribute. Anything made and saved after marriage should be shared half and half, and the wife should have the power of disposing of her portion by will. Comparatively few women are supported by their husbands. The economic contribution of the woman is usually fairly equal to that of the man, as is found out when the mother dies. His wages are seldom sufficient then to buy in the market the same services that his wife was giving gratis. Her contribution in cooking, sewing, washing, caring for the children, in forcing the income to go as far as possible, in making all that is meant by the word "home" is, in the vast majority of cases, worth more than the man's contribution of daily wages.

Again, in the question of rights over the children, there is a discrimination against the woman. In some States she may not recover damages for the death of a son, unless the child be actually with her at the time. This condition is not imposed upon the man. Therefore, a mother who had raised a boy deserted by his father and her husband, could not recover damages for his death; or if she could they would go into a fund to be kept for her absconding husband. When he returned, he could take the money legally and again desert her. Of course, this is not the law in all States, but it should not be the law even in one.*

MEN NEED WOMAN SUFFRAGE

I want equal suffrage for what it will do for men. We have halved society, as has been said, and the surgical operation has left the worse and weaker half to deal with political problems. Men have not been

*Cf. N. Y. Supplement, Vol. 27, p. 403; Bliss, N. Y. An. Code, Vol. 3, p. 3821, Sec. 7.

able to handle the increasing complexities of civilization.

There may be no ultimate solution to these problems. I do not think that is a mere question. Perhaps when women get the political power that men have, they will be able to show us some remedy.

But though there may be no ultimate and universal remedy, there are certain crying, evident things that ought to be done and which the ballot in women's hands will get a real chance.

For instance, all monopoly of certain resources and products of nature, such as coal, oil, and the power of the United States ought not to own 90 per cent. of the wealth. Half a million people, in a city like Chicago ought not to be condemned to live in unsanitary tenements because a few others have monopolized the land; 30,000 men should not be killed and twenty times as many crippled in the mines every year; little children should not be taken at four, six, eight years old to drudge unceasingly to make our finery; our streets should not be made impassable by dirt; our food should not be tainted; our meadows and our fruits spoiled. All these things are unnecessary.

Yet men have faced these conditions helplessly. The wrongs which have been inflicted, the crimes which have been perpetrated, under which our railroads and our express companies, our gas and electric light companies have controlled, with a view to nothing but dividends on watered stock; under which a small ring of money kings have throttled the nation and dictated to every party, would be impossible.

What women have done without the suffrage and where they have had the suffrage is a presage of what they will do with the power. It is women, where woman has not only put her own house in order, she has put her town in order. Women are the only people who are trying to clean politics. Women are the head of a religious order of men—there are cobwebs on the ceiling and dust on the floor, and you could write your name on the table, but where there are no women there will be some idea that women will come and when they will keep their house spotless, because there are no men around to think of it.

From coast to coast, women have put towns in order. They have gotten public baths, public comfort stations for man and beast; they have stopped expectoration in public buildings, in halls, in hotels, in shops and garage cars; they have gotten drinking fountains for women and children; they have stopped long hours for women and children in factories; from industry; they have put seats behind counters and started shopearly campaigns; the Red Cross Society, a splendid organization for the relief of sufferers, owes its power to the women; she has established day nurseries and public feeding stations; she has obtained medical inspection in the schools.

And where woman has the vote she is concentrating her attention upon such laws as those for a minimum wage, an eight-hour day, pure-food laws, and upon the moral guardianship of children, vocational training in public schools and other State institutions.

Of course women need the ballot to help in governing this nation as in governing the home. As has been said, man has by long absorption in commerce been trained to think in terms of property; women, trained by immemorial custom has been trained to think in terms of humanity—the home, husband, children. We cannot afford to have the point of view of property represented to the exclusion of that of humanity as men have been and will continue to be. It is not only just and proper to give women the vote—it is good policy. For we need the ideals of their training in dealing with our problems.

NO SOLID ARGUMENT AGAINST SUFFRAGE

If you with a third argument, it is that there is no argument against equal suffrage. When you carry the

war into the enemy's country and demand an argument against votes for women that does not equally apply to votes for men, you get only inconclusive vaporings.

It is sometimes said, for instance, that the exercise of the franchise will take a woman out of the home to the neglect of domestic duties. An advocate of votes for women was once addressing a Baltimore gathering and received this very objection when she offered to answer questions. Some mere man from the audience demanded with a delicious air of finality: "What's going to become of the babies when the women go out to vote?" "What becomes of them now when we go to market?" was the ready and sufficient reply.

In fact, one might just as reasonably urge that women should have no religion, because church-going may interfere with their home obligations. Church-going does interfere with the domestic duties of some women. They spend entirely too much time in church and in learning the gossip of the parish.

And why is it not a mother's place to prepare her boy for full-rounded citizenship? Why should a lad take his religion from his mother, but his politics from his father? Why should not her influence extend into the political sphere, too? Why should she not train him in political as in other righteousness? But she cannot do this effectively unless she have a personal interest through the suffrage. And so her domestic duties, instead of militating against the suffrage argue for it. For she cannot fulfill her duties toward her children in the largest, completest sense without taking some part in political affairs.

It is said, too, that for a wife to be able to vote will mean a constant source of quarreling between her and her husband. You cannot expect them to agree in politics, and, therefore, they will soon be breaking up the furniture. But we assume that we have reached

that degree of civilization where two people, even two who love one another and are united by one of God's sacraments, can differ without fighting about it. It is possible peaceably to agree or disagree. And if people can't do that on the question of politics, it will do little good to eliminate that particular question. They will find plenty of other things to quarrel over.

Others will tell you that women are governed too much by sentiment to use the suffrage intelligently. They are not so rational as men, they guess instead of reason, they jump at conclusions. But what's the harm of jumping at conclusions provided you arrive at the right one? Why go round Robin Hood's barn when you can go through? And men guess themselves. The difference between men and women in the matter is the difference between the North and the South. Northerners guess and Southerners reckon—but Southerners reckon better than Northerners guess. Men don't reason things out ordinarily. And fortunately so. For if our government were in the hands of educated men who reason to their conclusions, it would be the most egregious failure in the world. We who believe in democracy know that its success is based upon that fact—that the people, the great unwashed, uneducated people are, after all, better judges than a set of pedagogues.

What do the men who talk about sentiment and guess work know about the effects of a tariff? The great majority of them didn't have enough information on the subject to vote intelligently, according to their own standard. These self-constituted arbiters of what is practicable and impracticable, advisable and inadvisable, have always damned every progressive movement since the world began. They told us locomotives were useless because a horse beat the first one; they told us steam transatlantic navigation was impossible, because they had figured out, on rational

grounds, that a ship couldn't carry all the coal she would need; they told Columbus he was a fool to try for a new route—and so on indefinitely.

"Be sure you're right, then go ahead," would be a good motto if you could ever be sure. But if you wait to be sure, you'll never get anywhere. You'll stay in the same place till doomsday. You will be like the scholastic donkey starving between two haystacks, because the reasons were equally good for eating either. A little recklessness, a little guessing, a little faith in Providence is necessary for progress. And because women have more faith than men they can use the suffrage better. For in some ways political faith is akin to divine faith—it is the substance of things hoped for, it is the evidence of things that appear not. (Hebr. 6: 1.)

Women have more hope, more optimism, more idealism, and therefore, they have greater ability to realize the substance of the things they hope for, greater power of creating the evidence of those things that appear not as yet to the grosser, more material vision of men.

And so, where women have not the suffrage, I would give it to them for these three reasons: (1) That they need it for their own spiritual and intellectual development as well as for a protection against man-made laws; (2) that men need that women should vote; (3) and the third reason is, that there is no reason against giving them the suffrage.

THE CHURCH AND THE POSITION OF WOMAN TO-DAY

BY

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I pointed out in a previous lecture that the fundamental philosophical reason of the woman movement

was briefly this: the social revolution, that has so completely changed her condition, has not been so swift in changing the framework of law that holds society together to-day. As a consequence, woman is in a false social position because that position is not recognized by the spirit of laws and constitutions enacted for other times, other conditions. Hence the need of legal changes, and enactments that shall be more in harmony with the *de facto* position of woman. I believe the need of some such proceeding is vaguely admitted by all. When it comes to the practical means of effecting these changes then there is evidently the widest divergence of opinion.

Let me make it clear, first of all, that the Catholic Church does not and cannot approve of any methods to better woman's position that are criminal or immoral. Time brings sweet revenges; and one of the sweetest is to have the representative of that Church that has for so long been vilified, calumniated and abused as upholding and practising the utterly immoral doctrine that "the end justifies the means" being now compelled to protest most energetically against those who formerly her most eager or convinced accusers, are now actually condoning or proclaiming this infamous teaching.

It is amazing to find women of culture, high social standing, unblemished personal morality, irreproachable private lives, unblushingly sympathizing with the cruel, criminal, barbaric demonstrations of militant suffragettes in England. Even members of the Catholic Woman's Suffrage League in that country have forgotten the teachings of their Church and the warnings of their ecclesiastical superiors in their blind but misguided zeal to secure the success of a means of betterment with which as such the Catholic Church has not and can have no quarrel.

Such indefensible methods gravely prejudice the

question at issue; and as in all such matters, the resultant confusion creates in the mind of the thoughtless people who are unable, or do not take the trouble, to distinguish the issues, the idea that the Church and Catholics as such are opposed to woman suffrage. Nothing could be further from the real truth.

Individual Catholics indeed, in large numbers, and individual ecclesiastics, some of high standing, and of great authority, are opposed to granting the suffrage to women. But no authoritative or official pronouncement has been made against it nor is it easy to see how any such could legitimately or reasonably be made. And for every Oliver denouncing woman's suffrage, an ecclesiastical Roland can be cited.

Perhaps the strongest utterance as yet made in this country was that made last autumn by the Archbishop of San Francisco, when in a pastoral letter, fulfilling his episcopal office of teaching the faithful, he strongly urged the women of his flock to exercise their prerogative of voting. The testimony of Archbishop Redwood, of Wellington, New Zealand, given in a newspaper interview in this country, while it has not the same sacrosanct character, is, however, important and valuable to set against the harsher jeremiads of other ecclesiastics who apparently have not taken the trouble to study the question very profoundly, and are swayed more by their prophetic apprehensions of evil than by the calm logic of analogy, history and facts.

I take pleasure in quoting the interview in full: "Women," said the Archbishop to a reporter of the St. Louis *Times,* "have had the vote in New Zealand for many years, and it has been proven that they use it wisely and judiciously, and for the greatest common good. I am heartily in sympathy with the movement in this country, and believe that the tide of equal suffrage cannot be stemmed. Not very long ago we had a woman as mayor of Wellington, the capital of

New Zealand, and her administration, while not a phenomenal success, was a meritorious one in many respects. The greatest service of the women voters to New Zealand lies in the school, hospital and charitable departments, and in bringing about municipal beautification and improvement. The women of New Zealand have maintained the high standard of purity and womanhood, and, if anything, they are better wives and home-conservers."

Indeed, I am informed that in that wonderful antipodean land even the Catholic nuns vote, a fact, if it be a fact, that should rightfully give many of us an apoplectic seizure.

But seriously, why should women not have the right to vote? Let us examine that question apart from all personal prejudice, predilection, apprehension, aside even from the consideration that, in the opinion of many if not all those engaged in the feminist movement, it is the sole effective means of securing that betterment for which they are struggling.

The right to vote can be denied to women either on the ground that suffrage is an inherent right of the men of any commonwealth, or that women are essentially unfitted for its exercise, or, from the Catholic point of view, that to grant it would be to break with a sacred tradition, or that its exercise would tend to degrade them.

It is, of course, an absurdity to think that men have any inherent or essential right to the suffrage. That right is determined by the body politic, and is ultimately a matter of positive and mutable law. As far as it may be connected with the fundamental law of any society the suffrage should belong to the directing elements of such society. Under present conditions women must surely be counted among these elements. Once you proclaim the principle of universal suffrage and be it understood such principle is proclaimed in

the idea of manhood suffrage, you really ignore the right of all the directing elements and substitute the senseless tyranny of a majority unless you provide for some sort of proportional representation.

The Supreme Court of New Jersey quite recently denied that there was any such thing as an inherent right to the suffrage, or any intrinsic necessity that it belonged to one class of citizens rather than to another.

Restrict the suffrage if you will; enact any qualification you may desire, but do not be guilty of the absurdity and injustice of establishing sex as a barrier, when under actual conditions woman is so important a factor in every relation of modern life. Woman without the suffrage, and therefore without responsibility, has always exerted political influence. Her ignorance in affairs of State was so much the more dangerous since, incurring no responsibility, running no risk, she could allow herself to be guided by whim or passion. Place responsibility on her by giving the right to vote, and at least you are in no worse position, but in all probability in a better one.

Nor can it be truthfully said that woman is unfitted for the exercise of the suffrage. Who will claim, for instance, that a woman of education and affairs cannot better discharge that function than her ignorant furnace man, or the drunken corner loafer, or the low-browed gunman, or the political heeler.

What sound argument can be advanced against the proposal to give woman the right of suffrage? Surely the appeal to tradition, especially on the part of Catholics, is pointless and contradictory. For, first of all, we must remember that the political system of suffrage is altogether of recent date, commencing practically with the establishment of these United States.

The protest in the name of traditional custom is about as sensible as a protest against automobiles or

electricity. As a witty French woman put it: "You might as well say that since the Romans did not make use of dynamos we have no right to use incandescent lamps. Parliamentary rule and universal suffrage are also novelties of the century, and it would be difficult to prove by legal tests or historic documents that the exercise of our right to vote was long ago an exclusively masculine appanage."

On the contrary, and it is well for Catholics, particularly, to take note of this, as far as there is a tradition, it is in favor of woman suffrage.

In former times all governmental offices were filled by the sovereign or by right of inheritance or rank, and voting was a rarity. But wherever the right to vote did exist, in the great mediæval corporations, for example, in cantonal, communal or municipal affairs, and especially in female as well as male religious communities, women as such were not excluded from voting.

There is on record, for instance, the details of an election in Montpellier in 1334 and 20 per cent. of the voters were women. In almost every country women had the right to vote in communal affairs. In the republics of the Middle Ages the officials of the Communes were designated by lot irrespective of sex, a usage that obtained in Tuscany until 1849 and in Lombardy until 1816.

In the Franche-Comte women who were landed proprietors assisted in the legislative councils, and the convocation writ of the famous States-General of 1780 is a proof of the right of women to vote.

According to feudal law, a woman possessed of a fief acquired all seignorial rights. She could administer and receive oaths, nominate officials, assist at deliberative and legislative assemblies. In many countries a married woman could administer her own property independently of her husband.

Laboulaye cites marriage contracts of that tenor

from the tenth and eleventh centuries that not only endow women with property and administrative rights, but also with proprietary rights. Such rights included that of voting. The early municipal customs of France, Spain and Flanders gave women an independence greater than they have ever possessed until now. Laboulaye, who surely cannot be accused of partiality to woman suffrage, admits that "women during all the Middle Ages possessed entire civic capacity, and preserved it even when married, no matter what their rank. That doctrine confirmed by the Code of St. Louis is general. A woman possessed of a fief exercised the right to hold courts both of first instance and of appeal, to coin money, to levy troops, to serve in person her suzerain, if she so willed."

Instances in proof will occur to the memory. The Countess of Flanders sat with her peers in the trial of the Count of Clermont by St. Louis, King of France. The Countess Matilda nobly served her suzerain, the great St. Gregory, patron of this association. The pages of mediæval French and English history are full of similar instances. King Louis le Jeune, in a letter to the Vicomtesse of Marbonne, recognized the right of women to administer justice. Out of forty-eight great fiefs of France only one excluded women from the Council of State; that was the Ile de France, a dependence of the king and, consequently, under the Salic law. But be it remembered that France itself was alone in imposing the Salic law, and France, even while refusing to women succession to the throne, placed in their hands the regency with powers as great as royalty itself could possess.

Those who appeal to tradition, then, to justify the refusal to women of the suffrage, are thereby convicted of ignorance. For Catholics such an appeal is an indication of abyssmal ignorance. The times of which we have been speaking were Catholic. In Cath-

olic countries, the Code of St. Louis, which sanctioned these rights to women, continued in force until it was ruthlessly superseded by the Code of the Revolution. Catholics, therefore, who invoke tradition as opposed to the principle of woman suffrage are embracing the unholy tradition of the French Revolution, and are innocently adopting the motto of Milton's Satan, "Evil be thou my Good." Moreover, Catholics, above all, should not forget that to-day, even as in the Middle Ages, in religious communities, women elect their superiors. The history of abbesses in their Church should stop their protest against woman's right to vote. Furthermore, it may be a surprise, but it is, nevertheless, a fact that even to-day in the great diocese of Turin, Italy, and in many of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, Catholic women as well as their men folk vote for the parish priest, and the Bishop is obliged to confirm the candidate so elected by the votes of the women as well as those of men, unless he can find some canonical ground for his refusal, and then the election must be held again by identically the same electors.

If the Catholic Church allows women to vote for an office of such tremendous responsibility as that involving the care of souls, who will presume to say that she is of necessity opposed to women voting for merely political officials.

But, it will be urged, woman suffrage will introduce another cause of discord in the home. Husband and wife may disagree in politics. The woman who mixes in political affairs will neglect her home duties. To which it may safely be said, first, that there are others to be considered than married women. Single women are a legion, and then there are widows to be taken into account. Surely their claims have as much right to be considered as married women. But leaving this out of sight, suppose you do prevent a woman from

voting, you cannot prevent her from thinking. So, fundamentally, if disagreement may be cause of discord, it is not removed by the denial of the vote. Husbands and wives are now divided on more important questions than political ones, but in the majority of cases they manage to get along.

We all know of families divided by deeper and more fundamental differences in religious matters, yet they manage to live in harmony. Is it not absurd then to think that political divergence must inevitably produce shipwreck?

To say that the exercise of the right to vote will mean that a woman must neglect her home duties is to utter a smug commonplace that shows how little given to reflection we are.

It is true, and observing foreigners have often told us so, that our American women do not seem to take any intelligent interest in political affairs. That is no longer true of a considerable body of our women. But it has not been noted that in European countries, where educated women have not only a keen interest in their husbands' business affairs, but also in the great political concerns of their country, their domestic duties suffer from their intellectual activity.

It is a truism in those countries that where women are interested intelligently in the serious business of life, their own peculiar duties are better performed and managed. It is not the idle, flirting, pleasure-loving, brainless, seven-toilettes a day dolls of our ballrooms or card parties that make the best housekeepers, wives, or mothers. And, practically speaking, how much time does the average male voter bestow upon the discharge of his political duty in this country?

Again, I say, restrict the suffrage by some intelligible standard of qualification, but as long as the enlightened farmers of Clinton County, New York, the floating voters of New York City, the Whited Sepulchers

of Adams County, Ohio, are so much in evidence, do not be guilty of the imbecility of denying the vote to women because it would interfere with their home duties.

Do not seek refuge either in the hypocritical assertion that the casting of a ballot once a year in a ballot-box in a polling place, protected by every known device, will degrade women or be an indecent act. Before you descend to utter that, stop the crowding in our New York subway, elevated and surface cars, where every vestige of delicacy disappears in your treatment of women, where the standard of decency is daily degraded, where all the fine restraints Christian civilization has thrown around woman for the protection of her modesty are disregarded and she consequently vulgarized.

Stop your promiscuous pleasure gatherings. Men, stop taking your wives to the theatre where they behold representations that make them glad that no one but their husbands are with them; stop your young girls from going to performances and talking about them, even while admitting they could not endure the thought of witnessing them in the company of any of their men folks, relatives or friends.

Purify your social life, but do not be guilty of the stupidity of saying that the exercise of the right to vote would degrade any virtuous woman in the world. As long as you send your daughters out into the busy market place with all its dangers, and expect them to avoid the pitfalls that are, alas, too common, please do not commit intellectual suicide by declaring that they cannot vote because their modesty or reserve might suffer.

And to bring the matter a little closer, as long as at church bazaars, fairs, collections, card parties, receptions *et hoc genus omne,* you can engage the services of Catholic women, young and old, to meet friend and stranger alike, without any thought of danger, please

do not conjure up imaginary dangers as lurking in a polling booth, protected by the laws of the land and the intelligent manhood that is at last awakening to its duty in the politics of their country.

Delivered before the Catholic Library Association at Delmonico's, January 15, 1913, and reported in the *Catholic News,* New York City, February 1, 1913.

WHAT WILL YOU DO WITH IT?*

BY

REV. J. ELLIOT ROSS, Ph.D., C.S.P.
Chicago, Ill.
Author of "Consumers and Wage-Earners"

You women of Illinois have the vote—what are you going to do with it?

To the women who have not thought of voting, or who have halfway decided not to vote, I wish to say:

Have you ever walked down State Street in the eight or nine hundred block? If you have, you must have observed the horrible looking specimens of humanity spilt along the street—men with viciousness and debauchery written all over their faces.

Each one of those men has a vote and he is going to use it. He is not going to stay away from the polls through indifference or laziness or any sense of home duties. He and thousands of others of his kind will vote just as some dishonest, grafting politician dictates, to help on the vice and corruption here in Chicago.

Now, you have the power to offset one such corrupt, dishonest, vicious vote. Aren't you going to use it? Aren't you, the Catholic women of Chicago, going to

*An appeal made shortly before the Spring Election of 1914, urging the Catholic women of Illinois to exercise their newly acquired civic rights.

break the forces of the power of evil? Forty-five per cent. of the people of Chicago are Catholics—one-fourth of the voters of Chicago are Catholic women. Have we not a right to expect that you should rise up as a unit to smite the army of darkness that has too long held us in thrall?

Each one of you, it seems to me, has an obligation to vote. It is an obligation that you cannot shirk without offending God. Any little whim, such as a distaste at appearing at the polls, will not be sufficient excuse. For there is a duty placed upon you by the supreme law of charity to kill that one vote for evil that it is in your power to kill.

You must, then, vote. And you must vote honestly. Never let there be ground for saying of you, as there has been for saying of Catholic men, that they have used the franchise dishonestly. The Catholic women of Chicago must be above directly or indirectly corrupting public officials—if they should become officials themselves, they must be irreproachable. I would not so much as suggest that you might consider the taking of outright bribes, the payment of so much cash for such a service. But you must keep your eyes open and your hearts pure to detect every indirect form, such as promise of re-election, social prestige and every personal advantage.

Catholic women must not use their power as citizens or as officials merely for their private profit. Do not vote for an alderman simply because he will have a street opened for your benefit when dozens of other streets ought to come first. Our government should not degenerate into a wild scramble for personal privileges regardless of moral law and God's justice. If there be good reason to call our governments by the expressive name of troughs, we have no right to become pigs therein in our eagerness to get our share of the graft. To steal from the people is as great a

sin or greater than to steal from an individual, no matter how the operation is conducted, no matter what name it bears in public opinion.

And the Catholic women of Chicago must not only do no political wrong with their votes, they must do much political good. It ought to be a foregone conclusion that Catholic names should be foremost in every movement for social betterment. Instead of strengthening the hopeless inertia that all seekers after improvement have to struggle so hard to overcome, they should be prominent in arousing the social conscience to action. You who pray so many times a day, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven," might reasonably, one might think, be counted upon to do something to make God's will more effective here and now.

You cannot give as an excuse for standing here all the day idle that no man has hired you. You belong to the chosen people, and Christ has called you from our baptism to be a light unto the nations that know him not. It is useless for you to say, "I do no harm, I hurt no one," God did not put you here merely to do no harm. The commandments of the old law were all negative. Thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not steal, and so on. But the commandments of Christ are positive. The rich young man, who from his youth up had kept these negative commandments of the old law, had not done enough. He was told to sell all he had. Christ does not say, "Do no harm," but "Love God with your whole heart, and your neighbor as yourself; render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

Therefore, in our political life, a mere negative goodness will not do. If we are good trees, we must produce good fruit. It is not sufficient that we should simply not produce bad fruit, if indeed, such a thing

is possible. For Christ said, He that is not with Me is against Me, he that gathereth not, scattereth, and he who is not working to produce good is at least permitting evil. This is especially true under our form of government. The forces of evil are ever active, and if a good woman merely refrains from voting because it is raining or it is too much trouble or for some other equally weak reason, she is really placing this vote in the hands of corrupt politicians. It was in her power to offset the vote of the vicious men who are always under the thumb of ward-heelers, and she did not do it. She is not merely not doing good—she is doing evil. For, to all intents and purposes, she is casting a vote for the machine, she is strengthening the grip of corruption upon our government.

We have a right to expect that the Catholic women of Chicago will do all in their power, will exert themselves to the utmost, to bring about the social good. We are members one of another. We were born into society and cannot escape from it if we would. It is not too much to say that we owe all our comforts, even our lives, to society, and we are bound to make some return. Whether you be high officials or low, women of large influence or simply with a vote to cast, you are obliged in the sight of God to use your power, such as it is, for good and against evil. You must in conscience vote for the good man as against the bad, the honest man as opposed to the grafter.

I don't believe we shall be disappointed in our expectations. I don't believe that the chivalrous confidence that we have had in women has been misplaced. And I pray that the Catholic women will be among those to respond most faithfully to this confidence. I pray—I know that the great mass of Catholic voters added to the electorate by the last legislature, the Catholic women of Chicago and Illinois, will respond loyally to the responsibility placed upon them; that

they will vote honestly and intelligently, knowing the issues and the candidates; that they will continue to be, as they have always been, dominated by the great Christian principles of morality; and that instead of being corrupted by politics, as some have predicted, that they will purify and ennoble the home. Whatever we may have thought before of votes for women, they have achieved or had greatness thrust upon them, and they must not refuse its accompanying duties. Let womanhood take to herself those words of the King and Prophet David: "In thy comeliness and thy beauty go forward, proceed prosperously, and reign." Make them truly prophetic of the career of the women of Illinois. In your comeliness, and in your beauty, go forward, proceed prosperously, and reign,—more righteously and honestly than the men have.

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[June 2, 1914]
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63D CONGRESS, 2d Session } SENATE { DOCUMENT No. 488

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ADDRESS

WRITTEN BY A COMMITTEE OF WOMEN OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA FOR PRESENTATION TO THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN FAVOR OF AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES EXTENDING THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN

PRESENTED BY MR. WORKS

JUNE 2, 1914.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
1914

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

[By a committee of women of southern California.]

On the 10th of October, 1911, the women of California were granted the right to vote. Since that time a great many statements have been made concerning the operation of equal suffrage in this State. In consequence of the interest taken in the matter and the lack of other accurate reports, a committee of women in southern California herewith presents this report, consisting of statistics of the registration and voting of women, data on the activities of women's organizations, a list of bills of especial interest to women and children passed at the recent session of the California Legislature, and statements of public men on the actual working of equal suffrage in California.

This report is presented in the hope that a dispassionate statement of the way in which the women of California have met their new responsibilities may disabuse the minds of thoughtful persons of some misapprehensions, and that accurate information may be available for those who are courageously carrying on the struggle for political freedom in other States.

This report is not a selection. All figures investigated and every report received is herewith presented. This statement is an attempt to present the situation in an accurate and comprehensive way, and to avoid both the bias of partisanship and the uncertainty of a chance selection of precincts or communities.

The statistics of registration and voting were compiled in the offices of the city and county clerks from the official records. The registration of men and women is tabulated separately, but the vote is not. The figures of voting herewith presented represent an actual count of the entire vote from the rosters. In case of any doubt in signatures the benefit was given to the men. There is no way of determining the number of either men or women eligible for registration, and a registration of women equaling 80 per cent that of men would indicate a corresponding interest.

Los Angeles.

Population (about), 475,000. Registration, men, 97,186; women, 73,839. Voted in last municipal election, June 3, 1913, men, 52,731; per cent of registration, 54.2; women, 37,100; per cent of registration, 50.2.

Registration of women.—Between October 10 and November 9, 1911, 81,843 women were registered by volunteer registrars. This was a feat considered by the county clerk most remarkable. The county had no funds to cover this expense, and the women who performed this service did so entirely free of charge.

Schools for voting.—Schools for voting, equipped with official booths, sample ballots, rubber stamps, etc., were installed in the women's

headquarters and women were instructed how to vote correctly before the first election. It was generally remarked that women voted more expeditiously and with fewer mistakes than men.

Polling places.—Before suffrage was granted to women, election booths were located in barber shops, the lobbies of cheap hotels, barns, livery stables, and other undesirable places. In the election of June 3, 1913, polling places included 64 schoolhouses, 3 church buildings, 2 clubhouses, 2 libraries, 2 high-class hotels, and 122 tents were used for booths as against 24 tents used in the election just previous to the granting of suffrage.

On December 3, 1912, the city voted on the question of a new charter, providing for an advanced commission form of government, which was defeated. Aside from the newspapers and talks by men in school and other halls, practically the only dissemination of information concerning the proposed charter was through the women's organizations.

On March 25, 1913, 18 charter amendments were voted upon. Women assisted in drawing up these amendments and carried on a campaign of education concerning them. The vote averaged 55,195. Some were carried and others defeated. A distinct opinion was expressed on each amendment.

Improvement bonds were voted April 13, 1913, in the following amounts for the following purposes: Trunk line for the aqueduct, $1,500,000; harbor improvements, $2,500,000. At the same election bonds for a new city hall ($1,000,000); a municipal railway ($1,000,000); for two extensions of the aqueduct ($2,000,000 and $2,500,000, respectively); and for the purchase of the normal-school site ($600,000) were defeated. Women's organizations took a keen interest in the bond issues.

The liquor question.—On December 5, 1911, an absolutely drastic liquor ordinance was defeated 88,395 to 32,283. Los Angeles has only 200 saloons, and these are strictly supervised. It is generally felt that the matter is well in hand. Women as such took no stand in the election.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS.

The largest organizations of women in the city are the Friday Morning Club; membership, 1,318; nonpartisan, general club. The public-affairs committee, open to members and nonmembers, conducted a vigorous campaign on national, State, and municipal affairs, and particularly on legislative matters. Many of the regular club programs were devoted to public affairs, the luncheons to the discussion of such matters, and special open meetings were held. The club does not indorse candidates.

The Ebell Club; membership, 1,381; nonpartisan, general club. The civics committee has studied civic, political, and legislative questions. The regular programs have included many on public affairs. The club has thrown open its doors to various legislative meetings. The club does not indorse candidates.

The Women's City Club; membership, 450. The club holds weekly luncheon meetings devoted entirely to public affairs. The club is purely educational and nonpartisan. It does not indorse measures or persons.

Almost all the smaller clubs have active and growing civic sections, and many new clubs and organizations have been started solely for the consideration of civics and public questions.

SAN FRANCISCO.

Population (1910), 416,912. The figures of voting were not available for examination and compilation, as the clerk's office is overworked at present with a special election, a primary, and a municipal election. In the general election of 1912 over 90 per cent of the total registration voted.

Registration of women.—No special attempt has been made by the authorities to register the women. The different women's organizations have furthered the work. Registration booths have been installed in clubhouses, hotels, stores, and other available places. Schools for voting were established before the first election at which women voted.

Improvement bonds.—Civic center bonds to the amount of $5,000,000 were carried last year. Women worked for these bonds and are generally credited with carrying them. In September, 1913, municipal railway bonds were carried. Several of the women's organizations campaigned vigorously for these bonds. The vote was very heavy in the residence districts and light along the water front and through the undesirable district.

Closing the "Barbary Coast."—On September 30, 1913, the sale of liquor in dance halls and the presence of women in saloons were prohibited in the district commonly known as the Barbary Coast. Women's organizations have been preparing to meet the problems resulting from the passage of the red-light injunction and abatement law by the recent session of the legislature (since held up by the referendum). In connection with the closing of this district, organizations are endeavoring to find other employment for the girls thrown out of work and to meet the situation in an adequate way.

A thorough investigation of the police courts has been undertaken. The recall of Judge Weller was the first result of this investigation. Judge Weller had reduced the bail of a man admittedly guilty of a serious crime against a young girl. As a consequence the man left the State. Committees of women have regularly attended the various police courts to make a thorough study of the judges and of existing conditions, with the view of improving the personnel and general conditions of the courts, and of helping the women who come before these courts.

The largest organization of women is the California Civic League (the successor of the College Equal Suffrage League), with centers in 30 nearby cities, and 3,000 members. The San Francisco center has 1,000 members. It holds weekly luncheon meetings at which public affairs are discussed. The league's work is educational, and so far it has abstained from indorsing measures. It carried on a campaign of education on legislative matters this year and kept a watcher at the capitol.

Several other large clubs—the California Club, the New Era Club, and the Century Club—have carried on extensive work of education in civic matters. All of the general clubs are giving added time and attention to public affairs.

San Diego.

Population, 90,000. Registration, men, 15,799; women, 9,216. Voted in the last municipal election, men, 9,961; per cent of registration, 63.04; women, 6,017; per cent of registration, 65.28. The population has doubled in the last two years. Most of the newcomers are from nonsuffrage States and the women do not take the interest in affairs that those who have been through a campaign take or that those who have lived longer in a community would take.

In the water-front district, where the red-light district was formerly located, the vote was: Women, 150; men, 897. The heaviest vote of women was in the moderate residence districts, where the women outvoted the men consistently.

Improvement bonds in the following amounts for the following purposes have been voted within the past two years; harbor improvements, $1,000,000; sewers, water mains, etc., amounts not specified in the report; municipal water system, $2,500,000; park improvements, $850,000; schools, $350,000. All of these were voted separately.

The largest organization of women is the Woman's Civic Center; nonpartisan weekly meetings are held. It conducts an open forum on local, State, and national politics. Representatives attend council meetings and meetings of the board of education. The center has agitated and improved garbage collection, the milk supply, fire escapes and theater exits, street cleaning and the weed nuisance, billboards, civic centers in the schools, additional parks, and playgrounds. They have worked to register all the women possible, have served in unusual numbers as election judges, and have worked consistently for all improvement bonds.

Riverside.

Population, 17,000. Registration, men, 3,420; women, 2,870. Figures of voting in the general election are not available, but in a bond election a year ago women voted 95 per cent of their registration, the voting of men falling slightly below this figure.

The bond issue for municipal water, amount of the bonds—$1,160,000—was carried by a vote of over 90 per cent of the registration. The interest in this issue was due to the women's campaign.

Eighteen months ago the mayor was threatened with recall because of his enforcement of the liquor laws. The attitude of the women quashed the movement.

The women's organizations have inspected streets and alleys, have advocated improved street cleaning, the destruction of weeds, the improvement of parks, playgrounds, and amusements. They have studied civics, the city charter and city ordinances, and legislative matters.

Santa Ana.

Population, 10,000. Registration, men, 3,136; women, 2,224. Vote in the last general election, men, 2,144; per cent of registration, 68.36; women, 1,394; per cent of registration, 62.68.

Improvement bonds for water in the amount of $63,000, and for fire protection, $12,000 were voted. Women campaigned for these bonds.

Santa Ana has no saloons. An ordinance to permit saloons was voted down—682 to 110.

The largest organization of women is the Women's Civics Club. Membership, 120. The club conducts an open forum, for the discussion of legislative and local matters. It assisted in registering the women and in conducting a school of voting. The club has agitated garbage collection, destruction of weeds, street cleaning, and an extension of parks and playgrounds. The women attend council meetings when any matter of interest is up for discussion.

Pomona.

Population (1910), 10,217. Figures of registration and voting not given. There have been no elections except State and national ones.

The largest women's organization is the Ebell Club. A civics section has been organized, which has improved the cleaning of the streets, the collection of garbage, and the amusements of the town. The women attend council meetings.

Redondo Beach.

Population, 2,935. Registration, men, 793; women, 610. The vote in the last general election was—men, 590; per cent of registration, 76.16; women, 376; per cent of registration, 61.63.

The largest organization of women is the Women's Civic Outlook Club; membership, 30. They petitioned the council to call an election for park bonds in the amount of $30,000, but the bonds failed to carry. They obtained a street-tree ordinance, additional funds for the library, a clean-up of vacant lots, improved garbage collection, the placing of rubbish cans on all street corners, destruction of weeds, and more inspection and attention to amusements. The women attend council meetings, discuss local affairs, write to the papers and to their representatives in the legislature.

Berkeley.

Population, 40,434. Registration, men, 9,936; women, 8,661. In the last municipal election the men voted 4,874; per cent of registration, 49.05; women, 3,702; per cent of registration, 42.7. The largest vote was cast in the residence district.

The Berkeley Center of the California Civic League has made legislation its especial work this past year. It aims to work with the extension department of the State University not only for its own advantage but also to bring other centers into close touch with the educational facilities open to all citizens of the State.

Redlands.

Population, 11,220. Registration, men, 2,002; women, 1,656. In a special election, September 25, 1913, women cast 40 per cent of the vote. On October 1, 1913, Redlands voted "dry" by the largest vote in its history. Women voted 90 per cent of their registration.

The women have agitated parks, playgrounds, and improved amusements. They studied legislative matters, civics, and general public affairs. They write to their representatives and to the papers.

San Buenaventura.

Population, about 4,000. Registration, men, 1,066; women, 771. The vote in the last municipal election was, men, 801, per cent of registration, 75.04; women, 587, per cent of registration, 76.13.

An ordinance to prohibit the sale of liquor was carried September 24, 1913, 778 to 610.

The largest organization of women is the Civic League; membership 200, organized for general civic work. The college equal suffrage organization has secured additional funds for parks, playgrounds, and education, and has improved the street cleaning and garbage collection. The Native Daughters of the Golden West, membership 50, have interested themselves in parks, streets, and the improvement of the beach.

The president and the secretary of the board of health are both women.

Bakersfield.

Population, 18,000. Registration, men, 4,646; women, 2,036. A partial canvass of the vote showed women proportionately outvoting the men, but that is probably not true of the entire city. Bakersfield is the center of the oil industry and has a great many single men. The registration of men should be greatly in excess of that of women.

Good-roads bonds to the amount of $2,500,000 were voted a short time ago.

The women, through small organizations and individually, have interested themselves in housing conditions, parks, playgrounds, and amusements. They are cooperating with the juvenile court to an unusual degree.

Sierra Madre.

Population, 1,313. Registration, men, 279; women, 233. Vote in the last general election, men, 219, per cent of registration, 80.11; women, 175, per cent of registration, 75.10.

The Woman's Club has devoted much more time to civics and public affairs and to the general betterment of the community than to other subjects.

Pasadena.

Population (1910), 30,291. Registration, men, 7,710; women, 7,865. Voted in the last general election, men, 5,872, per cent of registration, 76.01; women, 5,202, per cent of registration, 66.14.

The Civic League, membership 150, holds monthly meetings on public affairs exclusively.

The Shakespeare Club, membership 600, has a strong civics committee, which has recently been instrumental in establishing a municipal market.

Last year the voters defeated a prohibition ordinance. Pasadena has no saloons, and only a hotel-restaurant license, strictly enforced. The proposed ordinance was drastic in the extreme.

Santa Monica.

Population (1910), 7,847. Registration, men, 2,284; women, 1,993. Voted in last general election, men, 1,511, per cent of registration, 66.15; women, 1,134, per cent of registration, 57.28.

A group of women, asked to serve as an advisory board to the mayor, called the attention of the citizens and the grand jury to the most insanitary condition of the city jail, and succeeded in having the structure condemned and a modern building erected in its place.

The Pacific Civics Club was organized to study civics and public affairs.

Women have worked for parks and playgrounds.

South Pasadena.

Population (1910), 4,649. Registration, men, 1,273; women, 1,232. Voted in last general election, men, 994, per cent of registration, 78.08; women, 922, per cent of registration, 74.83.

School bonds to the amount of $90,000 were voted this year. The interest in the bonds was slight until the women's organizations showed the necessity of the additional funds for the schools. The passage of the bonds is credited entirely to the women's campaign.

San Gabriel.

Population, 1,500. Registration, men, 288, women, 210. Voted in the last municipal election, men, 238, per cent of registration, 82.28; women, 151, per cent of registration, 70.19.

On September 23, 1913, an ordinance proposing to grant hotel and restaurant licenses (some of them in the immediate neighborhood of the Mission Play House) was defeated, 249 to 136. No special work was done in this election by women as such, though nearly every woman elector cast her ballot.

Women attend council meetings, write to the papers, and show interest in all lines of community affairs. There is one woman's civic club.

Santa Barbara.

Population, 6,640. Registration, men, 3,356; women, 3,284. Voted in the last municipal election, men, 1,020, per cent of registration, 30.39; women, 457, per cent of registration, 13.91. This election was on a bond issue for the waterworks tunnel, $120,000. The opposition was very slight, the bonds carrying, 1,183 to 294.

May 13, 1913, several liquor questions were offered to the voters. Retail saloons were abolished, and also restaurant licenses. Hotels were permitted to have licenses to serve liquor with meals. The total vote was 4,403. In this election the men voted 2,404, 71.63 per cent of their registration; the women voted 1,999, 60.87 per cent of their registration. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union worked actively in this election, but the other women's clubs as organizations took no action.

The women attend council meetings when matters of special interest are to be discussed.

LEGISLATION.

The California Legislature of 1913 passed many laws of especial interest to women and children. One of the chief arguments used in the suffrage campaign was the inequality of women before the law. With the passage of the laws listed below many of the injustices are remedied. The majority of these laws had been introduced in earlier sessions of the legislature but had failed of passage.

The legislature met January 6 and remained in session one month, during which time bills were introduced. In February adjournment was taken, the legislators returned to their constituents, and a campaign of education on legislative matters was carried on throughout the State. All the women's clubs and organizations held meetings and discussed bills and measures. The regular session of the legislature, convening in March, was remarkable for its close connection with the electorate.

During the entire session of the legislature, the California Federation of Women's Clubs maintained headquarters open to all women at Hotel Sacramento. Information, conveniences, and protection were given, irrespective of club or party affiliations. The maintenance of these headquarters rendered the lobbying of women dignified and effective.

There were no women members of the legislature of 1913.

In reference to the expense incident to this "women's legislation" we quote the following appropriations:

Immigration commission (commissioners unpaid) $25,000 per year.

Industrial welfare (minimum wage) commission (commissioners unpaid), $15,000 per year.

Civil service commission (commissioners paid), $25,000 per year.

Compilation of data concerning mothers' pensions, $3,000.

State training school for girls, $200,000.

Teachers' pensions, 5 per cent of inheritance tax and $1 per month from teachers.

Reporting of tuberculosis, additional appropriation to the State board of health, $7,500.

Weights and measures law, $12,000.

Criticism has been made of the increase in the cost of the State administration. The average increase every two years in the cost of administration for the 12 years preceding the last administration has been 20.77 per cent. The increase for these two years (the legislature meets biennially) is 15.9 per cent. This is the smallest increase in the history of the State, and it covers the largest increase in the growth of the State institutions.

The leading bills of interest to women passed this year are:

The creation of an industrial welfare commission to investigate the conditions under which women and minors labor, with the power to invoke a minimum wage in any such industries.

The creation of an immigration commission to investigate and prepare for the coming of immigration with the opening of the Panama Canal.

The red-light injunction and abatement law, placing the responsibility of disorderly houses upon the property rather than upon the inmates, and providing for the prohibition of such houses.

The extension of the eight-hour law for women to include nurses in training and workers in apartment houses.

The age of consent, raising the age from 16 to 18.

The establishment of a State training school for girls, separating it from the general institution and providing for the most approved correctional methods and vocational training.

The teachers' pension law, granting pensions of $500 a year to teachers who have served 30 years, with a smaller pension to those disabled in less than that time.

The juvenile court law, amending the law in order to separate dependent from delinquent children.

The joint guardianship law, giving women equal rights over their unmarried minor children.

The mothers' pension law, amending the law which provided funds for State institutions caring for orphans and half-orphans; providing that such funds could be used to care for the children in the mother's own home, but without increased appropriation; and creating three children's agents properly to investigate the families to which such funds are given.

The creation of a commisson to compile data and statistics concerning mothers' and old-age pensions.

The net container law, specifying that packages shall be marked with the amount of their net contents.

The weights and measures law, providing for a complete standard of weights and measures, and the regular inspection of dealers.

The Roberts bill, prohibiting the destruction of any foodstuff fit for human consumption.

The workmen's compensation law, requiring compulsory compensation for injuries, and establishing a system of State industrial insurance.

The requirement of the wife's signature to legalize the assignment of a man's wages.

The amendment of the child labor law, reducing the work day from 9 to 8 hours and restricting the granting of permits to the superintendent of schools. In California there is practically no child labor excepting in street trades.

The creation of a water commission, with authority over all water in the State.

The State civil service law, bringing practically all State employees under the merit system.

The white slave law, prohibiting traffic in women between counties; similar to the Mann Act as between States.

The tuberculosis law, providing for the reporting of all cases of tuberculosis to the State board of health.

The amendment to the liquor laws, prohibiting the sale of liquor between 2 a. m. and 6 a. m.

The law providing for the asexualization of certain inmates of insane asylums and State prisons.

The psychopathic parole law, providing for the parole of persons mentally abnormal but not dangerously insane, under the custody of psychopathic parole officers.

In the matter of prison reform all sentences except for murder are made indeterminate; strait-jackets and cold showers are prohibited;

arrangements are made for the payment of wages to certain convicts and for rendering assistance to discharged prisoners.

The billboard law, prohibiting billboards of more than 10 feet in height, also "spite fences" of more than that height.

The State Federation of Women's Clubs advocated as its special bill the health certificate for marriage, requiring a certificate of freedom from venereal diseases of all persons applying for marriage licenses. The bill was fought on the grounds of sentiment, medical practice, and constitutionality. It was amended to omit the requirement of such certificates from women, and passed in that form. However, in amending the bill the wording was made vague and incorrect, and Gov. Johnson was obliged to veto it on the grounds that it would have been inoperative and unconstitutional.

Testimony of Leading Citizens.

It is not necessary to give in their entirety all the letters received in reference to suffrage. The idea in presenting any part of these letters is not to offer praise of equal suffrage, but to give the views of a few of the men at the head of affairs. Some of these men were actively opposed to the granting of suffrage.

[Mayor H. H. Rose, of Los Angeles.]

I can not speak for the women of California, but feel that I can do so for my female fellow citizens of Los Angeles, and will say that they show no signs of decreasing interest in civic and political affairs. They took a deep and abiding interest in all of the elections subsequent to their enfranchisement up to the present time—particularly in the last municipal election.

[Edward Rainey, secretary to mayor of San Francisco.]

In behalf of the mayor, permit me to state that the women of San Francisco have cast a large proportion of the votes in such elections as have been held since they became electors, and that their interest in public affairs is one of the marked features of civic life in this city. Women's clubs of all kinds have organized civic sections, and are taking an active interest in public affairs of all descriptions.

[William L. Peters, mayor of Riverside.]

Equal suffrage has certainly been a success in Riverside, Cal. With only 10 days in which to register, about 2,500 women registered for the city election in November, 1911, out of a population of about 16,000. This shows a wide-awake interest. About 90 per cent of the registration voted. Our Riverside women have shown a sincere desire to inform themselves on political and municipal affairs. Their votes have been intelligently cast, and we certainly appreciate and welcome their help and cooperation.

[William Thum, former mayor of Pasadena.]

I take pleasure in saying that none of the imaginary objections to woman suffrage have turned out to be valid objections in California. I am fully satisfied that both women and men will be benefited by it. Although woman suffrage has been in operation but a short time, it seems already to have been in operation from the beginning.

[Lee R. Matthews, mayor of Pomona.]

I believe that it is a great movement for the citizens of the State and I think that it will put the political platform on a much higher plane than it has ever been before, because we know that in any organization where the women are interested the moral standing is always placed upon a higher basis.

When the women of the community will take the interest that they have shown in suffrage, we can rest assured and look forward to the time when all of our public offices will be filled with men and women who are a credit to the community that they represent?

[Charles F. O Neall, mayor of San Diego.]

I have by experience and observation been convinced that the women thoroughly realize and appreciate the value of their privilege to vote. During the campaign in this city in the spring of this year they took a very active part for and against the various candidates, and I believe that more of them, in proportion to the registration, exercised the franchise than did the men. I have always been enthusiastic over the right of women to vote and I have no reason to regret their having that privilege.

George Alexander, former mayor of Los Angeles.]

The antisuffragists who say that women in California do not take an interest in public affairs should come to California at the time we are holding a campaign in the State or cities, and he or she soon would be without argument against suffrage.

The use of the ballot by the women of California is an acknowledged success, especially in Los Angeles. I do not believe that any intelligent man would have the temerity to challenge the statement that the women of Los Angeles have invariably displayed splendid judgment and discretion in their use of the franchise. In every instance since they obtained the right to vote the women have shown themselves capable of properly exercising the ballot. Their votes were registered as rapidly as those of the men and with fewer mistakes and spoiled ballots.

My observances, taken in several elections since suffrage was granted in this State, incline me to the belief that the women can always be depended upon to do the right thing by the city in casting their ballot. Their interest in all that pertains to the home is keener than that of the men and their interest in the welfare and prosperity of the city, State, and country is every whit as great.

[Lewis R. Works, judge of the superior court.]

The women of California have vigorously exercised the right of suffrage since the passage of the constitutional amendment upon the subject. More than a fair percentage of the vote at each election has been polled by them, in view of all the circumstances. I mean by this that it could hardly be expected that as many women as men would vote immediately after the granting of suffrage to women. Notwithstanding this fact, I have known of some large precincts in which the vote of the women has equaled that of the men, and have known of many such precincts in which from 30 to 45 per cent of the

vote was cast by women. I regard this condition of affairs as very satisfying, and, from the standpoint of its use, clearly regard woman suffrage as a success in California.

The women are deeply interested in public affairs and in civic betterment. It has been my good fortune to address many gatherings of women, both during the suffrage campaign and since, upon all kinds of civic problems. The meetings have always been well attended and I have no hesitation in saying that at them an interest is shown which is superior to the interest shown by men at similar gatherings. I have no hesitation in saying further that the women of California are more diligent than the men at the present time in the way of the study of civic and political problems. This is as it should be, on account of the suffrage having so recently been extended to them, but it is certainly the fact.

Very few office seekers have developed among the women of California. Their work in civic and political matters is done almost universally from a desire to educate themselves upon the questions involved and from truly altruistic and humanitarian motives. It is true that the women of California have become great politicians, but they have become politicians in the highest and best sense, and not in the sense which was formerly conveyed by the use of the word.

You ask whether, in my opinion, the votes of women in California have been sentimental, ill considered, and undesirable. I at once enter a negative answer in the case of the last two words. If you use the word "sentimental" as I suppose you do, with the idea that there is no sense back of the sentiment, I enter an equally positive negative as to the use of that word. I do, however, consider that the votes of women are sometimes inspired, as the votes of men oftener ought to be, from true sentiment. Every lover of the right of equal suffrage—and I am one of them—will assert that the participation of women in political affairs is necessary to the well-being of government, because that participation will be grounded upon sentiment in the proper sense of that word. Under the exclusive dominion of men government has been freed too much from true sentiment. Men have looked at government, at civics, at economics from the standpoint of "business" alone. Humanitarianism and human rights, which can be protected only with the admixture of true sentiment in governmental affairs, have been sadly overlooked. Every lover of equal suffrage will tell you that the softening and humanizing influence of woman is needed as much if not more in governmental affairs than the history of the world has always and consistently shown that it is needed in all other affairs. There can be nothing like perfection in any of the serious concerns of life without the judicious blending of the masculine and feminine principles.

Men of public affairs in California generally regard equal suffrage as of great benefit to the Commonwealth. This is true even of some of the men who opposed the extension of suffrage to women. I have heard a number of such men—men of prominence—say that the manner in which the right has been exercised by the women of California has converted them and has convinced them not only of the propriety but of the utility of suffrage. There are some of the old opposers of equal suffrage among the men who yet hang out but their number is growing gradually less.

[Louis W. Myers, judge of the superior court.]

The assertion that women are not interested in public affairs and civic betterment is certainly not applicable to Los Angeles County, where the women have been taking a most active, intelligent, and efficient part in practically every movement for civic betterment and have initiated many of these.

I have had the fortune to be associated in the active work of several political campaigns with a number of women, and have found them almost without exception to be women of the highest type, actuated by unselfish motives of patriotism and altruism—women whom it was a pleasure to know and with whom it was a pleasure to work.

That women's votes are frequently ill considered and influenced by sentiment I do not doubt; but so also are the men's in many instances. I think that on the average the women apply quite as much intelligence and careful consideration to their exercise of the franchise as do the men, and considerably more conscience when moral issues are involved.

I do not think that the adoption of equal suffrage will bring about the millennium or result immediately in any great reforms, but I do believe that it will make slowly but steadily for higher and better standards in all our political institutions.

[Frederick W. Houser, judge of the superior court.]

From what has come under my personal notice, and from what I have heard, I believe that women, generally, are very much interested in public and civic affairs, and that they are exercising the right to vote with as much intelligence and discrimination as is shown by the men. I see nothing "sentimental" in the "general character of the women's vote," and I know of no reason for saying that woman's suffrage in California, at least, is in any way undesirable. The right of suffrage, as exercised by the women of California, has certainly done no harm, but on the contrary, its effect has undoubtedly been toward the betterment of civic conditions.

[John Francis Neylan, chairman State board of control.]

Of course no man can tell to what extent the granting of equal suffrage to women was responsible for those things which have been accomplished in California. An enthusiastic suffragist might claim that all the credit for what has been accomplished was due to the granting of suffrage; this would not be true. On the other hand, the antisuffrage enthusiast, inspired by bitter partisanship, would contend that these things were accomplished in spite of woman's suffrage. Somewhere between these two extremes lies the truth.

My personal opinion is that in the fight to accomplish what seemed to him best for the people of the Commonwealth, Gov. Johnson has received valuable assistance from the newly enfranchised women of California. I think that the changes would have come under Johnson's leadership, but I am also convinced that they could never have been accomplished in the incredibly short time of three years if it had not been for the influence of women upon the political life of California.

[A. J. Wallace, lieutenant governor of California.]

Many women in California take little or no interest in the exercise of their right to vote, but that is true of many men in California. The fact is that since women's right to vote was recognized in this State they have taken a very great interest in public affairs. This has been evidenced in more than one election. In fact it is simply remarkable that women should in so short a time have shown so great an interest in public matters and have voted with such marked intelligence. Equal suffrage makes California's progress more assured.

[C. E. Cebastian, chief of police, Los Angeles.]

The women in California won a bloodless revolution when the right to the ballot was allotted them. It was a right which all women in a civilized country should enjoy, a duty which they should be called upon to perform.

Since the institution of equal suffrage in the State of California there has been a wave of progressive and educational reform legislation which can be directly attributed to the influence of woman's activity.

Woman's primal duty is in the home; but woman should have the right to express her opinion and wield an actual influence at the polls on every question of legislation and on every issue of elections in order that she may protect that home. She can do more than merely vote; she can initiate issues of importance with the added initiative of having a voice in obtaining their institution.

[Harvey E. Andrews, managing editor of the Los Angeles Times.]

Woman suffrage in California has worked as well as manhood suffrage. There is about the same degree of neglect by either sex. I opposed woman suffrage, but its operation in this State has not furnished ground for criticism.

[The judges of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County.]

Women have taken a deep concern in civic affairs since their enfranchisement—they have been earnest in the consideration of public matters and careful in investigating questions submitted to the electors.

Women have shown no diminution in their interest in the ballot, but continue to register and vote in large numbers.

Women are filling appointive and elective positions with credit, but have not been active in seeking public office.

There is no movement for the repeal of the law conferring equal suffrage, and the sentiment of this section would not in our opinion seem to favor any such action.

FRED H. TAFT,
GRANT JACKSON,
N. P. CONREY,
WILLIS I. MORRISON,
PAUL J. MCCORMICK,
GAVIN W. CRAIG,
LOUIS W. MYERS,
LEWIS R. WORKS,
JOHN M. YORK,
CHAS. MONROE,
CURTIS D. WILBUR,
FREDERICK W. HOUSER,
FRANK P. WILLIS,
CHARLES WELLBORN,
JOHN W. SHENK,
Judges of the Superior Court,
Los Angeles County, Cal.

In the light of these statistics of women's voting, these reports of their interests and activities, and the opinions expressed by prominent men, what may fairly be concluded about woman suffrage in California after two years of actual operation?

RESULTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Suffrage has given a new interest, purpose, and effectiveness to the thousands of women's clubs throughout the State and has brought scores of new organizations into being for the express purpose of equipping the women with a knowledge of government and civics.

Women have registered and voted at regular and special elections in practically the same and in some instances in larger proportion than the men.

Equal suffrage has stimulated the men as well as the women to a greater interest in civic affairs.

It has resulted in putting better, cleaner, and more public-spirited men into office.

It has given us more convenient and respectable polling places.

It has been the means of accomplishing what male suffrage alone never has accomplished, and probably never would accomplish—the recall of an unfit judge.

It has resulted in the enactment of laws concerning health, morals, child welfare, and female civil rights for which the women, while unenfranchised, had for years pleaded in vain.

It has not resulted in a scramble for office on the part of women; on the contrary, the women, as a class, recognizing their lack of political training, have so far deliberately refrained from seeking office.

It has not resulted in corrupting the women; it has resulted in bettering the men, precisely as men always are uplifted and strengthened in any field of endeavor in which women are permitted to share with them their labors and problems.

It has not resulted in breaking up the home; it has strengthened the home ties by reason of a broader mutuality of interests.

It has not caused the women to neglect their duties; both as citizens and as mothers, it has enabled them to meet their responsibilities with greater intelligence and efficiency.

Further than this brief summary of results, it is right that some of the lessons of the suffrage campaign and the consequent enfranchisement of women should be further developed.

THE REAL ENEMIES OF SUFFRAGE.

The antisuffragists who, to their credit be it said, have registered and voted and are making good citizens, were an essential feature of the suffrage campaign, as open discussion and argument about any question clears the atmosphere and makes for progress.

The antisuffragists were sincere in their position but the suffragists realized that they were at no time the real opposition to woman suffrage. The corrupt political organizations, the protectors of vice and crime and gambling, the liquor dealers and the white slavers of

California were the real enemies of the enfranchisement of women. These enemies were not afraid of the vote of the "bad woman," of which so much was said in the campaign, but they feared the potential strength of the good woman's vote. As far as the so-called "bad woman's" vote is concerned, investigation has shown that it is practically negligible; these women do not register nor give a place of residence because most of them live under assumed names and are a shifting population. An analysis of voting figures in different towns shows the heaviest women's vote to be in precincts where prosperous professional and business people reside; the average woman's vote in precincts where persons of modest means—clerks and mechanics—live; the smaller woman's vote in the industrial districts.

THE RECALL OF JUDGE WELLER.

The recall of Judge Weller mentioned above was one of the most spectacular things which the women of California have done with the ballot and it was not done hastily nor hysterically.

Facts and figures proved the difficulty of securing convictions even when the cases were brought to trial. The Woman's Recall League was formed and secured the requisite number of signatures to a petition for a recall election.

The moral question involved was the most vital that a community can face. Judge Weller and his petty little judicial job were negligible quantities. Infinitely more was at stake than the fate of a police judge or a thousand police judges.

It was not a puny judge, but a powerful and poisonous system with which the voters of San Francisco dealt. That system made possible the destruction of women with impunity. When Judge Weller, in his own defense, declared that in reducing the bond of Hendricks to a figure that made his escape possible and easy, he was merely following the custom of the police courts in cases of that character, he defined that system.

Judge Weller should have been, and was, recalled. He was recalled, not because he was Judge Weller, but because in this instance he stood for a rotten judicial system and custom that is a menace to the sanctity of the home and to the safety of the women who make the home.

FIRST ELECTION IN LOS ANGELES.

The first election in Los Angeles after women were enfranchised was one of peculiar interest, in circumstances which aroused even the most indifferent citizens to active participation.

This was the mayoralty election following the primaries at which the Socialist candidate received 3,000 votes more than the good government candidate. There was also a drastic prohibition ordinance on the ballot. Women were not eligible voters at the primary election; they were an unknown quantity in politics, and many apprehensions were felt as to their conduct as voters.

That election answered for all time the objections that many men and women in Los Angeles had felt towards women's voting. Upward of 80,000 women were registered in a little over three weeks by

the volunteer services of women as registration clerks. A larger percentage of the registered women voters went to the polls than the percentage of registered men voters, and the election was the cleanest and most orderly held in the city in years.

The tone and atmosphere about the polling places were distinctly improved over that which prevailed in previous elections. The women voted with discrimination equal to that of the men, and they spoiled fewer ballots.

Their vote on the liquor question was a vote of confidence in the liquor regulations of Los Angeles, where in a city of over 400,000 population there are only 200 saloons in restricted districts, with precinct local option.

The women were not influenced by their prejudices, but calmly reasoned that they would prefer to take chances with regulated licensed places than with prohibition and "blind tigers." Even those who may deem them wrong on moral grounds must admit their capacity for political reasoning in a matter so vital to them and appealing so strongly to their emotions.

WOMEN SEEK INFORMATION.

The women of California have demonstrated the truth of the saying, "The more you know the less you think you know." When the responsibility of citizenship was conferred upon them, they at once began seeking for information to enable them to counsel wisely, to judge candidates and situations with discrimination and so to vote intelligently.

Dozens of new organizations have come into existence all over the State for the expressed purpose of educating women voters. Almost every town in the State has its woman's club, with a public affairs or civics committee, which is bringing to the attention of the women questions of local, State, and National interest for investigation and information.

INTELLIGENCE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

In the Eastern States much is said about the vote of the ignorant woman. It is perfectly honest to say that the women who vote in California are intelligent women; they are the women of such organizations as the parent-teacher associations, made up of the mothers who are deeply concerned in their children's education and school environment; the women of the teachers' clubs; the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions; the nurses' clubs; the Woman's Trade Union League; the Young Woman's Christian Associations; and the members of the many study clubs. These women, individually and in their associations, are conscientiously trying to do their duty as voters, and surely anyone will admit that they represent intelligence and morality.

In trying to draw conclusions from any election or series of elections, it is necessary to remember this fact—there are 125.5 men to every 100 women in California.

TOO FREQUENT ELECTIONS LOWER VOTE.

It is not possible to arouse an equal amount of interest in every question that comes before the voters. Under the election laws of California and with the initiative, referendum, and recall, there are many subjects which are brought up for popular vote which in other States are settled by legislative action. In the last two years there have been in Los Angeles city and county 15 elections, at some of which very complicated issues have been presented to the voters. There have been elections on a city and county charter, amendments to the State constitution, initiative measures, bond issues for parks, water, power, etc., besides regular municipal, State, and National elections. All persons are not interested in all these questions, and so the percentage of the vote varies from one election to another.

LOCAL CONDITIONS INFLUENCE "WET" AND "DRY" ELECTIONS.

The question of "wet" and "dry" elections is almost always influenced by local conditions, as in the Pasadena election, where a most drastic prohibition ordinance was defeated. Eastern anti-suffragists claimed that the women voted "wet." Pasadena has not had a saloon in over 20 years, and women showed conservative common sense in leaving matters as they were.

VOTING A NEW THING.

While in certain instances it seems that the percentage of women voting should be higher than it is, we hope that as time goes on it will increase, and that the vote of the men will increase correspondingly. When one considers that voting is new to women, that their attention has only recently been directly turned to public matters with the responsibility of forming a definite opinion at a given time, the wonder is that so many have responded to the call to citizenship. With this in mind a comparison with the record of men, who have traditionally had a share in public thought and work, gives the women the better showing.

INACCURATE REPORTS.

It is the fashion nowadays for the newspapers to run the headline, "The women did it." At a recent election in Anaheim, where there are 14 wineries, the majority voted for license. A Los Angeles evening paper on the day of election had the headlines, "Women work at polls to make Anaheim dry," and the next morning a newspaper published by the same management, had the headline, "Women's vote helps keep Anaheim wet." Now, you may take your choice of what you want to believe was the real situation.

RECENT LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Not one woman went to the legislature or supported a bill for private or personal gain; all of the measures for which they worked were along humanitarian lines, for the better protection of women

and children and the benefit of the race. The same thing had been true of the women and the character of the laws presented at many previous legislatures; but, with only the vaunted indirect influence behind them, progress was slow and painful. The fine humanitarian laws of the last legislature show clearly what women with the vote can do.

DECREASE OF CRIME.

One of the letters quoted above is from the Los Angeles chief of police, who went to Washington, D. C., last summer to the meeting of the National Association of Police Chiefs. He told them in an address on women suffrage that "women had done the greatest service in breaking down a wall of false reticence which has prevented public discussion and public understanding of one of the most vital problems of crime," and that since we had suffrage crime has materially lessened in the entire State. He also said that the tone of politics has been raised in the State by the influence of women's votes. "It is not only what the women have done," he said, "but it is the unconscious influence which their votes command that has bettered conditions."

WHAT WOMEN WANT.

Women are asking simply for the right to fulfill their traditional duties, to do those things for which they are fitted by their natural instincts and long training as protectors of the home and the guardians of children. They are citizens, they have responsibilities, and yet the right to do their duty and fulfill these responsibilities is denied them.

It is proper to ask what are the results of suffrage, what women are doing with the ballot, and whether they are using it. But these things are, after all, only incidental to the main issue, which is that responsibility develops character and that the strength of a democracy restson the intelligence, morality, and character of its citizens.

Suffrage is the right of every citizen in a democracy and it belongs to women by every right of reason, logic, and justice. Women, as human beings and as citizens, should have the right to every possible means of education, every developing experience, every avenue of self-expression, and the opportunity of service.

Verily, the woman of California has found in the ballot an added responsibility. But the responsibility born of her being, as she earnestly believes, is one to which she promptly responds. Instinctively she welcomes it as a means to a broader and more effective expression of life. Never in the history of the world has woman asked for any right, any privilege, save only that she might make of it a responsibility for the better discharge of her duties to the race. In the evolution of government the State has been gradually taking unto itself the duties that the Creator Himself has labeled as feminine, the care and education of the child, and the preservation of the purity and health of the home. Therefore, it is that the woman of to-day is demanding a voice and a place in the political household. And therefore it is that the woman of California rejoices in spirit that this new civic responsibility is truly hers.

To her sisters throughout the Nation, and the world, she extends the hand of fellowship and of good cheer, and the glad assurance

that in this larger significance of life she is finding increased strength and power and manifold possibilities for good, and she hopes that her own political life will be such that it will make the entrance into political equality easier for all other women. She does not wish to take man's place in the world, but because she is a woman and man's complement, she wishes to be his comrade and coworker for the good of the community and the uplift of the race.

November, 1913.

Dora Haynes, chairman; Miss Helen Bary, compiler; Grace C. Simons, president of the Political Equality League; Maria De G. E. Lopez, president College Equal Suffrage League; Mary Foy, president California Woman's Democratic League; Katherine Philips Edson, special agent California State Bureau of Labor, member of the California Industrial Welfare Commission; Mary S. Gibson, member California Immigration Committee; Josefa H. Tolhurst, member Los Angeles Library Commission; Martha Nelson McCan, member Los Angeles Civil Service Commission; Harriet H. Barry, editor; Cora Deal Lewis, member Los Angeles Housing Commission; Lloy Galpin, educator (history and civics).

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[post. Aug. 1, 1914]

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

A CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER

Catt

By Alice Stone Blackwell

At a meeting held in New York on June 25, 1914, the following vote was passed:

"Resolved, That the official board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association protests against the recent tendency on the part of the opponents of equal suffrage to evade reasonable discussion of the merits of the suffrage issue, and to substitute distorted and falsified statements as to the views of the suffrage leaders in regard to their ideals of marriage and the home."

Those present at the meeting were Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president; Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge and Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, vice-presidents; Mrs. Stanley McCormick, treasurer; Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, executive secretary, and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, auditor.

Letter from Mrs. Catt

Such misrepresentation has been widespread and persistent. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, wrote in The Woman's Journal of March 29, 1913:

"Four times of late, I have received letters of inquiry, each from a different State, concerning a statement made by anti-suffragists quoting me as having said that American women who do not earn their own living should be considered prostitutes. I never said this, nor anything resembling it, nor anything which could be construed into such a statement. Some person with malicious intent manufactured it out of the whole cloth."

Everyone who knows Mrs. Catt knows that it would be as rational to attribute such opinions to Cardinal Gibbons as to her. Nevertheless, despite her denial, the opponents of equal suffrage went right on circulating the story. Mr. Charles L. Underhill of Massachusetts told it again last winter at a legislative hearing in Maryland, where he spoke against votes for women. In the Maryland Suffrage News of Feb. 10, 1914, Mrs. Catt again contradicted it, and added: "I do not believe that any other suffragist has ever made this or a similar statement. Either Mr. Underhill or those who coached him for his speech are guilty of a deliberate fabrication."

The Woman's Protest, the official organ of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in its issue of February, 1914, published an alleged quotation from Mrs. Philip Snowden, to the same effect. In a letter published in The Woman's Journal of April 4, 1914, Mrs. Snowden wrote to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell:

Letter from Mrs. Snowden

"I thank you for telling me of the charge which anti-suffragists, in my absence from the country, are making against me, namely, that I said in public that 'any woman who allows her father, her brother, or even her husband to be the only wage-earner in the family is no better than a paid woman of the streets.'

"The statement is absolutely false. I never said anything

Alice Stone Blackwell
Agnes E. Ryan

of the sort, nor anything which could be by any stretch of the imagination construed into such a sentiment."

Letter from Dr. Shaw

In its issue of February, 1914, the national anti-suffrage organ quoted Dr. Anna H. Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, as saying:

"I would make motherhood a governmental institution. I would pension all mothers and have them provided for, first and last, by the State. I believe that motherhood should be independent of man."

The organ of the antis had told this same story on previous occasions. In a letter published in The Woman's Journal of May 3, 1913, Dr. Shaw wrote:

"I never said or thought such a thing. Two or three years ago I was speaking of the need of playgrounds for little children whose mothers were obliged, because of the death or desertion of their husbands, to leave them uncared for while they earned the daily bread for the family. In the course of what I said I added that the State would sometime be wise enough to provide not only playgrounds for children, but pensions for mothers who were compelled to leave their children neglected at home while they earned the livelihood. The State would learn, when women were a part of its active force, that playgrounds for children and pensions for mothers were both less expensive and more desirable than courts, prisons or criminals.

"This statement some reporter garbled somewhat, but in their paper the antis garbled it to this foolish paragraph. Mrs. Rossiter Johnson read it at a meeting of Women Principals here in New York about two years ago, when I spoke for suffrage and she against it. I made this correction at the time. Still, that did not stop the antis; they published it in their paper afterward just the same."

Letter from Jane Olcott

Jane Olcott, in official statements issued from Anti-Suffrage Headquarters to the press, has been quoted as favoring free love. She writes to Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association, in a letter published in The Woman's Journal of July 11, 1914:

"In regard to your letter asking for my views on the subject of free love, I wish to state that I do not believe in free love. I believe that legal marriage is the only honest thing."

These are only a few samples of the discreditable canards invented and circulated by opponents of equal rights. Let any honorable man say whether a persistent campaign of falsehood and slander carried on against any group of women does not show that there is a scarcity of fair argument against them and their cause.—From the Woman's Journal, August 1, 1914.

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[post - Aug. 7, 1914]
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Women and War

By KATE DEVEREUX BLAKE.

It is said by the ignorant that women should not vote because they cannot bear arms when the nation is at war. In reply the following facts are submitted:

Women were originally, and still are exempted from fighting not because of inability, but because their function of motherhood renders them too valuable to the race to permit them to be wasted in war. When driven to a last stand the women of savage or semi-civilized people fight side by side with the men of their tribe and with equal ferocity. But "woman's chief business is mothering," and interference with this business means the destruction of the race. The soldier may give his life to destroy the life of an enemy, but the mother faces death in order to bestow life. This is the higher duty.

Women bear the burden of war. Every able bodied man taken from farm or factory leaves his work for the women to do. This is clearly shown in European countries where the women are now working in the fields and in the mines. On August 7th, 1914, Premier Viviani issued an appeal to the women of France asking them to do the work of gathering the crops that had been left unfinished by men who had been called to arms, and also to prepare for the harvests of next year.

Man's ability to bear arms has no relation to his right to vote. The puniest, weakest, feeblest man goes unchallenged to the ballot box. A large majority of the men who appear before a recruiting sergeant are rejected as physically unfit, yet all may vote. Justice then demands that women should not be disfranchised because of weakness.

But the best answer is that war belongs to barbaric ages and conditions and should have no consideration in the government of civilized nations.

The United States Government spends 63 cents of every dollar of the total yearly budget for wars, past, present, and to come, leaving but 37 cents for all useful purposes. Of this balance, 5 cents goes for improving rivers and harbors, 4 cents for the Department of Agriculture, 3 cents for the Panama Canal, one fiftieth of a cent for the Children's Bureau, and about the same amount for the Bureau of Education. Women do not consider children less valuable and less important than hogs and fish. Women want to have their children educated. In time of war the schools are closed. When the United States occupied Vera Cruz the Marines used the schools for barracks. It has been officially announced that the schools of London and Berlin would be used as hospitals as soon as the need arose.

In the recent Balkan War, all that was accomplished was the transfer to three of the warring nations of 47,300 square miles of territory, less than one third of the size of the State of Montana, and this was achieved by the sacrifice of 450,000 men, either killed or permanently disabled, at a cost estimated at from $1,250,000,000 to $1,500,000,000. This is an estimate of the actual military expenditure. It takes no note of the terrific destruction of economic values, which runs into billions of dollars and the interference with commerce, industry and agriculture. Nor does it count the frightful increase in the military expenditures of all the great powers of Europe in order to maintain an armed neutrality. Nor does it count the cost of the loss of the labor of the young men of France for whom the three years military service was re-established. And all this waste and destruction merely to prepare for the horrible conflict now devastating Europe.

No tinsel of trumpets and flags will ultimately seduce women into the insanity of recklessly destroying life, or gild the wilful taking of life with any other name than that of murder, whether it be the slaughter of the million or of the unit.

There are no longer any foreign wars on which we may look with calmness because they do not touch us. Half a million men in the United States earn their living in the production of goods for Great Britain. War means the destruction of their occupation. When this European war was only a few days old, factories were closed and men thrown out of work all over the United States.

Is it not time that the women of the land who value men's lives more dearly than they themselves do, should be permitted a voice in the government, so that the gigantic folly and stupidity of war may end, and the money now wasted in military operations may be spent on education and works for the comfort of humanity!

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[Sept. 17, 1914]

JANE ADDAMS TESTIFIES

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Jane Addams makes a very practical argument for equal suffrage. She tells what she has herself seen of its workings in Illinois. She gave interesting particulars on this subject at a great meeting held on Sept. 17, 1914, by the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government.

"It is always a pleasure to me to speak on woman suffrage, because I think it will help to bring all the other things that I want," began Miss Addams; "but since Illinois gave women the ballot, I feel that my argument has a certain validity which it lacked before.

"Our friends, the antis—I understand you have some in Massachusetts; we have none now in Illinois—are accustomed to say, 'If women vote, so and so will happen.' This is hardly a fair argument now, because women are voting in so many parts of the world that we can answer, 'When women vote, so and so has not happened.' They say that there will be less interest in domesticity. This is easily answered by Australia, which has the highest birthrate of any country peopled by the English race. They say that mothers will neglect their children. This is conclusively answered by New Zealand. Women have had full suffrage there since 1893, and New Zealand has the lowest infant death-rate in the world.

"But it is pleasanter to speak out of our own experience. Chicago is the largest city in the world where women vote, and we have had an opportunity of trying out the advantages and disadvantages.

"Several gratifying things happened as soon as women were given the vote. It made an enormous difference in the attitude of public officials. We had long sought to have policewomen appointed. Chicago has a large number of small parks which are used for dancing, as well as many dance halls. On dance evenings 86,000 young people in our city go to dances. We wanted some policewomen for municipal chaperons, to safeguard young girls against the dangers that beset them on such occasions. The city government would not listen to us, and the Chicago journals for years had a happy time making fun of our project. We got the right to vote on July 1, and on July 15 the Mayor appointed ten policewomen. Before Sept. 1 we had forty and we are promised that before long there shall be a hundred. We had done nothing; but the Mayor was coming up for re-election. We have found that, while it may not be necessary to vote, it is very important to be able to vote.

"Chicago had a very bad system of garbage disposal. The method was to haul it out to a poor quarter of the city, where the people are already uncomfortable and overcrowded, and there dump it and leave it to rot. Miss Mary McDowell, a settlement worker, had made a great effort to have this changed. She went to Europe and studied the best systems of garbage disposal; she had a striking set of slides made, illustrating the conditions, and got a chance to show them before the city fathers of Chicago. She lectured on the subject on all occasions. She tried her best for fifteen years. I tried, too, and I served as garbage inspector of my ward at one time; but, though we used our indirect influence to its utmost, nothing was done.

"Women were given the right to vote. Then the Mayor decided that we had an abominable system of garbage disposal. The city government appropriated $10,000 to improve it, and Miss McDowell, 'Chicago's great garbage expert,' as the Mayor called her, was appointed on the committee that was to spend

the money. She was just the same kind of expert that she had been before; but now the women were voters.

"We had been trying very hard to get a boys' court, for boys of seventeen and upwards—too old for the juvenile court, yet not full-grown men. A large part of the crime in America is committed by persons under twenty-five years of age. If we could take care of every boy until he is twenty-five, we could then turn him loose with little fear that he would go wrong. In our efforts to get this boys' court, we had had dinners and lunches at Hull House and elsewhere, and invited the city officials, and sometimes they came and sometimes they didn't. After we got the right to vote, the city officials gave the lunches and invited us. We now have a splendid boys' court, and a psychopathic clinic for these boys. All sorts of things are being done now which groups of women had long urged in vain, until women got a vote.

"We have some aldermen who are called 'gray wolves,' because they have been on the board long enough to be gray, and they come there for the same purpose that wolves make their raids. The worst two were from the First Ward. It is a ward where there are few voters, and where all sorts of bad things congregate. The aldermen gave favors of various kinds, and so kept their hold on the voters of the ward. Everybody said it was very bad; but it was hard to get anybody to stand as an opposition candidate, because people hate to be beaten. Women are more willing than men to go in and fail, if they can do any good by it. An admirable woman said she was willing to make the race. Some of the men objected. They said it would stir up trouble, that things went on in the First Ward which young people ought not to know, and they would get into the papers, etc., etc. But she went in against 'Bathhouse John.' Of course, she was defeated; she never expected to win; but the whole situation which had existed for years in that ward was

cleared up. The processes which went on there were held up to the light, and to public scorn. 'Bathhouse John' lost his prestige, and the party which he had nominally represented repudiated him.

"Those ignoble methods had spread to other wards. Now they will never be allowed again in Chicago. Letting in the light upon the First Ward was more than a local service. You cannot have a ward of which the whole city is ashamed without its affecting all the other wards.

"In several other wards, women ran against corrupt candidates when it was hard to find anybody who would stand up to be beaten. Before women got the ballot, one set of men said that women would shrink from holding office, and could not be induced to stand. Another set said that women would seek offices greedily and seize all they could get. In Chicago women stood for offices where they knew they could not get them, but where things needed to be cleared up."

Miss Addams might have added, and doubtless would have done so if she had had more time, that in seven wards of Chicago the women's votes actually turned the scale, and defeated seven objectionable candidates for aldermen.

Miss Addams has no fear of the foreign women's vote.

"I have lived for more than twenty-five years with foreign women," said Miss Addams, "and I assure you that they are just like American women. Among them there are bright women and stupid women, and all kinds; but they are all interested in the schools and the hospitals, and in things which are to benefit the city.

"I was a judge of election last spring in the precinct where Hull House stands. Almost all the voters were foreigners; and it was a great satisfaction to me to see what good judgment the women showed. There was one Irishwoman, very bright, who could not read, and therefore I was allowed to go into the booth

with her to help her mark her ballot. The first proposition was about bonds for a new hospital. The Irishwoman said, 'Is the same bunch to spend the money that run the hospital we have now? Then I'm against it.' The next proposition was about a subway; the next about a hospital for contagious cases, and so on. There were ten propositions to be acted upon. I was scrupulous not to influence her; yet on nine of them she voted, from her own common sense, just as the Municipal League and the City Club had recommended as the result of painstaking research. It reminded me of what John Morley said—that the elector is not expected to be an expert, but to express the mind of the common people, and that the most valuable voter is the person who knows most about social misery and the ways in which it can be mitigated. Any woman who gives her best mind to it can vote intelligently on such questions as are placed before the people. They are really simple questions. Of course, she must look into the matter. To do things intelligently is a sine qua non of successful living.

"Italian women came in to vote who knew much more about our city than their husbands, who were away digging railroads during six or nine months of the year. Foreign women often have good practical ideas. Italian women have come to Hull House in the past to ask for municipal wash houses. They said, quite truly, that the kitchen of a tiny tenement is no place to wash. Russian women have come to urge us to try to get covered markets. They said that even in the ghettos of Russia food was not allowed to be so exposed to dust and dirt as in Chicago."

The need of women's votes has been shown by the slowness with which some very necessary reforms have been brought about in Chicago, according to Miss Addams. She said:

"Our great poorhouse shelters hundreds of people, and for a long time it was run very stupidly. Husbands and wives were

separated. An old couple who had lived together for fifty years in honorable wedlock, and who had nothing left but their mutual affection and a bundle of common memories, were parted, and were not allowed to see each other except at long intervals, and then only through a grating, unless the guard was kind and opened the grating, and let them sit together for a while on a bench in the public hall. When we protested, we were told that it could not be helped, because 'the poorhouse was built that way'; and so human nature must be tortured and twisted to fit the building. Now, through the women's efforts, this has been changed. We have also a big hospital, very badly managed. With us all these institutions are under the county, not under the city. That is why women have wanted especially to vote for the county commissioners. Our right to do so is in dispute, but it has been decided for the present that we may."

Miss Addams then invited questions from the audience. Someone suggested that the strike troubles in Colorado had arisen because the Governor was "woman elected."

"I wish all the feeble Governors could be explained in that way!" said Miss Addams; and the audience shouted with laughter. "So many States have weak Governors that that argument will hardly hold. In Colorado the strike trouble is mainly an industrial situation. It has hardly yet begun to be a political situation."

"What effect has the women's vote had on the temperance question in Illinois?"

"The temperance people won out in almost every county," answered Miss Addams.

"Does the liquor interest oppose equal suffrage?"

"Yes, everywhere."

"Don't you think a woman can accomplish more without a vote, because then she is non-partisan? Does not a woman lose power when she joins a party?"

"I don't think it works out that way," answered Miss Addams. "A man belongs to a party, and to a church, but he acts as a citizen and as a Christian. He is not hampered by having a vote. A man in the Legislature once told Mrs. Stanley McCormick, as an argument against equal suffrage, that he found he could do a great deal more by his influence than he could by his vote. 'Ah!' said Mrs. McCormick, 'I am so glad you have not lost your influence!'"

"How would woman suffrage benefit Massachusetts?" was the final question.

"In the same ways in which it has benefited Illinois and other States," answered Miss Addams. "In the first place, it would be a much more democratic government. Then it would give women more power to bring about humanitarian ends. Humanitarian measures are now to the fore everywhere. One thing after another which used to be left to private individuals is being taken over by the State; so that, where they are excluded from suffrage, women today are more 'out of it' than any class since the Greek slaves."

Almost all the women who have won a nation-wide reputation for wisdom and goodness agree with Jane Addams in believing that equal suffrage will help to make the world better.

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[Sept. 21, 1914]

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Staar de Norsk-Amerikanske Mænd paa Fremskridtets Side?

Frøken Gina Krog haaber at Valgene i Høst vil gi Norge Anledning til at føle sig stolt paa udvandrede Sønners Vegne.

Afventer Valget med Interesse.

„Det vil vække Jubel i Gamlelandet, dersom vi faar Bud om at de norske Mænd i North Dakota har stemt ligesaa enstemmig for Kvinders Borgerrettigheder, som de, der stemte i denne Sag i det norske Storthing 11. August 1913."

Hermed slutter den bekjendte Kvindesagsleder Gina Krog et Opraab, som vi her gjengir: Frøken Krog skriver:

Hvis bare Deres Landsmænd her kjendte nok til Kvindestemmeretssagen i Norge og Betydningen af den Seier de har vundet — skriver en af Lederne for den amerikanske Kvindebevægelse til mig — saa var der ingen Fare for at de vilde vise Ligegyldighed, naar der blir Afstemning over den i de Stater i U. S. A., hvor Nordmænd kan lægge et tungt Lod i Vægtskaalen.

Jeg har truffet sammen med Landsmænd fra Amerika, der havde godt Kjendskab til Bevægelsen her, og stor Sympathi for den, og mer end en lovede at arbeide for Sagen, naar de kom hjem.

Men det kan kanske alligevel ikke skade at sende en Oversigt direkte herfra; den skal bli saa kort og sammentrængt som vel mulig.

I 1885 begyndte vi i Norge at arbeide for kommunal og statsborgerlig Stemmeret for Kvinder. Vi var til at begynde med bare nogle faa Kvinder, men Skaren øget lidt efter lidt, fler og fler Kvinder sluttet sig til, og Mænd støttet os, for de syntes det var en god og retfærdig Sag. Vi fik, som man kan forstaa, ogsaa svær Modstand. Mange var sinte og ærgerlige paa os og mente vi var farlige Folk, andre lo og gjorde Nar af os og sagde, at det skulde vi faa se, at slig „upraktisk" Ide kom vi ikke langt med.

Men vi havde Lykken med os. I 1901 fik norske Kvinder indskrænket kommunal Stemmeret (Betingelse: en liden aarlig Skatteerlæggelse) og 1907 indskrænket statsborgerlig (politisk) Stemmeret paa samme Betingelser. I 1910 fik vi almindelig kommunal Stemmeret og i 1913 fik vi almindelig statsborgerlig Stemmeret. Altsaa har vi nu Stemmeret for Kvinder paa samme Betingelse som Mænd — over hele Linjen.

Det merkeligste var den sidste Udvidelse, 11te Juni ifjor. Alle politiske Partier havde sat Reformen almindelig politisk Kvindestemmeret paa sit Program. Og Beslutningen blev fattet **enstemmig**. Hver Stortingsrepræsentant sagde sit ja.

Hvoraf kom denne Enighed? Jo, man havde samlet Erfaring fra Kvinderne, at de begyndte at deltage i det offentlige Liv. Vi havde stemt ved 5 kommunale og 2 politiske Valg. Der havde stadig været større Fremmøde, livligere Deltagelse, men jevnt og roligt var det gaaet, ingen farlig Overrumpling. Man syntes idethele Reformen havde medført meget som var godt. Efterhvert var flere Kvinder kommet med i Kommunestyrene, og man havde fundet, at Mænd og Kvinder arbeidet udmærket sammen der. Og den dumme Indvending, at Kvinderne skulde bli ligegyldige for Hjemmets Pligter og Interesser ved Stemmeretten blev gjort til Skamme. Interessen er tvertimod i Stigende. Det er betegnende, at paa det første Landsmøde i Norske Kvinders Nationalraad 1907, lige efter vi havde faaet indskrænket politisk Stemmeret, samlet alle sig om et Andragende til Storting og Regjering om bedre Fagudddannelse i huslige Fag. Det førte senere til Statens Lærerindeskole i Husstel paa Stabæk. Og at Mødrene nu interesserer sig mere end før for alt hvad der angaar Børnenes Opfødning og Opdragelse er ikke til at tage Feil af.

Men selvfølgelig gaar norske Kvinders Interesser ogsaa direkte ud i Samfundet. De vil saa gjerne være med paa at faa bygget det bedre end før, de reiser sig mod mangt af det vrange, sørgelige og stygge, som viser sig i vort Land som i andre. De ved, at først naar Samfundet blir bedre, er Hjemmene for Alvor trygge — og omvendt, naar Hjemmene blir bedre, Samfundet.

Endel Kvinder, som var tilstede i Stortinget Aftenen 11te Juni 1913 og hørte Afstemningen, søgte Foretræde hos Præsidentskabet for at overbringe en Tak til Stortinget.

Jeg var Ordfører og sagde tilslut: „Imorgen reiser jeg til Budapest som Delegeret for den norske Regjering ved den internationale Kvindestemme-

retsalliances Møde der — faar jeg Lov at tage en Hilsen med fra Stortinget?"

Den fungerende Præsident holdt en [illegible] Tale og sluttet med: „Seieren skylder vi Kvindernes modige Arbeide og den voksende Erkjendelse af, hvor stor Betydning ogsaa den politiske Ligestilling af Mænd og Kvinder har. Sig at **vi har fattet vor Beslutning i den faste Overbevisning, at Reformen vil bli til Gagn og Velsignelse for vort Land.**" ....

Der var flere Statsraader tilstede. Jeg henvendte mig til dem. „Sig," sagde Udenrigsministeren, „at alle Regjeringens Medlemmer er begeistrede Tilhængere af Kvindestemmeret". „Hils til Budapestkongressen og sig," sagde Justitsministeren, „at det vilde glæde os overordentlig, hvis vi snart kunde faa det samme Seiersbudskab fra alle Land", og Socialministeren sagde: „Kvindestemmereten har virket bare godt, hvorfor skulde vi da ikke udvide den?" Fra Statsministeren fik jeg et Brev, hvori han siger: „At Kvinderne har vundet denne glimrende Seier skylder de først og fremst sig selv. Deres Klogskab og Takt — og den Erfaring vi i de senere Aar har faaet om deres Deltagelse i det offentlige Liv — det har bragt Seieren".

Dette var jo smigrende Ord om norske Kvinder. Men da vi i Budapest havde givet Beretning og overbragt Hilsener hjemmefra — da var det Mændene som fik første Æren. Norge er den første helt souveræne Stat, som har givet Kvinder Stemmeret, og de norske Mænd hørte vi derfor prise høit paa mange Sprog som de ældste og ridderligste i hele Verden.

I Spidsen for den internationale Kvindestemmeretsalliance staar en Amerikanerinde. Og til Amerika har vi altid gaaet for at søge Opmuntring under vor Kamp — helt fra første Stund af. De store Navne der lyste for os, de heltemodige Kvinder som først optog Kampen der, de gav os Mod. Jeg tror det tør siges, at uden dem havde norske Kvinder idag ikke havt politisk Stemmeret.

Og nu fører de Forenede Staters Kvinder sin Kamp hjemme i eget Land, uden Frygt og uden Dadel fører de den. Stat efter Stat vindes. Men ogsaa de har nogen Modstand at overvinde. Gid vi bare kunde være derover og hjælpe dem, ligesom de har hjulpet os i vor Kamp. Var en der, saa kanske en fandt de rette Ord, som kunde bevæge Hjerterne — idetmindste der hvor ens Landsmænd bor.

Men i Mangel af det faar vi norske Kvinder sende vore varme Ønsker, vore indtrængende Bønner over Havet. Vi ber norske Mænd i Amerika arbeide for Kvinders Stemmeret. Vi ber Kvinderne i de Stater, Sagen skal frem til Afstemning, opmuntre sine Mænd til at stemme for Reformen. Kanske er der Kvinder som vil sige: Hvad skal jeg med Stemmeret? Min Mand og jeg er enige, han kan stemme, det er nok. Nei det er ikke nok. Der er langt større Udvikling ved at have Ansvaret selv — og saa har man nu ikke Lov til at tænke bare paa sig selv. Der blir i alle Land fler og fler Kvinder, som maa kjæmpe sig alene frem i Verden, der er Enker med Barn, de er alene om at forsørge, der er forladte og fattige Kvinder — for disse er Kvindestemmeretten en Beskyttelse de trænger. Men for alle Kvinder aabner den Vei til rigere Virksomhed, til høiere Værdighed.

Midt gjennem Krigens Tummel sender vi dette vort Fredsopraab: „Stem for Kvinders politiske Rettigheder!" Tror nogen, at en Krig som den, der nu raser, kunde blit af, hvis Stormagtsstaterne i Europa havde git Kvinderne Stemmeret? Umulig!

Men ogsaa i disse Land staar der store Skarer og arbeider for Kvindestemmeret, og ogsaa mer end en af dem, som der har Ledelsen i det politiske Liv, længter efter Reformen. Det har vi ikke sjelden faat Indtryk af paa vore internationale Møder — ja al den Hæder som ogsaa fra Autoriteters Side vises den internationale Kvindestemmeretsalliance i de forskjellige Land vi besøger — er i og for sig et Vidnesbyrd om det.

Jo, man drages og man længter, men Krigstankerne i Europa har faaet sligt Overtag, at man endnu ikke har Mod at gjennemføre Reformen.

Men i Amerikas Forenede Stater, der har man Mod til at være human. Hvad skulde saa være iveien der? Vi har faaet til Svar: Det har hændt, at de fra andre Land indflyttede Borgere har været en Hindring. — Det høres saa sørgelig og saa rent utrolig.

Men de norske Mænd — det bevidner vi sikkert — vil staa paa Frihedens Side, naar det kommer til Afgjørelsen, de allerfleste af dem vil slutte sig til der. Ja, hvorfor ikke alle? Hvorfor skulde de ikke stemme ligesaa enstemmig for Reformen i Nord Dakota og Syd Dakota og de andre Stater, hvor Sagen kommer frem, som de stemte i Norges Storting 11te Juni 1913.

At det vil vække Jubel i Gamlelandet, naar vi faar Bud om det — det skal en nok faa høre.

Gina Krog,
Formand for Norske Kvinders Nationalraad.

Kristiania 21de Sept. 1914.

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[October, 1914]

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PRIZE ORATIONS

OF THE

INTERCOLLEGIATE PEACE ASSOCIATION

Edited with an introduction by Stephen F. Weston, Ph.D., Executive Secretary of the Association, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Foreword by Charles F. Thwing, President of the Association. 8vo, xiii+185 pages. **Postpaid, 75 cents.**

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NATIONAL HONOR AND PEACE[1]

By Louis Broido, University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Since the dawn of history the teachers, thinkers, and prophets of mankind have prayed and labored for the abolition of war. In the process of the centuries, their hope has become the aspiration of the mass of men. Growing slowly, as do all movements for righteousness, the cause of peace first claimed the attention of the world in the year 1899, when Nicholas of Russia called the nations together to discuss ways and means for the arbitration of international differences and for the abolition of war. From that day on, the movement for peace has progressed by leaps and bounds, and to-day it has reached the highest point of its development.

Already nations have signed treaties to arbitrate many of their differences. Holland, Denmark, Argentina, and Chile have agreed to arbitrate every dispute. But these nations are not potent enough in world affairs for their action to have an international influence. It remains for the great powers like England, France, Germany, and the United States to agree to submit every difficulty to arbitration, and thus take the step that will result in the practical abolition of war.

If one would find the reasons that thus far have kept the great powers from agreeing to submit *all* differences to arbitration, his search need not be long nor difficult. The Peace Conference of 1907 reports that the objections to international arbitration have dwindled to four. Of these objections the one commonly considered of most weight is this: "We will not submit to arbitration questions involving our national honor." Even so recently as the spring of 1912, our own Senate refused to give its assent to President Taft's proposed treaties with France and England to arbitrate all differences, and refused on the ground that "we cannot agree to arbitrate questions involving our national honor." This is the statement that you and I as workers for peace are constantly called upon to refute.

Let us, therefore, consider what honor is. For centuries honor was maintained and justice determined among men by a strong arm

[1] First Prize Oration in the North Atlantic Group and Second Prize in the National Contest held at Mohonk Lake, May 28, 1914.

and a skillfully used weapon. It mattered not that often the guilty won and the dishonorable succeeded. Death was the arbiter, honor was appeased, and men were satisfied. But with the growth of civilization there slowly came to man the consciousness that honor can be maintained only by use of reason and justice administered only in the light of truth. Then private settlement of quarrels practically ceased; trial by combat was abolished; and men learned that real honor lies in the graceful and manly acceptance of decisions rendered by impartial judges.

As men have risen to higher ideals of honor in their relations with one another, so nations have risen to a higher standard in international affairs. Centuries ago tyrants ruled and waged war on any pretext; now before rulers rush to arms, they stop to count the cost. Nations once thought it honorable to use poisoned bullets and similar means of destruction; a growing humanitarianism has compelled them to abandon such practices. At one time captives were killed outright; there was a higher conception of honor when they were forced into slavery; now the quickening sense of universal sympathy compels belligerent nations to treat prisoners of war humanely and to exchange them at the close of the conflict. At one time neutrals were not protected; now their rights are generally recognized. A few hundred years ago arbitration was almost unknown; in the last century more than six hundred cases were settled by peaceful means.

During the last quarter of a century we have caught a glimpse of a new national honor. It is the belief that battle and bloodshed, except for the immediate defense of hearth and home, is a blot on the 'scutcheon of any nation. It is the creed of modern men who rise in their majesty and say: "We will not stain our country's honor with the bloodshed of war. God-given life is too dear. The forces of vice, evil, and disease are challenging us to marshal our strength and give them battle. There is too much good waiting to be done, too much suffering waiting to be appeased, for us to waste the life-blood of our fathers and sons on the field of useless battle. Here do we stand. We believe we are right. With faith in our belief we throw ourselves upon the altar of truth. Let heaven-born justice decide." Here is honor unsmirched, untainted! Here is pride unhumbled! Here is patriotism that is all-embracing, that makes us so zealous for real honor that we turn from the horrors of war to combat the evils that lie at our very doors.

We know that faith in such national honor will abolish war. We know, too, that men will have war only so long as they want war. If this be true, then, just as soon as you and I, in whose hands the final decision for or against war must ever rest, express through the force of an irresistible public opinion the doctrine that our conception of national honor demands the arbitration of every dispute, just so soon will our legislators free themselves from financial dictators and liberate the country from the dominance of a false conception of national honor.

Do you say this ideal is impractical? History proves that questions of the utmost importance can be peacefully settled without the loss of honor. The Casa Blanca dispute between France and Germany, the Venezuela question, the North Atlantic Fisheries case, the Alabama claims—these are proof indisputable that questions of honor may be successfully arbitrated. "Does not this magnificent achievement," says Carl Schurz of the Alabama settlement, "form one of the most glorious pages of the common history of England and America? Truly, the two great nations that accomplished this need not be afraid of unadjustable questions of honor in the future."

In the face of such splendid examples, how meaningless is the doctrine of the enemies of peace: "We will not arbitrate questions of national honor. We will decide for ourselves what is right and for that right we will stand, even if this course plunges us into the maelstrom of war. We will not allow our country to be dishonored by any other." Well has Andrew Carnegie expressed the modern view: "Our country cannot be dishonored by any other country, or by all the powers combined. It is impossible. All honor wounds are self-inflicted. We alone can dishonor ourselves or our country." One sure way of doing so is to insist upon the unlawful and unjust demand that we sit as judges in our own case, instead of agreeing to abide by the decision of a court or a tribunal. We are told that this is the stand of a weakling, that progress demands the fighting spirit. We, too, demand the fighting spirit; but we condemn the military spirit. We are told that strong men fight for honor. We answer with Mrs. Mead: "Justice and honor are larger words than peace, and if fighting would enable us to get justice and maintain honor, I would fight! But it is not that way!" For it is impossible to maintain honor by recourse to arms; right may fall before might, and, viewed in the light of its awful cost, even victory is defeat. In the words of Nicholas Murray Butler: "To argue that a nation's honor must be defended by the blood of its citizens, if need be, is quite meaningless,

for any nation, though profoundly right in its contention, might be defeated at the hands of a superior force exerted in behalf of an unjust and unrighteous cause. What becomes of national honor then?"

Too long have we been fighting windmills; we must struggle with ourselves; we must conquer the passions that have blinded our reason. We have been enrolled in the army of thoughtlessness; the time has come to enroll in the army of God. We have followed a false ideal of honor; we must disillusion ourselves and the world. If men declare that the preservation of courage and manliness demand that we fight, let us lead them to the fight, not against each other, but against all that is unrighteous and undesirable in our national life. Men still cling to an ancient conception of national honor; let us convince them that there is a newer and higher conception. Men still declare that peace is the dream of the poet and prophet; let us prove by historical example that questions, even of national honor, can be happily settled by arbitration. If men despair, let us remind them that to-day, as never before, the mass of men are slowly and surely working out God's plan for this great cause.

The day of triumph is not far distant. Already the moving finger of Time paints on the wide horizon, in the roseate tints of the dawn, the picture of Peace—Peace, the victory of victories, beside which Marathon and Gettysburg pale into insignificance; victory without the strains of martial music, unaccompanied by the sob of widowed and orphaned; victory on God's battlefield in humanity's war on war.

NATIONAL HONOR AND VITAL INTERESTS[2]

By Russell Weisman, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio

The day for deprecating in general terms the evils of war and of extolling the glories of peace is past. Such argument is little needed. International trade requires peace. International finance dictates peace. Even armies and navies are now justified primarily as agents of peace. Yet so wantonly are these agents looting the world's treasuries that they are themselves forcing their own displacement by courts of arbitration. The two hundred and fifty disputes successfully arbitrated in the past century challenge with trumpet-tongued eloquence the support of all men for reason's peaceful rule. To-day no discussion is needed to show that if war is to be abolished, if navies are to dwindle and armies diminish, if there is to be a federation of the world, it must come through treaties of arbitration. In this way alone lies peace; yet in this way lies the present great barrier to further progress—the conception which many nations, especially the United States, hold of "national honor and vital interests." The reservation from arbitration of so-called matters of national honor and vital interests constitutes the weak link in every existing arbitration treaty between the great powers of the world. This reservation furnishes the big-navy men all the argument they need. It destroys the binding power of the treaties by allowing either party to any dispute to refuse arbitration. It was by this reservation that the United States Senate so lately killed the British and the French treaties. And I contend here to-night that the one subject which imperatively demands discussion is national honor and vital interests. That the next important step must be the exposure of the reactionary influence of the United States in excepting these matters from arbitration.

Only fifteen months ago President Taft made his memorable declaration that this barrier ought to be removed from the pathway of

[2] First Prize Oration in the Eastern Group Contest, 1912, and Second Prize in the National Contest held at Mohonk Lake, May 16, 1912.

peace. He proposed that the United States negotiate new treaties to abide by the adjudication of courts in every international issue which could not be settled by negotiation, whether involving honor or territory or money. The next morning the proposal was heralded by the press throughout the world. A few days later the halls of Parliament resounded with applause when Great Britain's secretary of state for foreign affairs announced that his government would welcome such a treaty with the United States. France soon followed. Then, to the surprise of all, hesitating Germany and cautious Japan showed a like willingness to enter into such agreements. Universal peace seemed all but realized.

The cause was at once borne up on a mighty wave of public opinion. The peace societies were in a frenzy of activity. Mass meetings of indorsement were held in England and America. Editorials of approval appeared in all parts of the world. The movement was now irresistible. Within eight months the British and the French treaties were drafted. Three of the greatest nations of the world were at last to commit themselves unreservedly to the cause of international peace. Even disputes involving national honor should not halt the beneficent work of high courts of law and of reason. The day when the treaties were signed, August 3, 1911, was hailed as a red-letter day in the annals of the civilized world. It was proclaimed the dawn of a new and auspicious era in the affairs of men and of nations.

During all the months preceding the action of the Senate on these treaties the only statesman of any prominence to raise his voice in opposition was ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. The gist of his successive and violent attacks on the treaties is contained in this utterance, which I quote, "It would be not merely foolish but wicked for us as a nation to agree to arbitrate any dispute that affects our vital interests or our independence or our honor." In this spirit, to the surprise and disappointment of the whole nation, the Senate amended the treaties out of their original intent, and placed upon them limitations that defeated their purpose. By the Senate's action the United States is still committed to the pretense that there may be occasion for a just and solemn war, that vital interests and national honor may force us to fight.

What, then, are the vital interests that can be conserved only by saber and bullet? Nothing more, nothing less, according to various acknowledged authorities, than a state's independence and its territorial integrity. Did the keen mind of our former president really

foresee the seizure of some of our territory by England or France? Yet he protests that it would be "not merely foolish but wicked for us as a nation to agree to arbitrate any dispute that affects our vital interests." Did Senator Lodge and his threescore colleagues who amended the treaties actually fear an attempt to overthrow our form of government, to destroy our political institutions, or to take away those individual rights and sacred privileges upon which our government was founded? Yet to save us from such fate they refused unlimited arbitration.

For the United States to except from arbitration her vital interests is obvious pretense. To add thereto her national honor is extreme hypocrisy. What is national honor? No man knows. It is one thing to-day; another, to-morrow. It may involve an indemnity claim, a boundary line, a fisheries dispute. In fact, any controversy may be declared by either party, at will, to be a question of national honor. Thus in the hands of an unskilled or malicious diplomacy, any question which was originally a judicial one may become a question of national honor. What, then, will we arbitrate? Every case in which a favorable award is assured us. If we want Texas, we send an army after it. Every case that does not rouse our anger. Let the *Maine* blow up and we fight. A treaty with an elastic exception like this is a farcical sham and a delusion.

It is high time the true and humiliating significance of these fearsome phrases should be as familiar to every taxpayer as is the burden of bristling camps and restless navies. Read the record of Great Britain's first offer of unlimited arbitration in the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of 1897. There, too, you will find national honor and vital interests clogging the machinery of universal peace. By these same exceptions the Senate emasculated that treaty and defeated the spirit of the agreement. Is it conceivable that the Senate actually feared that our interests would be imperiled by that treaty? Did it delve out some hidden dangers which escaped the careful scrutiny of both the English and American embassies, some peril unforeseen by the keen judicial mind of President Cleveland, who characterized the defeat of the treaty as "the greatest grief" of his administration?

But this is not all. The American representatives at both Hague Conferences were the first to place these same limitations on all arbitration proposals.

Look at it from what point of view you will, our government's conduct must appear humiliating. Considering the fact that

universal arbitration treaties have proved practical, it is well-nigh incredible. Behold our bellicose sister American republics. Argentina and Chile, Brazil and Argentina, Bolivia and Peru, all have agreements for the arbitration of all questions whatsoever. All the Central American republics are bound by treaty to decide every difference of whatever nature in the Central American Court of Justice. Denmark's three treaties with Italy, Portugal, and the Netherlands withhold no cause, however vital, from reason's peaceful sway. Norway and Sweden likewise have an agreement to abide by the decision of the Hague Court in whatever disputes may occur. The very existence of all these treaties is significant, yet even more significant is the fact that they have been triumphantly tested. Norway and Sweden at one extremity of the globe and Argentina and Chile at the other have thus quietly settled disputes in which their honor and interests were seriously involved.

Do you ask further evidence of the hypocrisy with which our Senate parades our national honor and our vital interests to the undoing of a grand work? Search our history and you will find it in abundance. In the great case of the Alabama claims, Charles Francis Adams pronounced the construction of Confederate ships in English ports to be a violation of the international law of neutrality. This certainly was a question of national honor and vital interests, yet he pleaded for arbitration. In reply Lord John Russell said, "That is a question of honor which we will never arbitrate, for England's honor cannot be made the subject of arbitration." The case was debated for six years. Then came England's "Grand Old Man," the mighty Gladstone, with a different view. "It is to the interest," he said, "not only of England and the United States, but of the world, peaceably to settle those claims." He submitted them to a joint high commission. England lost and paid. Thus the honor of both nations was successfully arbitrated. Likewise the Newfoundland fisheries case had been a bone of contention between Great Britain and America from the day our independence was recognized. As late as 1887 it threatened to become the cause of war. No question ever arose which more vitally affected the interests of America, yet the Senate recently accepted a settlement by arbitration. Similarly, the Alaska fur seal dispute, the Alaskan and the Venezuelan boundary disputes, and the northeast boundary controversy all involved both the vital interests and the national honor of England and America, yet all were satisfactorily and permanently arbitrated. So

excited were we over our northwest boundary that the principal issue of a political campaign was "The whole of Oregon or none! Fifty-four forty or fight!" Yet we peaceably acquiesced in a treaty that gave us neither.

Yes, our honor may be arbitrated. If we are ill-prepared for war, we arbitrate. If we are sure of a favorable award, we arbitrate. But we must have a loophole, an ever-ready escape from obligation. Posing as the most enlightened nation on the face of the globe, we refuse entirely to displace those medieval notions according to which personal honor found its best protection in the dueling pistol, and national honor its only vindication in slaughter and devastation. To unlimited arbitration we refuse to submit.

Fifteen years ago England, the mighty England, gave us her pledge that no cause should ever justify war. This pledge our Senate in the name of honor refused. Unlimited arbitration agreements were suggested at both Hague Conferences. Americans promptly placed restrictions upon them in the name of honor. Again has England with enthusiasm just offered us unrestricted arbitration. Again she is repulsed by our Senate in the name of honor. France, too, bears to our doors an unqualified pledge of arbitration. France, too, is repulsed by our Senate in the name of honor. Germany and Japan express a desire to settle every question at the bar of justice. Impelled by honor we pass their desire unheeded. Our Clevelands, our Olneys, our Edward Everett Hales, our Carl Schurzes, our John Hays, have all urged unlimited arbitration. Our Davises and Clarks and Platts and Quays in Senate seats have undone their work in the name of honor. Our Charles Eliots and Nicholas Butlers, our Albert Shaws and Hamilton Holts, now plead for universal peace through unlimited arbitration. Senators Bacon and Lodge and Heyburn and Hitchcock, apparently impelled by constitutional prerogative, party prejudice, or personal animosity, now cast their votes for limitations in the name of honor. From the platform of peace conferences, from the halls of colleges, from the pulpit and the bench, from the offices of bankers and merchants and manufacturers, from the press, with scarcely a column's exception, there arises a swelling plea for treaties of arbitration that know no exceptions. In the name of honor that plea is defied.

Honor? No, an ocean of exception large enough to float any number of battleships for which pride and ambition may be willing to pay! Honor? No, a finical and foolish reservation that at any

moment may become a maelstrom of suspicion and rage and hatred and destruction and death! Honor? No, a mountainous barrier to peace that must be leveled before there can be progress! Honor? No, the incarnation of selfishness, the cloak of shrewd politics, the mask of false patriotism! National honor? No, national dishonor!

Before the nations of the world the United States stands to-day in an unenviable light. It is a false light. Since the days of William Penn and Benjamin Franklin our people have led in much of the march upward from the slough of weltering strife. Many a stumbling block to progress we have removed from the rugged pathway, but for fifteen years our government has refused to touch the barrier of national honor and vital interests. England and France have now laid this duty squarely at our door. "It is a social obligation as imperative as the law of Moses, as full of hope as the Great Physician's healing touch." Let us here highly resolve that there shall be uttered a new official interpretation of national honor and vital interests, an interpretation synonymous with dignity and fidelity, sincerity, and integrity, and confidence in the vows both of men and of nations. "If we have 'faith in the right as God gives us to see the right,' we shall catch a vision of opportunity that shall fire the soul with a spirit of service which the darkness of night shall not arrest, which the course of the day shall not weary."

NOTE.—The orations upon "National Honor and Peace" and "National Honor and Vital Interests," published in the present pamphlet, are two of the fifteen Prize Orations of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, published together in a little volume by the World Peace Foundation. A complete list of the orations included in this noteworthy collection is given on another page, and the range and interest of these subjects will deeply impress all readers with the immense importance of the work now being done by our college and university students in this great field. The two orations republished in this pamphlet are chosen for this special purpose because they present two different treatments of essentially the same important subject. The Intercollegiate Peace Association is only ten years old; but its history, the deep interest which it has aroused in multitudes of college students, the remarkable excellence of the hundreds of essays which they have prepared, and the broad expansion of the work which we are now witnessing, constitute one of the most promising factors in the whole movement of peace education at this time. It is from our colleges and universities that our leaders of public opinion, our statesmen and scholars, our lawyers and editors, our preachers and teachers, most largely come; and the present impressive growth of devotion to the peace cause among students is something to be profoundly grateful for. All who have that high cause at heart are urged to read and widely circulate the volume prepared by the Intercollegiate Peace Association.

[Dec. 15, 1914]

Among the resolutions adopted by the National Woman Suffrage Association convention in Nashville were the following:

That the National Suffrage Association urge the United States senators and representatives to take up at once the amendments pending in congress for the enfranchisement of women. That congress be urged to enact immediate legislation to protects the rights of women citizens who marry unnaturalized foreigners. That congress be petitioned to protect women against the state denial of the rights of citizens of the United States who vote for members of congress, presidential electors and United States senators in the state where they reside, by making federal laws in pursuance of that clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution which says that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of citizens of the United States." That all women be urged to encourage such industries and institutions as adhere to the principles of "equal pay for equal work regardless of sex."

For months there has been lively discussion in the various states upon the two national amendments.

Both policies were represented by delegates and a lively debate resulted in the adoption of the following resoluction: Whereas, the rapidly increasing number of states granting suffrage, and the consequent crystallizing of women along non-partisan lines or into party activities makes a declaration of our policy as a national suffrage association necessary and expedient; therefore, be it resolved that the National American Woman Suffrage Association be absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual responsible for the majority action of his party on suffrage.

In Nashville, for the first time, the man in the street has had an opportunity to hear a suffrage open-air speech by a woman; and the innovation proved so successful and popular that immediately thereafter street meetings had to be provided.

Secretary William Jennings Bryan in the Commoner says: The liquor interests caused the failure of Nebraska to enfranchise its women at the fall election. And how humiliating it must be to the good men who were deluded enough to join hands with the saloons—how humiliating it must be to them to be found on the same side. Well, this condition will not last long. In a little while the people will understand WHO are the real force against woman suffrage and WHY—and then "votes for women" will win by an overwhelming majority.

One feature of the recent election is instructive. The equal suffrage amendments fared best in the states that had had the best chance to know how votes for women worked in practice. Nevada was wholly surrounded by woman suffrage states. In Nevada the suffrage amendment carried. Montana was bounded on two sides by suffrage states of long standing. In Montana also suffrage carried. Nebraska and North and South Dakota, lying in the neighborhood of the old suffrage states, defeated the amendment by comparatively small majorities, while Missouri, not near any old suffrage states, gave a much bigger adverse majority, and Ohio, still further removed from the old suffrage states, gave the largest adverse majority of all. It would seem that the more people know about equal suffrage the less afraid of it they are, and vice versa.

The two new states give us seven more votes in the electoral college. All this great area forever free—a state once committed to suffrage never goes back.

The activities of suffragists has led to the development of a collection of suffragist literature in the St. Paul Public Library which is among the finest in the Northwest. A recent ruling of the Library Board has made it possible for the librarian to lend these books to persons who are not residents of the city willing to pay the cost of the service. This collection is therefore available to any who are studying the suffragist movement.

Sent out to newspaper publishers by Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, press chairman of Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.

Dec-15-1914.

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SU[illegible]E ASSOCIATION
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MINNEAP[illegible]MINN.

[post-Nov. 1914]
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FEARS OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

BY

EUGENIA BROOKS FROTHINGHAM

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FEARS OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

PART I.

ON the first page of a book published with the intent of causing believers in woman's suffrage to change their minds, we are cautioned against "an experiment fraught with so much of danger to the body politic, so much of danger to the possession of the many immunities and privileges granted to woman in many of our States, so much of danger to woman, herself."

This paragraph is full of portent. It calls upon the bravest of us to pause and consider: and in the pages of this book and many anti-suffrage pamphlets, we are told what to consider and how.

The anti-suffrage arguments are found to consist largely of fears. It is feared that woman is not fit to vote because she is hysterical and liable to lose her head on committees, and if admitted to a political convention you never could be sure there would not be two of her speaking at the same time. It is feared that the bad woman would add to the corruption of politics and the good woman draw corruption from them. It is feared that all bad men, who are also bad voters, will beat their wives into voting as they want them to; some even go so far as to assert that every woman, whether beaten or unbeaten, will vote under the orders of a man. On the other hand, it is said that she does not need a vote because she can always control that of a man. It is feared that, given the right to vote, woman would rush into political life and neglect the home; but it is also feared that she would not use the vote if she had one.

It is evident that all these fears cannot be entertained by the same bosom at the same moment. It cannot be dangerous for a person to have a vote because she will use it too much if it is also true that she will use it too little. She cannot be too strong to need a vote and too weak to use it independently, nor too good for it as well as too bad for it; but we will let these small inconsistencies pass.

It is admitted that women should be chosen and applauded for public service, such as work on municipal leagues, civil service reforms, philanthropic organizations, and the like, but denied the

simple right of electing public officers: admitted that she can keep womanliness and charm in factories and ticket-offices of subways, and lose it for some obscure reason when she goes to the polls. Man will take off his hat and give up his seat to the woman who shares industrial warfare with him, but he will do neither when she shares a vote with him.

We are told furthermore that husband and wife may hold independent properties, independent opinions on religion, on friends, on places whereat to pass the summer, on life in general, without seriously disturbing the harmony of the married state, but it is feared that independent expression of political expediency will jeopardize family life.

It is felt for some cryptic reason that the ballot will bring a more dangerous change in the focus of woman's existence than the ability to hold property, to enter professional life, or to go out into the world and engage in bitter industrial warfare. She is accused of a physical uncertainty, a mental inadequacy, such as would make her incompetent for political act or understanding, while she daily proves her competence for the gigantic fatigue of hospital duty, the steady and responsible work of school teaching, the ability to win and hold professional positions, and her influence is sought for the furtherance of public welfare. Anxious persons point to an hysterical tendency which would make her a dangerous factor in public life, but of which we see and hear singularly little when she is caring for human beings in the terrible crises which occur upon the battlefields and in hospital wards.

Another grave note of warning is sounded by those who feel that in gaining her rights a woman will lose her privileges to such an extent that the political equality will bring her loss rather than gain. In asking what these privileges are, I am told, by an anti-suffrage friend, that she would lose the privilege of being idle: a vote would force all women to work for self-support. Before my lips could form the small word, "Why," I was told of laws, beneficent laws, made by men alone, which provide that a woman is under no legal obligations to support her children, no matter how rich she may be, whereas the husband is bound to support his children and even his stepchildren, no matter how poor he may be. If a wife engages in illegal business the husband only is responsible. If she commits a "minor crime" and he is near at hand, he is harnessed into blame for that also.

These precious privileges and others of the same kind are among those which woman will lose, for some mystical reason, the moment

she wins the ballot. My friend expressed herself as "horrified" by the prospect of such deprivations, all of which she had read of in a depressing document which gives a list of some protective laws to which we are reasonably entitled, and others that stand as a monument to the chivalry of man at a time when woman possessed neither economic independence nor understanding, but which are absurdities to-day of which we are willing to have our statute books divested.

It has never been quite clear to me why gaining the right to vote should lose us reasonable privileges—why, having more power over those who make laws, we should have less power to control laws, and by possessing actual power over legislators weaken our power to obtain legislation. This statement not only ignores the coercive power of a vote which can be used to unseat the statute-makers who do not grant the voter's demands, but seems to imply that man is a spiteful creature who would be so indignant with woman for winning political equality that he would at once proceed to thwart her, and make things as unpleasant for wives, mothers, and sisters as he possibly could. It also stands upon a strange assumption that once politically enfranchised, woman has no right to special privileges and protections owing to "the profession of being a woman."

Upon this last assumption we have eminent legal opinion. The late Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, has said, "Even though all restrictions on political, personal, and contractual rights were taken away, and she stood, so far as statutes were concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane with him [man,] it would still be true that her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal functions, having in view not merely her own health but the well-being of the race, justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man."

Suffragists do not think that woman will demand any privilege which is not required for her own protection and the good of the race, and such protection will certainly be granted to her the more readily when she has a vote behind her demand. That giving woman power over legislatures will actually weaken her ability to obtain what she wants from them, is a form of reasoning which almost places our opponents among the ranks of paradox-makers. But they do not wish to be so considered, and one of them defends this position by the statement that to let women into the political life will so weaken manly nerves by the complications it will bring upon them through the imperative needs of political readjustment (to which they must give all their time) that they will be forced to turn their attentions from women's need!

It is difficult for us to believe that this is intended as a serious statement, though it is certainly a sad one, but we are forced to accept it as such because it is written in a serious book.[1]

The strongest argument against woman's political equality—the fear that it will increase the proportion of ignorant and corrupt voters—is an argument against democracy. The person who makes it stands confessed as one who believes that democracy has been a failure, inasmuch as he fears the vote of the whole people. Assuming this premise, the argument is a sound one; and to those who believe that democratic government is not, on the whole, the one best suited to this modern world, and who prefer to see a monarchy or an oligarchy, or perhaps some form of social organization yet untried, we can only say that, as democracy is here, and spreading over the civilized portion of this globe, we had better give it a fair trial and make it a real democracy which it cannot be while half of the people are unenfranchised.

In the Eastern and less democratic States, it is almost a commonplace to say, "I believe in a restricted vote. Too many people have the ballot already." Now this may or may not be true. If one feels that it is, one must also realize that men are not doing anything about it. Were they making organized effort to disenfranchise undesirable citizens, it is just possible that most women might wait until this was done and thus accept men's political limitations as their own. But no such effort is being made, save for one exception, small but significant. In one State, a certain class of voters, so ignorant as only to be able to indicate their names with the sign of a cow or pig or some other accepted animal, have been deprived of their vote by a majority of the citizens, and the State in which this has been done is the State of Colorado, in which the women share political rights with men. If this proves anything at all, it proves that giving women the vote will not make it impossible to restrict it otherswie.

So far as our own United States are concerned, it does not seem as though the vote of ignorant and corrupt women would be a serious menace to conditions, in view of the fact that for every one woman sharing the social evil there are many men; for every woman in prisons and houses of correction, five men; for one woman drunkard, countless men; and that one third more women than men have graduated from high schools; and teaching in our schools are more women than men; and attending our churches and working for our poor and unfortunate, many, many more women than men.

[1] *Anti-Suffrage*, by Mrs. Goodwin.

And besides, this we have the undisputed fact that the women of that class which is feared as corrupt—the women of the tenement house and slums—are better than the men of the same class, not because they were born better, but because circumstance, the circumstance of their motherhood and the necessity of their keeping the family together, has made them so. Their immediate knowledge of, and concern with, such matters as public drains and water supplies, the corruption of tenement-house inspection, the number of saloons in their neighborhood, must, by nature of their lives, be greater than that of the man's, who is away all day at his work and too often subject to the degrading and disabling influence of drink.

The hordes of immigrants who swarm into our cities constitute another and superficially reasonable fear for the anti-suffragist; but the reflection that in the United States as a whole only the small half of immigrants are women, so that giving that sex political equality will actually increase the native vote, should be a comforting one; and in our own State of Massachusetts, where the proportion of women immigrants is said to be large, education in the English tongue is a requirement for citizenship, and only a minimum of the foreign women ever learn to read or write, so that the danger of their outvoting the intelligent classes is not one to affright the most timid. But the anti-suffragist must be affrighted, otherwise she or he would cease to exist: and as we go our ways under the yellow banner, we are assailed by lesser fears and questions.

Do I want to become a policeman? Certainly not. I had never thought of such a thing. All voters are not policemen, and I remember just in time that in certain States where women are not yet politically enfranchised, they are active as policemen. So this disaster to womanly qualities cannot be laid at the door of "Votes for Women."

The prospect of jury duty is another dreadful one to many people. Do I wish to sit on a jury for one week with perhaps my coachman, or some one's else coachman and Heaven knows who else? Personally I should find the occupation an eminently human one, full of interest and profit, but to those who would find it dreadful, we can give this comfort; in some States where women vote, they are excused from jury duty by merely saying that they do not want to assume it. In most, if not all States, suffrage and non-suffrage alike, men of certain professions are held exempt from serving on juries, and this offers reasonable hope that if this duty proves obnoxious and unfitting for women, which I do not believe it will, they may be excused from it in large numbers by reason of their "profession of being a woman."

Office-holding in general is a displeasing prospect to many persons, and the fear of it, as following in the wake of votes, is based upon the assumption that opportunity implies obligation; but it can easily be seen that people do not hold every office the law allows them to hold. There is no legal reason why a man should not be a nursery-maid, but he is rarely found undertaking this occupation because it would not suit him; and in the same way it does not seem likely that women would hold such offices as they had proved their unfitness for.

The statement that those who can not fight to support laws should not make them is another argument given against granting votes to women which is bitterly advanced and contested. Suffragists claim that women can fight with bayonet and ball; that they have done so, and do and will, as can be proved by sporadic episodes in history, more numerous than generally believed. They insist, however, that if physical force is to be the qualification for a vote, not only individual men who are physically unfit, but whole classes of men, such as leper colonies and consumptives, should be deprived of the franchise, and they point out the inconsistency that our whole fighting force cannot vote, hence it is unfair to assert that the right to vote must rest upon the power to fight, if the power to fight does not imply the right to vote. The assertion made by suffragists that women increase the fighting force of a nation by saving the wounded on the battlefields would be difficult to contest, as well as that which claims that a country at war is not in need only of those who are fighting. It is certain that any nation at war, deprived of the preservative work which women perform at home, would be doomed, either during the struggle or after it. But the whole contention in this connection may be put into a syllogism something as follows:—

Only those who serve should vote.

Physical supremacy supplies the only service.

Woman has not physical supremacy; therefore she should not vote.

That physical force is the only or even the greatest force in our community to-day is obviously absurd, yet unless it is, we find it difficult to understand why the lack of it should constitute a sufficient barrier to woman's political equality. It is obvious that in the age known as that of the "tooth and claw," man existed by physical strength alone, but it is silly to argue as if this were the condition of society to-day. If in some inconceivable cataclysm of nature the race were to be forced back to such primitive values as brute

force, we women might have to bow our heads under the yoke again; but as such a return is unthinkable, it does not seem quite sane to use argument in a way that could only apply if the condition actually existed. And note that I have said that women *might* have to bow their heads. For the sake of what may seem a fantastic argument, I will add that with modern implements of destruction warfare is not the question of mere muscle that it once was. It is conceivable that women could draw a trigger and shoot as straight as men, and though not his mate in force, she is perhaps more than his mate in endurance. Delicate women often endure without trouble minor operations which cause the athlete to faint, and nervously, as well as physically, they often react more rapidly than men from the shock of serious disasters, as was manifest in such a cataclysm as that of the Messina earthquake, after which women were found cooking and reconstructing while the men were still shaken and helpless.

The above are the most usual arguments advanced against equal suffrage, but it would be futile as well as tiresome to cover them all. Some of the many fears entertained with regard to what may happen when women vote will doubtless be realized. Some women may vote too little and some too much; others may be bribed; others will be foolish—just like men. Any one who bases an argument for woman's enfranchisement on the ground that nothing will ever go wrong with it could scarcely be considered reasonable. There is something wrong with everything in this world.

It was urged by those opposed to universal education that it would increase the powers of corruption because it would increase the ability of the corrupt, and I saw it asserted only recently that the educated burglar was more dangerous than the uneducated; but for this reason should we lessen the contribution for our public schools?

PART II.

An English statesman has said that "There were lies, damned lies, and statistics," which one is often inclined to consider as an accurate and not more than adequate definition of the matter. But it is with statistics that the fiercest battle between suffragist and anti-suffragists is now being fought. Hard-working women are earning a livelihood by going into States where equal suffrage is already in operation, and making public every occasion upon which it has not operated perfectly, as if the fact that equal suffrage did not work perfectly all the time were proof that it should not be allowed to work at all.

We hear the damaging statement that in Idaho employers are not legally forced to give their saleswomen chairs to sit upon as they work; whereas in New York they must provide one chair for every three. Women are enfranchised in Idaho and not in New York, so we are presented with the dreadful picture of a whole stateful of women standing wearily at their toil, who might, if they only had not a vote, have been able to sit down at it! These facts, as stated by an anti-suffragist, are true as far as they go. The whole truth is that a recent census showed New York to have 30,585 saleswomen, and Idaho 153! This suffrage State has important matters influencing thousands of lives to legislate for, so it is scarcely just to hold it up as proof of the failure of woman's votes because it has not found time to pass laws for the protection of a class which is practically non-existent.

Again we often hear it argued that equal suffrage is proven to be a failure because suffrage States show insufficient laws for the protection of factory girls, whereas non-suffrage States, such as Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut, can show elaborate statutes covering manufacturing conditions. But unless we wish to find ourselves in the position of blaming States for not passing laws they do not need, we must not draw inductions from the statute books of different districts until we have examined their conditions. England cannot point a logical finger of scorn at Switzerland because she has no legislation covering harbor conditions; nor can a Western State wonder at Massachusetts because she has passed no laws for the preservation of buffalo!

In the suffrage States that are reproached for not protecting their factory girls, the simple truth is that, comparatively speaking, there are no factory girls. Idaho had 681 women engaged in manufacturing pursuits, while Massachusetts had 152,713. Wyoming

had 501 women engaged in industrual occupation at a time when New York had 136,786.

There is one danger which the most earnest and high-minded anti-suffragists fear that women's enfranchisement will bring to the State, and this is the loss to charitable institutions. It is claimed that woman, just because of her comparative helplessness without the ballot, is able to ask for and receive privileges, which, standing on an equality with men, she could not expect to have granted her. Without political privileges they cannot be suspected of asking political favors; they have no political plum-pie to offer or receive, and thus their sincerity is assured, their case stands on its merits, and receives, presumably, impartial and generous attention. I have been told of incidents where charitable needs, such as blankets, mattresses, and other necessities for the poor and ill, were granted to women without the ballot that had been refused to men who possessed it, and I have every reason to believe the stories. But that women asking for blankets, mattresses, and hot-water bottles for a charitable institution could not convince a legislature of their sincerity even though they possessed a vote, I rather doubt; and if such cases did occur, they could only be on such rare occasions as not to weigh against those others when the coercive force of many votes behind a demand would lend it force. The cases where the chivalry of man toward disenfranchised woman was inadequate to her needs are overwhelmingly numerous.

A short time ago there was a question of a congressional child's-bureau bill in Ohio, which is still a non-suffrage State. Four Ohio women wrote to their Senator asking his support of the bill, and a fifth woman who was from Utah where women vote, wrote him also. She did not say that she was from Utah nor that she was a woman, but wrote briefly, saying that as a citizen and voter she asked his friendly attention to the bill, and signed herself only F. Allen, so that he thought her a man from his own State of Ohio and answered her letter with great politeness and at some length. To the four unenfranchised women of his own State, he answered nothing at all. The opinion of this Senator on the value of a vote need not be questioned.

Women who have worked years for the passing of some law testify as to the time and strength which could have been saved had the force of the ballot been behind their demands. When Florence Kelly, of New York, framed her bill for appointing an inspector of tenement houses, and had thousands of women sign it, she could not get a hearing and was asked whom she had backing her. To her

answer that twenty-five thousand women were backing her, she was told that the legislators did not want women, *they wanted votes*, and, if she could find ten or fifteen men with votes her bill would receive attention.

Incidents of this nature are too numerous to quote, and Mrs. Kelly, like most women who have worked for public and municipal betterment, has suffered a series of checks and obstructions resulting from the comparative powerlessness of her unenfranchised State. This experienced woman asserts that had she her life to live over, she would work for obtaining the vote and nothing else, believing that in this way she would most swiftly and efficiently secure her ends for human betterment.

The few hard-working women already alluded to who earn a livelihood by discovering and bringing to light everything that goes wrong in the States where other women have political equality, publish facts, some of which are true, some of which appear to be the result of insufficient investigation, and many of which are misrepresentations, inasmuch as they are present isolated facts without regard to the conditions which have created them, and obscure the truth of statements and laws by quoting only part of them. They are also disposed to play frivolous travesties upon the words of enthusiastic believers in equal suffrage by the same method of quoting, only in part, what, if quoted in full, would prove the whole to be in favor of our enfranchisement. This insincere and undignified method of representation has even been resorted to on occasions where the case was being heard before a government committee, and is doubtless regretted by the many sincere anti-suffragists who believe in the dignity and truth of their cause.

I had intended to confine myself to consideration of the arguments against woman suffrage; but lest it be said that I content myself with discrediting the victorious assumptions of others because we have no actual victories of our own, I wish to point out why we, who believe it theoretically right and just that woman should share the political privileges of the State with man as she already shares so many of the State's burdens, believe also that woman has proved her fitness for its possession.

Suffragists claim, first: that the communities in which women vote have proved the cause of equal suffrage if only by the continued existence of it. If the disasters which the anti-suffragists prophesy were realized in the suffrage States, they would have been sufficiently dreadful to make themselves evident to a large majority of the people, and the bills enfranchising women would have been repealed

shortly after their enactment. It is said that the evil once upon us can never be undone, because women will not be found willing to deprive themselves of the ballot. But this seems an empty statement in view of the present outcry from many women who protest against having a vote at all. Where the citizenship of a class has proved unwelcome to the community as a whole, it has been proved possible to deprive them of it, as in the now famous "Grandfather" clause of the South, and the disenfranchisement of a small but wholly illiterate number of persons who once held the ballot in Colorado. It is evident that a majority of opinion against it must be obtained before the law giving such a privilege can be repealed; but if half the evils prophesied for equal suffrage developed, a majority of the people would soon be clamoring for its repeal. No such clamor has ever existed, though there is dissatisfaction in isolated cases which is analogous to that of the persons who still detest automobiles and refuse to entertain the thought of possessing a telephone.

But more than by its continued existence, we feel that equal suffrage has justified itself by growth: a change in the constitution is not caught by association, like scarlet fever and smallpox; it is deliberately adopted after considerable agitation, opposition, and expense.

If the granting of votes to women unsexed them and disgusted men, if it liberated a vastly increased proportion of ignorant voters so that corruption rode in the land, and disreputable women were a menace at the polls, and hysterical women caused disorder in the halls of government, and good women were so driven by political duty as to fall into nervous prostrations; if most women did not use the ballot when they had it, or large numbers of them used it so much that they neglected the home; if families began to quarrel, and the disintegration brought to the body politic were such that men had no time or nerve for framing beneficial laws for women who were by "Nature and the Laws of God" incompetent for their task themselves, if the jar and the discord and the general calamity resulting from equal suffrage were half of what anxious persons anticipate, close neighbors who had seen such happenings would spend their dollars and their blood and even migrate to distant lands before they would copy such a movement, and "Votes for Women" would have been a dead issue within a year of its birth.

A glance at the legislative work which has been proposed, supported, and financed by the women of those States in which they

have won the ballot reveals evidence of their special contribution to social conditions.

In Colorado, we find such things as the State Home for Dependent Children; a method of trying juvenile offenders which is now a model in different parts of the world. There is also the injunction and abatement law which is admitted to be the most effective in existence against commercialized vice, and which is possessed by one half of the equal suffrage States and about one fifth of those in which only male suffrage exists. Suffrage communities exceed all others in raising the age of consent for girls; in seven of these States it is 18 years.

The effect of woman's direct political influence upon liquor is so incontestable that no one save those in the uncomfortable intellectual position of advocating temperance, and detesting "Votes for Women," can any longer pretend to deny it. During the early days of Equal Suffrage, women were reproached by the "antis" for not having voted more townships "dry"; recent events, most startling among which is the result of woman's vote in Illinois which closed 1149 saloons, have forced many of our opponents into the assertion that a "dry" district is a mistake, and they bring to light the discovery of the pitiable plight of one township which, losing revenue from liquor license, could no longer afford electric lights on its main street. California, which had about 200 "dry" towns before giving her women votes, now has 500; one of the suffrage States is 90 per cent. "dry"; and four of them, Arizona, Colorado, Washington and Oregon voted for State-wide prohibition at the election in November, 1914.

Women have always been the principal sufferers from the "drink evil." They have not in any appreciable numbers even had the fun of getting drunk, but have been forced to endure the beatings, the poverty, the heart-breaks resulting from the nearest saloon.

"Mr. Dooley" represents King Alcohol as "flying for his life" from the women; crying, "Have mercy! Have mercy!" But the women answer, "When did you ever have any mercy upon us? Off with his head!"

Child labor has also, and as a matter of course, been a pre-occupation of voting-women wherever children were found to labor in any numbers. Only one State in the Union has adopted the model law framed by a national child-labor committee, and this is a State where women share the ballot with men. On questions of penitentiary reform, woman suffrage States are principally active, as when they "mothered" the indeterminate sentence from which was

evolved Tom Tynan's now famous "honour and trust" system. It may be seen that these and many other laws of the same nature[1] are largely curative and protective, and seem eloquent of the kind of legislation upon which woman lays her special emphasis.

That woman, unable to vote, has often secured special legislation by reason of the justice and chivalry of man, no sane suffragist would deny. That she could have obtained it with less delay and more abundantly with the vote every suffragist will affirm.

I have mentioned only such legislation as is known to have been the result of her suggestion, or to have received her political and financial support. But there are many conditions existing in suffrage communities the world over which, though not proved to be the result of woman's direct influence, have existed only since her possession of the ballot, and only in the States where she possesses it, and are so much in the line of her special interests, that they may fairly be considered as her work.

Among such is infant mortality in Australia, which began to decline when women obtained the vote, and has been steadily declining ever since. A commission on infant mortality listed the percentage of deaths in different countries beginning with those in which it was lowest: The eleven which headed the list were all equal suffrage communities.

Amidst much argument and counter-argument many, who step for a moment out of the tumult and shouting, feel that the cause does not suffer from the ability of anti-suffragists to prove the truth of little or much of their statements nor fall with the inability of suffragists to show that nothing goes wrong in the States where woman votes.

The fight for her political equality was won before it was started. It was won on that far off day in the world's past when women ceased to be regarded as a mere function or chattel of the race and became part of its human beings. Ignorance and prejudice have been powerless to stop her development in the past and certainly will not prevail against it in the present or future. Her advance onward, through dismayed outcries of prejudice and heavy bullying ignorance, has proceeded with the inevitableness of an evolutionary law, and her possession of the ballot is not so much the apex toward which her growth has been directed, as a normal and logical part of a growth the end of which no man may yet forseee.

[1] See statute books of suffrage States, and George Creel, in March *Century*.

[post-1914]
HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

SOME MASSACHUSETTS LAWS

By Alice Stone Blackwell

THE need of the ballot for women is vividly shown by the inadequacy of the laws for safeguarding women's labor.

Every law for the special benefit of working women in Massachusetts is a law without teeth. Each is so worded that it can be readily evaded. Even if the laws were so framed that they could be enforced, Massachusetts has only 24 labor and health inspectors to enforce all the labor laws for men and women both, and there are more than 50,000 establishments to be inspected. There are about 400,000 wage-earning women and children in the State, and only five of the inspectors are women.

Massachusetts nominally has a 54-hour-week law for women. It provides that women shall not be employed "in laboring in any factory, workshop, mercantile establishment," etc., more than 10 hours a day or more than 54 hours a week; except that, "when the employment is by seasons," the women may be worked 58 hours a week for part of the year if their average hours during the year do not exceed 54 hours a week.

This allows an employer to work women for excessive hours provided the overwork alternates with occasional seasons of idleness. This is much worse for their health than steady but moderate hours. Social experts look upon it as much better to regulate the hours of women's work by the day than by the week (to say nothing of by the year). Contrast the slippery 54-hour law of Massachusetts with

the eight-hour law of Colorado, for instance, which makes eight hours the maximum in any period of 24 hours.

No Limit for Clerks and Stenographers

In addition, the Attorney-General of Massachusetts has ruled that the 54-hour law does not apply to stenographers, bookkeepers or women employed in clerical work; that all of these may be worked an unlimited number of hours. The law speaks of women "employed in laboring" in various kinds of establishments, and he holds that stenographers, clerks and bookkeepers employed in such establishments are not employed in "laboring."

The Colorado eight-hour law covers stenographers, clerks and book-keepers.

All the States that have an eight-hour law for women are suffrage States.

Unequal Penalties

Many States, including Massachusetts, require an eight-hour day for all men paid from the public treasury, and all men employed by contractors doing work for the State. In Massachusetts anyone violating the eight-hour law for men is liable to a fine of not more than $1000, or six months' imprisonment, or both. But anyone violating the 54-hour law for women and children is liable to a fine of not more than $100, without imprisonment.

Many men are working eight hours a day, under State protection, while their wives work ten, and afterwards do housework far into the night.

May Be Kept Hanging Around

Under Massachusetts law, nine hours is a day's work for all street railway men, and it must be so arranged that

it shall be performed within eleven consecutive hours. Most labor organizations for men also have a requirement that their day shall be eight hours of work to be done within nine consecutive hours, or nine hours to be done within ten consecutive hours, etc. In other words, there is a limit to the length of time they may be required to loiter around waiting for their work to be ready for them. Under the 54-hour law of Massachusetts, women may be compelled to loiter around for any number of hours, provided they are not kept actually at work more than 54 hours a week and are not made to work before 6 A. M. or after 10 P. M.

Many young women are made to suffer through this laxity of the law. One Portuguese woman complained to the inspector that both her daughters had gone wrong in consequence. They had to come early and stay late, but in order to keep within the ten-hour law they were turned out into the street for several hours at noon and at supper time, with nowhere to go, and fell into bad company while hanging about. The same has been the case with many others.

An Amazing Law

An amazing law was passed by the last Massachusetts Legislature under the sincere impression that it would safeguard working girls. Its actual effect will be to cost many young women their health, and some their lives.

It is harmful to women to lift and carry heavy weights. For a long time there has been complaint that many women were being injured for life by carrying cores in foundries, heavy trays of bottles in bottling works, heavy boxes of biscuits where they pack biscuits, etc. The girls asked

that receptacles with contents above a certain weight should be provided with casters, pulleys, or some other mechanical means by which they might be moved.

When the first attempt was made to deal with the matter by legislation, the whole purpose of the law as a protection to women against excessive weights was evaded by applying the restriction to size only, and not to weight. It provided that receptacles more than two feet wide by two high and two and a half long must be furnished with casters or pulleys. All that the manufacturer had to do was to cut down the boxes to one inch less than these dimensions, and he could continue to make the girls lift and carry excessive weights.

The Legislature of 1914 finally tackled the question of weight. It passed a law (Chapter 241) that "boxes, baskets and other receptacles which, with their contents, weigh seventy-five pounds or over, and which are to be moved by female employees in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment, shall be provided with casters, pulleys or some other mechanical device so that they can be moved easily."

Let any woman pile heavy books upon a tray and see how many pounds she can carry across the room without excessive strain. One woman with good health and gymnastic training found that her limit was thirty-two pounds. To make it seventy-five pounds is fantastic. It says, in effect, that any manufacturer may pile upon his girls the heaviest weights under which they can stagger. It will not be seventy-five pounds, because that would be a physical impossibility; but the weight may go to the utmost limit of a woman's strength. And it does not mean that she

must lift such a load just once, by special effort, but that she must walk across the room all day long carrying such weights—for eight hours a day if she is a girl between 14 and 16, for ten hours a day if she is over 16. The practical effect is to abolish all protection.

In consequence of this stupid law, hundreds of girls will be broken in health and rendered incapable of maternity.

Yet the law was perfectly well meant. Neither the introducer of the bill, nor, apparently, any other member of the Legislature, had the least idea how many pounds a woman could lift.

Maternity Act a Farce

The law says that an employer shall not "knowingly" employ a woman in factory, mercantile or mechanical work within two weeks before childbirth. The word "knowingly" makes the law unenforceable. It is impossible to prove that any employer knew the woman to be so near her confinement.

Widows' Pensions Unenforceable

The widows' pension law of Massachusetts says that each city or town shall pay each worthy mother a sum sufficient to enable her to bring up her children decently; but it is absolutely unenforceable, because there is no penalty attached if any city or town refuses to take action under the law.

Girls in Street Trades

In Massachusetts boys under 12 and girls under 18 are not allowed to engage in street trades in cities of over 50,000 population. But Massachusetts has only a few cities with a population of over 50,000, and many cities with a population just a little below that figure. In these the dangers to children and young girls are practically just as

great. The law ought to apply to all cities with a population over 10,000.

Low Educational Requirement

In Massachusetts children are allowed to go to work when they have finished the fourth grade in the grammar school. This requirement is the lowest to be found in any State that has an educational requirement at all. In California and Colorado the children must have completed the grammar school work. In Oregon no child under 15 may be put to work during the school term unless he has graduated from the grammar grades.

Rags Not Sterilized

In Massachusetts shops and factories women have to clean the machinery with rags. The rags are often foul, and sometimes infected, and the girls get felons and other troubles from using them. In California employers are forbidden to supply employees with wiping rags made from soiled clothing or bedding, or any soiled rags that have not been sterilized by boiling for 40 minutes in a solution of five per cent. caustic soda.

We Rank with Russia As to Rest

All the progressive industrial countries and States of Europe and America require an hour of rest to be given once in so many hours to women and young persons employed in factories, workshops, etc. (In Europe, this is done avowedly to protect the health of the boy babies born to these women, so that they may become strong soldiers.)

Massachusetts sets the limit at six hours, and in some cases allows six and one-half. The only other States (having such legislation at all) that set so long an interval as

six hours are Roumania, Italy and Russia. Massachusetts stands fourth in this dark list! Moreover, Massachusetts has cut the period of rest down from an hour to 30 minutes; she requires it only in factories and workshops, and even in these she exempts from the requirement some of those having the worst abuses, i.e., iron works, glass works, paper mills, letter presses, print works, bleaching works and dye works.

New Zealand requires a rest period after every four and one-half hours of work.

If "indirect influence" were as good as the ballot, Massachusetts ought by this time to have almost perfect laws for working women. The need of such legislation is pressing, and has been pressing for a long while. Massachusetts is one of the oldest industrial States in the Union. Its factory system dates far back into the past, and for generations it has had an enormous number of women employed in factories and workshops. Moreover, it is a State abounding in benevolent and philanthropic societies, made up largely of the more fortunate women. Yet its legislation for working women is still grossly inadequate; even the 54-hour law was not enacted till women had suffered for lack of it for more than half a century; and in several important respects half a dozen of the enfranchised States have gone ahead of Massachusetts in their legislation for women workers, with only a few years of effort, and without anything like so pressing a need for such laws, since in those States there are still comparatively few women engaged in work outside their own homes.

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