



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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[Sept. 1915]

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The Traveling Kampaign Kit, the official equipment for conducting suffrage work in this state, will be received at the Headquarters of the Equal Suffrage League of(town) on(date), and will be on exhibition from 9.A.M..to 5 P.M. daily for one week. (Change if necessary)

A meeting especially to exhibit the Traveling Kampaign Kit will be held on the evening of Mrs will preside. The speaker will be
.....

The Kit contains one dozen suffrage cartoons, a perpetual suffrage map, a complete set of outlines for conducting the campaign and other valuable material. The map and the twelve cartoon posters will be displayed in the headquarters windows and on the walls.

The Traveling Kampaign Kit was presented to the State association on May 1st, in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the marriage of founders of the national suffrage paper, the WOMANS JOURNAL and SUFFRAGE NEWS, published in Boston, Massachusetts. the Kit is to "travel" from league to league in this state and then will return to the State Suffrage Headquarters at
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MINNAPOLIS COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N

100 W. WABASH ST. AVE.

MINNAPOLIS, MINN.

Women's Journal & Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

COLLECTED ANSWERS TO ANTIS.

OUTLINES ON DEBATES, RAISING MONEY, ETC.

CONVINCING FACTS & FIGURES.

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Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

C O N V I N C I N G F A C T S

CONVINCING FACTS

I. ENDORSEMENTS

The following list of great organizations, many of them numbering more than a million members, have officially endorsed woman suffrage:

The General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The National Education Association.

The American Federation of Labor.

National Women's Trade Union League.

The National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry.

The Grand Council of United Commercial Travelers.

World's Women Christian Temperance Union.

National Purity Conference.

National Association of Letter Carriers.

National Association of Post Office Clerks.

The Great Hive, Ladies of the Modern Maccabees.

National Miners' Federation.

The International Council of Women.

In addition to the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, the following state granges have also endorsed equal suffrage: California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, Washington and Vermont.

The great mass of club women throughout the United States want the vote. Not only did the great Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs ask for equal suffrage in June, 1914, but Federations in the following States have also endorsed it:

Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Political parties endorsed woman suffrage in the following non-suffrage states in 1913 and 1914: Republicans,- Arkansas, North Dakota, Maryland, Illinois and Indiana; Democrats,- North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Vermont and West Virginia; Progressives,- all states. In the following States parties specifically declared for the submission of a suffrage amendment: Republicans,- Iowa, Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, New Jersey and Maine; Democrats,- Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

II. NUMBER OF TIMES SUFFRAGE SUBMITTED TO VOTERS.

South Dakota	4	North Dakota	1
New Hampshire	1	Nebraska	2
Missouri	1	Oklahoma	1
Ohio	2	Wisconsin	1
Michigan	2	New Jersey (School Suffrage)	1
Rhode Island	1	Washington	3
Oregon	6	California	2
Nevada	1	Idaho	1
Arizona	1	Colorado	2
Kansas	3	Montana	1
Wyoming as a territory		Utah as a territory	

III. WOMEN'S VOTE IN SUFFRAGE STATES

In answer to the question, "Do women vote?" in very few cases is it possible to get exact figures for the reason that only in Illinois has separate registration been attempted. However, in the five states which last adopted complete suffrage the figures for the total vote at the election before suffrage was adopted and the gubernatorial election of 1914, show the following facts:

	Vote in 1912 when only men voted	Vote in 1914 when both men and women voted.
Arizona	23,722	51,007
Kansas	365,444	530,206
Oregon	137,040	210,566
California	385,713*	926,689
Washington	176,141**	345,279

*Last California election in which men only voted in 1910.

**Last Washington election in which men only voted in 1908.

In the Kansas elections in the fall of 1914, separate voting lists were kept for the women voters in 62 towns and cities. These showed:

Total number men voting	49,902
Total number women voting	<u>37,318</u>
Total	87,220

In these same 62 towns in 1912 the total vote cast was 50,904.

In all the elections in which Chicago women have taken part their votes have been as follows:

	Vote	Registration	Percentage
February 1914	47,674	158,524	30.07
April 1914	169,707	217,614	77.98
Sept. 1914	62,824	207,170	30.32
November 1914	123,160	165,168	74.56
February 1915	154,750	218,712	70.84
April 1915	243,797	282,483	85.50

In all of the Illinois towns outside of Chicago which voted upon local option propositions on April 7, 1914, the total votes cast were

	"Wet"	"Dry"
Men	144,925	98,179
Women	<u>67,418</u>	<u>121,315</u>
Woman's dry majority		53,897
Men's wet majority	<u>46,746</u>	
Total dry majority		7,151

In 239 townships 64.3 of the women voted dry, 59.7 of the men voted wet.

In California, special checks were made of the poll books in a few towns and precincts which show that the proportion of men and women voting in the 1912 election was as follows:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Los Angeles	52,731	37,100
San Diego	9,961	6,017
Santa Ana	2,144	1,394

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Rodondo Beach	590	376
Berkeley	4,874	3,702
San Buenaventure	801	587
Sierra Madre	219	175
Pasadena	5,872	5,202
So. Pasadena	994	922

In the 1914 Gubernatorial election for the San Francisco assembly districts, 21-33 inclusive, the vote was:

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Vote	85,197	49,295
Registration	101,821	60,025
Percent voting	83.6	82.1

For the Colorado Gubernatorial election in 1906, Helen Sumner, an impartial investigator, compiled the following figures from the election records:

	Men Over 21	Women Over 21	Registration Men	Registration Women	Those Voting Men	Those Voting Women
Denver	: 66,592	: 67,267	: 32,006	: 25,109	: 23,230	: 18,741
Nine Counties:	131,208	: 118,124	: 56,459	: 40,309	: 54,237	: 33,539
Nine Cities	: 17,314	: 15,654	: 12,086	: 9,333	: 9,739	: 6,688

Percentages of those registered who voted.

Denver	Men 78.8	Women	74.5
Nine Counties	" 96.	"	83.2
Nine Cities	" 77.	"	68.6

IV. TWO STATES

By Minnie J. Reynolds.

Idaho and Montana lie side by side.

Idaho women have been voters since 1896.

Montana granted equal suffrage in November 1914, so that her figures are for a non-suffrage State.

	Idaho	Montana
Population, 1890.....	84,385	132,159
Population, 1910.....	325,590	376,053
Percentage of increase.....	Nearly 300%	Less than 200%
Assessed value property, 1913	\$422,000,000	\$341,000,000
Property per capita 1913....	\$1,295	\$906
School Enrollment, 1913.....	84,902	70,065
High School students, 1913...	5,522	4,558
College students, 1913.....	316	250
Illiteracy.....	2.2%	4.8%
Percentage of homes owned...	71.6%	56.6%
Road appropriation, 1915....	\$250,000	\$10,000
Saloons, 1914.....	195	2,563
Prisons, 1910.....	25	29
Convicts, 1910.....	287	963
Insane, 1910.....	388	697
Paupers, 1910.....	97	415
Legislators per diem.....	\$5	\$10

Analysis of this deadly parallel shows that Montana, with a larger population than Idaho, had a smaller percentage of increase in population, a smaller assessed property value, a smaller amount of property per capita, a smaller school

enrollment, a smaller number of high school and college students, fifteen per cent. fewer homes owned. In road building, the basic improvement in a frontier State, Montana's appropriation was farcical beside that of Idaho. This for the credit side of civilization.

In prisons, paupers, convicts, insane and illiteracy, however, Montana measured up to or passes the number it should have in proportion to its excess of population.

There is no marked difference between the climate, resources, occupations or type of population of these two States. Both are frontier States, lying side by side, with mining as the chief industry.

There was, however, one great and marked difference in their political life. Idaho, which had the big percentages on the bright side of civilization, had had equal suffrage since 1896. Montana, which had the high percentage on the sad and sorry side, had not.

Is it any wonder Montana decided in 1914 to start its women to voting, too?

V. THE POPULATION OF THE SUFFRAGE STATES OF VOTING AGE
ACCORDING TO THE 1910 CENSUS:

	Male	Female
Arizona	74,051	43,891
California	902,397	671,386
Colorado	271,648	213,425
Idaho	110,863	69,818
Illinois*	1,743,182	1,567,491
Kansas	508,529	438,934
Montana	155,017	81,741
Nevada	40,026	18,140
Oregon	257,188	168,323
Utah	104,115	85,729
Wyoming	63,201	23,840
Total	<u>4,230,217</u>	<u>3,676,532</u>

*Presidential and Municipal Suffrage

In 1914-15 full equal suffrage prevails over 1,738,040 square miles of the United States, or nearly one-half (49 per cent.) of the total area.

Women now have an equal voice with men in casting electoral votes, or more than one-sixth of the total number of the electoral college.

The total number of women over 21 years of age in the States where women can vote for President of the United States is 3,676,532 (1910 census.)

The total population of the full equal suffrage States is now 8,253,240 (1910 census.)

The total population of the States where women can vote for President of the United States is 13,891,831, or 15 per cent. of the total population of the United States.

VI. STATISTICS: U. S. CENSUS, 1910.

Total Males of all ages 47,332,122

Total Females of all ages 44,640,144

There are 106 males to every 100 females. In only the District of Columbia and the following five states are females in the majority: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Total native born males and females 78,456,380

Total foreign born males and females 13,515,886

Total foreign born white males and females 13,345,545

Total foreign born white males 7,523,788

Total foreign born white females 5,821,757

Women in Gainful Occupations

Eight hour laws and Minimum Wage Commissions

U. S. Census of 1910, Occupation Statistics

8,075,772 females 10 years of age and over in the U. S. are gainfully employed.

Divisions according to occupations.		per cent
Agricultural pursuits	2,807,050	22.4
Professional service	673,418	8.3
Domestic and personal service	2,620,857	32.5
Trade & Transportation	1,202,352	14.9
Manufacturing & Mechanical pursuits	1,772,095	21.9

Illiteracy.

Percentage of the illiterates in population of ten years of age and over in full suffrage and eleven typical male suffrage states.

	per cent		per cent
Massachusetts	5.2	Arizona	20.9
Pennsylvania	5.9	California	3.7
New York	5.5	Colorado	3.7
New Jersey	5.6	Idaho	2.2
New Hampshire	4.6	Wyoming	3.3
Maine	4.1	Kansas	2.2
Rhode Island	7.7	Montana	4.8
Iowa	1.7	Nevada	6.7
Nebraska	1.9	Oregon	1.9
Georgia	20.7	Utah	2.5
South Carolina	25.7	Washington	2.

With the exception of Nevada and Arizona the percentage of female illiteracy is lower than the male illiteracy in the Suffrage states. The Arizona rate is due to the large number of Mexicans.

VII. EQUAL GUARDIANSHIP

States having Equal Guardianship laws.

California	Connecticut	Missouri
Colorado	Illinois	Nebraska
Montana	Iowa	New Hampshire
Kansas	Kentucky	New York
Oregon	Maine	Pennsylvania
Utah	Massachusetts	District of
Washington	Minnesota	Columbia

Idaho and Oklahoma statutes do not give joint guardianship, but for practical utility they might be numbered with the joint guardianship states.

VIII. MOTHERS' PENSIONS

At the present time twenty eight states have Mothers' Pension laws. All of the eleven suffrage states have Mothers' Pension laws.

IX. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW.

The following equal suffrage states have passed workmen's compensation laws:

Arizona	Oregon
California	Washington
Nevada	Wyoming

X. INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Every suffrage state except Wyoming and Kansas has the initiative and referendum.

XI. REDLIGHT INJUNCTION AND ABATEMENT LAWS

The following equal suffrage states have passed a red-light injunction and abatement act (the best weapon against commercialized vice) after women were given full suffrage:

California	1913	Oregon	1913
Colorado	1915	Washington	
Idaho	1915		

XII. AGE OF CONSENT

One of the first steps taken when women have the ballot is to raise the age at which a girl can consent to her own ruin. In every State, except two, where women have yet had an opportunity to elect a Legislature, the age has been raised to eighteen years. The average for the non-suffrage States, giving them the benefit of all sorts of doubt in technicalities, is only sixteen years. In Georgia it is only ten years.

The years between sixteen and eighteen are critical years in cases of this kind. The following figures, compiled by the American Social Hygiene Association, are correct up to the 1915 legislative year. See where your State stands.

For the eleven full suffrage states the laws are:

Arizona-----Seventeen.	Utah--Twelve for rape;
California--Eighteen.	eighteen for carnal
Colorado----Eighteen.	knowledge.
Idaho-----Eighteen.	Washington--Ten for rape;
Kansas-----Eighteen.	ten to fifteen for car-
Montana-----Eighteen.	nal knowledge; fifteen
Nevada-----Sixteen.	to eighteen for carnal
Oregon-----Sixteen.	knowledge when chaste.
Wyoming--Eighteen.	

For the states without full suffrage:

Alabama--No age, but see Sects. 7698 and 7699. Same penalty for carnal knowledge of girl under 12 years.	Indiana--Sixteen.
Arkansas--Sixteen for carnal knowledge.	Iowa--Fifteen.
Connecticut--Sixteen.	Kentucky--Sixteen for carnal knowledge.
Delaware--Seven for rape; Eighteen for carnal knowledge.	Louisiana--Eighteen for carnal knowledge.
Florida--Eighteen for carnal knowledge. Ten for rape.	Maine--Sixteen; greater penalty if female under fourteen.
Georgia--Statutes in this State set no definite age. Cases say ten.	Maryland--Sixteen; greater penalty if female under fourteen.
*Illinois--Sixteen. Greater penalty if under twelve.	Massachusetts--Sixteen.
	Michigan--Sixteen.
	Minnesota--Eighteen; greater penalty if female under fourteen; still greater if under ten.

* Presidential and municipal suffrage only.

Laws for the states without full suffrage: (Continued)

Mississippi--Twelve for rape; eighteen for carnal knowledge.	Rhode Island--No age for rape, but sixteen for carnal knowledge.
Nebraska--Fifteen if previously unchaste. Eighteen if female was previously chaste.	South Carolina--No age for rape. Ten to fourteen for carnal knowledge.
New Hampshire--Sixteen.	South Dakota--Sixteen; greater penalty if female under ten.
New Jersey--Sixteen: greater penalty if female under twelve.	Tennessee--No age in rape law; same penalty as in rape for carnal knowledge of girl under twelve; lesser penalty for carnal knowledge of girl under twenty-one.
New Mexico--Fourteen; greater penalty if female under ten.	Texas--Fifteen.
New York--Eighteen.	Vermont--Sixteen.
North Carolina--Ten for rape. Fourteen if female was chaste; otherwise ten for carnal knowledge.	Virginia--Fourteen.
North Dakota--Sixteen.	West Virginia--Fourteen.
Ohio--Twelve for rape. Sixteen for carnal knowledge.	Wisconsin--Fourteen.
Oklahoma--Eighteen when female was previously chaste; other- wise sixteen.	
Pennsylvania--Sixteen when female was chaste; if unchaste defendant guilty of fornication.	

XIII. A SUMMARY

<u>LAWS</u>	<u>In 11 suf. States</u>		<u>In 37 non-suf. States</u>	
8 hr. for women	5	45%	0	
8 hr. for children under 16	5	45%	14	37%
Min. wage	5	45%	4	10%
Prohibition	6	54%	12	32%
Equal Guardianship	8	73%	13	35%
Mothers' Pensions	11	100%	17	46%
Age of Consent under 16 years	0		9	24%
over 16 years	9	81%	10	27%

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

ANSWERS TO ANTI - SUFFRAGISTS

I. Laws for Working Women in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States. *

A comparison of legislation affecting women gainfully employed in Equal Suffrage and the male Suffrage States must take into consideration the conditions in these States, the occupations engaged in and the number of women employed. As an illustration take the four Eastern Campaign States and the eleven full suffrage States.

Women and Girls Employed in Mechanical and Manufacturing Industries

Male Suffrage		Full Suffrage	
Massachusetts	202,565	Kansas	12,643
New York	348,976	Montana	1,807
New Jersey	91,703	Idaho	1,493
Pennsylvania	<u>216,077</u>	Wyoming	571
Total	859,321	Colorado	7,386
		Arizona	3,238
		Utah	3,360
		Nevada	385
		Washington	9,282
		Oregon	6,726
		California	<u>30,096</u>
		Total	76,987

Although the numbers of women engaged in industry in the equal suffrage states are so limited, yet we find that out of the forty-eight States in the Union there are five only in which there is an eight hour working day for women in addition to the District of Columbia, and these are Equal Suffrage States;

* Prepared by Marion Booth Kelley

Washington, Colorado, Arizona, California and Wyoming. The California law was passed a few months before the women were enfranchised, but has since been extended to include women employed in public lodging houses, apartment houses and places of amusement. Montana, Idaho and Utah have a nine hour day, although again the Montana law was established under male suffrage. Utah limits the hours to fifty-four per week. California, which of all the suffrage states, has the largest number of women in industry, has not only passed an eight hour law, but limits the hours to forty-eight per week.

The anti-suffragists lay stress upon the fact that Colorado permits seven day labor. It is worthy of comment that it is permitted in a large number of male suffrage states, but the State Statistician of Colorado says that only about 150 women in the state are working on Sunday. Even the waitresses are organized in unions and have their day of rest, and the principal women workers are in lodging houses and boarding houses. A point has often been made that Nebraska forbids night work of women, while Colorado, does not. Here again an investigation shows that the Nebraska law permits public service corporations to employ women for eight hours a night. Commissioner Crosby of Colorado states that with the exception of nurses in hospitals only about 150 out of 213,000 women are doing night work in his State, and they are the telephone operators who are also permitted to do night work in both Nebraska and Massachusetts. No state has yet passed an inclusive night work prohibition law. Indiana, Nebraska, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and South Carolina have laws applied to certain occupations, but the

exemptions are many, notably: superintendents, clerks and stenographers are not included in the law in several of these states, and the South Carolina law is not enforceable because an employer is liable only for requiring over time.

Out of forty-eight states nine have Minimum Wage Commissions and five of these are equal suffrage states; Washington, Oregon, California, Colorado, and Utah.

Of the four male suffrage states with Minimum Wage Commissions, two only have compulsory laws, while the laws in the suffrage states are all compulsory, and Utah has established an actual Minimum Wage rate by law. Compare the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Law with that of Colorado. The Massachusetts law, as amended in 1914, provides that the commission may publish in the newspaper the names of those employers who do not accept the Minimum Wage as fixed by the Board. The Colorado law provides a maximum penalty of \$100.00, imprisonment for three months or both, and the employee may sue for wage balance.

In connection with the minimum wage legislation a new development has occurred in two suffrage states. Oregon and California have Industrial Commissions with power to determine the number of hours women and children may safely work in one day or one week. Kansas has recently passed a Wage Commission Bill. Washington has also a commission with authority over wages and conditions of work. That the equal suffrage states do not "lag behind the male suffrage states in protective legislation for women" is self-evident by the practical working of the Minimum Wage and Industrial Welfare Commissions.

II. Child Labor in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States *

As in the consideration of labor laws affecting women, so in regard to legislation affecting child labor let us consider the number of children gainfully employed. For the sake of comparison take once more the four campaign states and the eleven full suffrage states.

Total number of children between 10 and 15 yrs. gainfully employed according to U.S. census of 1910.

Massachusetts	32,745	Kansas	18,730
New York	65,094	Montana	1,764
New Jersey	25,828	Idaho	2,698
Pennsylvania	<u>96,895</u>	Wyoming	866
Total	220,562	Colorado	5,864
		Arizona	1,673
		Utah	3,231
		Nevada	286
		Washington	5,486
		Oregon	3,505
		California	<u>11,251</u>
			55,354

The eight hour day for children under sixteen years has been established in twenty states and the District of Columbia. Five of these are equal suffrage states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas and Nevada. Washington has it for girls and Wyoming has an eight hour day law for all boys employed in mines or mills, and has just passed a law forbidding the employment of

* Prepared by Marion Booth Kelley

children in certain occupations dangerous to health and morals, and has also a board of child protection. Arizona, Colorado, Montana, Nevada and Washington have passed laws forbidding children under sixteen years from employment in coal mines. California places the age of fifteen for manufactures and forbids night work for children under sixteen. The hours are limited to eight per day for workers under eighteen years.

Night work for children under sixteen has been prohibited in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia. Five of these states are equal suffrage states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas and Idaho. Montana has a bureau of child protection. It must be remembered that the powers of the Industrial Welfare Commissions in California, Oregon and Washington extend over wages and conditions of work of minors, and that the Minimum Wage Commissions in Utah and Colorado apply also to minors.

III. Will "Undesirable Women" be Chief Voters? *

The following figures showing "The Kind of Women Who Vote" were compiled by Election Commissioner W. H. Kemper of Topeka, Kansas in 1915.

Of the 7,350 women registered as voters in Topeka, 6,100 are home-keepers.

Of the remaining 1,250, clerks number 245, stenographers 210, teachers 206. Practically every woman teacher in Topeka is a registered voter. Heads of business organizations number 28; nurses, 62; doctors, 14; musicians, 24; bookkeepers, 57; cashiers, 18; dressmakers, 10; milliners, 18;

*(Also see "Woman Suffrage", page 168 in Kampaign Kit)

cooks (hired), 9; proofreaders, 3; artists, 2; pharmacists, 2; hairdressers, 1; dentist, 1; Three hundred and forty other means of livelihood, not listed.

IV. Socialism, Mormonism, and Feminism

For four years 1911-1915, Butte, Montana, had a Socialist city government. Women voted for the first time at a municipal election on April 6, 1915. At that time the Socialists were overwhelmingly beaten, and the new mayor gives a large part of the credit to the new women voters. For this objection and also for answers to the anti-suffrage argument of Feminism, Militancy, and Mormonism, etc., see leaflets in Campaign Kit Literature: "The Three-fold Menace" and "Suffrage in Utah."

V. Will Women Lose Their Non-Partisan Power?

A significant answer to this is that the California legislature of 1911 refused to pass the three bills in which the women of all states are perhaps most interested: Equal Guardianship, Red Light Injunction and Abatement, and Age of Consent Bills. In the fall of that year women won the vote, and the next session of the Legislature passed all three of the bills.

For further answers see "Woman Suffrage", pages 164-5.

VI. Women's Vote for Prohibition

At the 1914 election the four states that went "dry" were all suffrage states; Oregon, Arizona, Washington and Colorado. The 1915 Legislature of Idaho voted statutory prohibition. There are, therefore, six suffrage states (Kansas had previously adopted it) that are prohibition states.

For further information see Alice Stone Blackwell's leaflet "Suffrage and Temperance" in the Campaign Kit.

VII. Child Labor Interests are Anti-Suffragists

Forty-three Congressmen voted in February 1914 against the Palmer child labor bill. All but one of these forty-three voted against the nation-wide suffrage amendment. They were led by Congressmen Byrnes and Ragsdale, and they argued that it was against the rights of the States for Congress to prohibit interstate commerce in articles manufactured in factories by children. They were answered by Congressman Lenroot of Wisconsin, who said that Congress had already passed a similar bill against convict labor. The significant thing is that the men who opposed legislation for children opposed women's vote. And they used the same argument that they had previously used against the suffrage amendment.

VIII. Liquor Interests Help Anti-Suffrage

Miss Clara E. Markeson of Columbus, O., a representative of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage and a co-worker with Miss Minnie Bronson, interviewed men interested in the liquor business in Butte, Mont., in January 1914, as one of the first steps in the campaign preliminary to the vote on woman suffrage in November. The account of this interview is given in the Woman's Journal of January 31, 1914, and in the Anaconda, Mont., Standard of January 16, 1914.

The publishers of the liquor organ, the National Forum, in a prepared statement after this news had leaked out said:

"Miss Markeson agreed to return to Butte with two or three other

ladies about the first of March, and at that time she would lay her campaign before us for consideration and possible approval for co-operation. Miss Markeson suggested that the interview and her mission to Montana be kept strictly confidential and secret. We kept our faith with her, and we do not understand the motive for the wide publicity given her movements here."

Previous to the vote on suffrage in Ohio in 1914 the Liberal Advocate, official organ of the Ohio Liquor League published in Columbus, ran a series of anti-suffrage articles by Florence Goff Schwarz, business secretary of the Cincinnati Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Its issue of October 21, 1914 published a portrait of Mrs. A. J. George of Massachusetts, who was in Ohio lecturing against woman suffrage, and it gave a highly complimentary sketch of her life with a glowing eulogy of her work in opposition to the ballot for women.

During the 1914 campaign Mr. J. B. Maling, of Denver, who had contributed in the past to the Woman's Protest, organ of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, worked for that Association in South Dakota. He tried to tell men that suffrage had proved a failure in Colorado. As a matter of fact, in Denver, Mrs. Frances Belford Wayne, a leading newspaper woman, testifies that Maling said to her: "If only you would drop your silly convictions and look after No. 1, I could take you down to these anti-suffragists and put you in a position to make as much money in six months as you can make here in two years. You could have a trip to Europe, live on velvet and line your pockets --- merely by boosting against suffrage instead of boosting for it. Better let me lead you to the trough."

For further information regarding the liquor interests and Anti-suffrage see leaflet "Liquor Versus Suffrage" in literature of Kampaign Kit.

IX. Summary

The Anti-suffrage Argument is a constantly shifting thing. Their general arguments are refuted in the "Objections Answered" by Alice Stone Blackwell in the Kampaign Kit book "Woman Suffrage", pages 161 to 202 and in the accompanying list of literature. A great number of specific twists to a general argument are answered in the bound volume of the Woman's Journal. Many of the tables and statistics in the Kit give effective answers. For up-to-the-minute information it is necessary to read the Woman's Journal and Suffrage News weekly. Remember that one of the chief tricks of the anti-suffragist is to play up some isolated instance, which, if true, would have no real bearing on the general argument.

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

H O W T O R A I S E M O N E Y

HOW TO RAISE MONEY

Although suffragists can do lots of work, such as individual converting, writing for the papers, writing to their friends, etc., without any money to speak of, very little organized work, very little suffrage work on a large scale can be done with an empty treasury or no treasury at all. The great question, then, is how to raise money. Regarding the financing of suffrage work, a few general principles can be laid down:

(1.) If you can map out work that is convincing and valuable, work that appeals to the good sense and imagination of suffragists, you can always get money to pay for the work.

(2.) If you can appeal to the imagination of "him who runs" he will give you money.

(3.) If you believe you ought to have money for suffrage work and can find a convincing way to ask for it, you will surely get it.

(4.) You should never undervalue your services or your literature, and in general you should make people pay for what they get. They will if you go at it right. As a rule, people undervalue what they get for nothing.

The chief ways of raising money are as follows:

(1.) To lay out a good campaign or a good piece of work and tell those who are likely to be interested; ask them to help finance it. Tell them how much it will cost; how many

people you expect to ask; tell them what their share will be. Ask them to pledge that amount.

(2.) Call a meeting of the most ardent suffragists you know and tell them what needs to be done. Ask them to pledge the money needed or to promise to raise it.

(3.) Plan a big meeting with speakers that every one will want to hear. Charge admittance. Sell tickets. In the middle of the program devote not more than fifteen minutes to money-raising. For this, choose some one to make a good money-raising speech-- preferably a woman who is magnetic and clever, who can win the audience, hold the audience, and make each person present want to contribute or pledge to the limit of ability. Have her call for pledges, starting with the largest sum she can expect. Don't call for pledges from the floor unless you have arranged beforehand with at least three people that when pledges are called for, they will start off with a good sum. Have it understood who will pledge first, who second, and who third, etc. If you call for \$100 first, then call for \$75. When it seems there are to be no more \$75 pledges, call for \$50 pledges and so on, down to \$5. Then ask ten people to rise who will each pledge \$2, \$1. Then pass the collection baskets for written pledges and contributions from those who did not want to speak out. If you can arrange to have a blackboard to write the amounts on it will add to interest. An audience grows enthusiastic when it sees a good sum rolling up. When you get an uneven sum like \$960, you can say you will now pass the baskets to see if you can collect \$40 and make it \$1000.

In most meetings in which you hope to raise money, it is well to have people on the platform who are known to have social and financial standing. It is well in such cases to have a printed program on which are printed the patronesses or sponsors of the meeting.

Other kinds of meetings for raising money are:

- (1.) Luncheons and banquets
- (2.) Dances and balls
- (3.) Bazzars, Fairs, Sales
- (4.) Flag Days, Flower Days, Pencil Days, etc.
- (5.) Sales of autograph books and photographs, etc.
- (6.) Selling literature and papers at a profit *
- (7.) Letters to individuals, telling of well thought out plans and asking for money to carry them out.

* See leaflet on how to sell literature and papers at meetings, on the streets, at headquarters, from house to house.

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

SUGGESTIONS FOR SUFFRAGE PROGRAMS

SUGGESTIONS FOR SUFFRAGE PROGRAMS

Every program for a suffrage meeting must be prepared with two things in mind: First, the purpose of the meeting; Second, the kind of audience you wish to attract.

The Purpose of a meeting may be as follows:

1. To attract an audience and convert it
2. To raise money
3. To give the movement prestige in the locality
4. To study the needs, promises and results of equal suffrage
5. To stir men and women to act in some emergency
6. To celebrate a victory or an anniversary
7. To have a flag raising, a tree planting, etc.

The program of every meeting must be prepared so that it will attract the kind of people you expect to attend the meeting. Every program must be so planned that it will hold the interest of the audience from start to finish. To this end it must interest, entertain, amuse, inspire.

The Program

A program committee is needed to decide on the following details:

1. What kind of a meeting to have; the subject
2. The place, date and hour
3. Who will speak, who will preside
4. Whether there shall be music, questions, a collection
5. Whether to have printed programs
6. Whether to have paid advertisements in the program

7. Whether to print advertisements of suffrage literature and The Woman's Journal in the program
8. Whether to print propaganda paragraphs or poems or pictures in the program
9. Whether to have patronesses or sponsors for the meeting, and whether to print their names and those of the program committee in the program
10. What shall be done to give publicity to the meeting

Speakers must be chosen with care so that they will promote the purpose of the meeting, and so that the audience will have a better impression of the cause and will want to further it.

Subjects

Subjects for a suffrage program may include the following:

Why Women Want the Ballot

Why Women Need the Ballot

What Women Have Done with the Ballot

Why Men Need to have Women Vote

Why Men Fear to have Women Vote - Answer Popular Objections

How the Vote was won by Men - in the United States and in other Countries

Who are the Enemies of Woman Suffrage? What other good things do they oppose?

Why Homemakers Need the Ballot

Why Working Women Need the Ballot

Teachers and Professional Women and the Ballot

Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Traffic

Women and the Social Evil

Women and the White Slave Traffic

Women and Child Labor

Women's Position before the Law in City, State, Nation
the World

Equal Guardianship of Children

Playgrounds and Places of Amusement for Children

Housing Conditions, Food Inspection, Garbage Disposal

Women and War, Women and Peace

Women in Office: In Hospitals, Jails, Schools, Courts

Eugenics: Sex Hygiene in the Schools and Colleges

How Laws are Made, Unmade, Enforced

Biographies of noted suffragists, including

Lucretia Mott	Elizabeth Cady Stanton	Susan B. Anthony
John Stewart Mill	Ralph Waldo Emerson	Wm. Lloyd Garrison
Clara Barton	Julia Ward Howe	Lucy Stone
Elizabeth Blackwell	Frances E. Willard	Mary A. Livermore

WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

S U F F R A G E M E E T I N G S

S U F F R A G E M E E T I N G S

In planning a suffrage meeting, the first question is what kind of a meeting to hold, and the second, what kind of people will come. Meetings may be grouped into four classes:

1. Out-Of-Door Meetings

Street meetings to attract passing men and women

Meetings at mill and factory gates

Lawn parties

Open-air theatre meetings

2. Auditorium Meetings

Propaganda meetings to make converts, to stir to action, to raise money

3. Parlor Meetings

Meetings for study and individual converting or for social purposes

4. Executive Meetings

For planning town, city, or state work

Meetings may be purely for suffrage or may be a combination of suffrage and peace, Red Cross work, charity, social, educational, church, etc. What kind of a meeting to have depends entirely on the kind of people in the community.

Every meeting should have a committee to take charge of its program. See Section on Programs.

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

OUTLINE ON PRESS

OUTLINE ON PRESS

1. Have State press chairman supervise work with all papers throughout State. Have some member in each town look out for local papers.

2. See that all papers are supplied with press service of State Association, of National Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and of Congressional Union, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C. See that each editor in the State receives the Woman's Journal. Bring all possible pressure to bear to make him use it. If he proves hopeless, order the paper discontinued. Try especially to get the Sunday editors to print suffrage news and a suffrage column from the Woman's Journal.

3. Whenever an editor prints a good suffrage article or editorial for the first time, and especially if he continues to do so, he should be made to realize that his readers appreciate it. This can be done best by personal notes from the suffragists in that town, or occasionally by a resolution. If he does not print any suffrage news, he should be deluged with clippings showing what other papers are doing, then protests.

4. Have a publicity committee work up new and effective ideas of a desirable sort, and so make "news"; e.g., parades, melting pot, selling Woman's Journal on street, automobile tours, a suffrage pilgrimage, etc.

5. Be careful that copy sent to editors is written as news and not propaganda. Do not speak of "splendid" meetings, but tell facts in apparently impartial manner and ram home propaganda with quotations or with the general meaning of the report. Use typewriter if possible and write only on one side of the sheet.

6. Whenever a prominent suffragist comes to town, get a picture and an interview in the local papers.

7. Lay wires for the introduction and passage of a suffrage resolution before all possible organizations that meet and have conventions in your town. Give statement to papers.

O U T L I N E O N P U B L I C I T Y

1. Try to have moving picture houses put on a suffrage slide.

2. See that your library has a copy of the Woman's Journal, and see that it is used. Try to have members suggest that doctors and dentists put the Woman's Journal on their reception-room table.

3. Try to have ministers preach suffrage sermon and bring suffrage as much as possible into the church work. Have the Woman's Journal sent to each minister.

4. Whenever a public speaker addresses any organization in your town, especially if you know him to be a suffragist, ask him to speak a word for suffrage.

5. Make attractive window displays. (See Exhibits.)

6. Pick out live worker in your town, and get her to form a Woman's Journal squad to sell the Woman's Journal on the street. This should get notices in papers as well as attract attention of everyone who sees the newsies on the street.

7. Plant suffrage flower gardens. Make your State blossom with yellow.

8. Have a suffrage map or telling poster put up in your railroad station, drug store, and other public places.

9. Protest when you pay your taxes.

10. Stamp all envelopes and checks with Votes for Women stamp.

11. Above all, have publicity committee working constantly to get suffrage before individuals, organizations and the general public in every possible way.

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

S P E A K E R S ' B U R E A U

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S P E A K E R S ' B U R E A U

Every State Association needs a speakers' bureau.

The requisites of a bureau are as follows:

An address to which people know they may apply when a suffrage speaker is wanted.

A Committee in charge with a chairman.

A List of all men and women in the state who are available for speaking; their home and business addresses, and their telephone numbers, their specialty and what kind of audiences they handle best, their fees if any. Whether they will pay their own traveling expenses.

Each State Association should be able to tell any league the name and address of all speakers in its vicinity.

Each State Association should arrange an itinerary with the league for a good speaker throughout the state at least once a year.

The financial side of a speakers' bureau should be managed carefully so that money is raised for the purpose of financing the bureau, or so that the meetings pay expenses.

Every speaker of note who comes into your town, should be asked to include in his address a strong plea for equal suffrage. As soon as the names of speakers

for the following and similar events are announced, write to them immediately and urge them to speak for our movement. When they arrive in town, have a committee call upon them and ask them again.

1. Speakers for Commencement Addresses.
2. Speakers and Directors at Institutes.
3. Speakers on Chautauqua Platforms.
4. Speakers at Picnics of all kinds.
5. Speakers at County Fairs.

The speakers' bureau should be in close touch all the time with the press and publicity committee. In this way the value of the speakers' bureau can be trebled.

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

OUTLINE FOR SUFFRAGE DEBATE

OUTLINE FOR SUFFRAGE DEBATE

Short sketch of history

The Woman Suffrage Movement is part of a world-wide centuries-old struggle for freedom. This desire for liberty was the cause of the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, and the leaving of the Pilgrim Fathers for America. This same desire was back of the demand of women for higher education, for entrance into different professions and profitable occupations, the right to hold property, etc. There has been tremendous opposition to each step forward toward the realization of greater freedom, and we see this same opposition active today. (See "A Brief History.")

Some of the reasons why women should vote.

I. BECAUSE IT IS JUST AND RIGHT. A woman should have a voice in the making of the laws under which she must live.

See "Have We A Democracy" by Susan Fitzgerald, "The Justice & Expediency of Woman Suffrage", by Maud Nathan, "Do Men Represent Women", "Women are Citizens", "Shall Women Have The Right To Vote" by W. Phillips.

II. TO BETTER CONDITIONS RELATING TO THE HOME AND THE FAMILY.

- a. To feed the family properly,
- b. To clothe the family properly,
- c. To house the family properly,
- d. To regulate hours of labor and wages of women employees,
- e. To promote and maintain efficient schools,
- f. To promote and maintain healthful and moral conditions in one's home city or town,

- g. To abolish child labor;
- h. To make laws more just to women.

See "Why Women Should Vote" by Alice Stone Blackwell, "Why Women Should Vote" by Jane Addams, "Women in the Home", "Revolution in Women's Work", "Why the Housekeeper Needs the Ballot", "Woman Suffrage: Its Relation to Working Women and Children", "Woman's Place", "Why Working Woman Needs The Vote"

Because of changed conditions these duties today can be performed properly only by means of legislation. Women have these interests more at heart than men; therefore they are quicker to see wrongs and should be the ones to help remedy them.

III. IN ORDER TO BE A BETTER CITIZEN. Voting necessitates an intelligent interest in the government and a certain amount of responsibility for it. This means growth and education. Women should not be excluded from this "higher education."

IV. BECAUSE EQUAL SUFFRAGE HAS PROVED A SUCCESS WHERE IT HAS BEEN TRIED. The movement in the West has spread from state to neighboring state, which fact is a good argument in its favor. See "Where Women Vote", "Chivalry vs. Suffrage", "Map", "Facts and Dates", "Effect of Vote on Legislation", "Working of Equal Suffrage", "What have Women Done With the Vote".

Within five years seven States have granted full franchise to women: a gain greater than in all years previous.

There have been no attempts to repeal the law. Nor have the opponents of woman suffrage been able to find in all the

enfranchised States put together a dozen respectable men residents of those States who would assert over their own names and addresses that woman suffrage has had any ill effects.

On the other hand suffragists have scores of testimonies from well known men who assert that woman suffrage has been a success. Judge Lindsey of Colorado says: "We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. We owe this more to Woman Suffrage than to any one cause."

Conclusion: WOMAN SHOULD VOTE BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT AND JUST; BECAUSE THE BALLOT IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON OF DEFENSE FOR HOME AND FAMILY: BECAUSE VOTING IS A MEANS OF EDUCATION; AND BECAUSE WOMAN SUFFRAGE HAS PROVED A SUCCESS WHERE IT HAS BEEN ADOPTED.

Refutation of arguments against suffrage, See "Common Mistakes", "Objections Answered", "Rebuttal", "Threefold Menace".

WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

OUTLINE OF SUFFRAGE SPEECH

OUTLINE OF SUFFRAGE SPEECH

The following is a survey of Woman Suffrage as outlined from a group of lessons for a Suffrage School which were given by Mrs. Henrietta Livermore in New York. It is a frame-work on which practically any kind of a speech can be built. Facts and material for a speech should be selected with a view to the particular audience, state and locality in which the speech is to be made. Try to size up before-hand the nature of the audience. Some parts of the Outline may be touched upon lightly, or skipped entirely, or any one of the sub-divisions marked with a Roman numeral may be enlarged into a full speech.

INTRODUCTION

Always win the audience at the start by a few carefully chosen sentences, perhaps by a good story. Have your subject well in hand. As soon as possible get to the question. Your speech must remove prejudice and inspire confidence.

THE QUESTION

Test all talks and articles for or against woman suffrage and see how few of them bear at all on the real question. They are filled with unimportant matter. They befog the issue. In every talk on suffrage, state the real question at the beginning. Restate it at the end. Grade the importance of all objections according to their bearing on the main point. Qualifications should not be insurmountable. If so, they create a privileged class, a sex aristocracy. Woman can qualify as to age,

residence and character. But sex is insurmountable, and so is not a qualification but a restriction.

Woman suffrage does not deal with conditions for the suffrage. These have been discussed by men for 130 years and have been settled by men. Universal white male suffrage was settled years ago. Our concern is the removal of the sex disqualification and no other.

Having stated this contention, consider the question itself.

Woman Suffrage.-- It contains two subjects to be discussed, Woman and Suffrage.

A. WOMAN, about whom there are as many different ideas as there are kinds of men.

I. Evolution of Woman's Place in Society.

a. The test of civilization of any country is the position its women occupy. The woman of the harem, the Chinese woman with bound feet, the burdened peasant woman, all illustrate the old position of women.

b. Today in America women enjoy social, educational, religious and industrial freedom, with their political freedom waiting to be won.

II. Woman's Sphere - The Home.

a. In primitive times all the useful industries and arts were woman's sphere: food, skins, clothes, etc. The introduction of machinery and organization have specialized these industries. Government has become more and more the organization of this sphere.

b. Woman's sphere has always been care of children, health, morals, and the place where woman works. Conditions affecting these are so intolerable that women demand a voice

in controlling them.

1. Children. Use facts regarding child labor, child hygiene, infant mortality, child guardianship, all of which are controlled by government.
2. Health. Use facts regarding bad food, bad air, bad housing, alcohol and drugs. (42% of deaths are due to preventable causes.) "Politics is not outside the home but inside the baby."
3. Morals. The forms of coercion into immorality are: economic, through lack of living wage; physical, white slavery; social, double standards for men and women.

III. Women out of the "Home".

- a. Eight million women are doing the work of the home in factories, offices, restaurants, hospitals, etc., but those outside of the suffrage states have nothing to say about the conditions under which they work.
- b. In the suffrage states women have improved already the conditions under which they work.
- c. Votes do affect wages, for:
 1. Wages may be directly affected by minimum wage laws.
 2. Supply and demand are affected by votes, for any industrial or educational legislation may alter the supply.
- v. If you raise school age from 14 to 15, this reduces the supply by cutting off from the labor market girls between 14 and 15.
- w. If a law is passed compelling a husband to give a portion of his wages to his wife and

children, you withdraw those married women who now go out to support their children.

- x. If you pass a widowed mothers' pension act, you withdraw from labor this class, which reduces the supply.
- y. If greater technical training is required for girls, you withdraw that group.
- z. Women are today excluded from long lists of employment open to voters.

B. SUFFRAGE.

I. The Evolution of Suffrage - A history of Democracy struggling toward its ideal of self-government.

- a. King John in granting Magna Charter laid down the rule of "No taxation without consent" of Barons.
- b. Edward I broadened this at the Mother Parliament with "That which concerns all should be considered by all."
- c. In the United States there were at first religious qualifications, property qualifications, racial qualifications, but these have gradually been removed, until the principle of universal manhood suffrage has been accepted throughout the country today. The qualification of sex still remains.

II. What is the Vote?

It is the symbol of citizenship, given to those capable of self-government.

It is the right protective of all other rights without which no right already obtained can be safe-guarded.

It is the safe channel through which the voice of the oppressed or an exploited class may become articulate.

It is the great educator, which stimulates citizens to reflect on public problems, public welfare and public characters.

It is the best instrument ever devised to measure accurately public opinion in the shortest possible time.

It is the necessity of the many, not the privilege of the few; the necessity of the wage-earner as of the home-keeper.

It is the peaceable weapon of civilization, where ballots take the place of bullets, and can be used equally by the weak and the strong.

It is the guarantee of equality before the law of every individual human being who uses it.

It is the ultimate source of power in a democracy, and the foundation on which rests our entire government.

III. What wage-earning men have done with the vote.

a. When a property qualification was necessary, men without property were at a disadvantage. As soon as suffrage was extended, a whole series of discriminations was done away with.

1. It brought about the general establishment of free public schools.
2. It brought about the abolition of imprisonment for debt.
3. It got rid of an oppressive militia system which bore hard on the poor but allowed a rich man to buy himself off.
4. It secured liberal homestead laws.
5. It secured the great mass of labor legislation for workingmen for factory inspection, employers' liability, etc.

IV. What women have done with the vote.

- a. For children.
- b. For health.
- c. For morals.
- d. For the places where women work.

(Note: Data on these four divisions will be found elsewhere in this Kampaign Kit.)

C. WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE COUNTRY

I. History of Suffrage. (See "Woman Suffrage")

II. Status of Woman Suffrage.

- a. Women now vote in eleven states and Alaska, and have presidential suffrage in Illinois.
- b. Women vote in foreign countries. (See "Woman Suffrage")

III. Effect of Woman Suffrage on Country.

a. It would increase the native born vote.

- 1. Compare number of foreign-born men with number of foreign-born women. (See "Convincing Facts")

(Note: Unnaturalized foreigners today in five states can pass on woman's enfranchisement!)

b. It would increase the educated vote.

- 1. There are more girls than boys in the high schools of the country.
- 2. In the South it would greatly increase the white vote.

In the 15 States south of Mason and Dixon Line are:

8,788,901	white women
<u>4,316,565</u>	negro women
4,472,336	more white than negro women

c. It would increase the moral vote.

CONCLUSION

Women today are asking for equal suffrage all over the country.

How much longer will equality be denied on account of sex?

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

TO SELL LITERATURE

TO SELL LITERATURE

Generally speaking, the public undervalues what it gets for nothing, and while it is often necessary to give literature away, it is a bad practice to adopt indiscriminately. At most indoor meetings it is best to plan to sell literature.

At every meeting a literature table should be placed near the door so that all must see it as they come and go. It should be well stocked with all pamphlets, leaflets, novelties, and papers which the association or league has for sale.

Many people who attend a meeting will be more interested to buy a paper with news and propaganda than a leaflet, however good. You should, therefore, offer the Woman's Journal and Suffrage News for sale at the doors one half hour before the meetings begin and for fifteen minutes after they begin, to catch the late-comers.

As soon as 10 or 15 people are seated a newsy should go and offer a copy of the paper, holding out the paper so the picture shows and saying, "Woman's Journal and Suffrage News, five cents a copy." As soon as 10 or 15 more people are seated, this should be repeated, and so on until the house is filled and the meeting begins. The chairman of the meeting, or the presiding officer, should note whether all have had a chance to buy since they took their seats; if all who wish have not purchased, she should say: "The time to open the meeting has come, but we will wait for two or three minutes so that all who wish may buy a copy of our suffrage paper." If she can say a few words about the paper to make the audience want it and if she will tell the

audience that selling the Journal is one of the ways of making their running expenses, it will help the sales.

If possible the Journal should be sold at all kinds of meetings (as well as at suffrage meetings) held in the community. This can often be arranged for the asking. Whether the presiding officer will mention the Journal from the platform depends on the kind of meeting, the person in charge, etc. At most meetings there are many unconverted, many indifferent and a large number who would be more efficient suffragists if they read the Woman's Journal every week. People who would not buy at any other time will buy when they are waiting for the meeting to begin.

The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News should always be on sale at suffrage headquarters. It may be kept on a table or in pockets bearing the words: "Woman's Journal and Suffrage News. 5 cents each. \$1.00 per year. Buy and subscribe. Our headquarters gets a profit if you buy or subscribe through us."

The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News may be sold effectively on the street corners or from house to house. In this way the uninformed and unconverted are reached. Also it affords excellent publicity. No special suggestions are needed for selling from house to house and this is easier than street selling.

If you decide to sell the paper on the streets:

1. Talk it over with the most enterprising and earnest suffragists you know. Find at least one person who is willing to undertake the work with you. It is preferable to get pledges

from six or more women that they will sell with you, beginning on a given day at a given hour at a given place.

2. Find out if the police authorities will permit you to sell the suffrage paper on the street corners. You will probably find that women of 21 may sell without a permit or license, but that if the policemen think you are obstructing the traffic at any time, they may ask you to "move on." In this case you simply take another corner. Generally the policemen are friendly and seldom interfere with us.

3. Order as many Journals for each Saturday as you think you will need. Give the order early enough to have the papers reach you on time.

4. When you order your papers, ask for a Woman's Journal newsy bag, for each newsy if you have not one already. Be sure to have a change pocket! A yellow canvas bag with black letters is best.

5. Decide at what time you are to begin selling and agree with other newsies about place and time of meeting.

6. At the appointed time, in company with other newsies, start out, wearing your bag of papers and having change in the change pocket.

7. Dress warmly in winter so that you will not run any risk of catching cold or being uncomfortable.

8. Expect to be gazed at! Expect every boy to laugh and shout "Votes for Women" at you! Expect to see amazement written all over the faces of your friends and acquaintances.

9. But go straight ahead, not grimly, but courageously and with the best faith of the ages in your soul. Take the stand you have decided upon, and hold up a paper so that the upper half of the front page shows. Begin to call "Woman's Journal, Five cents a copy. All about the suffrage movement," and you are launched.

Financial Arrangements

Sell every paper at 5 cents each.

Keep one half of the money collected for your league or association.

Send to the Woman's Journal one half of the money collected.

Do not return unsold papers. Try to sell every one you order. Use any left over as samples.

Make the settlement on the first of the month.

Try to increase your sales from week to week.

Keep the Journal office informed of your success.

Individual problems in selling will be gladly met.

Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

TRAVELING KAMPAIGN KIT

EXHIBITS

EXHIBITS

The most valuable materials for window exhibits are the various voiceless speeches, a large suffrage map and suffrage dolls. A doll in a window will always attract attention. Cartoons and telling sentences or facts pasted on the front window are helpful. Suffrage literature and novelties, pennants, yellow ribbon, yellow flowers and green plants, always help to make windows attractive. Use the posters in the Campaign Kit.

THANKSGIVING WINDOW

Filled with cornstalks and vegetables and fruits. In one corner, a doll dressed in old colonial costume and marked 1620 - "Thankful for religious freedom". In another corner, a doll dressed in modern costume with sign 1920 - "Thankful for political freedom". Window all filled with little placards stating the things that suffragists are thankful for in the progress of their cause.

WORLD SUFFRAGE WINDOW

Dolls dressed in costume of every country and state having full or partial suffrage - and with a placard giving name and the kind of suffrage enjoyed - arranged in tiers leading up to the center, where is the most beautiful doll, representing your state and saying "I'll vote in --- (year of campaign.)"

(6,000 people stopped to look at this window in four days in Rochester, New York)

CAN A WOMAN BE CONTENT WITH THIS WHEN SUCH CONDITIONS EXIST AS THIS?

One side of window shows a doll house luxuriously furnished, and a woman sitting comfortably reading, while her baby plays

with a doll on the floor. Other side of window shows a doll-house with dirty wall paper, and piles of rags on floor, on which ragged doll children are lying and a haggard looking mother-doll sewing. "Wage Earners", "Women working want the vote", leaflets strewn around.

THE LANE OF PROGRESS WINDOW

A stone wall painted on cardboard, each stone of which is labeled by a single word, such as Ignorance, Prejudice, Conservatism, Vice Interests, Corrupt Politics, Selfishness, etc. In front of the stone wall are small dolls dressed in costumes of various countries and states and placarded with the names of these states. Penned in back of the wall are dolls dressed in black, representing the States where women are not enfranchised.

BABY WINDOW

A large sized baby doll in center of window and a big sign at the back with quotation from Mrs. Gilman: "Politics govern even the milk supply. It is not outside the home, but inside the baby." A border all around the window of leaflets by Annie Porrit entitled "Votes and Babies" - "Political Duties of Mothers" and "Woman in the Home."

KEWPIE WINDOW

35 kewpie suffrage dolls in a suffrage parade, each carrying a little votes for women pennant over her shoulder. The window full of "Fall in Line Suffrage March" sheet music - two voiceless speeches in back - turned to a different page each day.

STAR WINDOW

Good at election time.

A tin star for each of the equal suffrage states with name of State and the date it enfranchised its women on each one. These hung by invisible wire at different lengths amid dark blue mosquito netting to give effect of night sky. Floor all covered with blue mosquito netting.

"WOMAN'S PLACE IS THE HOME" WINDOW

In the background a large front of house made of cardboard and with smilax for vines growing around doors and windows. Painted on the door "Anti-Suffragists". A little girl doll peeping out of the door saying, "My mama is not at home". In very front of window a sign "The Antis say "Woman's Place is the Home and she has not time to vote". Behind this, large dolls in appropriate costumes, each wearing an anti-suffrage sign and different sentences such as "Dressing for the Ball", "Going to the Theatre", "Bound for a Bridge Party", "Off for an Auto Tour", etc. A doll dressed as a nurse leading a Grumpy Doll, who looks up at her saying, "Where's my mama", and she answering, "Your mama is an anti-suffragist". Off at one corner an entirely different group, comprising a man and his wife and baby at a ballot-box. He holds the market baskets and says, "My wife and I may not vote alike but we like to go to the polls together". She is holding the baby and is casting her vote. In front is a placard reading: Suffragists say, "Woman's interest is in the home!" Back of this is a sentence reading "How Women Can Best Serve the Home is the Crux of the Question".

HAVE WOMEN TIME TO VOTE?

Window filled with vacuum cleaner, fireless cooker, washing machine, sewing machine, carpet sweeper, dustless mops, electric wires, gas stove, etc., and a big sign reading: "See all the devices that man has invented so that now women have time to vote: - Factory made cloth; factory made clothing; factory cooked cereals and bread; factory made cheeses and sausages; gas and electric appliances; city water and sewer mains; city garbage collection; public laundries; public schools; public recreation, etc.

ST. VALENTINE'S DAY

In the center, labeled with the name of your State, are rows of men kneeling and offering to a woman large red hearts, each bearing the name of a suffrage State. The display is labeled. "Our Hearts Are with You".

ST. PATRICK'S DAY

A large doll dressed as St. Patrick on a knoll in the center of the window, and running from him in all directions green snakes, each one labeled with titles as follows: white slavery, child labor, gambling, prize fighting, political graft, social diseases, unequal pay, low dance halls, adulterated food, unprotected girlhood, streets for playgrounds, poor garbage collection and disposal, unrestricted liquor traffic, unclean streets, cigarettes for minors, illiteracy, etc. Needless to say, St. Patrick wears a large "Votes for Women" sash. A decorative border of green shamrocks and harps and suffrage flyers completes the window.

A window filled with yellow suffragette cracker boxes and V. for W. pennants - and two voiceless speeches.

All different kinds of suffrage novelties for sale and a suffrage map in the middle.

A large mirror with a sign at the top of it - "Who is this - suffragist or anti"? At the base some enrollment slips and a placard, "enroll here". Literature around everywhere.

Suffrage Parade window of large dolls in parade with Votes for Women yellow satin sashes; and voiceless speeches.

HEMLOCK COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

250 N. COLLEY AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS,

MINN.

Woman's Journal & Suffrage News

TRAVELING CAMPAIGN KIT

SUFFRAGE LITERATURE



ORGANIZING TO WIN

BY STATE

THE POLITICAL DISTRICT PLAN

A HANDBOOK FOR WORKING SUFFRAGISTS

Compiled by H. B. LAIDLAW
July, 1914.

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ORGANIZING TO WIN

BY THE

POLITICAL DISTRICT PLAN

The following plan of organization was worked out and first applied by the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, and while the term "Woman Suffrage Party" is used throughout this pamphlet, it can be equally well adopted by any association under its existing name or under any new name. This form of organization has spread all over the United States.

As long as we are endeavoring to attain suffrage state by state, through amendments to the constitutions of the various states, and as long as the members of the State Legislatures alone have the power to place the amendment definitely before the whole body of the voters, just so long must those political units which send men to the Legislatures be our primary concern. In work for the Federal amendment the congressional units are important. But ever the assembly district stands pre-eminent in the life of the state.

These political units are the "Senatorial District" from which the members of the Senate or the Upper House of the State Legislatures are drawn, and the "Assembly" or "Legislative District" or "Ward," from which are drawn the members of the Lower House of the State Legislatures. This Lower House and its members are variously named in the different states. For convenience, we shall use the name "Assembly" and "Assembly District" through this pamphlet.

The basis of the Woman Suffrage Party organization is the Assembly District. We do not deal especially with the Senatorial District, for the reason that the several Assembly Districts (generally three) which make up a Senatorial District can always combine to bring pressure to bear upon the State Senator through every Woman Suffrage Party agency that is employed in the case of the Assemblyman.

The aim of the Woman Suffrage Party is to focus all the existing suffrage work directly upon these political representatives of the people to the end that they may be induced to work for the suffrage bill once it has been introduced into the Legislature.

In structure, the Party is like a great pyramid tapering upward from the enrolled membership throughout the entire city, which forms its base, through the Captains and the Leaders of the various Assembly Districts, to the Chairman of the city or state organization at the apex.

This plan of work did not originate with suffragists. It was merely appropriated by them. It is a plan which voters have evolved after a century of political experience. Under test, it has been found to be the most effective possible organization, and should, therefore, prove correspondingly effective to suffragists in their work of preparation for a suffrage campaign.

Collectively the Party can undertake as bold and picturesque work as any organization, but, in addition, this careful, undeviating, systematic political organization work must be constantly carried on by the Central Chairmen, the Leaders of the Assembly Districts and the Captains of the various Election Precincts within the Assembly Districts.

The Party work not only intensifies the suffrage comradeship, but gives a pride in local achievement and a strong neighborhood feeling that, in a great city, is most salutary. It is accompanied inevitably by an awakening of civic pride, and a wholesome breaking down of class distinctions, as women, of the same neighborhood but of widely different training and mode of life, are thus brought together for a common cause.

PLAN FOR A WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY IN ANY STATE

The following program is offered as an outline of procedure, subject always to such modifications as will enable the Woman Suffrage Party to copy more closely the methods of organization followed by the majority political parties of the State in which it is formed.

Program of Work

1st Step.—The appointment of an Organizer for each Assembly District, or whatever may be the name of that geographical division that sends an Assemblyman or Representative to the State Legislature. This Organizer need not be a resident of the District which she is to organize. The personnel of these appointees may be furnished from among the existing suffrage clubs.

2d Step.—The provision of a large amount of "Rainbow Literature," and of enrollment blanks. The money for this purpose may well be supplied by the existing suffrage clubs.

3d Step.—The calling by each Organizer of a local convention in the District which she is organizing composed of all the known suffragists, both men and women, who reside in her District. For this purpose, the boundary lines of the District must be studied and all names set into the proper District according to residence. A convention should be called even if only a few persons are known to be suffragists. The object is to make a start. At this convention a District Leader must be chosen who resides in the District and who will be known as the Leader for the District of the Woman Suffrage Party. Also, an attempt must be made to secure as many persons as possible who will act as Captains of the Election Precincts to serve under the Leader. Further, the best plan of raising money to carry on the Woman Suffrage Party work should be determined upon.

4th Step.—As soon as possible, the Assembly District Leader should call her Captains together to consult as to the best way in which to proceed to cover the work in hand. This is to enroll every man and woman in the District as a member of the Party by signing an enrollment blank. She should tell them the exact boundaries of their Precincts, give them a full supply of "Rainbow Literature," enrollment blanks, and if possible, lists of names of residents, voters' lists (to be obtained from the City Record or the Board of Elections), church lists, etc., to aid them in their work. She should fill them with enthusiasm, suggesting various methods of getting the registration, such as house-to-house canvass, small parlor meetings, big public assemblages, sociables, suffrage teas, dissemination of literature by hand or by mail, persuasive argument, outdoor speaking, debates, etc. Upon the enthusiasm of the Leader and the diligent work of the Captain depends everything.

5th Step.—The Assembly District Leader should endeavor as early as possible to form a District Club, with dues, composed of all those who are willing to pay dues and direct the activities of the District work. The Leader may or may not be the President. The Captains may belong to this Club, as well as anyone who is desirous of taking a more active part than that of an enrolled member merely. The

financial burden of the work must be solved by the Club, and it should be the center of activity for the District. There should be a Secretary and Treasurer, officers to be elected annually. The Club should meet at least once a month.

6th Step.—The extension of the Woman Suffrage Party over the entire State, conventions of Leaders being called to elect a County Committee (if there is more than one District in the County) and a State Committee. These conventions should be called once a year, with duly elected delegates; and the procedure should follow as closely as possible the political organizations of the men.

7th Step.—Put the full force of your membership behind your Assemblyman or Representative in the Legislature, and compel him to favor the Woman Suffrage Bill. Do the same thing in regard to your Senator.

Remarks.—Where a State has already existing clubs, they usually take the lead in forming a Woman Suffrage Party; where there are none, a volunteer band of organizers may follow the same general line of procedure. Maps showing the boundaries of the Districts and Precincts may usually be secured from the headquarters of the political parties. Each Election Precinct Captain should keep a copy of the signatures she gets, but should send the enrollments themselves to her Leader. As soon as possible a County Headquarters should be established, and full lists of the enrolled membership kept there. When in doubt how to proceed, follow as closely as possible the methods of organization employed by the political parties in your State.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

For quick reference as a practical guide, the activities of the Woman Suffrage Party are here set forth from five different sides:

1. Political.
2. Legislative.
3. Propaganda.
4. Education for civic life.
5. Reform.

Political Work

First and foremost, as its form indicates, the work of the Woman Suffrage Party is Political. It endeavors to walk step by step parallel with the legitimate activities of the dominant political parties. At every political meeting, and in every political committee, the Woman Suffrage Party's voice must be heard in undeviating demand for the submission of the woman suffrage amendment to the voters.

It must be impressed upon the minds of all citizens in political life that the members of the Woman Suffrage Party intend to pursue an unswerving course side by side with the men of the dominant parties from whom their enfranchisement in any State must come. Wherever the men are meeting, making platforms, considering candidates for the State Legislature, passing resolutions, or holding primaries or conventions, the Woman Suffrage Party officers and members should be with the insistent and persistent demand that they express themselves in some way upon the suffrage question, that they shall send men to the State Legislature who are pledged to submit the suffrage amendment to the voters of the State, whether the Legislator believes in suffrage or not.

It is necessary to follow the political routine from designation meetings and primaries to State Conventions.

1. Party officers should find the headquarters of the County and State committees for dominant parties. A friendly acquaintance, if possible, should be established between officers and members of these political committees and officers and members of the Woman Suffrage Party.

Much important information can be obtained at these headquarters during the summer. Get from the State headquarters the political calendar for the year. This is generally a printed folder. Supply Assembly District Leaders with copies of the political calendar. Also locate the board of elections. There one may get complete lists, names and addresses of all candidates for the Legislature. Leaders get these names, of course, in their own districts, but a complete list should be on hand at headquarters.

2. Party officers should in every possible way acquaint themselves with the State and local political situation.

3. The Woman Suffrage Party Assembly District Leader should become acquainted with the political party leaders of her District. She should know the location and the officers of all political clubs, and get admission to the clubs for suffrage speakers.

4. The Leader should learn as far as possible her district politics.

5. The Election District Captain should become acquainted with the political captains of her Election District.

6. Suffrage Leader, Captains and all District officers should become acquainted with their Senator and Assemblyman, follow his legislative activities closely and let him be keenly aware of their activities for suffrage. It is a part of district routine to send notices of meetings, invitations to speak, subscriptions to suffrage magazines, to all district men of prominence. The suffrage sentiment of his District must be impressed upon him at its highest value. No suffrage influence should be lost to the Legislators and politicians of an Assembly District. They should be fully conscious that it is the most agitated, the most vital question that they will hear from during the legislative session.

7. On the day of the primary or designation meetings, a delegation of two to four women from every Assembly District should seek a hearing, if only for five minutes, asking:

- (a) For the nomination or designation of a candidate who believes in the submission of the Woman Suffrage amendment.
- (b) For the passage of a resolution favoring the submission of the Woman Suffrage amendment.

8. Before nominating conventions the same course should be pursued.

If suffrage representatives cannot get a hearing, they can distribute appeals within the hall. This being denied, they can stand outside and distribute the appeals. (See Appendix I and II.) This applies to the Senatorial conventions. The Leaders of the Districts that make up a Senatorial District should unite on this.

9. The year of the general State elections the Party should follow out the routine for State conventions and a hearing before the Resolutions Committee asking for a suffrage plank in their platform. (See Appendix III.) In a presidential year the same action should be taken with reference to delegates to the State convention asking them to advocate a plank in the National platform as a recommendation from their State. (See Appendix IV.)

10. Immediately after the candidates for Senate and Assembly (or House of Representatives) have been nominated, begin a systematic interviewing and if possible a pledging of the candidates on the suffrage question. (See Appendix V and VI.)

11. If the organization decides to campaign against a particularly refractory candidate, they should consider:

- (a) Whether the District is a close one or whether there is a chance of success.
- (b) Whether the opposing candidate is sincerely for the submission of the question.
- (c) The past legislative record of the candidate to be fought. (Methods and plans for an aggressive campaign are treated in another leaflet.)

12. The Woman Suffrage Party should never work for a candidate nor ally itself with any political party or organization.

13. After election, one of the first things the new Senator and the new Assemblyman or Representative should hear is the Woman Suffrage question. By simultaneous onslaught upon the conventions or designation meetings of every Assembly District, the undeviating presence of the suffrage advocates at every step in the political routine, he should already have realized that he cannot escape the suffrage demand.

Between election and the convening of the Legislature, each Legislator for the State should be tabulated as to his position on submitting the amendment.

Nothing should satisfy suffrage workers as a culmination to their Political work short of a Legislature, a majority of whose members are pledged to the submission of the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

Legislative Work

In every case, except through a constitutional revision or an initiative petition, an amendment must pass the State Legislature (or sometimes two successive Legislatures), before it can be referred to the voters. Therefore, in nearly every case one of the great fights in our war is to get the bill safely through and out of the Legislature.

1. Form a co-operating legislative committee, composed of heads of all organizations in the State, of which the Woman Suffrage Party Chairman or the State President is Chairman. This committee should meet immediately after election, and thereafter once a week or once in two weeks throughout the winter.

2. Decide upon the form of amendment or suffrage bill.

3. Select a Senator to introduce the bill in the State Senate and an Assemblyman or Representative to introduce it into the Assembly or House of Representatives. If necessary, do some work in the man's own District to show him that there is a strong enough sentiment among his constituents to warrant his championship of the bill. If there is a Men's League in the state, district the members and ask them to call upon, write to and petition their legislators. (See Appendix VII.)

4. Have a legislative agent, some earnest woman, continually at the State Capitol in friendly relations with the introducers of the bill. She should be a student of the political combinations and of the whole legislative procedure, ever pushing the claims of the suffragists, interviewing Assemblymen, sending timely word to Suffrage Party leaders in this and that Assembly District regarding work that needs to be done in a legislative crisis. Here is where the strength of a Woman Suffrage Party organization is shown. Word is sent into a District,

"Your Assemblyman says he does not believe there is much demand in his District." Forthwith he receives a list of the enrolled members, he is showered with letters and telegrams from his own constituents. Many may come to the State Capitol to see him.

5. Urge an early and timely introduction of the bill.

6. After the first reading of the bill, it is referred to a committee. Since this is, in so many States called the Judiciary Committee, we will use that name here. **This is where in most instances the suffrage bills quietly die.** The Suffrage Party proposes the bill shall not so die, and that if it does, it shall not die quietly. At this step in the legislative routine, there is one clear-cut piece of work:—**To get the suffrage bill out of the committee.**

(a) To this end get a hearing before the Judiciary Committees, joint or separate.

(b) Try to get a vote immediately or soon after the hearing.

(c) Demand a report favorable or unfavorable. The latter at least gets it before the House for a discussion and gets that vote, so important to the suffragists of a State, which enables them to see where the Legislators stand.

(d) If the bill is not reported out in reasonable time, interview the members of the Committee.

(e) Begin an aggressive campaign through the press by street meetings, by the rolling up of a petition signed preferably by the voters of the Committeeman's district asking that he vote to report the bill out of Committee. Here, Assembly District organization is invaluable. Canvass the District from the voters' lists obtained from the Board of Elections. Hold mass meetings in the District and always pass resolutions on the submission of the Woman Suffrage amendment and mail them immediately to the Legislator. (See Appendix VIII.) Have prominent people in the district write to him. (See Appendix IX.) The Woman Suffrage Party Leader should keep in touch with the political party leaders of her District during this time. The courtesy of the political headquarters for suffrage meetings may often be obtained at this time and such meetings are very effective.

7. If the Committee remains obdurate, get the introducer of the bill "To move the discharge of the Committee from further consideration of the Woman Suffrage bill." This means a close and careful polling of the members of the Legislature to get votes for the discharge.

8. Where the bill is triumphantly out of Committee, let the Party or Co-operative Committee workers realize that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!" See that it is advantageously placed upon the calendar for its **second reading**. Poll the Legislature again. Be as active as possible in the men's districts. This is the height of the season's work. Hold a chain of legislative mass meetings. In many cases have the Legislators themselves speak. When the day comes for the second reading have deputations from throughout the State, ideally from each Assembly District, the Leader, and two or three Captains on the floor of the House or in their gallery. A parade in the Capitol City is a good idea. Demonstrations at this time need be limited by nothing but money and workers. A whirlwind suffrage week in the Capitol City is effective. Never forget work at home in the Assembly Districts of doubtful or adverse men.

9. When the bill has been passed through the second reading, dilatory tactics are often used by those corrupt politicians who are opposing the passage of the Woman Suffrage bill with that desperate eagerness that constitutes the highest tribute to and the best argument for Woman Suffrage.

10. The next step is for placing the bill on the calendar for the final reading and successful passage. One political trick to block the suffragists is to refer the bill at last to a Committee, often the Committee on Rules. Then the suffragists must fight strenuously to the last ditch. Again they must begin the routine, send out circulars, hold meetings, and besiege the members of this Committee to report the bill out for final passage. (See Appendix X)

11. In the meanwhile on the eve of success, the Governor and his signature should be assured. (Not in all States.)

12. In some States this entire program must be carried out in two successive Legislatures.

We do not in this pamphlet attempt to cover the procedure of the final campaign in the State where the amendment has been submitted; but from past experience and by evident deduction any suffrage worker can see that in proportion as the State is covered by a Woman Suffrage Party district organization, in that proportion a successful campaign is certain.

Propaganda

All our technical, political and legislative work will profit us little unless we are at the same time preparing the minds of the people for this great reform.

The means by which the Suffrage message can be conveyed are innumerable, from toy "Votes for Women" balloons to magnificent banners; from Suffrage Party enrollment blanks and brown paper grocery bags to artistic booklets; from street meetings to parades. The resourceful worker, the Publicity and Public Demonstration and Entertainment Committees of a district will devise a thousand ways of appealing locally and generally to the heart and mind of the unconvinced, and of getting the message of equal suffrage to those who would never come to us in a regular suffrage meeting.

1. The hard but fruitful way is through the work of the Election District Captain in her house to house canvassing. She will speak to and leave literature with all the tradespeople, all the apartment house janitors. She will call, call, call on all the people in her District, convincing them by personal discussion and influence, and enrolling them in the District organization. (See Appendix XI.) The Party should furnish her with the "Rainbow Literature" to distribute freely. These may be secured from the National Woman Suffrage Co., Inc.

2. The Election District Captains and Party workers should hold parlor and shop neighborhood meetings; they should appear before locals of the unions, men's clubs, political and social groups; they should penetrate into slot machine and moving picture places. They should wear the suffrage button always, that the whole neighborhood will know what they stand for.

3. The Leader should work up a large body of Captains and call Captains' meetings as often as once a month to get their reports and in every way to stimulate the district work.

4. Two or three times during the year there should be a great District mass meeting.

5. Street meetings should be held frequently at the various corners and squares of the District.

6. The politicians, leaders and Legislators of Assembly Districts should be notified of and invited to District activities. While the propaganda work goes on not one motion the suffragists make should be lost politically. (See Appendix XII.)

7. It is well to have a leaflet on District activities to give to new recruits who want to do home work in their Districts. (See Appendix XIII and XIV.)

8. Suffrage plays written and acted by members of the District Dramatic Committee have been a source of revenue and of propaganda.

9. Assembly District headquarters as a center for the District Suffrage Club are a wonderful help in strengthening the work and in gathering in recruits. The working up of the Assembly District Club with a dues-paying basis from the Captains and active workers and the non-dues-paying enrollments, is a department of Party activity that requires a pamphlet by itself.

10. Different Districts lend themselves to various forms of propaganda. A sewing circle where women come with sewing and mending, while a suffrage book is read and District plans discussed, has been utilized in home Districts.

11. District fairs, District dances, District classes of different kinds have been used for converting and strengthening the District organization.

12. The social settlement for suffrage centers, the suffrage lunch and tea room, the suffrage gift shop, sales of "votes for women" candy and other articles, "votes for women" flower shows, "votes for women" dog shows and cat shows, and District sleigh-rides, are all methods which an alert District worker has used to raise money, increase members, and carry on propaganda.

13. The political reception is a valuable feature of District life. A Leader with her District officers and her Captains has given with great success a reception afternoon or evening and invited all the Legislators of her District.

14. The Flying Squadron of automobiles, or workers on foot with flags and regalia, is a method of stimulating weak districts. The free lances or minute women of the Party, who are not over-burdened with official work, should be organized to go into different districts to do intensive work for a day or a week, covering the district with canvassing, parades, street meetings, etc.

15. Besides all the splendid effective localized activity of the Party which is its basic power, the Central Committee should conceive and carry out plans of an aggressive and dignified character on a larger scale. The great annual city convention of the Party is not only for the adoption of a Party platform and declaring the election of officers, but for presenting to the public a brilliant programme calculated to win converts. (See Appendix XV.)

16. On all special occasions, as in time of rejoicing over a suffrage victory, at a legislative crisis, for protest or for jubilation, the Party as a whole should hold great mass meetings.

17. Theatrical benefits are a source of propaganda and revenue. However, for the latter it must be said that not much time and strength should have to go into entertainments for revenue. The Party must always be supported mainly by general contributions and pledges, obtained at big mass meetings.

18. The Party should make the most of all opportunities for unusual demonstrations. In a broad spirit of service for the cause, suffragists should remember that no time or place can detract from the dignity of the cause as long as the suffragist who represents it is dignified, gracious, tactful and earnest. A wonderful way to reach people is by maintaining a tent during the summer months at some popular resort near a city, a different Assembly District taking charge

each week. A lunch wagon can be hired and run by suffragists with great effect. Special holiday celebrations can be utilized, such as the decorating of the patriotic statues of a city. A picturesque parade and speeches the Fourth of July are effective. Places on programmes of other entertainments; booths at pure food, domestic science, governmental and industrial exhibitions; admission for propaganda work at fairs and benefits; an opportunity to take a place on the programme in a vaudeville house or run in lantern slides of suffrage cartoons or sentiments—all these opportunities should be used by the Party.

19. The Party demonstrations should as far as possible emphasize the Party organizations, banners and badges of the Assembly Districts should show in living terms something of the scope and character of the Party.

20. Any unusual occasion, a public celebration or event, a tragedy or a crisis, should be seized upon by suffragists, to drive home the suffrage lesson.

21. The procedure for press work requires a pamphlet by itself. There should be a press chairman and an active co-operating member in each assembly district. The full measure of publicity and propaganda accorded by the press depends much upon the resourcefulness, adroitness and general efficiency of the suffragists in "getting things over."

Education for Civic Life

The whole of the Party activity is a wonderful civic education. By making a Precinct Captain and her workers responsible for the few hundred people in an Election District or Precinct and then connecting her activity up to the great systematic organization of the Woman Suffrage Party, not only is the suffrage cause furthered but the workers are wonderfully trained. This sort of organization for team work and united effort is the genius of modern life. Until women, who from lack of training or experience are impatient of or awed by big combinations, are trained up to such standards of work, they cannot be vital factors in the world life of to-day. The patient, careful work which the organization requires is the best training in the world.

1. The Party worker must have some parliamentary knowledge. A class in parliamentary law has been run in some Party organizations.

2. The Woman Suffrage Party woman learns to be faithful to political meetings and to be conscientious about coming out to vote. Beginning with her own Assembly District conventions up to the city conventions she learns by practical experience the routine of electing officers and delegates.

3. On its political committees and its legislative committees Woman Suffrage Party workers learn the whole technique of government and of political methods.

4. This great volume of volunteer work develops a spirit of social service that is the basis of good citizenship.

5. Perhaps nothing in the Party movement is more remarkable than the education which the Party woman gets in real, not theoretical, democracy. Working side by side with Leaders and Captains from every section, color, race, creed and conditions in a big city, she forgets the existence of class distinctions.

6. The speakers' classes, and still better, the experience in drawing room, hall, theatre and street corner, develops a large body of woman speakers.

7. Aside from the development of ability, the general ethical development of women who do this well-built, orderly, persistent, often inglorious work, is very remarkable.

8. A flaming demand for reform and readjustment is aroused in the women of the Party as they are called into close touch with every portion of our great cities, into intimate knowledge of police and political conditions and as they see the degradation and oppression of humanity, especially of childhood and womanhood.

Reform

It will always be a great question for organized suffragists to decide how far suffrage organizations shall take action upon reform matters. We are more or less solid on the subject of political partisanship. We know that the Woman Suffrage Party **must keep free of all political alliances**, as we must, as a non-partisan body, take our suffrage demand before committees, legislatures, and bodies of voters of all parties.

But, when it comes to burning social questions, the very form of a Woman Suffrage Party platform (See Appendix XVI) shows that we cannot be oblivious of these vital things. It will take tact, courage, judgment, to decide how far to become allied with or to divert our activity toward other great movements. One thing must be remembered—pounds of alleviation will not equal one ounce of the cure which comes with woman's enfranchisement. We are organized for the enfranchisement of women, and we find, because all these other things are of such burning moment to us, because we realize that mistakes are being made which carry tragedy in their train, that we must all the more insist that we be armed with the one weapon known to modern governments, the ballot. However, certain recognition the Party must pay to existing struggles:

1. With social and reform bodies, affiliation is possible.
2. Resolutions and endorsements relative to many social matters are often imperative on the city committee of the Woman Suffrage Party.

3. The primary point at which we must vitally come in contact with reform conditions is in our relation to the labor world. The Party will naturally be in close sympathy with the Woman's Trade Union movement.

4. An important part of Party activity is a Wage-Earners' Suffrage League. (See Appendix XVII.) A labor chairman should be one of the many chairmen of standing committees on the city committee. She may, or may not, be president of the Wage-Earners' League. Besides their central activities, labor meetings, etc., the Wage-Earners' League members should be distributed and in touch with the District organization.

5. At least once during the year the Party should hold a great labor mass meeting, previous to which the Locals of all the Unions should have been visited with requests to send delegations.

6. The Party should participate in the Labor Day Parade, and other labor demonstrations. Fraternal greetings and fraternal delegates should be sent to great Women's Trade Union and Labor congresses and conventions. Resolutions of sympathy and endorsement are in order in connection with many events in the course of the struggle in the labor world.

7. Adoption of resolutions on various subjects of a social nature are in order to be sent to President, Governor, Mayor, Police Commissioner and other officials.

8. A Leader and her Captains have been known to wait upon the proper city authorities to demand better street conditions, the suppression of factory or smoke nuisances, police protection, etc.

9. Prison reform, abolition not regulation of the White Slave traffic, the struggle against child-labor, reform of criminal court procedure—concerning these the party will protest, pass resolutions, speak on the street corners, endorse organizations specially formed to cope with these matters; but no single-minded suffragist will be diverted by the individual instance, by even the most crying social defect, but will ever remember that causes and conditions are the foes that must be routed and that the one effective weapon is the ballot, and that the most effective way to gain the ballot is through Woman Suffrage Party organization.

APPENDIX

I

FORM APPEAL TO NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

To the Assembly District Nominating Conventions of

The Woman Suffrage Party, organized in the Assembly Districts of this State, and numbering more than members, hereby appeals to you to nominate for the State Assembly a man who is favorable to the submission to popular vote of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women. We do not ask that your candidate be necessarily an advocate of woman suffrage, but we do ask that he shall be fair-minded enough to stand for a referendum on the question.

To withhold such submission, as the Legislature has repeatedly done, is to arbitrarily usurp authority which clearly belongs to the electorate. Can not the voters of the State be trusted to express themselves on this measure?

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

II

FORM FOR APPEAL TO DELEGATES OF ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTIONS

To the Delegates of the Assembly District Conventions of

The Woman Suffrage Party, of organized in assembly districts and numbering more than members, hereby petitions you to instruct the delegates to your State Convention to use their influence and their votes to secure from that Convention a declaration in the party platform, in favor of submitting to popular vote a constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage. The State Legislature, for incomprehensible reasons, refuses, year after year, to submit such an amendment. Having no power to extend the suffrage, the Legislature has no right to ignore the demands of the thousands of women who annually petition for consideration of this question. We appeal from this arbitrary and undemocratic action of the State Legislature to you, the voters who create that Legislature.

We do not ask you or your party to endorse woman suffrage; we do ask you to endorse the principle involved in a referendum of this question to the sovereign voters of the State which is the method of extending the franchise clearly provided by the Constitution.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

III

FORM FOR APPEAL TO STATE CONVENTIONS.

To the Delegates to the Democratic State Convention,

Place....., Date.....

Gentlemen:

What is this Convention going to do for the WOMEN of this State? thousand women of want an answer to this question. thousand women ask you to vote a WOMAN SUFFRAGE PLANK INTO YOUR STATE PLATFORM.

Does the Democratic party stand for the RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL, as once it did?

Does the expressed desire of thousand citizens MEAN ANYTHING AT ALL to the Democratic party?

What is this DEMOCRACY that you seek to establish, which sees nothing wrong in levying Taxes upon AMERICAN WOMEN and then driving them away from the polls?

Our ancient industries have been taken out of the home. Is the Democratic party willing to allow women to go out into the labor market to earn their bread, DEFENSELESS AND HELPLESS WITHOUT THE BALLOT?

Is the Democratic party to keep on denying women a voice in making the laws under which they must live and at the same time continue to prate to the world about DEMOCRACY?

Does success at the polls in November for the Democratic party mean a Legislature that will ROB WOMEN of a HARD-EARNED LEGISLATIVE VICTORY?

Does success at the polls in November mean a Legislature that will deny the MEN of this State their RIGHT to vote upon the freedom of their women?

Does Democratic rule in this State mean FREEDOM FOR MEN and POLITICAL SUBJECTION FOR WOMEN?

Are these the conditions for which the party of Thomas Jefferson will stand during the next two years? To-day is a NEW DAY, and WE WANT TO KNOW WHAT DEMOCRATIC RULE MEANS. YOUR PLATFORM WILL TELL US, AND WE ARE WAITING.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

To the Delegates to the Republican State Convention,

Place....., Date.....

Gentlemen:

The Republican party has learned the meaning of INSURGENCY. You are summoned to attend the most momentous convention in the history of the State organization. To-day is a new day, and new problems confront you. thousand women are demanding the elective franchise; WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? WE ask you to vote a WOMAN SUFFRAGE PLANK INTO YOUR STATE PLATFORM.

Will the party that freed the negro longer ignore the political slavery of women?

Will it continue to allow AMERICAN WOMEN to be herded into line at the Tax Office, and then driven away from the polls?

Does the expressed desire of one hundred thousand citizens MEAN ANYTHING to your leaders?

Our ancient industries have been taken out of the home, and women by millions are following the work, going into the shop and the factory. Will the Republican party stand for an unfranchised and helpless LABORING CLASS?

Is a Republican victory at the polls in November to mean the DELIBERATE NON-RECOGNITION of woman's just claim to the ballot?

Will the Republican party continue to deny women any voice in making the laws under which they must live, while boasting of REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS?

Are the MEN OF THIS STATE to be free, while the WOMEN ARE KEPT in political subjection, under a Republican administration?

Are these the conditions for which the Republican party of this STATE will stand during the next two years?

YOUR PLATFORM WILL TELL US, AND WE ARE WAITING.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

IV

FORM FOR APPEAL FOR PLANK IN NATIONAL PLATFORM

To the Delegates of the State Convention.
Greetings:

The Woman Suffrage Party of organized in Assembly Districts, numbering more than men and women, hereby appeals to you most earnestly to use your influence as a delegate to the Convention to secure a recommendation from the State of advocating a plank in the national platform in favor of Woman Suffrage. In asking this measure of justice to women we call your attention to the fact that in states women already have the full franchise and that in states the question goes to the voters for decision this Fall.

In view of the world-wide growth of this movement and of its inevitable success we ask you to realize that the great Party can no longer remain silent on an issue of such magnitude, and we urge you to realize the wisdom of the statesmanship which dictates national recognition of the question immediately.

(Signed by the Officers of the Party.)

V

FORM FOR SECURING PLEDGE OF CANDIDATES

Hon.
Dear Sir:

I have noticed your nomination for a member of the Assembly (or Senate) for the District on the ticket. Will you kindly tell me, as a resident of your District, whether, if elected, you will favor submission to the voters of the question of woman suffrage as a constitutional amendment?

Your support of such a resolution will not be taken to mean that you favor woman suffrage nor does it in any way bind you to vote for the same. I feel, however, that the question has become one of such general interest that an expression of the popular will should be obtained, and that it is manifestly unfair and un-American that the political liberties of half of our citizens should be denied by the will of an indifferent or adverse Legislature.

I would be deeply grateful if you would advise me of your position in this matter.

Respectfully yours,
(Stamped and addressed envelope enclosed.)

VI

FORM PLEDGE

1. I hereby give assurance, pledge, promise, that if I am on the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly in the State of I will do all in my power to have the bill reported out of Committee and will so vote.

2. That I will vote on the floor of the Assembly for submitting the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the voters of the State of

3. That I will honestly endeavor to be present when such vote is taken.

VII

FORM FOR LETTER TO BE SENT TO MEN'S LEAGUES

My dear Mr.

We appeal to you as an enrolled member of the Men's League in the Assembly District to send signed with your name and address and your Election District some such letter as the enclosed. Will you see Assemblyman personally, if possible, and do work through any political situation that may be known to you in the district whereby you may bring influence to bear upon Mr. in this matter? This is a very important office that you may perform for your sister suffragists at this time.

Yours cordially,

(Enclose suggested form asking for the report out of committee, or the vote on the floor of the house.)

VIII

FORM FOR RESOLUTIONS TO BE SENT TO ASSEMBLYMEN

(These resolutions should vary in form if you send them several consecutive weeks or months to your Legislature.)

RESOLVED: That we, the residents of Assembly District, in public meeting assembled, on this of 191, do hereby request that our Assemblyman, the Hon. Mr. respect our wishes and exert his utmost influence to have the bill providing for the submission of a suffrage amendment reported out of Committee and to have the question submitted to the voters.

IX

FORM FOR LETTER TO BE SENT TO ASSEMBLYMEN

Honorable Mr. (Assemblyman, Senator, or Representative).

Dear Sir:

As our Assemblyman (or Senator), we suffragists of the Woman Suffrage Party of the Assembly District are looking to you to do justice to our cause this year, by doing everything that you can to see that the Woman Suffrage Amendment is reported out of Committee and on the floor of the House voted out to the voters of this State. We feel that there is no other one matter which is occupying the minds of so many people in your Assembly District as this one great subject, which is being agitated in every nation the world over.

We are sure that we can trust this matter to you.

Yours respectfully,

X

FORM FOR LETTER TO GET BILL OUT OF COMMITTEE

Co-operating Committee of Woman Suffrage Associations

Dear _____

On the day of, in the Assembly, our bill passed by a vote of to; a great victory for us. But our bill has now been referred to the Committee on Rules. We must, if possible, get it reported at once. The members of the committee are: (names and addresses).

Please send a letter, or, better still, a telegram, addressed to any member of the committee or to the Rules Committee.

Do it to-day! Send it not later than (date). We have a chance to win this year. It depends on you. **Do your part! Do it now!**

Yours for victory,
(Signed by Members of the Committee.)

XI

ENROLLMENT BLANK

I, of Street, City, believing that women as well as men should vote, hereby join the Woman Suffrage Party, with the understanding that it is non-partisan in character, and that this action does not interfere with my regular political affiliations.

Assembly District..... Election District.....

XII

FORM FOR AN ORGANIZATION LEAFLET

Things Necessary to do at Every Meeting, Large or Small, in the Assembly (or Representative) Districts or the Senatorial Districts.

1. Give people who attend the meeting the name and address of their Senator and Assemblyman. It is preferable to have a number of typewritten slips bearing the names and addresses, and the appeal "Please help the cause of this district by pledging yourself to write to these two men."

2. Pass a resolution as strongly worded as possible which the Leader or the Secretary will send promptly to the Senator and the Assemblyman.

3. Call attention to the Party organ, if there is one. Urge subscriptions to it. Have copies at the meeting which people can see.

4. Always call attention to the district map, which it would be well to have pinned up back of the table at which the Leader presides. Many people have vague ideas when they hear talk about Assembly Districts and Election Districts.

5. Always have literature, buttons, pencils and pens at the meeting. You may appoint a committee to attend to these, but it is well for the Leader always to speak of these articles and their price.

6. Always take up a collection. If you only get \$1.00, it will go toward defraying your postage expenses.

7. Always take enrollments.

8. Always speak of the plan of the Party organization. Emphasize its usefulness. Put up to the suffragists present the possibility of its efficiency and make a plea for captains.

9. Always call for reports of Captains and give some definite information to Captains. (The actual reports from captains refer more to your private business meetings than to your public meetings, although a plea for captains and an outline of the work of the captains should always be spoken of.)

10. At every meeting ask for volunteers for any kind of suffrage activities: Teas, At Homes, Entertainments, Flying Squadron, etc. People are better suffragists after they have done something—ever so little—for the cause.

XIII

FORM LEAFLET FOR DISTRICT WORKERS

1. Use the lists of those names that you already have at headquarters of people registered in the district. Call upon people who look as though they might be promising.

2. Get what enrollments you can from casual canvassing in the district shops, apartment houses, places of amusement, etc. Ask anyone who seems to be a hopeful person as a possible officer of the district to call at headquarters for further information.

3. Hold street meetings in the district, at which specially beg for workers. This applies especially to the warmer months in the year.

4. Look out for inexpensive meeting places in the district; vacant shops, club rooms, church houses, school rooms or tea rooms, or any private home that may be offered.

5. Use Dow's Directory or the Elite Directory, the Teachers' Directory or the Voters' list. All these give names consecutively by street and number and it is very easy to map out your district from these lists. (Emphasis should be made upon getting as many voters as possible in the district.)

6. Approach news-stands to see if you can get literature and enrollment blanks sent into houses with newspapers.

7. Find out what you can do in amusement places, slot machine arcades, vaudeville houses, etc. Try to get our stereopticons run on in some variety performance in your district. Visit the shops, large and small, in your district.

8. Enroll men and women in department stores.

9. Get in touch with the settlements, working girls' clubs and unions, and the Y. M. C. A.'s in your district.

10. Get lists from the Consumers' League, Trade Union League and the Women's Municipal League.

11. Always send notices of the meetings in the district to the Senator and Assemblyman and leading politicians.

12. SEE THE POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE DOMINANT PARTIES. Get on friendly terms with them and they will in many cases allow you to use their club rooms and will send you invitations to their social gatherings, which some committee from the district should attend.

13. Get in touch with the women's auxiliaries of the Republican and Democratic organizations of your district. This is very important.

14. Get in touch with any particular national group, like the Jewish, the Bohemian, the Norwegian, the Italian, or the German. If there is a local national paper published, see what the editor will do for you in the way of translating our English into that language.

15. Keep a book of your field work, in which keep not only your figures as to enrollments, people visited, but also interesting and picturesque incidents that might do for the press. Also keep pages of people classified as hopeful and unconverted. A great deal of valuable data will slip out of the mind of the worker unless she has some system for recording these items.

16. Get after any classes of people you find.

17. Have an evening for teachers in your district. Look up nurses. Look up wives of doctors, clergymen, etc. Get in touch with all the churches in your district that you can. Attend services, prayer meetings and try to interest them. This will require tact and circumspection.

18. Send out enrollment blanks when paying bills or sending orders. Stamp checks and business documents with "Votes for Women" stamp.

Many other methods and activities will suggest themselves to people who are resourceful and interested in this structural work, and bent upon filling the District with suffrage sentiment and strengthening the organization of the Party which means so much to the coherent and effective suffrage life of any Assembly District.

XIV

ANOTHER FORM LEAFLET FOR DISTRICT WORKERS

1. List all the clubs, organizations, etc. Try to get hearings before those that are hospitable.

2. The Leaders should get all the people they can in their districts to do systematic handing out of literature.

3. Try to get the suffrage slides presented in the five-cent theatres.

4. Get lists of foreign newspapers in the city.

5. Get reform and social facts that could be put into the hands of people.

6. Have geographically located meetings in these districts.

7. Get in touch with groups of the district by professions, doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergymen and social workers.

8. Enlist the settlements.

9. Enlist the churches and church clubs.

10. Enlist the mothers' clubs.

11. Get in touch with any lodging houses and homes.

12. Circularize audiences coming from Public School lectures.

XV

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONVENTIONS

Woman suffrage parties often hold their elections in the fall. One objection to this is that it interferes with the campaigns in October. A good suggestion is to hold:

1. Assembly District conventions the second week in January. At this convention:

A. Leader and district officers are elected.

B. City officers nominated.

C. Delegates elected to the City Convention.

D. District plans made.

2. City elections may or may not be held the day of the City Convention which may come about the last of January.

Each Party organization may adopt its own constitution or by-laws in which details or procedure may be worked out to suit conditions.

XVI

PLATFORM OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

We, the delegates of the Woman Suffrage Party in Convention assembled on (date), do join in the following declaration of principles:

1. The claim that the American Government is a government of the people, by the people, for the people is a pretense and a delusion as long as one-half of the people are deprived of all voice in that government.

2. Food, clothing and shelter are the fundamental needs of the people and they are and always have been the primary concern of women in the home. We therefore denounce a political system which robs the home of adequate representation and makes business and finance the chief interests of politics.

3. We protest against the iniquity of a political system which refuses to grant to the six million working women engaged in industries outside the Suffrage States a share in the making and enforcing of the laws which control every matter which is vital to their health and well-being.

4. Until the enfranchisement of women, we call upon all women to oppose the idea of a uniform divorce law, because at the present time such a law would be made by men only and therefore necessarily discriminate against women. We declare that in all public conferences and commissions appointed to consider this subject women should have an equal voice with men.

5. We renew our condemnation of the suicidal policy of permitting child labor and give our support to all humanitarian legislation looking toward the amelioration of race-destroying tendencies.

6. In face of the revelations of the white slave traffic and the demonstrated connection between poverty and prostitution, we declare that the time has come for a complete program of social legislation, including a minimum wage, shorter hours, steady employment, better housing and extensive public recreation.

7. We view with alarm that reactionary educational movement which would restrict the education of women to domestic science and ignore their right to a full and free intellectual life of their own.

8. We congratulate the teachers of on their successful struggle for the principle of equal pay for equal work and urge the extension of the principle to the work of industrial women.

9. We repeat our plea for the appointment of women as judges and magistrates in the courts in order that the interests of women and children may be better safeguarded.

10. We express our deepest appreciation of what our English sisters have done for the woman's movement the world over and urge our own women to exhibit equal self-sacrifice and loyalty as occasions may arise.

XVII
FORM LEAFLET FOR WAGE-EARNERS' SUFFRAGE
LEAGUE

Why are you paid less than a man?
Why do you work in a fire-trap?
Why are your hours so long?
Why are you all strap hangers when you pay for a seat?
Why do you pay the most rent for the worst houses?
Why does the cost of living go up while wages go down?
Why do your children go into factories?
Why do you eat adulterated food?
Why don't you get a square deal in the courts?

Because You are a Woman and Have No Vote.
Votes Make the Law.
Votes Enforce the Law.
The Law Controls Conditions.
Women Who Want Better Conditions MUST Vote.
Join the Wage-Earners' Suffrage League.

Fee: Ten Cents a Month.
Fill in the Slip Below and Come to the Next Meeting.

I,
Occupation
Home AddressStreet.....City
believing in votes for women, hereby agree to join the Wage-Earners'
Suffrage League and work for it.

A TRUE STORY

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

Li Po Ton was a little Chinese maiden, born in the inland province of Hupeh, in far-away China.

Her earliest recollection was of sitting, with her little twin brother, Chin Wah, in her grandfather's sunny garden, which ran close down to the big, blue Han River, and watching the boats of every imaginable color and size, as they floated down to the great Yangtse Kiang. The little maiden's grandfather, Chin Wah Ton, was known as a rich man in those parts. He had two great rice fields, a tobacco plantation, an orchard of cherries, and a comfortable house, on the roof of which was a most wonderful garden, full of fat cabbages and fresh-smelling leeks. He was a man of much influence, and many came to seek his advice and instructions. At one time he had been a kuan, and ever since had carried an added prestige and dignity. His learning and piety were famed all through the province, even so far away as the great city of Wuchang, where he made a journey in his richly-upholstered palanquin twice every year to sell the merchants there the products of his lands.

In one particular only had he ever been unfortunate. He had three wives and many children; but, despite his piety, the children had all been girls, save one. Chin Wah Ton hated girls, and his whole affection was lavished upon this son. Upon him would depend not only the responsibility of maintaining the family name, but the more important duty of performing those annual ceremonials at the grave of his father, through which aid alone the soul of Chin Wah might hope to rest in peace.

The son grew and prospered; but alas! when he had been married but three years, he fell sick and died. The grief of the father was piteous to see; but in the midst of his sorrow there was one hope. The son had himself had a son, the little twin brother of Li Po Ton, who had been named after his grandfather, Chin Wah Ton. So it came about that the little Chin Wah became the light and joy of his grandfather's eyes—his one hope and happiness.

Two more contented children would be hard to find than these little twins of Hupeh. All the long, sunny days they flitted about like gay butterflies.

among the garden plants; now picking up the red cherries which had fallen from the big trees; now sailing in a tub their little toy boats, all covered with bright streamers, exactly like those they saw on the great river; and now climbing to the rooftop to look at the wonderful garden. To be sure, when one of the brilliant butterflies sailed temptingly through the air and Chin Wah rushed after it in gay pursuit, little Li Po Ton was left far behind in the chase, for her poor bound feet refused to carry her, and when she tried to run they ached piteously. There were many other games in which she found herself distanced, but little Chin Wah was patient and good, and she was happy—innocent, sweet little Li Po Ton! Yet there was another grief which sometimes sent a quick, sharp pain through her little child heart; for she had not been slow to notice that her grandfather, the great Chin Wah, had plenty of caresses and words of affection for her twin brother, but paid no more attention to her than if she had been one of the cabbages in his garden. Why was it so? We shall see.

One day she missed little Chin Wah, and although she hunted all through the garden, he was nowhere to be found. At last he came running out of the house, his eyes shining and his face all aglow with excitement, but when he saw Li Po standing pleased and glad in the shadow of a

rose-bush, he drew himself up in an affected attitude of superiority and looked scornfully at her.

"Oh, ho!" he exclaimed. "I can't play with you any more. I have just had my first lesson in reading, and a man is coming every day to teach me more. I am going to be a great man, like grandfather, and ride in a palanquin, but you can't learn to read. Grandfather said so. You are a girl."

Poor little maid! For the first time she saw the barrier between them.

The next day, when she cautiously peeped through the door and saw Chin Wah standing straight and proud before a strange man, who was showing him curious figures on a strip of red paper, she seemed to realize at once that the happy playtime had gone forever. If there had been any hope left in her mind that the good times might return, it was effectually dispelled when, a little later, on the day of the great annual festival, she saw little Chin Wah ready to go with his grandfather to see the ceremonies. Little girls, and big ones, too, for that matter, always stayed at home, but it was a grand gala day for the boys. After the manner of his countrymen, Chin Wah was clad in a suit entirely new. Very wonderful, Li Po Ton thought it. Indeed, with his wide trousers of bright green silk, his tunic of blue brocade, bound with white silk and covered with gold embroidery, his purple embroidered

shoes, and the long skeins of red silk braided into his black queue, Chin Wah did cut a most remarkable figure and looked very like one of the pretty butterflies he was fond of chasing. He caught sight of his little sister and threw her another of his scornful glances. It was then she knew the barrier between them could never be crossed.

After that she passed her time curled up on a cushion by her mother's side, learning to sew and to embroider. Her only pleasure was the hour she walked in the garden. Although she had no companion, and her poor feet could only hobble, yet the bright skies, the familiar blue river and the old cherry trees were restful to her sight, and filled her mind with something akin to peace and contentment.

One day, when she was twelve years old, her grandfather sent for her. She found him sitting cross-legged on the floor opposite a strange man, who wore the most wonderful queue she had ever seen. As he sat on his cushion it lay on the floor like a great snake and seemed to reach half across the floor. Both were smoking long pipes, and neither seemed to see her as she entered. She stood before them motionless and with downcast eyes. Without speaking, Chin Wah motioned her to stand nearer his guest. She could not tell why, but somehow this

stranger, with his fierce black eyes, filled her with terror, and she felt that his presence boded her no good. Cold chills ran up and down her back as he tapped her on the head, examined her feet, felt of her arms, shoulders and legs.

"Pretty girl; good girl," grunted Chin Wah.

Indeed, she was a pretty sight, with her plump pink cheeks, soft black eyes, and delicate mouth filled with sharp white teeth; but she had never heard this before.

"Ugh!" exclaimed the stranger. "No good; too fat; too little."

With another gesture from Chin Wah, Li Po Ton was sent from the room. What could it mean, this new mystery? She ran straight to her mother and told her what had happened. But the mother knew nothing. She could guess, however. She knew how Chin Wah hated girls. She was familiar with his grasping disposition, and had heard his grumblings when he paid the marriage portion of each of his many daughters. It was not unlikely he thought to gain something from his granddaughter, whom he had always treated with contempt. Gently as she could, she told the maiden what she feared it might mean, and together they wept. Disentangling herself from her mother's arms, Li Po crept back to the door of the reception room, and cautiously peeped within. The stranger was

counting out a handful of money, and, as he did so, muttering between the puffs of his long pipe, "Too much, too much!" With her heart filled with terror, Li Po Ton flew back to her mother and fell at her feet in a spasm of agonized weeping.

Soon Chin Wah called her again, and, bidding her say good-bye to her mother, told her she was to go away with the stranger. Chinese children of both sexes are taught filial respect and obedience to a remarkable degree, and Li Po Ton had no thought to question whether she was going, or why. With a dull, heavy pain in her heart, she was placed in the palanquin by the side of the strange man. All day long they traveled and the little girl sat as still as a mouse, speaking not a word. At night they went on board a boat. Li Po was put into a bunk, where, with her head buried in the blankets, she quietly cried herself to sleep. In a day or two they came in sight of a great city; and the noise and confusion, so new to her, abstracted her attention to the exclusion of her own misery. Then they were carried to the biggest ship she had ever seen, and she was put to bed in a berth several feet from the floor. All around her were other passengers, and not a few girls near her own age, who seemed also to belong to the stranger. With these she might have found companionship, but soon the rocking of the ship sent

them all to bed, and the dreadful seasickness made her forget all else. The time seemed interminable, with no one to comfort or say one word of cheer. She wondered in vain to what strange land she might be going, for the stranger guardian had never seen fit to give her any information as to her destination. Had she known how to pray she would have prayed for death. As it was, she looked through the round port-hole windows at the rolling, foam-capped waves, and longed to bury all her sorrows beneath them forever.

Well might she make this wish, for Li Po Ton was a slave. At last they came to land, and she was led down the gang-plank into a great crowd of shouting, noisy people. Some men with a strange dress of blue cloth and brass buttons hustled her away into a dark, gloomy room where there were many Chinamen and a few Chinese girls. There they stood, glancing timidly about them, with the same hunted look in their faces that she felt must be in her own. She longed to speak to them; perhaps they could tell her where they were; but she saw the fierce eyes of the stranger upon her and she dared not.

There was a great deal of talking in a strange language, a great many questions asked and answered, a showing of white tickets—all a mystery to her. Then she was hurried again into the street, and with all the

other girls was seated in a queer vehicle, which whizzed along the streets and stopped for people to get on and off. It all interested, but it terrified her. At last they got off the car, the stranger leading, or rather driving them down a dark, narrow alley. Here she felt more at home, for the people were her own countrymen, although they stared at them in an uncomfortable manner. The stranger led them into a long low room, already crowded with Chinamen. No sooner were they inside than a big, fat man, whom the others called Wah Lee, shouted: "Which is my girl?"

"This is the girl I bought for you," said the stranger, as he pointed to Li Po Ton. "Three hundred dollars is her price."

After a thorough examination of her person, which satisfied him that she was sound and a good bargain, Wah Lee counted out the gold, and taking the little girl by the hand, led her down the street.

Through alley after alley they passed until they came to the door of a little tumble-down, dark-looking building. Wah Lee opened the door and thrust her inside, locking the door after her.

Here there were other women, her own China women. They came and took her by the hand, patted her on the back, smoothed her cheek, and looked into her eyes with sympathy. There were young girls like herself,

and there was one woman who made her think of her own mother. The room was low and narrow. Bunks rested against the wall on one side. There was just room for three bunks from floor to ceiling, and just room for two tiers placed end to end. Between the bunks and the opposite wall was a space about three feet in width. The only furniture was six blue-painted wooden stools. There was a door and one tiny square window, securely cross-barred with iron like the windows of a penitentiary. It was no pleasure to look out at this window, for there was nothing but the dark alley to look into, enlivened only by an occasional passing Chinaman. As these passers-by never failed to stare through the iron bars to grin at them, there was no particular need of peering out for the sake of seeing them.

In response to the queries of these new friends, Li Po Ton related all the details of her journey, described her home and early life, and then plied them with the eager questions which for so long a time had been uppermost in her mind: "Why are we here? What does it mean?"

The women looked from one to another, and hesitated. Just then Wah Lee brought in their supper of boiled cabbage and rice. Li Po Ton was hungry, and ate heartily. When her appetite was satisfied the new master bade her climb to the top berth.

Soon she was sleeping the sleep of the innocent, so sweetly and so soundly that, whatever may have transpired in the little room that night, she knew nothing of it.

After breakfast, the next morning, the master locked the door, as usual, and went away. Seated upon their wooden stools again, there was nothing to do but talk. Little by little, the women acquainted the new-comer with her fate. They told her she would not be permitted to rest another night.

"But," she said, "can we not run away?"

"Run away?" one of the women replied. "The door is always locked; and there is no place to go. Besides, the master told us once of a woman who ran away, and when they found her they boiled her alive in hot lard."

All day the little maid sat stupefied with horror.

Li Po Ton was one of the twelve hundred Chinese women slaves in the city of San Francisco. After supper that night, Wah Lee made her go to bed again, and she climbed up to her berth. Soon he returned, bringing with him a group of men. One placed a piece of money in his hand, and was bidden to climb up to her berth. When he had gone another came, and then another, until the poor girl had fainted. Night after night the experience was repeated. Sometimes she screamed; but Wah Lee only

bound her mouth, and gave her no breakfast. And this was in the land that boasts liberty to be the inalienable right of every individual.

Many weeks passed. The pink faded from her cheeks. Her eyes had grown heavy and dull, and dark circles surrounded them. Wah Lee observed the change, and bade her eat more rice and cabbage.

One night, at a late hour, the room was deserted. Her sisters in misery were asleep. She could hear their heavy breathing. Wah Lee had gone, leaving the door slightly ajar. It had never happened before. Hastily slipping on her tunic, and bunching up the blankets to look as if they covered her sleeping form, she climbed down to the floor. Outside all was blackness, but voices could be heard at one end of the alley. Closing the door behind her, she stepped into the street, and in the shadow hurried away. On she went, she knew not and cared not where. Once her heart stood still, and a memory of the woman who had been boiled in lard flitted across her mind, as she found herself close to a group of Chinamen; but she slunk back into a dark corner and held her breath. They passed by, and as fast as her poor, deformed feet could carry her, she hurried on. Where could she go? What could she do? If only there might be some little dark corner, some forgotten spot, where no human being would

ever look, she would hide there. To starve in peace was the boon she craved.

The darkness was lifting, and it would soon be morning. Not a moment must be lost. With feet racked with pain she turned a corner and entered what seemed to be another dark alley. Hurrying on, she stumbled, and fell prostrate to the ground. It was some time before she could rise, and when she did so the gray dawn of the coming day enabled her to see her surroundings. It was a rough enclosure, filled with all sorts of debris. Sitting on the ground, she spied a little hole which seemed to invite her to enter. This might do. Creeping on her hands and knees, she crawled inside. It was an angle made by a hoghead, the fence, and two ash-barrels. A wide board partially covered the opening through which she had crawled. She placed it so that the opening was entirely concealed. Oh, if she could only know she was safe! She unbound her aching feet, and rubbed them smartly with her hands, until they felt relieved. Then, lying down on the ground, with a block for a pillow, she fell asleep.

She was aroused once by voices near her hiding-place. Not a breath or movement betrayed her. How still she was, her eyes starting from her head, her cheek pale with fright! Poor hunted thing! Then voices

came again. This time they had been preceded by the rumbling of a big wagon. It was the scavenger who had come to carry away the ashes. The barrels were moved. She was discovered lying there with her face buried in her hands. She had fainted.

When she recovered consciousness she was lying in a clean white bed, and a kindly-faced woman was bending anxiously over her. Fortunately, her feet had led her to the very door of the "Home for the Friendless," and if ever there was a creature who needed such protection, it was little Li Po Ton. The woman at her side was Mrs. Miller, the matron. But the little Chinese girl was afraid of Americans. She had suffered so cruelly in their land, she thought they must all be wicked. She turned her face away, and wept bitterly. Food was brought, but she would not eat.

An interpreter was sent for, a German, who had lived many years in China, and who was renowned among tourists as the best guide to the Chinese quarters in the city. He was supposed to know every Chinaman and China woman in San Francisco; but Li Po Ton was a new-comer, and he did not know her. It was a long time before she could place confidence enough in his friendship to tell him anything; but at last, in response to his kind and gentle questions, she told him the story of her life. Every word was translated to Mrs. Miller,

and Li Po Ton was assured she should have every care, and need suffer no fear of Wah Lee.

Somehow, a knowledge of her presence there leaked out. The Chinese master heard the rumor, and speedily a writ of habeas corpus was issued, to command Mrs. Miller to produce her charge in court the next morning. Here was a dilemma. A lawyer was consulted, but he could offer little consolation. Wah Lee, he said, would probably bring Chinese friends enough to prove that the girl was his wife, and the court would give her back to him.

The interpreter was sent for again, and, as gently as possible, Mrs. Miller tried to explain the court and the law, and the possible outcome. But what

did Li Po Ton know of American courts and habeas corpus acts? She understood nothing of what was said except that she would see Wah Lee the next day, and perhaps would have to go away with him again. She ate no supper, and went to bed at an early hour. Before retiring, the matron stepped into her room. She seemed to be sleeping soundly. The next morning she looked at her again. Something strange in her appearance made her touch the girl's cheek. It was cold. She turned down the blankets. The bed was saturated with blood, and a pen-knife, belonging to the matron, was plunged into her heart. Poor, hunted, wrong Li Po Ton! She had at last found liberty in death.

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SUFFRAGE IN UTAH

By Alice Stone Blackwell

The majority of the women in the world live where polygamy is an institution. This sounds startling, until we remember that the majority of the men and women on our globe live in India and China.

Most men, of course, even in polygamous countries, have only one wife, since they are not rich enough to afford more; but the fact that polygamy is permitted lowers the status of marriage and lessens respect for all women.

Anti-suffragists sometimes try to establish a connection between equal suffrage and polygamy, because Mormonism exists in Utah, and women in Utah have the ballot. The vast bulk of the world's polygamy exists in countries where women have not the ballot, and where the doctrine of woman's inferiority and subjection prevails in its most extreme form.

No one who believes in equal rights for women can believe in polygamy, of course. The theory that a man is entitled to the whole of his wife's affections, while the wife is entitled only to a part of his, belongs logically to the same general realm of thought which denies equal rights to women in other respects. Polygamy can be defended only by the same arguments which are used to

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Our friends, the anti-suffragists—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 an 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 industry in domesticity. This is easily answered by Australia, which has the highest birthrate of any country peopled by the white 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.

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defend women's exclusion from the ballot—that men and women are utterly different, and hence the principles which apply to the one do not apply to the other: and that the majority of women are not protesting against their present position. James Bryce says, in "Transcascadia and Ararat":

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

A Lesson in History

The Anti-Suffrage Associations have circulated widely a statement that woman suffrage originated in Utah, that the suffrage law of Wyoming, passed in 1866, merely gave women a vote for a few school officers. This is wholly without foundation. The Wyoming bill of 1869 gave women the full ballot. Anyone can obtain the text of the law by writing to the Wyoming Secretary of State.

Anti-suffragists also claim that the women's vote is the main support of Mormonism. This is disproved by

the history of equal suffrage in Utah. Julia Ward Howe wrote in *The Woman's Journal* of January 30, 1909:

"In Utah the full franchise was granted to women by the Territorial Legislature in 1870, and the women exercised it for seventeen years. Opponents of woman's suffrage at the East affirmed that the supremacy of the Mormon Church was due to the women's vote, and the National Congress in 1887 made the experiment of taking the ballot away from the women of Utah, in the hope of thereby crippling the political power of the church. It is of interest to recall the fact that the Women's Anti-polygamy Society of Utah passed a resolution protesting against this action. The prevailing opinion among the suffragists outside of Utah was that all persons implicated in polygamy, whether men or women, might properly be disfranchised as law-breakers, but that to disfranchise Gentile women while Mormon men were still allowed to vote was inconsistent and unjust.

"The experiment proved a failure. The Mormons were found to have an ample majority in Utah, upon a vote of the men alone; and when in 1896 the Territory became a State, after drawing up for itself a State constitution, which had to be submitted to Congress for approval, Congress made no opposition to the restoration of suffrage to women. The men of all parties in Utah united in giving back to their wives and daughters the right of which they had been deprived. There was no dividing line on the subject between Mormons and Gentiles. The leading opponent of woman suffrage in the Utah Constitutional Convention was the well-known

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Mormon polygamist, Brigham H. Roberts. In his speech against it, he urged exactly the same objections that are brought forward by the anti-suffragists in England and America. But the Constitutional Convention adopted woman suffrage, 75 to 6, and the constitution providing for it was afterwards ratified on a popular vote, by an enormous majority.

"In Utah, the women as voters have done fully as well as the men. The only fault found with them is that the Mormon women vote as the church advises; and the Mormon men do exactly the same thing. The women in Utah, as in other States, have shown an interest in promoting the public health, improved legislation for children, better sanitation, better public libraries, etc."

Mrs. Howe, in conclusion, pointed out that "the number of Mormons in Massachusetts is so small that the Mormon vote can hardly be a practical consideration." This is true of every other State where an equal suffrage amendment is now pending.

Who Is Responsible?

If the existence of polygamy in Utah is to be an argument for disfranchising anybody outside of Utah (in which there seems to be no particular justice), it should logically be an argument against the sex that is mainly responsible for polygamy. The doctrine was not invented by a woman, neither has the system been maintained for women's gratification. The responsibility for its introduction and for its continuance rests squarely upon the shoulders of certain men.

When the head of the Mormon church claimed to have received a divine revelation establishing plural marriage, and commanding women to submit to it as the will of God, the Gentiles unanimously reported that the women accepted it only with great reluctance, and wholly against the grain. This stands to reason. There are some men who like to have half a dozen wives, but there is no wife who really likes to share her husband's affections with half a dozen other women.

Under the present constitution and laws of Utah, polygamy is strictly forbidden. If plural marriages are still contracted in defiance of the law, it is because the doctrine is taught by the Mormon priesthood—a male hierarchy, without a woman in it.

Tools for Different Uses

Equal suffrage in itself is a thing so simple, so fair, and so free from any reasonable objection, that its opponents, in order to make a case against it, are driven to try to link it up with something else—to show that it is "allied" with something bad. But the argument from bad company is the last that the anti-suffragists can afford to invoke. Do they say that the woman suffrage is allied with Mormonism because most Mormons favor it? Then the anti-suffragists are allied with prostitution and white slavery, because everyone who profits from bad company is the last that the anti-suffragists can afford to invoke. Do they say that if women are allied with Mormonism because most Mormons favor it? Then the anti-suffragists are allied with prostitution and white slavery, because everyone who profits commercially by prostitution and white slavery is opposed to votes for women. Do they say that if women have not sense enough to vote against polygamy they cannot have sense enough to vote right on anything?

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Nothing is more certain than that the women of the United States in general would vote against polygamy. The only exceptions to this rule are a comparatively small number of women who are suffering under a religious delusion. Boiled down, then, the argument against woman suffrage in connection with Mormonism amounts to this—that the ballot will not cure women of a religious delusion. It does not cure men of their religious delusions, either, but that is no argument against letting men vote.

Religious delusions exist under all forms of government—under autocracy in Russia and Turkey, under limited monarchy in all the different European countries, with their various systems of suffrage, in the United States under a republic, and in the West under equal suffrage. It does not follow that one system of government is no better than another.

The antis assert that equal suffrage is of no use because it has not destroyed Mormonism. This is like saying that a plow is useless because it will not put out a fire, or a fire engine useless because it will not plow up a field. The ballot is not an instrument for uprooting religious delusions; it is an instrument for registering the popular will; and it does this more accurately where all the adult citizens are allowed to vote than where half of them are excluded.

An equitable system of suffrage has many advantages, though it has not the particular advantage of inculcating sound religious ideas. The common people can protect their own interests better when they have

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the ballot than when suffrage is limited to a few, as under an aristocracy. Women are safer against legal injustice with the ballot than without it. In addition, equal suffrage enables women to be of more service to the community in the matters regarding which they have special knowledge and interest, because they can bring this knowledge and interest directly to bear upon the problems where it is needed, instead of being forced to wait till they can induce somebody else to act.

Some Utah Laws

In matters where the church dictates, neither Mormon men nor Mormon women can protect themselves by the ballot, because they are incapacitated for doing so by a religious delusion. But in matters where the church does not dictate, woman suffrage brings the same benefits in Utah that it does in other States. Mrs. Antoinette B. Kinney, of Salt Lake City, a former president of the Utah State Federation of Women's Clubs, a Gentile, and a relative of Dr. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, writes:

"In my opinion, the results in Utah are overwhelmingly in favor of woman suffrage. Women have been active in securing laws for the protection of minors, also laws relating to municipal housecleaning. They have been active in all educational matters. In most cities the question of public libraries is early agitated. Here women have proved themselves a reserve moral power, sustaining men in their best endeavors. In the places of trust that they hold, their honesty, punctuality and faithfulness are proverbial."

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Among the laws of Utah which women have taken part in securing are those providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene and nursing; establishing free libraries; providing for care of dependent and neglected children; creating a Juvenile Court Commission and a Juvenile Court in each district, with jurisdiction not only over delinquent children, but over adults aiding delinquency; a pure food law, and laws for inspection of dairy and food products, and of slaughter houses, packing houses, dairies and creameries; equal guardianship; requiring seats for saleswomen; regulating employment offices and providing a penalty for sending women to improper places; establishing free kindergartens in all school districts having a population of 2,000 or more; making it a misdemeanor for any minor under 18 to buy or have in his possession cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any narcotic; creating a State Art Institute; requiring that in cities of the first and second class, messengers doing night work, or sent to objectionable places, must be over 21; curfew law to keep children under 14 off the streets after 9 P. M.; forbidding boys under 12 and girls under 16 to do street peddling, or children under 12 to be bootblacks; establishing parental schools and separate detention homes for boys and girls; making child-desertion punishable by imprisonment from six months to five years; making pool-selling and book-making a felony; forbidding the sale of liquor to minors; making indecent assault on child under 14 a felony; forbidding employment of women under 21 in any place where liquor is sold; requiring report of birth of child with in-

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flamed eyes; making tuberculosis reportable; requiring report of all cases of venereal disease, but without the name of the patient; forbidding pandering; raising age of protection to 18; providing mothers' pensions where children are under 15 and the mother would otherwise have to go out to work.

Utah has a nine-hour law for women, with 54 hours per week as the maximum, except in emergencies. Utah got the nine-hour law earlier than Massachusetts did, and with far less pressing need for it. Moreover, the Utah women got it with much less trouble. Edith Abbott of Hull House, and Dr. Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, assistant professor of social economy in the University of Chicago, comment upon this fact in their pamphlet, "The Wage-Earning Woman and the State." They point out that Massachusetts got her nine-hour law "as the culmination of about 40 years of effort by indirect influence to improve conditions for women in industry," while Utah passed it "after less than two years of effort by its advocates. Women with votes got this law from the first Legislature of which they asked it." They had to contend with strong opposition. Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen, of Salt Lake City, chairman of the Industrial Committee of the Utah State Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote in The Woman's Journal of May 27, 1911: "If we had not had the vote we should not have succeeded."

In Utah it is provided by law that women teachers in the public schools shall receive the same pay as men when they do the same work and hold certificates of the same grade. No teacher is allowed to be paid less than \$450 a

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year. Not long ago a good deal of discussion was aroused by the discovery that in the rich city of Newton, Mass., a teacher in a public kindergarten was being paid only \$100 a year.

Utah has a minimum wage law for women, establishing 75 cents per day as the lowest permissible wage for girls, under 18; 90 cents per day as the lowest for adult learners and apprentices, and \$1.25 as the lowest per day for experienced adult women.

In Massachusetts there is no minimum wage. Any starvation rate is perfectly legal. As a matter of fact, a multitude of women are paid less than a living wage.

The powers of the Minimum Wage Commission in Massachusetts are only advisory. Formerly the law said that if any employer was found to be paying unjustifiably low wages, and was deaf to remonstrance, the Commission "shall" publish his name. The Legislature of 1914 changed "shall" to "may." In consequence, industrial experts say no employer with political influence need fear that his name will be punished.

Elections More Orderly

In Utah, as in other Suffrage States, woman suffrage has brought about more orderly elections and better polling places. The late Mrs. Martha Hughes Cannon wrote:

"As a result, our caucuses and primary meetings are conducted with due regard to decorum, our conventions are more deliberative, and the kindly consideration which the American man always shows to woman has induced even the roughest type to consider that political gatherings in

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which women take part should be conducted in a decent and orderly manner."

Mrs. Cannon served as State Senator. Herself a Mormon, she headed a brave though unsuccessful insurgent movement in the Legislature against the political domination of the Mormon Church, and was enthusiastically praised for her courage by the Gentile papers of Utah.

Anti-suffrage people who abuse Mormonism at their ease here in the East have no conception of the heroism that opposition to the church cost on the part of the Women's Anti-polygamy Society of Utah and its leader, Mrs. Jennie Anderson Froiseth, in the early days, or of the still greater courage required by a prominent Mormon woman like Mrs. Cannon to revolt against church dictation. These women were suffragists.

When Julia Ward Howe sent a circular letter of inquiry to all the pastors of five denominations in the four oldest suffrage States, asking them how equal suffrage worked, she got 624 answers, of which only 62 were unfavorable; and the testimony from Utah was favorable in just about the same proportion as that from the other States. The consensus of opinion from all sorts of people is that equal suffrage is a good thing. If the Mormons in the enfranchised States favor it, so do all the other denominations in the enfranchised States; and there is no more ground for saying that woman suffrage is "allied" with one than with the others.

Bishop Spaulding on Utah

The late Rt. Rev. Frank Spaulding, Bishop of the

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Episcopal Church in Utah, and who had previously lived for years in Colorado, urged Nevada to adopt equal suffrage.

"It has worked well in Utah," he said in the Nevada State Journal of May 4, 1914. In an interview in The Woman's Journal of Aug. 2, 1913, he declared that, as a matter of sound practical politics, he considered the equal suffrage movement the greatest movement ever inaugurated in America for the betterment of human conditions.

"I have studied the question from every side, and have the viewpoint of both the East and West on the issue," said the Bishop. He went on to say that women are "better wives and better mothers when they are exercising their rights of citizenship"; that they bring to their public duties "intuition, superior humanity and all the motherliness with which they have upheld the race of man from the dawn of the world until now," and that they are active in casting out graft and "cleaning house." He said in conclusion:

"In every State in which they have been granted the vote and partnership with man in the making of the laws that State has taken long strides in advance toward the higher civilization. Their use of the ballot, where it has been given into their hands, is an irrefutable argument in their favor; and it justifies, it urges that they be given the right of citizenship throughout the nation."

Sanitation Almost Perfect

Mrs. George Sutherland, wife of one of the United

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States Senators from Utah, said in The Woman's Journal of Jan. 1, 1910:

"We have almost perfect sanitation from the result of feminine agitation. We have fine school laws and excellent school buildings, and all those regulations which bear on the smaller area of politics, the home environment, have been judiciously and liberally framed.

"In Salt Lake City women's clubs are doing an excellent work toward illuminating public questions. The women who have later to vote on these issues get together and discuss them, and hear each other's views on every phase. This exchange of ideas is getting toward the realization of the perfect civic life. It goes a long way toward destroying dogmatic views about certain public questions, and it makes one more inclined to realize that the wisdom of all the ages is not centred in one spot, or even in one political party. I have no hesitancy in pronouncing equal suffrage an unadulterated blessing for the State, and a civic success and moral incentive in the full sense of the word."

Women Do Vote

Mrs. Sutherland also affirmed strongly that most of the women vote. The President of the Utah State W. C. T. U., Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepherd, who was originally a Tennessee woman, but has now been a voter for nearly twenty years, confirms this. She says that women may be very much opposed to the ballot when they come there, but they get over their objections. At the Congressional hearing on woman suffrage held in De-

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ember, 1913, at the time of the National Suffrage Convention, Mrs. Shepherd said:

"When my old aristocratic Southern mother came out of North Carolina she said she would never, never vote; but later she went out and cast her ballot."

Mrs. Shepherd told how the women of Utah had put through the nine-hour law for women, the minimum wage law and other protective legislation, and had found the ballot a great help in securing it. She has lectured in many States on the good effects of equal suffrage in Utah.

Women Closed Stockade

Edwin Lewis Theiss and his wife went to Utah two years ago to investigate the results of equal suffrage for the Pictorial Review. In its issue of June, 1913, they published their findings. On the testimony of Mormons and Gentiles alike they declared that the effects had been distinctly good. Among other instances, they cited the closing of the notorious "stockade" in Salt Lake City—the centre of commercialized vice. It was a sink-hole of iniquity, and was ruining both girls and boys. Mormon and Gentile women alike became indignant:

"A committee of women served notice upon the mayor that the stockade must close. It shut its doors that very night. Soon afterwards it was torn down. For this piece of work the women voters of Salt Lake City can rightly take full credit." Mr. and Mrs. Theiss were assured in Salt Lake that "the women's mere protest,

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unsupported by the ballot, could never have ended this abomination that was proving such a gold mine to so many influential men."

Anti-suffragists at the East paint everything in the suffrage States in the blackest colors. They generally represent the voters of Utah as being hopelessly under Mormon control. Mr. and Mrs. Theiss point out that at the presidential election of 1912, the head of the Mormon church published a signed letter advising his people to vote for Taft. Taft got more votes in Utah than any other single candidate, and therefore won on a plurality vote; but the combined vote cast for Wilson and Roosevelt in the State was half as large again as the vote for Taft. This fact speaks for itself.

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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 anti—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 pleasant 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.

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"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 policemen 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

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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.

"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

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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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WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO
WITH THE BALLOT

THE ABOLITION OF
CHILD LABOR

By
FLORENCE KELLEY



Published by the
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HEADQUARTERS: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Price, 5 cents

NOTE—This is one of a series of booklets on various social problems affecting the welfare of this country which should be the concern of every woman. Some have already been published and more will be issued from time to time. All are written by experts on the several questions treated. Send to headquarters for complete list and further information.

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One evil against which women are asking to use the ballot

The Abolition of Child Labor

By FLORENCE KELLEY

The federal government has recently published two illuminating little volumes, one on Juvenile Delinquency and its Relation to Employment and the other on Conditions under which Children leave School. These are Volumes 7 and 8 respectively of the 19 which constitute Senate Document 645 of the Sixty-first Congress, Second Session. The whole report is on the Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States and is prepared by Charles P. Neill, U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

Everyone interested in votes for women should own and study these volumes. They are arsenals full of ammunition. The Congress unfortunately limited the edition to 2000 copies and some effort is required to obtain them. They are distributed by Senators and Members of Congress. These 19 volumes show that we have in our Republic, in spite of the nation-wide agitation during the past twelve years, thousands of children working by day and by night, many of them of the tenderest years, many working all night, thousands of boys and girls exposed to the utmost moral danger, all of them deprived of education which is their right.

In every honest American official publication dealing with child labor, the story is the same. The schools are insufficient or they do not fit the needs of the children or the compulsory attendance requirements are not carried out; the child labor law is not efficiently enforced by local officials; it does not cover all the industries in the community or its provisions are vague and unenforceable.

In some states, such as Montana, where there is no temptation to employ boys except in the messenger service and as newsboys, the law passed with little opposition is comprehensive, sweeping and drastic, providing that a child shall not be employed under the age of 16 years.

In states, too, in which women have for a generation or more made a practice of availing themselves of the right to

petition, the beginnings of a children's code are increasingly effective. Where, however, in industrially developed states, women have not yet learned to use the method of persuasion and petition, as in the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida, the children pay the penalty of this shirking by their natural protectors and advocates, and there is neither any compulsory education whatsoever, nor any child labor legislation worth the name.

In South Carolina, for example, one of the states in which the cotton mills most greedily claim the children, a few men representing chiefly the National Child Labor Committee, sustained for several years almost unaided by women the effort to free the children from work in the mills at any age, however young, and throughout the night, whenever it pleased the employers to have the mills running at night.

In the second decade of the 20th century, in this year 1911, South Carolina did, at last, establish 12 years as the age limit below which no girl or boy can legally work in a cotton mill. The cruel provision was abolished under which up to July 1st, 1911, a little girl of six years legally worked in a cotton mill, because her father had deserted his family, though the desertion was no more serious than his living in the neighboring village, beside the nearest railway station, in constant communication with his family. When, however, this amendment had been made, and the men of South Carolina had established for the native white children of their state a standard two years lower than that which Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and a score of other states set for the protection of their immigrant children, the fruits of all this effort were blighted by a stroke of the pen of Governor Blease who vetoed the appropriation for factory inspection.

A child labor law without inspection is a sham, confusing to the employees and demoralizing to the employers. No such veto as this of Governor Blease of South Carolina has been registered by the governor of a state in which women steadily avail themselves of their right to petition, and criticize intelligently the actions of legislators and administrative officers.

Least of all could such a veto be registered in a state in which the governor would have to appeal, at the next election, to the mothers and teachers for their votes for his reelection.

In New York State, after years of effort, we have at last, fairly well enforced, the five o'clock closing hour for children in factories and mills, and the seven o'clock closing hour, and nine hours working day, for children employed in stores. This applies to children between 14 and 16 years of age and is the result of the patient joint efforts of men and women for many years.

In the light of the new federal report, however, this, too, is seen to be sadly insufficient, for according to the report, the work of errand boys is morally the most dangerous of all occupations. The children, without constant supervision by the very nature of their work, yield to the temptation to steal and their characteristic delinquency is larceny. Yet in New York our legislators perversely put a premium upon this highly undesirable occupation by allowing retail merchants to employ children at any time between 7 a. m. and 7 p. m., a period of 12 hours, while the working day of children in factories and workshops is wisely limited to the nine hours period between 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., with an hour for luncheon. A second premium is placed upon the employment of boys in this occupation by letting merchants keep them at work nine hours in the day and fifty-four hours in the week, in contrast to the shorter working hours enforced against manufacturers.

In the light of this new federal report the employment of boys in this work must obviously be discouraged, at least, before the sixteenth birthday. Nothing discourages the employment of children so effectively as shortening their working day, and the long, slow, country-wide effort for the eight hours day for all working children will be greatly strengthened by the new supply of official data.

When we try to prevent children from working by shortening their working day and by raising the age at which they may begin to work, we can succeed only in proportion as we

keep them in schools which meet their needs and promise them a future reward in the form of increased efficiency.

In New York City, the metropolis of the Republic, where women have not even school suffrage, the schools open year after year with 70,000 children on half-time, because the Tammany government has found other uses for money than building school houses and paying disfranchised teachers for educating children whose parents are, in tens of thousands of cases, themselves non-voting aliens. Nowhere is the hopelessness of the task of completely abolishing child labor, while the mothers of the children cannot vote, more convincingly shown than in this ever recurring failure of New York City to provide sufficiently for the education of her future citizens. It is an interesting coincidence that Boston and Chicago open the school year with a seat ready for every school child. In Boston women vote for the school committee. In Chicago, a woman, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, is superintendent of Schools.

Half-time school attendance seems to an eager boy or girl a most unconvincing substitute for the chance to earn a little money, and half-time gives rise to illegal work and truancy as naturally as truancy to delinquency and crime. When boys, demoralized by half-time school attendance and much consequent street life, are found at work as truants peddling without licenses or selling papers without wearing badges, or blacking boots below the legal age, they are by some magistrates encouraged in their law breaking. It is a common complaint in the poorer districts that some magistrates, both the elected and the appointed ones, fine widows or take their children away and send them to institutions when the children are charged with these offences. Voting fathers, on the other hand, are said to be treated by the same magistrates with conspicuous leniency, though their children are guilty of the same offences. Such experiences are confusing to the moral sense of everyone concerned.

It is, however, not merely by its failure to provide schools and teachers, and by the injustice of the magistrates, that the exclusively man made government of New York contributes to maintain the evils of child labor. In the decision of the

Court of Appeals (the highest court in the state, an elective court), in the Jacobs' case, it was held to be contrary to the constitution of the United States to enact a law forbidding manufacture in tenement houses. In consequence of that anti-social judicial decision, thousands of dwellings have been, for nearly a quarter of a century, invaded by manufacture. In them children work whenever they are out of school. Many little children work in the tenements before they are old enough to go to school. Manufacturers who, under the child labor law, could not employ children in factories or workshops, are enabled by that decision of an elective court, to send work into the child's home and employ it there while only the name of the mother, father or adult brother or sister appears upon the payroll. In some trades, such as making flowers, the older workers cannot get work unless there are cheap children available for homework.

Women have no more weight with the state judiciary in New York than with the city school authorities. The judges are elected by men, for very long terms, and are personally unknown, even by name, to most of the otherwise intelligent women in the state. They are, of course, utterly beyond the reach of petition and persuasion.

Children employed in the canneries were, in 1905, deprived of the intended protection of the child labor law by a stroke of the pen of former Attorney General of the State of New York, Julius Mayer, who held that sheds are not parts of canneries and do not, therefore, come under the law. The long, slow, tedious campaign of petition and persuasion has since been going on in the legislature to introduce the word "sheds" into the state labor law. No one can foretell when the campaign will be successful, but it will certainly not end during the present year. Meanwhile, children five years old may legally be kept shelling peas or snipping beans from five in the morning until midnight, if they can be made to keep their eyes open. An investigator reports finding a tiny child asleep on the shed floor at midnight with its hands full of the beans on which it had been working when it fell asleep.

Former Attorney General Julius Mayer of New York State has been elevated to the Federal Bench by President Taft. Attorneys General are elected. Mothers and women teachers have no more voice in electing them than in electing judges of the State Court of Appeals, or members of the New York City Board of Education (who are appointed by the Mayor).

The new federal report on Conditions of Work of Women and Children gives a foretaste of the kind of knowledge that we shall get, current and up-to-date, when the Children's Bureau in the Department of the Interior is at work under Miss Julia Lathrop. From it we shall learn year by year and place by place, and industry by industry, exactly how our children work and suffer and are robbed of their birthright. Then every Legislature can make laws in the light of full knowledge of the facts in states in which the industries compete with those in its own state.

The campaign of persuasion and petition for the bureau cost years of effort.

We make some gains for the children by the method of petition and persuasion. We must continue to use it for the sake of the children and, also, for the education which such work affords to those who engage in it. But child labor can be abolished only when the women of every state are given equal authority with men in the political, social and industrial life of this Republic.

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THE THREEFOLD MENACE

By Alice Stone Blackwell

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

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

NO SUFFRAGE MILITANCY HERE

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

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

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

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

AS TO "FEMINISM"

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

By the anti-suffragists the word is always used in a sinister sense, as meaning the abolition of marriage, the destruction of the home and a general reign of immorality. These are about the last things for which women would vote if they had the ballot. Both in their opinions and in their practice, women are stricter than men in the matter of domestic morality. Nothing could well be more fantastic than the notion that, if direct weight were allowed to women's wishes, those wishes would generally be found to favor excessive license. All the vicious interests oppose woman suffrage, from a conviction that women would be severe upon them.

Some persons believe that, in the future evolution of men, women and society, all or most of the principles of old-fashioned morality will go by the board; but these persons are a comparatively small group, and it is made up of anti-suffragists as well as suffragists. For example, some decidedly startling literature of that kind by Emma Goldman was lately sold in the street outside a suffrage meeting in New York—it was not allowed to be sold in the hall—and opponents of equal suffrage have been twitting the suffragists about that literature ever since with vindictive glee. They forget that Emma Goldman goes about lecturing on "The Folly of Woman Suffrage." She belongs to their camp, not to ours.

This was an extreme case. A large number of persons believe that the institutions of marriage and the home, which have already undergone many changes for the better since the days when every man had an unquestioned right to beat his wife, are destined to undergo still further change and improvement. Sentences to this effect, by well-known suffragists, are taken out of their context by unscrupulous opponents and wrested to bear an objectionable sense utterly at variance with their true meaning; or passages really objectionable are quoted from writers whom the great majority of American suffragists never heard of, and these are presented as the true pith and marrow of suffrage doctrine. In this way a grossly misleading argument against so-called "feminism" is built up, and is used as an argument against votes for women.

The results of equal suffrage are no longer a purely academic question. Women are already voting in ten States of the Union, as well as in a number of foreign countries. In some

they have had the ballot for many years. As a matter of fact and experience, we do not find that equal suffrage has anywhere led to the overthrow of the home or brought in a reign of immorality. Opponents used to prophesy that it would subvert all the foundations. Now they complain, on the ground that it has made so little difference! Such differences as it has made have been distinctly in the direction of raising moral standards and throwing added safeguards about the home.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in 1910 took a census of all the ministers of four leading denominations in the four oldest suffrage States—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—and also of all the editors. She asked them whether the results of woman suffrage were good or bad. She received 624 answers of which 62 were unfavorable, 46 on the fence and 516 in favor. The answers from the editors were favorable, more than 8 to 1; those from the Episcopal clergymen more than 2 to 1; from the Baptist ministers, 7 to 1; from the Congregationalists, about 8 to 1; from the Methodists, more than 10 to 1, and from the Presbyterians, more than 11 to 1. If equal suffrage had promoted those demoralizing results which the term "feminism" is said to imply, their pastors could hardly have failed to find it out.

Instead of equal suffrage having a bad effect upon marriage, every State that has given the ballot to women has declined in its ratio of divorce as compared with the rest of the country. Thus Colorado granted 935 divorces the year before women were enfranchised, and only 597 the year after; and during the twenty years since that happy event, the proportion of divorces to the population has never been anything like so large as it had been before. This is a fact; and "an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory."

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

In these days the opponents of equal rights for women are continually harping upon Socialism. "Suffrage means Socialism," is their constant war-cry, both in their public addresses and in their official publications.

There are as many different kinds of Socialism as there are of Heinze's pickles, and the antis always pick out the most extreme variety, and usually caricature even that. "All Socialists are suffragists," they are constantly telling us; and they predict that granting votes to women will mean the speedy bringing in of the Socialist State.

Now, the Socialists themselves do not think so. All Socialists have woman suffrage as a plank in their theoretical platform, but many of them confess that they do not want it to come until Socialism comes, just because they believe that it would delay the coming of Socialism.

The Socialist Party admits women to membership on the same terms as men, but not nearly as many women as men have joined it. The proportion is said to be about one to ten. In every State in the Union the Socialist vote cast at the presidential election of 1912 showed an increase over that cast at the presidential election of 1908. Its average increase in the

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

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

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

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

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

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A CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER

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 on 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

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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THE WORTH OF A VOTE

By Alice Stone Blackwell

How much has the right to vote been worth to men? This is an aspect of the suffrage question which is often overlooked. In an article on "The Economic Importance of the Extension of the Suffrage," C. C. Arbuthnot, Professor of Economics at the Western Reserve University, sets forth the solid benefits which the right to vote has brought to poor men, to working men, to the "plain people" of the United States.

In the early days of the republic the ballot was limited by a property qualification. Men without property were at a disadvantage before the law in a hundred ways. Prof. Arbuthnot, with a wealth of historical research, shows how the extension of the suffrage led to the redress of a whole series of grievances under which the poor had been the chief sufferers.

In the first place, it brought about the general establishment of free public schools. In Massachusetts, 200 years after its first settlement, most of the people were still dependent upon private schools for their elementary education. In Rhode Island it was not until 1828 that a law providing for free public schools was placed on the statute book to stay, and outside of Providence it remained a dead letter till after the extension of suffrage to poor men which followed "Dorr's rebellion." In New York City, in 1829, there were only 10,000 children in public schools, as against 17,500 in private schools and 24,000 not in school at all. An appeal for an increase of taxation was made on the ground that schools "should be open to all, not as a matter of charity, but of common right." Pennsylvania long clung to the idea of making parents pay for their children's education if they could, and furnishing free schooling only to the very poor. Hence a taint of pauperism attached to the free schools, and parents kept their children away rather than expose them to humiliation. A workingmen's meeting in Philadelphia in 1829 declared: "No system of education which a free man can accept has yet been established for the poor, whilst thousands of dollars of public money have been appropriated for building colleges and academies for the rich." In Delaware, Maryland and New Jersey, the situation was much the same. "At the end of the twenties practically every workingmen's meeting from Albany to Charleston passed resolutions in which a demand for educational reform was given a prominent place." Philanthropists helped, but "the force behind the demand for a democratic system of free public schools in this country has been the ballots in the hands of the class who felt in themselves the imperative need of an equal opportunity of education. The whole movement for popular education was so closely connected with the extension of the suffrage that the most cautious need have no hesitancy in describing their relation as cause and effect."

The extension of suffrage to poor men brought about also the abolition of imprisonment for debt. "For the smallest

debt possible, though it were but a cent, the debtor could be cast into jail until the sum was paid. Here he was thrown among the worst criminals." In prison he had to depend for his food and clothes upon his friends or upon charity. In 1816 in New York City 1894 imprisoned debtors would have starved to death but for the kindness of the Humane Society. "In Boston, between January, 1820, and April, 1822, 3492 persons were imprisoned for debt; 2000 of them owed less than \$20. One woman owed \$3.60, and for this sum had been dragged from her home and two children under three years of age." In Philadelphia in 1831 a man was sent to prison for a debt of two cents.

Prof. Arbuthnot shows also how the plain people by their votes got rid of an oppressive militia system which bore hard on the poor but allowed a rich man to buy himself off; how they secured liberal homestead laws, permitting actual settlers to take up land on easy terms; and how the workingmen protected themselves from being swindled by contractors and builders through the enactment of a mechanics' lien law and other labor legislation.

"Under the title of labor legislation," says Prof. Arbuthnot, "is included a great mass of statutory enactments, creating labor bureaus, providing for factory inspection, for guards around dangerous machinery, for sanitation, for ventilation, for restriction of hours in dangerous trades, exempting wages from attachment, defining employers' liability, providing for workmen's compensation for injuries, and in a vast number of other ways giving advantages to the wage-earner. In gaining all these, the workingman with the ballot in his hands has been the substantial force. Legislators listen to the voice of the people when they are able to speak at the polls. No one can believe that the gains made by the workingmen through legislation would have come as fast or gone as far if they had not been given the suffrage."

Anti-suffragists often claim that the ballot has done little or nothing for working men, and hence cannot be expected to do much for working women. Miss Heloise Hersey of Boston, in a public address against equal suffrage, went so far as to say that she thought working men in America would be better off if they had no votes, "because then their employers would feel a sense of chivalry toward them." Prof. Arbuthnot says:

"There is no way to remove abuses like putting power into the hands of those who suffer from them. The ballots of the enfranchised workers, combined with those of the reform element, were sufficient to secure for the workers much that was helpful. A similar result would follow the grant of votes to women. What the public-spirited men cannot get now for women would be brought into existence if these men's votes were reinforced by women's ballots. No lifetime of wheedling persuasion will have to be spent to gain what women need, and what the whole race needs because of its vital effect on women. There would be in the ballot a great power for the improvement of the general conditions for women, as there was for raising the standard for working men."

MY MOTHER—AND THE LITTLE GIRL NEXT DOOR

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?

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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Eminent Catholics Declare for Suffrage

REV. J. J. ELLIOTT ROSS, C. S. P., Chicago, Illinois, author of "Consumers and Wage Earners":—

"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 protection.

"The second 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."

REV. JOHN A. RYAN, St. Paul's Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, author of "The Living Wage":—

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

HIS EMINENCE JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, Baltimore, Maryland:—

"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 the church is opposed to the enfranchisement of women is incorrect."

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 unequity 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 one; 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

REV. JOSEPH H. McMAHON, Rector of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, New York:—

"Woman without the suffrage, and therefore without responsibility, has always exerted political influence. Her influence 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 her the right to vote, and at least you are in no worse position, but in all probability in a better one. . . . 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."

REV. THOMAS SCULLY, late Rector of St. Mary's Church of the Annunciation, Cambridge, Massachusetts:—

"1. The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms as well as religious ones have always been resisted by prejudice, custom and the old cry of 'Inopportune'. So it is with this. It is a battle,—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions. The cause is just. It may be defeated today but never conquered, and tomorrow it will be victorious.

"2. I know of no argument for refusing the suffrage to women that is not equally applicable to men. We are way behind other countries in this. Educated men and women of the Catholic laity are everywhere now to be found favorably disposed towards it."

HIS EMINENCE PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN, late Cardinal of Australia:—

"The woman who votes only avails herself of the privilege that

democracy has gained for her. . . . As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. . . . The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature."

ARCHBISHOP REDWOOD of Wellington, New Zealand:—

"Women 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. . . . The women of New Zealand have maintained the high standard of purity and womanhood, and, if anything, they are better wives and home-conservers."

REV. EDWARD MCSWEENEY, Mt. St. Mary's, Maryland:—

"I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do elsewhere, for public officers."

REV. PETER C. YORK, Editor of the "Monitor," San Francisco:—

"Motherhood does not cease when the boy goes out to earn his living. Is it not as much the mother's right to watch over her boy on the street as when he is under her roof? Is it not her duty to see that he is kept from unnecessary temptation on his way to and from her home, as well as in her home itself? Is not this city her city, and who is the man who will say that she shall have no voice in ruling it?"

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 one; 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

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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

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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 of 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. Where-

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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 Free-woman." 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

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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-

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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 fathoms 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-

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A Catholic's View of Suffrage

By the REV. J. ELLIOTT ROSS, C. S. P.

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, 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 a priest.

Personally, I am very much in favor of woman suffrage, and that for three reasons.

The first is that woman need the suffrage as much for their own highest spiritual and intellectual development as for protection.

The second 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.

How much a woman needs this life outside the home, this larger housekeeping for the State (as Miss McDowell calls it), is brought out very clearly in a recent book written by a Catholic and published by a Catholic firm. It is called "The Eighth Year" (by Philip Gibbs, New York: Devin-Adair Co.), because it deals with that period of married life. The title is taken from the fact that the statistics of the English divorce court show that more proceedings for dissolution of marriage are begun in that year than in any other.

According to the author, it is because for the first two years the couple are so in love that they do not see each other's faults. They are supremely happy in each other's company, and count that time lost which they must spend in other ways. The husband hurries home from business, the wife is always ready to meet him.

But after two years, they find each other out. They see that they have not married the ideal they thought they had, and make a working compromise to get the best out of a none too good bargain.

In two more years, they find themselves out. It is driven home upon them that they are not ideal either. Having tired of each other's society, they now begin to tire of their own. And during the seventh and eighth years, her own narrowness and selfishness become especially insufferable to the wife. The husband is absorbed in business. He has interests outside the home, and imagines that his duties are fulfilled by providing money for matinees and teas and operas. All the while however, his wife is starving for something more really worth while. Morally and emotionally she is ready to snatch at anything that offers a few hours' excitement. The round of worthless, empty social functions cannot satisfy her. She is sick of the hollow selfishness of it all.

At this psychological crisis, the inevitable temptation enters. The man professing to be her soulmate urges her to disregard conventions, to seek with him the satisfaction of that overpowering craving she feels for some strong tonic. In this particular case, the woman was saved by finding elsewhere an outlet for the pent-up emotions of her being—she was arrested for smashing windows as a militant suffragette. Her true self, however, had no sympathy for violence, and after this one outburst she settles down into a peaceful advocate of women's rights, an earnest worker for the good of others.

Women Need Wider Outlook

I believe there is a very real and important truth underlying this story. I believe that women, in order to fulfill their home duties, need to get out of the home into 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.

Needs Vote for Protection

Also, woman needs the vote to protect herself.

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.

And when a man's wife dies intestate, in some States, he receives one-half her personal property, and a life interest in all her real estate. Indeed, in at least one State, unless I am mistaken, his wife cannot provide even by will for children by a previous marriage. The daughter of a re-married woman, if her mother die leaving only real property becomes dependant 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 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.

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. 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," in the vast majority of cases, worth more than the man's contribution of daily wages.

Again, in the question of right 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 has 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 able to handle the increasing complexities of civilization. There may be no ultimate solution of these problems. I don't see any, but, then, I am a mere man. 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 crudely evident things that ought to be done, and which will be done when women get a real chance.

For instance, all monopoly of certain resources and products ought to cease. Ten per cent. of the people 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 forced 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 injured in mine and factory every year; our children should not be taken at four, six, eight years old to drudge unceasingly to make our finery; our meats should not be tainted, our bread mouldy, our fruits spoiled. All these things are unnecessary.

Yet men have faced these conditions helplessly. They have made the laws under which such crimes have been perpetrated; under which our railroads and our express companies, our gas and electric light companies, have consistently robbed us in order to pay dividends on watered stock; under which a small ring of money kings have throttled the nation and dictated their own terms.

What women have done without the suffrage and where they have had the suffrage is a presage of what they will do when they get it universally. Woman has not only put her own house in order, she has put her town in order. Women are the only people who know what cleanliness means. Go into the house 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 tables, because there are on women there to keep it clean. But a religious community of women will keep their house spotless, because there are no men around to dirty it up.

From coast to coast, women have put towns in order. They have gotten public parks and playgrounds, they have made war on billboards, ash heaps and garbage cans; they have gotten drinking fountains for man and beast; they have shortened hours for women and eliminated children from industry; they have put seats behind counters and started "shop early" campaigns; the Red Cross Society and the war on tuberculosis are the result of woman's efforts; 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, anti-child labor, mothers' pensions, equal co-guardianship of children, vocational training in public schools and other State institutions.

Certainly man needs woman's 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; whereas women by immemorial custom has been trained to think in terms of humanity—the home, husband, children. We cannot afford to have our laws made by any narrow, one-sided class 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 influx of their humanity in dealing with our problems.

No Solid Argument Against Suffrage

If you wish 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 vapors.

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 well 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 towards her children in the largest, completest sense without taking some part in political affairs.

No Fear of Family Quarrels

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 reasoning, 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 was 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 the 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, 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 until 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 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 protection; (2) that men need that women should vote; (3) and the third reason is, that there is no reason against giving them the suffrage.

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BALLOTS AND BROOMS

By Alice Stone Blackwell



—Courtesy The Atlanta Georgian.

These girls of Atlanta, Georgia, speak for the children of the nation, many of whom each year are unable to enter school because new schools are needed.

"What a Vote Will Not Do" is the title of an anti-suffrage document that has been widely distributed. The argument begins:

"It will not clean streets, provide schoolhouses, lighten dark tenements, prevent overcrowding, furnish pure milk, stop child labor. It cannot. Why? Because it is not a remedial agent. * * * Public opinion is the real remedial agent."

This is like saying, "A broom cannot clean the cobwebs off the ceiling. Why? Because it is not a remedial agent. The real remedial agent is the opinion that those cobwebs ought to come down." A broom will not clean off the cobwebs unless it is set in motion by the opinion that they ought to come down; but the house-

keeper's most emphatic opinion that they ought to come down will not bring them down without the use of a broom or its equivalent.

Suppose there were brooms in the house, but the mother of the family was forbidden to use one, and was told that she must wait until she could get her husband to do it. Suppose he admitted that the cobwebs ought to come down, but was too busy with his other work to attend to it; and suppose she had waited for many years and the cobwebs still hung in festoons from the ceiling and dropped into the children's food. Would she not begin to think that the taboo against a woman's touching a broom had as little basis in reason as the old taboo in Hawaii against a woman's eating a banana? And would not the spiders—if they had a voice in the matter—be as eager to persuade her that a broom in a woman's hand would not be a remedial agent as all the vicious interests are today to persuade women that a ballot in a woman's hand would be powerless for good?

As a sample of the fallacy of this whole line of anti-suffrage reasoning, let us take one concrete instance—the assertion that votes “will not provide schoolhouses.” Several years ago there was great need of a new high school building in Madison, Wis. The old building had become rickety and a firetrap. The question of an appropriation for a new building was put to vote. The men's and women's votes were counted separately, owing to a doubt whether the women had a legal right to vote on the subject—a doubt that was afterwards decided in the women's favor. The result showed that on a vote of the men alone, the new high school building would have been defeated; on the vote of the men and women together, it was carried. The Nebraska State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in a letter to the editor of *The Woman's Journal*, said:

“In this State the women's school vote has had many good results. For example, in the voting of school bonds where better school buildings were an absolute necessity, the bonds could not have been carried without the votes of the good and intelligent women, including useful wives and consecrated mothers. The instances are too numerous to mention.”

In all these cases there was plenty of public opinion in favor of the needed improvements, when all of it could be brought to bear; but if the women had been forbidden to vote, a considerable part of that public opinion would have been cut off from the mechanism whereby it could make itself efficient, and the school-houses would not have been built.

It is so with almost all the other things enumerated in this anti-suffrage leaflet as things which the vote will not do. Again and again, these things have been done when they were voted, and have failed to be done when they did not get votes enough.

The corrupt politician does not care a straw how much public opinion may grumble about his misdeeds, unless and until the popular indignation takes the form of votes. It has been well said that “the only Day of Judgment the average politician fears is election day.” The spiders do not care how severely the housewife may frown upon them; but when the broom approaches their webs, they are thrown into commotion.

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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

SUFFRAGE

ten inches in depth, double on your local page or front possible.

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

"We mention but six.

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

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

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

VOTE NO, APRIL 7

Issued by Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, office 1128 Majestic Building, Detroit.

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

Macomb County Retail Liquor Dealers' Association.

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

To the Publisher:

I enclose herewith copy of an advt. which I wish you would insert in this week's issue of your paper,

(OVER)

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 Wisconsin 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 bar-rooms, 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

SUFFRAGE

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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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Massell Bros., Printers 40 Hanover St., Boston

LIQUOR VERSUS SUFFRAGE

A cause is known by the enemies it makes as much as by the company it keeps. Perhaps some people have hesitated to believe that the liquor interests fight the onward march of equal suffrage. This leaflet proves that they do and that they masquerade behind the skirts of the anti-suffrage organization. The first incident occurred in the Michigan suffrage campaign, and is an example of what may be expected during suffrage campaigns in other States.

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

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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,
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According to the Chicago Tribune of April 7, 1914, 67,418 wet, while of the 329 towns a majority of the voters formerly wet that of the women's vote that stayed dry, 35.7 per cent. wet, 40.3 per cent. dry.

On April 21, 1914, the vote went dry, largely

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Phone Cherry 4723; 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 Prentiss avenue; vice-presidents, Mrs. L. E. Clark, Mrs. C. A. Kent, Mrs. Chas. W. Casgrain, Miss Stella Ford.

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

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

"Our State Legislature has just closed its session, and our association has been very successful in defeating many measures which would have harassed the trade in Montana. It has been a difficult task, for Montana, like all other States, is feeling the

effect of the great reform wave which is sweeping the country. The battle we have been fighting during the last sixty days has depleted our treasury, and we are not through yet. Besides this, the great question of woman suffrage will be submitted to the 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."

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

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The Land of Counterpane



I pray for all the grownups,
Wherever they may be,
Wat's done one teeny, weeny thing
To get a vote for me,
When I am old I'll use it,
I'm neither rich nor clever,
But I can give them lots of love,
Forever and forever.

—C. Hebley Charlton.

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The Test of Experiment

"Americans are a
practical people,
and the opinions of
men who have
practical experience
of women's voting
should carry weight.
They are the ones
whose views are
based on facts and
not on theory."

Lyman Beecher Stowe.

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COLORADO

GOVERNOR SHAFROTH

"Do women want equal suffrage? Ask the women of Colorado. Submit the question to those who have tried it, and scarce a corporal's guard will be found to vote against it.

"The fact that no legislator has ever introduced in the General Assembly of Colorado a bill to resubmit the question to the people shows that there is no demand for any change. In Colorado the principle of equal rights for women is irrevocably determined.

"Woman's influence has been felt most perhaps, in the character of nominations made by each political party. Many men, after denouncing a candidate as dishonest and immoral before his nomination, support him at the election because they believe that they must have a consistent party record in order to get subsequent recognition from their party."

3

FROM REPORT OF UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

"That the granting of the elective franchise to women would add to the strength, efficiency, justice, and fairness of government, we have not the slightest doubt. That the class of citizens described in the above resolution (females) has abundantly demonstrated it is eminently worthy of possessing such a right, has never been successfully contradicted."

2

"Deprive any class or nationality of men of the elective franchise, and its detrimental effect would be felt immediately."

"If this franchise is so important to men, why is it not equally important to women?"

"In Colorado I find no tendency in men to omit the politeness and gallantry to women which she has always commanded."

"Statistics set at rest the claim that women will not vote. They show that in the equal-suffrage State of Colorado about twice as many votes are cast as in States of equal population where man suffrage only exists."

U. S. SENATOR THOMAS

"Woman's suffrage in Colorado is no longer an experiment. It has been tried, and it has risen in full measure to the expectation of those who were originally its advocates."

JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY of the Denver Juvenile Court.

"Through the women have come in the reforms in dealing with juvenile delinquency in which our State leads. But even if this were not so, I should be just as much in favor of giving women the vote as I am today. That she should have a right to share in making the government under which she lives is only justice. Why should we expect women to bring about the millennium through their vote? Men haven't. The women split the ticket as men seldom do. They vote on the character of the candidates, not according to party. And I, for one, think that's a good thing to do."

"You can't put it too strong if you are going to quote the way I feel about woman suffrage. I believe in it with all my heart. And I am certain that, in our State, it has made possible greatly improved and advanced legislation."

MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL, Prison Commissioner and for three terms State Supt. of Public Instruction.

"Instead of thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these 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. Interest in the old-fashioned womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing."

The Land of Counterpane



I pray for all the grownups,
Wherever they may be,
Wat's done one teeny, weeny thing
To get a vote for me.
When I am old I'll use it,
I'm neither rich nor clever,
But I can give them lots of love,
Forever and forever.

—C. Hebley Charlton.

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SIGNED STATEMENT BY PROMINENT MEN.

"We, citizens of the State of Colorado, desire, as lovers of truth and justice, to give our testimony to the value of equal suffrage. We believe that the greatest good of the home, the State, and the nation is advanced through the operation of equal suffrage. The evils predicted have not come to pass. The benefits claimed for it have been secured or are in progress of development. A very large proportion of Colorado women have conscientiously accepted their responsibilities as citizens."—From statement issued in 1898, signed by the governor, three ex-Governors, both United States Senators, two ex-Senators, both members of Congress, the Chief Justice, the two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, three Judges of the Court of Appeals, four Judges of the District Court, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer, the State Auditor, the Attorney General, the Mayor of Denver, the President of the State University, the President of Colorado College, and the Presidents and Officers of numerous Women's Clubs.

CALIFORNIA

GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON

"I can remember when government was an intangible thing; when one thought of

it as some vague power. Women have done more than change laws, they have made of government a common, ordinary, useful thing.

"With women has arisen a new philosophy of government; a world-wide philosophy which belongs to no party, no sect, no sex. This new philosophy believes that the government's purpose is to make people happier, to make them better; that the only successful government is one which does this."

Governor Johnson says that the attainment of the ballot by women has added to the governmental function in California not only a great "reservoir of moral energy," but also a progressive force. He points out that women led the fight for the eight-hour law, the immigration bill, the red-light abatement bill, teachers' and mothers' pensions, and workmen's compensation.

U. S. SENATOR WORKS

"Equal suffrage is a good thing. I believe in woman's enfranchisement and I believe ultimately it will be universal."

JOHN FRANCIS NEVLAN
Chairman of the California State Board of Control

"I am always convinced that they (recent reforms) could never have been ac-

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completed in the incredibly short time of three years if it had not been for the influence of women upon the political life of California."

CHIEF OF POLICE SEBASTIAN OF LOS ANGELES

"The extension of suffrage to woman has resulted in a reduction of crime. That epitomizes a speech made by Chief of Police Sebastian of Los Angeles before the National Association of Police Chiefs."

—San Francisco Call

WASHINGTON

GOVERNOR ERNEST LISTER

"I know of no one who was in favor of granting this right who today opposes it, and large numbers of those who were opposed to the amendment are now in favor of it. The results in Washington have certainly indicated that the women of the State assist rather than otherwise in public affairs, by having the right to vote."

U. S. SENATOR MILES POINDEXTER

"There are just as many children in Washington as there were before the women had

the vote. The women have just as much time to give to their homes as before. None of the dangers which have been predicted by the anti-suffragists have materialized in Washington."

"This fight for woman suffrage is not being waged for the women who do not want the ballot, but for those who do."

U. S. SENATOR WESLEY JONES

"None of the prophecies of those who were opposed to it have been fulfilled, and practically all the hopes of those who were in favor of it have been realized. What has come to pass in my State I believe will come to pass in other States."

REV. CLARENCE TRUE WILSON

"The manner in which the women of Oregon and Washington have used the ballot has taken all of the 'thunder' out of my contention against equal suffrage."

OREGON

The Right Reverend Charles Scadding
THE BISHOP OF OREGON

The Bishop of Oregon says that he has been converted to equal suffrage by seeing

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how it works in practice. In an interview in Buffalo he stated that the new commission form of government in Portland was giving the city a most efficient administration, and that "the vote of the women was largely responsible for bringing this about."

U. S. SENATOR LANE

"Women vote in Oregon, and the last city election in Portland was, I am told, decided by the votes of the women. In my family there are four persons—my wife, two daughters and myself. They and I are registered voters."

"Several arguments in favor of woman suffrage have been presented here, but there are many things not usually presented in relation to this question which appeal to me. I am by profession not a lawyer; I am a physician; and probably I look naturally upon this question from the standpoint of a physician. As a matter of fact, it is not true that men have greater physical endurance than women. Women can stand and, as a rule, do stand more pain than the bravest and most courageous man is able to endure."

U. S. SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN

"It is a movement which is absolutely certain of accomplishment because it is

right. There is no reason in the world why the women of this country should not be permitted to exercise the right of suffrage."

WYOMING

CHIEF JUSTICE CHARLES N. POTTER

"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 voted side by side for 36 years, and she is just as womanly, just as ladylike as ever, and I am inclined to think a little more so."

"I know absolutely that women purify politics in Wyoming because I have been in political life there for 30 years, and know whereof I speak."

GOVERNOR JOHN M. CAREY

"After watching the operation of woman's suffrage for many years in this State, during which time woman has had equal opportunities to vote and hold office, I say, without hesitation, that she has exercised

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pation in no sense disqualifies them for their household and other duties. Many of our most prominent and cultured women have taken a leading part in advocating reforms which have been of the utmost value to the people of our State."

U. S. SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH

"We have had woman suffrage in Idaho for a number of years. I believe it has been distinctly beneficial and the influence exerted by woman suffrage while not as great as is sometimes claimed, is, in so far as it goes, entirely on the side of cleaner politics and better government."

U. S. SENATOR JAMES H. BRADY
(Former Governor)

"I do not think that exercise of elective franchise by the women of Idaho has had any effect upon the social or home life of the people of the State except it be by reason of better citizenship on account of purer political life. Politically the effect of woman suffrage has been immeasurably uplifting and beneficial. Better men have been induced to become candidates for office, administration of governmental affairs has been constantly placed in more honest

hands, and the affairs of the commonwealth have been benefited. Laws have been passed of remedial and reformatory character, and the beneficial results of woman suffrage are everywhere noticeable. Woman suffrage has been an unqualified success, not only in Idaho but in all Western States adopting the principle. The West has set the pace for the rest of the world in giving women justice in this matter."

UTAH

U. S. SENATOR GEORGE SUTHERLAND

"Woman suffrage in Utah works admirably. When it was first put into operation I very much doubted the wisdom of the idea, but my mind has changed on that point. It has worked to the betterment of the political conditions in the State in both parties, and necessarily has been beneficial from a social point of view, in that what improves politics must improve social conditions. The fact that women have a vote with us compels the nomination of better and cleaner men for office."

"I am in favor of woman suffrage as a result of observing its practical operation in our State during the past twelve years. As large a proportion of women as of men vote. They never split on sex lines. It has never tended in the slightest degree to create a sex

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her privileges wisely and well. So satisfactory has it been to the people of Wyoming that I do not believe one percent of the male population would vote to deprive her of the political privileges she enjoys. She votes and takes an interest in public affairs.

"Our elections are quiet; we never have any difficulty at the polls. Our public meetings are as free from noise and confusion as any public lecture or theatrical entertainment. Whenever a woman appears in a public place she is treated with profound respect; when she approaches the polls the men stand back, raise their hats, and give her every opportunity to exercise her rights and duties without confusion or interference."

U. S. SENATOR CLARENCE D. CLARK

"We have had woman suffrage for forty years. One of the very first acts of the Legislative Assembly when Wyoming became a Territory was to pass that law. It 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."

U. S. SENATOR WARREN

"Wyoming has an enviable reputation as a well-governed and progressive State. That this is so, is due in part to woman's vote. It has always had a moral check on elections and legislation.

"Our women are intelligently active in public affairs, but, withal, womanly and devoted to home and family as their sisters in States where the privilege is not enjoyed. In fact, there is nothing in our experience in Wyoming to warrant the opinion that woman suffrage has been unwise, but, on the contrary, it has elevated public morals and has been a material factor in maintaining the good local government we enjoy.

"They fill adequately such public offices as they are fitted for, and they have never attempted to secure those for which they are not fitted. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has now for four years been admirably administered by a woman. Many of the county superintendents of schools, county clerks and treasurers are women. They also hold a large number of clerkships."

IDAHO

GOVERNOR T. M. HAINES

"A large majority of women not only vote but vote intelligently and their partici-

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party. Women are more apt than men to "scratch" a bad man who may be running on an otherwise good ticket. The straight ticket has no such hold over them as it has over the male voters."

RT. REV. BISHOP FRANK SPAULDING
Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Utah.

"In Colorado and Utah the women are cleaning house. They are casting into the everlasting outer darkness all the refuse of legislation and graft which the men have allowed to accumulate throughout the years of their sovereignty.

"In every State in which they have been granted the vote and partnership with man in the making of the laws, that State has taken long strides in advance towards the higher civilization. Their use of the ballot, where it has been given into their hands, is an irrefutable argument in their favor and it justifies, it urges that they be given the rights of citizenship throughout the nation."

KANSAS
U. S. SENATOR BRISTOW

"The State that withholds from its women the right of participating in the affairs of its government is doing itself an injus-

tice, because their participation in the affairs of the State will benefit every Commonwealth that enjoys that privilege. It has been my great pleasure to campaign the States where woman suffrage has been extended, and I observed in the audiences larger numbers of women than in the audiences where the right of suffrage had not been extended; and for intelligent understanding of intricate economic questions they are the equals of men. You will find a larger percentage of women in your audiences in a State where suffrage is enjoyed by them who understand and are informed in regard to the political and complex problems that confront our civilization than you will men. I have no patience with the argument that they have not the capacity to deal with questions relating to governmental affairs.

"There is no sound argument that can be made against the extension of woman suffrage. The influence of woman will place the political institutions of our country upon a higher plane than they have been in the past."

DR. S. J. CRUMBINE
Secretary of the Kansas Board of Health.
(In a letter to the *Woman's Journal*)

"I want to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the splendid

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work the club women of Kansas did in our fight with the "Interests" in maintaining the integrity of our department. I feel that without their hearty sympathy and active support the result might have been different.

"Our experiences of last winter lead me to believe that the "Interests" that are opposed to efficient food and drug control are always very much alive and awake to take advantage of any opportunity that might offer for amending the food and drug laws to make them less efficient or for crippling the machinery charged with their enforcement. I believe that we will have to be even more vigilant the next few years to come than we have in the past few years. The most hopeful phase of the entire situation is that the women of our country are equally alert and active in preserving the integrity of the laws we already have, and in insisting that progress shall be made to further the cause of pure food and drugs. Since the good women of Kansas now have the ballot, we are breathing somewhat easier."

ILLINOIS

GOVERNOR DUNNE

"I am glad that we are to have the day of woman suffrage in Illinois. Women have

improved everything they ever have gone into, and they will improve politics and government."

JANE ADDAMS

"Our experience in Illinois has thoroughly exploded the idea that women have more respect and influence without a vote. Every woman who has been to the city hall or has had anything to do with city officials has observed a very striking change in their demeanor since the woman suffrage bill passed. They are much more respectful and gallant.

"Miss Mary McDowell has been greatly interested in the garbage question for many years, because the biggest garbage dump in Chicago is in her ward and the garbage has simply been put there and allowed to decay. She has interviewed all manner of committees and officials without results. Within two weeks after the woman suffrage law went into effect, Miss McDowell was appointed a member of a Garbage Committee, made up mostly of aldermen, with one or two physicians—a committee with \$10,000 to spend. In all likelihood this would not have happened but for woman suffrage."

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ANTHONY CZARNECKI
Of the Board of Election Commissioners
(After Registration Day in Chicago)

"The influence of women in polling places, as clearly shown by the day's experiences proves that women will improve conditions and that they are a force which will be beneficial in politics. Wherever the women served as judges and clerks of election they proved a success. Likewise in every precinct their presence was for good and in no precinct did it work any harm or evil."

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR O'HARA

"The granting of votes to women is not the work of any one party. It is the outgrowth of the progressive tendencies of the times. Men that did not believe in woman suffrage and did not want to vote for it, did so because they knew it was political suicide not to do so."

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[December, 1915]

54

AN ADDRESS

By

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

This Speech was delivered by Dr. Shaw in December, 1915,
upon retiring from the Presidency of the National
American Woman Suffrage Association.

There is no age of which the problems that confront a people seem so complex and difficult as those of their own age. This is certainly true of the times through which we are passing. Vast problems meet us on every hand and all about us is a despairing world, war mad with fear and hate. Beyond the seas, thrones are tottering to their fall, kings are driven into exile, nations blotted from the face of the earth, dead and dying everywhere; homeless, haunted, outraged women with little children perishing of hunger as they sink exhausted by the wayside; in our own country lawless destruction of property; the strikes of discontented work folk; little children driven to the mines and factories and sweated industries to add to the already bursting coffers of the rich and powerful; an army of ignorance and vice led to the polls as sheep to their own destruction; and even universities and churches unmindful of their high mission muzzled at the behest of a dominating sordid financial power; the right too often on the scaffold, the wrong enthroned.

It is no wonder that so many are filled with distrust of humanity and ask in the spirit of the fatalist: "Is it worth while?" Why strive with puny, empty hands and high ideals against such vast forces entrenched within the mighty citadels of power? We might well despair if we viewed life for a day. It is only when viewed as a whole that the real reformer is able with unfaltering faith to follow her vision to its goal. The reformer who believes that there is a power reaching through all the ages and that this power is a constant presence working with unfailing purpose toward a single goal, must believe that we shall ultimately know the meaning and purpose of life. It is that we may lay hold of this faith anew, that we may draw from its infinite supply the spirit that we all need to keep us steadily on the march, as well as to take counsel

one with the other, that we have gathered from all parts of our country in our Annual Convention.

Back of and running all through this political problem of ours is one far deeper and more fundamental without which political emancipation would be futile. Our real problem is ethical and religious. Freedom, true freedom, must come from within, and I believe all will agree with me that our great need today is that our movement be vitalized by a mighty spiritual force working from within ourselves. Ours is different from any political movement the world has heretofore known. We do not bring a new message of freedom to the people; ours is the old message, but the old message anew, stripped of its traditions, its prejudices, its ignorance, and broader in its application.

Our protest is not against the vision or the ideals of the founders of our government, but against the false interpretation of these ideals and their application to a chosen group only and not to the whole people.

No one with eyes to see and ears to hear and a mind to understand can fail to recognize that the old ideals are losing their authority and much of their vital hold upon the life of the people. The spirit of justice and of faith in humanity is dying and we are drifting back to the ancient theory of "might makes right" and "to the victor belong the spoils."

One of our great statesmen has said: "the greatest blessing of freedom is our power to transmit it to our children," but we are content to hark back to our ancestors and boast of their achievements in justice and freedom, forgetting that the life of the spirit is a continual process of becoming. It is life only when there is growth. Too many are content to worship the institutions of government rather than the spirit which gave them birth, forgetting that the value of any institution is measured by its ability to keep alive the spirit from whence it sprang.

The progress of nations is not measured by the spoils of material conquest, nor by the size of their standing armies, nor the number of dreadnaughts and undersea craft, nor even by "their accumulation of the equipment of civilization but by the progressive emancipation of the individual," and the widening of the vision of personal obligation and responsibility of life.

It is said that "to take into ourselves the great ideals of the past, to become human by realizing in ourselves the experiences of the past, gives to life a priceless value." Because of this, it is given to us to teach the people a higher patriotism than that of blindly following the example of the past; a patriotism which scorns to cry "My country, right or wrong," but rather in the spirit of true loyalty cries, "My country if she is right, but if she is wrong then by every power of my being shall I seek to make her right." Our nation today is running mad over the cry of preparedness, and we are ready to plunge into any excess of reckless expenditure of treasure or even of life in response to this pseudo-patriotic hysteria for defense.

We point to the defenseless nations of Europe as an example from which we should draw our lesson to insure peace and safety for our

beloved land. We forget that the lesson of Europe, like a two edged sword, cuts both ways, and that had it not been for twenty years of ceaseless preparation on the one hand there would have been no danger in the unpreparedness on the other. But there is an older teaching which has always been true and will forever remain so; that the man or the nation who lives by the sword shall die by the sword. The old contempt for life which has led so many to sacrifice it so ruthlessly and uselessly is not an evidence of either patriotism or high courage. Life is of infinite value; every hour of it should be cherished because of the possibilities enfolded within it. To love something more than life; to cherish an ideal so vastly that life for its sake becomes of vital importance; to live and strive when all else save the ideal seems lost, so that life and all its fullness of meaning shall be at its service, is the most heroic sacrifice that one can make for a great reform or for his country, and this is the demand our country and our cause makes upon us today.

Today we stand upon the vantage ground of the ages; all the accumulated experience and wisdom of the past are ours for use and guidance. The opportunities which open before us are so numerous that the possibilities which lie within them confuse us, and we scarcely know which one to grasp and patiently follow to its goal. Yet the responsibility rests upon us to choose and act. Vastly more is demanded of us than in the past; we cannot escape our obligation. It is the price we pay for the benefits we derive from the service of the pioneers whose passion for freedom won for us our vast inheritance of the equipment of civilization. This heritage of what the world has worked out as true and just is not ours simply to enjoy or to add to the widening and deepening of our own personal character and power. The world demands from us an adequate return for our equipment for life, and for the vast opportunities which the toil, the patience, the suffering, the holy service of the pioneers of civilization gave to secure to us our high privilege. But with these opportunities came greater responsibilities. We must never forget that *opportunity is responsibility*. It is useless to say, "I have privileges; why place upon me responsibilities from which I shrink and which I do not desire." Responsibilities are not the result of desire or willingness to accept them. Opportunity is responsibility and an heroic soul cheerfully accepts the one with the other. The cry of the woman who seeks freedom from responsibility while claiming privileges and opportunities is the cry of selfishness and cowardice, and has no place in the ideals of a higher humanity.

It is because of the fact that that which the world has worked out in a given period as right is the basis on which our ideals of life are built, that our ideals with each new epoch are constantly changing and can never if they are alive remain static. As an Association, we are, at the present time, confronted by this eternal law of progress by changes in our methods such as we have not met since the union of the two national societies in 1889. Our enlarged and expanding status as an Association, the new and varied duties which devolve upon us, and the innumerable demands in-

nations out of the abyss into which injustice has plunged them, they must be clean hands. Our words must ring true. Justice, freedom, right must be meaningful with character back of them. If, rising above this struggle in the East, we catch the gleam of the oncoming and all pervading spirit of democracy, we must live it, be true to it, be so possessed by its power that we vindicate it by our own loyalty to its spirit.

Only when by our practice, as well as by our theories, we prove to the world that we believe in the infinite power of justice to right wrongs and preserve nations from the violation of sacred obligations to their own people and to other nations, will our country be prepared to be the har-binger of hope to despotic and despairing monarchies.

Many appeals will be made to our association to abandon its one purpose of securing votes for women and to turn its attention and organized machinery to the real or imaginary dangers which beset us as a nation, but let us never for a moment forget the specious promises and assurances given to the pioneers who, when the Civil War took place, gave up their associations and turned their efforts to the Sanitary Commission in the belief that when the war was over the country would recognize their patriotic services and the dependence of the nation upon women in war as in peace, and reward them with the ballot, the crowning symbol of citizenship. But republics are prone to be ungrateful and to forget the services of a disfranchised class. Instead of recognizing their services and rewarding the loyal women, the cry went forth, "This is the negroes' hour. Let the women wait," and they are still waiting. But, as they wait, they are not blind to the fact that this nation did what no other nation has done, when it voluntarily made its former slaves the sovereign rulers of its loyal and patriotic women.

The greatest service suffragists can render their country and, through it, the whole world at this time, is to teach it that there is no sex in love of individual liberty and to stand without faltering by our demand for justice and equality of political rights for men and women.

THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT.

The value of any institution depends upon the power which inheres in it to develop character whether the institution is the home, the school, the church or the government.

This makes consideration for the development of the child the first duty of the State, and the home becomes the most sacred, the most vitally important factor in government. In fact, it is the foundation upon which rest all other institutions whose purpose tends towards the progressive civilization of the race which is the end and aim of democracy.

When aroused by an outraged public sentiment, the government makes a spasmodic attempt at protecting the sanctity of the home by abortive attempts to regulate marriage, divorce, and especially to suppress polygamy—polygamy, that base and debasing institution which, in all countries wherever practised, brutalizes men, degrades women, blights the lives of the children and prostitutes the holiest relations in life to the

service of the basest form of human lust, using the sacred bond of marriage as a shield for human passions under the guise of religious sanction.

Heretofore marriage has been legislated for and controlled by men's ideals and men's desires, and it has been used to enslave women and to rob them of their inalienable rights as human beings.

When the demand for woman suffrage was first made, by law marriage deprived women of the power to control their own lives, persons, property or children. It ranked them with infants by making their names of no effect upon legal documents. It classed them with aliens, robbing them of their birthright as citizens, and made them in fact women without a country. While recognizing them as human, it took from them the moral responsibility which inheres in humanity. Under the beneficent law of marriage, it took from mothers all legal rights in their own children, and, while recognizing their legal responsibility for service to their husbands and families, they became homemakers without right of domicile. Such, and more, was the legal status of the married woman at the time when in 1848 the small group of patriots and pioneers met at Seneca Falls, New York, and laid the foundation of the woman suffrage movement in this country and in fact in the whole world.

Every change which has been made to modify the laws and remove these disabilities has been the result of the aroused public conscience by those who believe that marriage is a holy bond and the marriage ceremony so sacred that the one should not entail any loss of natural human rights nor the other contain vows which rob women of moral responsibility. The marriage vow which is the symbol of the spiritual bond, is too sacred, too far reaching in its significance to be a meaningless formula assented to with mental reservations.

If it is true that it is an evidence of intelligence to be interested in those concerns which affect our lives, how can the highest interests of such institutions as marriage and the home be best considered unless women, as well as men, women whose happiness, and what is of infinitely more importance, whose honor and duty depend upon their security, legislate for their protection and safeguard their purity.

Today the home and children for whose development it exists instead of holding their rightful place in government as the center about which and for which all other institutions should be regulated, are the last, least and most belated consideration of governments. We have governmental departments for the consideration of all other problems, and men are eagerly discussing the advisability of adding a new one demanded by the exigencies of the world war, but when will these statesmen urge the necessity of a cabinet minister for the department of the home. Over and above all other departments in our government should be that of the home, for the consideration and development of child life.

It is true that we have a Commission at whose head is a well equipped official, but an official without power or adequate means to carry on her work.

That woman's vote would secure better legislation for the home and

creasing, with the accumulation of means and workers call for a new kind of service in leadership.

Political necessity has supplanted the reform epoch, the reapers of the harvest have replaced the ploughman and seed sower, each equally needed in the process of the cultivation and the development of an ideal as in the fruitage of the tree. Some one has recently expressed this change in something like these words—"those who answered the call of our movement in the beginning were reformers; those who respond today are politicians." When this movement began its pioneers were reformers, people who saw visions and dreamed dreams of the time when all mankind should be free and each human being have an equal opportunity under the law. This vision awoke in them new desires until the reformers became possessed by it, and, following it in the spirit of Him who cried, "I was not disobedient to the Heavenly vision," they went forth proclaiming it to the world, knowing that misunderstanding, misrepresentation and persecution would combine to make the task difficult. It was not that they sought persecution but that they loved justice and freedom more than escape from it—these pioneers of the greatest political reform which history recounts. Year after year, without delay or waiting, the task has been carried forward until the time has come when "new occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth," and the idealist and the reformer are supplanted in our movement by the practical politician.

Our cause has passed beyond the stage of academic discussion and has entered the realm of practical politics. To the idealist, the reformer, this fact comes as a revelation and a distinct shock, but she must recognize that it is true and yield, though she may not be able to adjust herself to the changed conditions.

The time has come when our organized machinery must also be political in its character, and work along political lines directed by political leaders. The shock which with this thought comes to many and compels them to turn from it in fear, is not due so much to the fact itself as to our false theories of politics and political leadership. If we can but eliminate from our minds the knowledge which most of us have of the misuse and abuse of politics, our contempt for political bossism, and remember that our mission is to secure a better government than we now possess, that politics is the science by which governments are controlled, that the science of government is as holy as the science of religion, that political leadership in itself is as honorable as religious leadership, and that there is no more sacred nor noble vocation than to be one with the Infinite in the government of the world, then we shall cease to regret the change which has been wrought and made necessary by the toil and sacrifice of the pioneers. To protest against these new methods would seem as if the pioneers who marked out the paths through the wilderness, who felled the trees, ploughed the soil and sowed the seed, objected to the new tools and the new workmen who reap and distribute the harvest throughout the nations of the world to give hope and life to the needy millions

who have so long waited its fruition. By this I do not mean that we must blindly accept all new theories and methods because they are new, nor reject the old because they are old. In fact, most of the best of the new are but the revival of the old which were launched before the world was ready to receive them.

Women are acquiring political acumen.* It is manifest on every hand. They will need to be on their guard unless it degenerate into mere desire to control the machinery rather than a practical means to secure the opportunity by which the spirit of justice within the organization, the spirit which gave it birth, shall be able to accomplish its purpose in the life of the nation.

There is, however, still work for the idealist and the reformer. Not all territory has been explored, all soil cultivated; not all fields are ready for the reapers. The truth still has need of fore-runners in the service of freedom. But the work of the machinery must be directed by hands skilled in political science, while we, the idealists, must follow our vision until all, idealist and politician together, arrive at the goal of political equality for all the people.

Let those of us of the older day gladly welcome the new and bid its soldiers God speed in their triumphal march to final victory, ever keeping this one thought fresh in our hearts—our goal is political freedom and we welcome gladly, whether it be old or new, whatever will speed us toward a true democracy.

INTERVENTION

The United States is looked upon as being the most powerful neutral nation, which with its high human ideal is the best equipped to present its good offices in mediation between the warring nations of the East. But is it true that it is equipped for such a high mission? What better preparation could it make than by removing from within its own borders the very cause which led to the present barbarous conditions across the sea?

No one will deny that the real cause of the war was the injustice and selfishness which permits governments, as well as individuals, to ignore their obligations and duties each to the other in their sordid desire for self-aggrandisement, lust for power and greed for gain.

How can the United States, in any spirit of a truly great nation, offer its services as mediator when it is following the same line of action towards its own people? How can it plead for justice in the East when it denies it to its own women? How can it claim that written agreements between nations are binding when it violates the fundamental principles of its own national constitution which declare that "the right of the citizen to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State," and yet for forty-five years Congress has turned a deaf ear to the appeal of our own citizens for protection under this law. Is it true that the United States Constitution too is but a scrap of paper to be repudiated at will?

If, as a mediator of justice, we hold out our hands to lift other

children against all corrupting forces of vested interests and vice which prosper upon their degradation and the exploitation of children, is shown by the laws which have been secured by women in States where they already vote and which are advocated by women in those States where they do not vote. Note the advocates against a child labor law in Congress and you will find they come from States where women have no voice whatever in the control or in the education of their children. If anything more is needed to prove this fact, the character of the organized opposition which succeeded in controlling the elections where the constitutional amendments recently failed of success, would forever convince reputable people of the unholy alliance against the influence of the home in the government. If, as a people, we believe in the sanctity of marriage and the purity of the family and the home and if these are to serve their high purpose and receive adequate representation in the government, then women, the child bearers and home makers, must be given the power to protect the interests of their high vocation against all the forces which are today entrenched in and protected by the government and whose interests conflict with the purity, the honor, the prosperity and the very existence of the world's most important institutions, the family and the home.

TWELVE YEARS' PROGRESS.

To encourage those who are impatient over what is termed our slow progress toward political enfranchisement, may I point out several facts which should inspire them with courage and fill their hearts with gratitude for the persistent energy and wisdom which has brought us safely thus far on our way toward the high privileges and responsibilities of full citizens.

Within the twelve years of my presidency of this Association, there have been submitted for ratification to the electors twenty-nine constitutional amendments granting full suffrage to women. Of these, in three States, West Virginia, Iowa and South Dakota, the vote will be taken during the coming year. The remaining twenty-six range from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf: Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma.

Of these, four States have submitted the question more than once during the twelve years; South Dakota four, Ohio two, Michigan two, and Oregon four times, the other fifteen States each once. Besides these, there have been vigorous campaigns carried on in behalf of constitutional amendments under new constitutions, as in New Hampshire, and a most active campaign for municipal suffrage in Wheeling, W. Va., and other municipalities, to which we add with great satisfaction the successful campaigns which gave us the territory of Alaska and the State of Illinois. Of the States which have submitted amendments during these twelve years, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, and the territory of Alaska have secured full suffrage,

with partial suffrage for Illinois, whose position and influence make it one of the most powerful factors in securing further political influence for additional extension of freedom to the women of the nation.

In looking at the larger success, we must not fail to recognize the grants of partial suffrage and give to them and the service which secured them their meed of praise. Beginning with Michigan in 1908, taxpayers were entitled to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises; Oklahoma and Kentucky granted school suffrage; Ginto Park, Va., municipal suffrage to taxpayers; New Mexico, school suffrage. In New York, women in towns, villages and third class cities vote on bonding propositions, and even the year 1915, with all its disappointments, has something to add to the list of victories and gives us from the southernmost State the city of Fillmore, Fla., with municipal suffrage.

But why stop with a recital of our victories? Why not recount what we have lost? Because there is nothing to recount on the lost side. We have lost nothing, not an inch of the territory that we have won. Ours is a winning, not a losing game. We have only victories, successes and more victories to recount.

When we are seeking inspiration and encouragement, why stop with what we have gained in our own country? Our aim is not alone the enfranchisement of women in our own country, but the triumph of democracy throughout the world, and it will but add to our inspiration and encouragement if we share in the joy of others and see how the spirit of freedom has entered into the lives of other nations.

During the twelve years including 1904, we have to add to our victories Queensland, Victoria, Finland, Norway, Denmark and Iceland with full suffrage; Sweden, England, eligibility to municipal offices; Belgium and France, a vote and eligibility as members of des Prudhommes; in the province of Voralberg, taxpaying suffrage to spinsters and widows; in Austria, in the Diet of the Crown Prince of Krain, municipal suffrage in the city of Laiback; and in India municipal suffrage in the dominion of the Gackwar of Baroda; in the Kingdom of Wurtemberg a vote and eligibility for members of the Chamber of Agriculture; in Honduras municipal suffrage in the capital city of Belege; in Natal and Cape Colony municipal suffrage.

This is but an incomplete list of the gains of the past twelve years, but they are more and greater than in all the previous history of the woman suffrage movement and we may expect the ratio to increase with each coming year until there shall not be a nation in all the world in which citizenship is based on sex.

While we are dealing with statistics, it might be interesting to note a few which, if facts have any weight with our opponents, will silence forever the claim that only a small fraction of our people favor woman suffrage. Since the first constitutional amendment was submitted in Rhode Island in 1887, until the recent vote in 1915, 6,632,142 men voted on the subject at the last elections in the States in which suffrage amendments have been submitted. Of these, 2,850,800 voted in favor, which is

43 per cent. of all the votes cast upon the amendments. Forty-three per cent. of those voting favorably upon a measure cannot by any honest method of mathematics be construed, as our opponents claim, as 92 per cent. opposed.

Of the 2,850,800 votes cast in favor, 2,753,207 were cast within the past twelve years, and 1,192,590 within the past year, as against 97,593 cast prior to 1904.

It does not appear from these figures that "woman suffrage is a going and not a coming" policy of our government.

It has been the privilege of your President to actively participate in twenty-four out of the twenty-seven State campaigns, in the New Hampshire constitutional campaign, the Wheeling municipal campaign, and to directly, though not actively, participate in all the others, except that of Illinois.

The vote cast upon the amendments but inadequately expresses the expanding sentiment in behalf of woman suffrage, and it needs but consecrated, persistent, systematic service to reach the goal and complete the task begun by the pioneers of 1848 and laid down by Susan B. Anthony in 1906.

While we accept as our motto the last public utterance of Miss Anthony, "Failure is impossible," we must also remember her prophetic words, uttered just before she laid down her life work, "There is nothing which can ultimately prevent the triumph of our cause, but the time of its coming depends upon the loyalty and devotion of those who believe in it."

THE OUTLOOK.

A wise general never undertakes a new campaign without first examining the field and the equipment of his forces.

Neither does he underestimate the strength or position of his enemies. And we who are entering upon a new campaign in our sixty years' struggle for freedom, must show like wisdom.

It is reasonable to assume that the delegates here assembled will follow the established custom of a two-fold campaign as set forth in Article II of our National Constitution—"To secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate National and State legislation."

While recognizing that our primary object is to secure the ballot for women citizens and that as an organization we are not wedded to any method of obtaining it, but are willing to adopt any just plan which promises success, nevertheless, until a better way is found we will seek to secure an amendment to the National Constitution prohibiting disfranchisement on account of sex, and at the same time appeal to the States that by State action a sufficiently strong support may be given to the national amendment to secure its passage, unless it becomes unnecessary by action of the States themselves.

It is well, therefore, to see just where we stand in regard to national legislation.

The air at the present time is impregnated with misinformation, half information and no information in regard to the expediency and desirability, as well as the possibility, which inhere in these different methods of procedure, and the vast fields into which the seeds of discord, discontent and impatience are being sown is ever increasing, as larger numbers of people who are enthusiasts, but uninformed, flock to our standards.

We must face the fact that large bodies of new recruits know practically little of the history of the suffrage movement, of the long years of faithful devotion, and the wise and statesmanlike service which have brought it to its present successful position.

These recruits are attracted by new and spectacular methods and are impatient of delay and eagerly follow any scheme which promises to "get it quick." Experience will teach the new as it has taught the old recruits, that there is no royal road to freedom—that those

"Who work for freedom
Win not in an hour.
The seeds of that great truth,
From which shall spring
The forest of the future,
To give shade to those
Who reap the harvest,
Must be sown in faith
That fails not:
Fed with rain of tears
And walled about with lives
That fought and fell."

If we analyze the arguments set forth by the most ardent advocates of the National Constitutional Amendment, as the only means of securing immediate results, and learn upon what they base their hopes of success, we shall see, as it has been shown again and again, that every one of them has its source in the enfranchised States; that instead of State by State action being "wasteful, expensive, useless and slow," it is the foundation of hope, and that, without its results in the enfranchisement of women and political possibilities which lie within their power, those who oppose State action would not have a single argument in support of their claim for speedy National action.

It is because of these facts that we have the strongest arguments in behalf of the wisdom of the founders of our movement, that they recognized the necessity that State and Federal action must go together and that the latter is dependent upon the former.

The truth of our contention that national action is dependent upon State action is easily shown.

The Senate Suffrage Committee, created in 1889, after being a minority committee of five members whose chairman and the majority of whose members were opposed to suffrage, became, with the incoming of the present administration, a majority committee of seven through the influence of Senator Thomas, who became the chairman, and a majority of the members were suffragists.

Senator Thomas represents an enfranchised State, and there are enough other enfranchised States to make a force in the Senate sufficiently strong to bring the measure out of committee and make it rank as one of the foremost subjects of debate during the last Congress, resulting in a vote of 35 for to 24 against, with ten pairs for and five against, giving a majority, but not the two-thirds vote necessary to carry.

That the measure was reported from the Judiciary Committee to the House of Representatives and there received a vote of 174 for to 204 against after a day's discussion, was also due to the fact that woman suffrage already existed in twelve States and gave its advocates sufficient influence to bring the measure to vote.

But neither in the Senate nor in the House of Representatives was the vote a test of the attitude of the members toward suffrage *per se*, but an expression of opinion on the right of the National Government to determine for the States the qualifications of electors.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

The claim that the enfranchised women have the power to influence the election of ninety-one presidential electors, is again due to the State by State method which gave them political power.

4,000,000 ENFRANCHISED WOMEN.

There are approximately 4,000,000 women in the enfranchised States, not all of whom, are voters.

These women have always shown their political sagacity by refusing to form a woman's party antagonistic to or in opposition to the men in their States. They are, therefore, found in the ranks of all parties to which they have given their allegiance.

To assume that women will forsake their parties or the men of their own households, or deprive themselves or their States of their support of measures which to them are vital, for any national issue, is to attribute to women superhuman political virtue.

It may be true of the few who are ready at all times to sacrifice the less and more personal for the greater and more remote good, or of the defeated and disgruntled in their own parties, who are ready to turn upon them, but of the masses of women it will never be true, nor is it necessary. There are other and better methods of arriving at results without estranging men and risking the loss of all political power and influence.

CONGRESS CANNOT AMEND THE CONSTITUTION.

I have questioned many within the past few weeks who are strongly advocating the single method of congressional action, and they are deluded by the hope that as soon as a federal amendment passes Congress it will be an easy matter to secure action by State legislatures. In support of this contention, it is pointed out that State legislatures are more willing to submit amendments than are the mass of voters to pass them afterward. Therefore, if Congress passes the bill, it will be ratified by the legislatures in a very short time.

There is a difference between assuming responsibility and placing it upon others. So long as legislators can place the responsibility for final action upon the electors, they may readily do so; but when it comes to assuming the responsibility themselves, not only for their own States, but of imposing it upon unwilling States, they will be more deliberate in their action.

We have a very good illustration of this fact in the State of Delaware. By the constitution of Delaware, its legislators may grant suffrage to women without submitting to a vote of the electors. Last year a vigorous campaign was carried on under the co-operation of the State Association and the Congressional Union. Great hope of success was assured under the delusion that the legislature, composed of so few men, would more readily grant the request than if it were submitted to the electors, but, after weeks of effort with the legislators, an appeal was made to the National Association to send workers among the constituents of the legislature to bring pressure upon them from the men at home, the voters. Under the circumstances, the National Association considered the State not sufficiently organized to warrant success at so late a date. When the vote was finally taken, it stood 6 for to 11 against in the Senate and 7 for to 45 against in the House, a majority greater than was ever cast against a constitutional amendment by a referendum to the electors.

There is not a single reason given upon which to base a hope for congressional action that does not rest upon the power and influence to be derived from the enfranchised States, which power was secured by the slow but effective method of winning State by State.

If all our past and present successes in Congress are due to the influence of enfranchised States, is it not safe to assume that the future power must come from the same source until it is sufficiently strong to insure a reasonable prospect of national legislation?

To transform this hope into fulfilment, we must follow several lines of campaign, each of which is essential to success:

1. By continuing the appeal which for forty-five years without cessation the National Association has made upon Congress to enact an amendment to the National Constitution, submitting for ratification to the State legislatures a bill enfranchising women, and by using every just means within our power to secure action upon it.

2. By Congressional District organization, such as has been set in motion by our National Congressional Committee and which has proved so successful during the past year.

3. By the organization of enfranchised women, who, through direct political activity in their own States and within their own political parties, may become efficient factors in national conventions and in Congress. These organized enfranchised women might become of incalculable service in campaign States by furnishing trained speakers who can meet and refute the misstatements of the opponents and by preparing authenticated statements in answer to the untrue and garbled reports of conditions where women vote.

4. By increasing the number of enfranchised States through the referendum which is the method thus far that has produced the only practical results.

These are the plans of the campaign which seem opening before our Association for the coming year. Faith, zeal, enthusiasm, publicity, spectacular display, all have their places, but what is demanded is work, hard work, day by day and by night, systematic plans of campaign, organization along political lines, ammunition with which to antidote the poisonous and scandalous attacks of the enemy, with a well-trained and well-informed and loyal army of workers, equipped for any form of offensive or defensive attack from forces within or from foes without.

FAREWELL.

In laying down my responsibility as your President, there is one subject upon which I wish to speak, and I ask your patient indulgence.

If I were asked what has been the cause of most if not all of the difficulties which have arisen in our work, I would reply a failure to recognize the obligations which loyalty demands of the members of an association to its officers and to its own expressed will. It is unquestionably the duty of the members of an organization, when after in convention assembled certain measures are voted and certain duties laid upon its officers, to uphold the officers in the performance of those duties and to aid in every reasonable way to carry out the will of the Association, as expressed by the Convention. It is the duty also of any officer or committee to carry out the will of the Association unless conditions subsequently arise to make the obedience injurious to its best interests.

Loyalty demands that, if an officer or member cannot conscientiously advocate a measure or policy decided upon by the Convention, she shall not by word or deed interfere with the other officers in carrying out the officially expressed will of the Association. If, however, she is so conscientiously opposed to the measure that she feels she must oppose it, she should withdraw from the Association and refrain from creating internal contentions and discord.

The officer or the member of a committee who uses the position which the Association has conferred upon her to oppose or disrupt the body, or who uses the machinery of the organization or deflects the finances to build up a conflicting group which she may use when she no longer desires to remain with the organization, is false to every ethical principle which should control official relations within an organization. No organization can prosper without loyalty to the will and policy of the whole, and, when its officers seek to carry out its plans, they should be supported and encouraged by those who have laid upon them the obligation of service. By this I do not mean that the officials should receive undue recognition or all that they do or say shall be considered wise or just, but loyalty demands that criticism and advice shall be delivered directly to them since they more than all the others are held responsible for carrying out the policy and instructions of the convention.

Again, when the convention votes a budget, it should feel responsible either for providing the means to carry it out or for opening up avenues of appeal through which the officers may secure the means.

Without loyalty, co-operation and friendly, helpful support in her work, no officer can successfully perform her duty nor worthily serve the best interests of the Association. I earnestly appeal to the members of this body to give to the incoming Board of Officers the loyalty and helpful support which will greatly lighten their arduous task of serving our cause and bringing it to final victory.

In saying farewell to you as your President, I find it impossible to express my high appreciation and gratitude to you for your loyal support, your unfailing kindness, your patience with my mistakes, and especially the affectionate regard you have shown me through all these years of toil and of achievement together. The memory of your sacrifices for our cause, your devotion to our Association, and your unwearied patience in disappointment and delay will give to the remaining years of my life its crowning joy of happy memories.

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A NATIONAL AMENDMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By IDA HUSTED HARPER

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By IDA HUSTED HARPER

The movement for woman suffrage is now approaching its last stage, the goal of the early workers, which it has been left for the third generation to attain. A number of outposts have had to be taken, a vast amount of educational effort has been necessary to create a sentiment in favor of Congressional action on this matter of universal concern. Much work will still have to be done but the progress is sufficient to demonstrate that an amendment to the National Constitution for the enfranchisement of women is a certainty of the near future.

The first convention to consider the Rights of Women was called by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others in 1848, to meet at Seneca Falls in Western New York, Mrs. Stanton's home. In 1851 the work was taken up by Susan B. Anthony, destined to be its supreme leader for the next half century. Meetings soon began to take place and societies to be formed in various States, so that by 1861 there was a well-defined movement toward woman suffrage. Large conventions were held annually in Eastern and Western cities, in which the most prominent men and women partici-

pated. The commencement of the Civil War ended all efforts for this purpose and its leaders devoted themselves for the next five years to the women's part of every war. In 1866 Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony issued a call for the scattered forces to come together in convention in New York City, and here began the movement for woman suffrage which has continued without a break.

In the earlier days there had been no thought of enfranchising women in any way except through the submission of the question to the voters by the Legislature of each State, but now Congress, for the purpose of giving the ballot to the recently freed negro men, was about to submit an amendment to the National Constitution. This convention was called to protest against "class legislation" and demand that women should be included. It adopted a Memorial to Congress, prepared by Mrs. Stanton, which contained a portion of Charles Sumner's great speech, "Equal Rights for All," and was a complete statement of woman's right to the franchise. In Miss Anthony's address she said: "Up to this hour we have looked only to State action for recognition of our rights, but now, by the results of the war, the whole question of suffrage reverts to Congress and the United States Constitution. The duty of Congress at this moment is to declare what shall be the true basis of representation in a republican form of government."

The petitions which during the preceding winter had been sent to Congress represented the first effort ever made for an amendment to the Federal Constitution for woman suffrage, and the action of this convention marked the first organized demand—May 10, 1866. At this time the American Equal Rights Association was formed. The following month the 14th Amendment was submitted by Congress for the ratification of the State Legislatures, and it was declared adopted by the necessary three-fourths in July, 1868.

By this amendment the status of citizenship was for the first time definitely established—"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens." This plainly put men and women on an exact equality as to citizenship. Then followed the broad statement: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." This also seemed to guarantee the equal rights of men and women. It was the second section which aroused the advocates of suffrage for women to vigorous protest:

"Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of

the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to the *male* inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such *male* citizens shall bear to the whole number of *male* citizens 21 years of age in such State."

Up to this time there was no mention of suffrage in the Federal Constitution except the provision for electing members of the lower house of Congress, but now for the first time it actually discriminated against women by imposing a penalty on the States for preventing men from voting but leaving them entirely free to prohibit women. When even this penalty proved insufficient to protect negro men in their attempts to vote, Congress in 1869 submitted a 15th Amendment which was declared ratified the following year: "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 race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Again those who had been striving for two decades to obtain suffrage for women protested by every means in their power against this second discrimination. They implored

and demanded that the word "sex" should be included in this amendment, which would have forever settled the question, just as the omission of the word "male" in the 14th Amendment would have settled it. The most of the men who had stood by them in their early struggles for the vote, when both were working together for the freedom of the slaves, now sacrificed them rather than imperil the political rights of the negro men. Some of the women themselves were persuaded to abandon their opposition to these amendments by the promise of the party leaders that as soon as they were safely entrenched in the constitution another should be placed there providing for woman suffrage. This promise they never tried to keep and it still remains unfulfilled.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were never for one moment deceived or silenced, but in their paper, *The Revolution*, they opposed these amendments as long as they were pending. A single quotation will indicate the tenor of their continuous protests: "The proposed amendment for manhood suffrage not only rouses woman's prejudices against the negro but on the other hand his contempt and hostility towards her. . . . While we fully appreciate the philosophy that every extension of rights prepares the way for greater freedom to new classes and hastens the day of liberty to all, we at the same time see the immediate effect of class

enfranchisement to be greater tyranny and abuse of those who have no voice in the government. Had Irishmen been disfranchised in this country they would have made common cause with the negro in fighting for his rights, but when exalted above him they proved his worst enemies. The negro will be the victim for generations to come of the prejudice engendered by making this a white man's government. While the enfranchisement of each new class of white men was a step toward his ultimate freedom, it increased his degradation in the transition period, and he touched the depths when all men but himself were crowned with citizenship. Just so with woman; while the enfranchisement of all men hastens the day for justice to her, it makes her degradation more complete in the transition state. It is to escape the added tyranny, persecutions, insults, horrors which surely will be visited upon her in the establishment of an aristocracy of sex in this republic, that we raise our indignant protest against this desecration of woman in the pending amendment."

Although the protests were in vain the women had learned that they might be relieved of the intolerable burden of having to obtain the suffrage State by State through permission of a majority of the individual voters. They had seen an entire class enfranchised through the quicker and easier

way of amending the Federal Constitution, and they determined to invoke this power in their own behalf. From the office of *The Revolution* in the autumn of 1868 went out thousands of petitions to be signed and sent to Congress for the submission of an amendment to enfranchise women. Immediately after its assembling in December, 1868, Senator S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, introduced a resolution providing that "the basis of suffrage shall be that of citizenship, and all native or naturalized citizens shall enjoy the same rights and privileges of the elective franchise, but each State shall determine the age, etc." A few days later Representative George W. Julian, of Indiana, offered one in the House which declared: "The right of suffrage shall be based on citizenship . . . and all citizens, native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally . . . without any distinction or discrimination founded on sex." These were the first propositions ever made in Congress for woman suffrage by National Amendment.

In order to impress Congress with the seriousness of the demand, a convention—the first of its kind to meet in the National Capital—was held in Washington in January, 1869. It continued several days with large audiences and an array of eminent speakers, including Lucretia Mott, Clara Barton, Mrs. Stanton, a number of men and Miss Anthony, the moving spirit of the

Supreme Court of the United States (*Minor vs. Happersett*). He presented an able and exhaustive argument but an adverse decision was rendered March 29, 1875.

The women then returned to the original demand for a 16th Amendment, which indeed many of them, including Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, never had entirely abandoned. Beginning with 1870 Congressional committees had granted a hearing on woman suffrage every winter, even though no resolution was before them. Under the auspices of the National Association, petitions by the tens of thousands poured into Congress, which were publicly presented. Finally on January 10, 1878, Senator A. A. Sargent, of California, offered the following joint resolution: "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."

The Committee on Privileges and Elections granted a hearing which consumed a part of two days, with the large Senate reception room filled to overflowing and the corridors crowded. Extended hearings were given also by the House committee, and constitutional arguments of the highest order were made by noted women in attendance at the national suffrage convention. And yet the Senate committee reported adversely and the House committee not at all.

This took place nearly forty years ago.

Senator Sargent's amendment, which during the 63d Congress was known as the Bristow-Mondell Amendment, has been presented to every Congress during this period and hearings have been granted by committees of every one. The women who have made their pleadings and arguments simply to persuade these committees to give a favorable report and bring the question before their respective Houses for debate, have comprised the most distinguished this country has produced. It is only by reading their addresses in the *History of Woman Suffrage* that one can form an idea of their masterly exposition of laws and constitution, their logic, strength and often-times deep pathos.

There are in the pages of history many detached speeches of rare eloquence for the rights of man, but nowhere else is there so long unbroken a record of appeals for these rights—the rights of man and woman. Again and again at the close of the suffrage hearings the chairman and members of the committee have said that none on other questions equalled them in dignity and ability. From 1878 to 1896 there were five favorable majority reports from Senate committees and two from House committees, and nine adverse reports. After this, when Miss Anthony no longer spent her winters in Washington, none of any kind was made until the movement for woman suffrage entered a new era in 1914.

whole. In response Congress the next month submitted the 15th Amendment with even a stronger discrimination against women than the 14th contained.

The annual gatherings of the Equal Rights Association had been growing more and more stormy while the 14th and 15th Amendments were pending and the point was reached where any criticism of them made by the women was met by their advocates with hisses and denunciation. Finally at the meeting of May 12, 1869, in New York City, with Mrs. Stanton presiding, an attempt was made, led by Frederick Douglass, to force through a resolution of endorsement. Miss Anthony opposed it in an impassioned speech in which she said: "If you will not give the whole loaf of justice to the entire people, then give it first to women, to the most intelligent and capable of them at least. . . . If Mr. Douglass has noticed who applauded when he said black men first and white women afterwards, he would have seen that it was only the men."

The men succeeded in wresting the control of the convention from the women, who then decided that the time had come for them to have their own organization and endeavor to have the question of their enfranchisement considered entirely on its own merits. Three days later, at the Women's Bureau in East 23rd Street, where now the Metropolitan

Life Building stands, with representatives present from nineteen States, the National Woman Suffrage Association was formed. Mrs. Stanton was made president, Miss Anthony chairman of the executive committee. One hundred women became members that evening and here was begun the organized work for an Amendment to the Federal Constitution to confer woman suffrage which was to continue without ceasing for more than forty years.

Before the work for a 16th Amendment was fairly organized, however, a number of members of Congress and constitutional lawyers took the ground that women were already enfranchised by the first clause of the 14th Amendment. At the convention held at St. Louis in the autumn of 1869, Francis Minor, a prominent lawyer of that city, presented this question so convincingly, that the newly formed National Association took up and conducted an active campaign in its favor for several years. In 1872 women tried to vote in a number of States and in some of them were successful. Miss Anthony's vote was accepted in Rochester, N. Y., and later she was arrested, charged with a crime, tried by a Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court and fined \$100.00. The inspectors in St. Louis refused to register Mrs. Minor, she brought suit against them, and her husband carried the case to the

One significant event, however, occurred during this time. Largely through the efforts of Senator Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, the resolution for a 16th Amendment was brought before the Senate. After a long and earnest discussion the vote on January 25, 1887, resulted in 16 ayes, all Republican; 34 nays, eleven Republican, twenty-three Democratic; twenty-six absent.

It soon became apparent to the leaders of the movement that there would have to be a good deal of favorable action by the States before Congress would give serious consideration to this question, and therefore under the auspices of the National Association, they have continuously helped with money and work the campaigns for securing the suffrage by amendment of State constitutions. Miss Anthony herself took part in seven such campaigns, only to see all of them end in failure. Up to 1910 there had been at least twenty and only two had been successful—Colorado, 1893; Idaho, 1896; Wyoming and Utah had come into the Union with equal suffrage in their constitutions, but all were sparsely settled States whose influence on Congress was slight. Commercialism had become the dominating force in politics and moral issues were crowded into the background.

In 1910 an insurgent movement developed in Congress and extended into various States

to throw off the party yoke and adopt progressive measures. One of its first fruits was the granting of suffrage to women in the State of Washington. Under the same influence the women of California were enfranchised in 1911, a far-reaching victory. In 1912 Oregon, Arizona and the well populated State of Kansas adopted woman suffrage. In 1913 the Legislature of Alaska gave votes to women, and that of Illinois granted all the suffrage possible without a referendum to the electors, including municipal, county and that for presidential electors. In 1914 Nevada and Montana completed the enfranchisement of women in the western part of the United States, over a third of the whole area.

The effect upon Congress of the addition of this vast body of between three and four million women to the electorate was immediately apparent. A woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution had suddenly become a live issue. The national Association appointed a committee to remain in Washington and look after its interests. A circumstance greatly in its favor was the shattering of the traditional idea that the Federal Constitution must not be further amended, by the adoption of two new Articles—for an income tax and the election of U. S. Senators by popular vote.

At the opening of the 63d Congress the chairmanship of the Committee on Woman Suffrage instead of being filled by an "anti,"

as heretofore, was given to Senator Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, always an ardent suffragist, and a friendly committee was appointed. There were now eighteen members of the Senate with women constituents and several million women were eligible to vote, so that it was possible to bring to bear a pressure which had never before existed. Many of the large newspapers and a considerable public sentiment had now become favorable. The committee reported the bill with but one dissenting voice. The extended discussion was conducted by Senator Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona, and the vote on March 19, 1914, stood, ayes, 35; nays, 34; lacking eleven of a two-thirds majority. Twenty Republicans, one Progressive and fourteen Democrats voted aye; twelve Republicans and twenty-two Democrats voted no.

The struggle to secure a vote in the House of Representatives was long and difficult. Many committee hearings were held; the Democratic caucus declined to allow it to come before the House; the Judiciary Committee for a long time refused to report it and finally did so without recommendation. At last, however, under the leadership of the Hon. Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, it was brought to a vote January 12, 1915, after a discussion that lasted ten hours—174 ayes, 204 nays. Eighty-six Democrats and eighty-eight Republicans and Progressives voted

aye; 171 Democrats and thirty-three Republicans voted no.

The effort will continue without cessation until such an amendment is submitted. One has only to make a superficial study of campaigns for amending State constitutions to recognize the cruel burdens they put upon women. If after all the expenditure of labor, time and money they had a fair chance they might be more willing to undertake the task, but no class striving for any object ever faced such obstacles. They find arrayed against them the corporate interests that oppose any further increase of voters; the liquor interests with their vast capital and the immense number of votes they control; all the forces of evil that prey on society; the party "machines" that look with dread on this new element in politics; the large body of foreign men that come from countries where they are born and bred in the belief of woman's inferiority, and that large number of narrow-minded, non-progressive American men who believe woman's sphere was fixed in the Garden of Eden.

This is the electorate which women must face after an effort usually of years to persuade the Legislature to submit the question. They must strain every nerve to raise the necessary funds; they must leave their homes and spend months in the hardest campaigning, subject to humiliations they would not meet in going to the polls for a

lifetime, and when election day comes they cannot cast a single vote on the measure for which they have toiled. An adverse majority, no matter how small, sends them back to the very beginning of the struggle.

There have been altogether over thirty-five of these campaigns and victories in only nine as the meager result. In 1914 there were seven campaigns and only two successful. In 1915 there were four, with no new state won for equal suffrage, although over a million votes were cast in its favor. American men in the full enjoyment of a franchise which has cost them nothing whatever have no right to require this sacrifice of American women. They should demand of Congress the submission of an amendment to the National Constitution which will free women from the unbearable conditions of an appeal to the individual voters with their secret ballot, and enable them to carry their case to the Legislatures and have it decided there. This would not be an interference with States' rights, for the question would be decided in each by the body elected to represent the people, and indirectly by the men of the State, for they alone elect the Legislature. Suffragists throughout the country have become thoroughly aroused to the situation and henceforth will concentrate their forces on Congress until it submits a National Amendment.

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

**An American Plank
for
An American Platform**

AN AMERICAN PLANK FOR AN AMERICAN PLATFORM

IT is contrary to every idea of a democracy, to every principle of a republic, to every instinct of American manhood, that one-half the citizens should have absolute power to withhold from the other half the right to a voice in their own government, but since American women are facing this condition they have no recourse but an appeal to American men's strong sense of fair play and a square deal.

This appeal seldom fails when men are left to follow their natural instincts of respect and friendship for women.

This sentiment, however, may be affected when they come to decide the question of woman suffrage by the question whether it would be for the best interests of their party.

Since the beginning of the movement for woman suffrage over sixty years ago it has been kept on a perfectly non-partisan basis and not in a single State campaign has there been a departure from this standard.

Woman suffrage where it exists has not come suddenly as a radical experiment but gradually through a process of evolution.

A form of government which is in operation in twelve States certainly offers an opportunity to prove every assertion in its favor or disfavor.

In all of these States there is an excess of men and if they were dissatisfied with equal suffrage they could alone get rid of it. If the women found it too heavy a burden or believed it was against the best interests of the community they could quickly call enough men to their assistance to abolish it, **but never in a single State have they considered such action.**

Wyoming as a Territory experimented with woman suffrage twenty-one years and its convention to frame a constitution for Statehood incorporated it without a dissenting voice.

Women voted seventeen years in Utah while it was a Territory and equal suffrage was included in the new State constitution by a convention composed of both Gentiles and Mormons and adopted at the polls by an enormous majority.

Women were enfranchised in Colorado by a law which was passed upon by the electors. Eight years later an amendment was submitted which would entrench this in the constitution and it received a majority three times larger than the original statute.

The partial suffrage for women of Illinois was granted by act of the Legislature in 1913. It could have been repealed by a bare majority in 1915 but it was so evidently

approved by public sentiment that no such move was contemplated.

If any State had adopted a measure which was not only failing to do what was expected of it but was proving a public and private injury would the neighboring States deliberately make this same measure a part of their constitution?

Every State which has enfranchised its women has bordered on one where the experiment had been made.

Here is the list in chronological order:—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, Montana. Does not this fact in itself answer conclusively the assertions of the opponents that woman suffrage is against the best interests of the State, that it contributes nothing to the public good, that it disrupts the home, that it makes the women masculine?

Have men in other sections of the country any right to assume that the men of these Western States are not as deeply interested as themselves in good government for their communities, as desirous for the welfare of the home, the womanliness of women? Is it only the men of the West who have sufficient confidence in their women to entrust them with the power of the ballot? And is it only Western women who are worthy of this trust?

**Why Discuss Theories When You
Have the Facts?**

Colorado

Full Suffrage Granted in 1893

One of Colorado's biggest assets is her voting public which consists of intelligent women as well as men. The public like the individual is not infallible, but the voters can point to advanced legislation along every humane line. In all reforms the women have taken an active part and important movements often have had their inception in small gatherings of public-spirited women, who were willing and able to give time to forwarding questions which at first sight men may have deemed unimportant.

GEORGE A. CARLSON,
Governor.

Utah

Full Suffrage Granted in 1895

The women of Utah generally avail themselves of the franchise and their participation in government affairs has been of an uplifting nature. They visit the polling places and hold office with assurance of most respectful and courteous consideration. The women and women's organizations have been active in promoting legislative measures tending to moral uplift, and they have been particularly active in securing our splendid Juvenile Court code, the nine-hour law for women and many other measures of an advanced nature.

No record is kept as to the percentage but I judge that quite as many women avail themselves of the franchise as do men. Women served have in both branches of the Legislature with ability and have been elected to county and municipal offices and discharged their duties with a high degree of efficiency.

WILLIAM HAY,
Governor.

Idaho

Full Suffrage Granted in 1896

The women of Idaho are not politicians or place-hunters, but they are independent, intelligent and honest and are the most potent force for good government and civic righteousness. Their interests lie at the foundation of civilization and of American institutions—the home—the family—the school—the church and the civic environment—these are the things which their ballot cherishes and protects inviolate.

To the refining influence of the women I wholly attribute the cleansing of our polling places and the purity of our ballot. Woman suffrage, instead of contaminating women, has elevated and ennobled manhood. There is absolutely no sentiment in Idaho for the repeal of woman suffrage—such a measure would fail to carry a single county in the State.

W. ALEXANDER,
Governor.

Washington

Full Suffrage Granted in 1910

I know of no one who favored giving the women of the State the right to vote who today opposes it, and large numbers of those who were opposed to the constitutional amendment when it was before the people are today in favor of it. The results have certainly indicated that the women have assisted, rather than otherwise, in bringing about a better condition in public affairs.

I am sure that any suggestion to change back to the old system would receive but little encouragement from the voters of Washington.

ERNEST LISTER,
Governor.

California

Full Suffrage Granted in 1911

Since its adoption equal suffrage in California has been put to the most thorough and severe test. Every conceivable sort of election has been held in the past three years and women have been called upon to exercise their new privilege and perform their added duty not alone in the usual fashion but in various primaries, including one for presidential preference; also in local option elections. They have been compelled to pass upon laws and governmental policies presented to the electorate by the initiative and referendum. The women have met the test and equal suffrage in California has fully justified itself. In 1910 by a very

narrow margin the amendment carried. Were it again to be submitted the vote in its favor would be overwhelming.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON,
Governor.

Oregon

Full Suffrage Granted in 1912

It gives me real pleasure to say that equal suffrage is proving a boon to this State. I think that by their interest and their continued political activity the women of Oregon are demonstrating the fallacy of the statement, often advanced, that once they received the ballot women would be loath to exercise their rights and live up to their political responsibilities. To my mind woman suffrage will prove a real benefit to this State and will ultimately be universal throughout the United States.

JAMES WITHYCOMBE,
Governor.

Arizona

Full Suffrage Granted in 1912

Since the women of Arizona were enfranchised their influence and activity have been potent factors in governmental affairs and in maintaining a high standard of citizenship. The women electors have evinced an intelligent and praiseworthy interest in public affairs and none of the evils so loudly predicted by the opponents of equal suffrage during the campaign of 1912 have become apparent since women acquired the right to vote.

Arizona's experience with equal suffrage in practice is most assuredly a vindication of women's struggle for enfranchisement and bears me out fully in the plea I am making for the women of New York.

GEO. W. P. HUNT,
Governor.

Kansas

Full Suffrage Granted in 1912

The extension of equal suffrage to the women of Kansas is one of the biggest things the men of Kansas have ever done—and Kansas men are accustomed to doing big things. Kansas gave her women school suffrage and liked it. Afterwards she gave them municipal suffrage and liked it better. Afterwards she gave them full suffrage and liked it best. It has had immediate effect for good; it has impelled all political parties to include in their program and platform humanitarian projects and moral issues which previously they had ignored. It has made a most careful selection of nominees. It is already having wholesome effect in cleansing the state of spoilsman politics and is making for higher ideals in both public and private life.

Enemies of woman suffrage are making desperate efforts to give circulation to the misstatement that the good women do not embrace the opportunity to use the ballot even when it is given to them. Nothing is farther from the truth so far as Kansas is concerned. At the general election held

in this State last November, which was the first time the women of Kansas had the opportunity to exercise their full right of citizenship—a right which long ago should have been theirs—nearly as large a proportion of the women went to the polls and voted as did the men. The good women of Kansas, than whom there is no more intelligent body anywhere in the whole world, voted and voted right, nor did their vote always tally with that of the men of the house. They worked for the right to vote and they knew how to use that right. They had demanded all during the campaign that the candidates should stand and work for certain things—clean things, uplifting things—and they voted for the men who stood for those things. And when they had registered their approval or disapproval of the candidates on the ballot, they went back to their business—their children and their homes—just as the men went back to their stores, their offices and their shops.

What the women do in Kansas, the women will do in New York. We can trust the women. They know how to protect their homes. I am for national woman suffrage.

ARTHUR CAPPER,
Governor.

Territory of Alaska

Full Suffrage Granted in 1913

Although the women of Alaska were only given the right to vote in 1913 they are

already an important factor in the political affairs of the Territory. The influence they exert is for good and it is exerted along the lines of better government and the development of good citizenship.

J. F. S. STRONG,
Governor.

Illinois

Presidential and Municipal Suffrage in 1913

I favor woman suffrage and two years ago signed a law passed by our Legislature giving very liberal suffrage rights to the women in the State of Illinois. After two years experience with the law, I am still in favor of woman suffrage and believe it for the best interest of the community.

There is no strong sentiment in this State for the repeal of the Woman Suffrage Law. On the contrary there is an agitation in favor of extending the rights of women to vote for all offices. Under the present law women can vote for all municipal offices, all offices not enumerated in the Constitution of the State and upon all questions of public policy.

E. F. DUNNE,
Governor.

Montana

Full Suffrage Granted in 1914

We have had short time to observe the working of the new order, but Montana women are giving numerous evidences of intelligent interest and a determination to

measure up to their new responsibilities. I believe beneficial results will follow.

S. V. STEWART,
Governor.

Nevada

Full Suffrage Granted in 1914

Since November numerous incorporated municipalities have held elections throughout the State but no state-wide elections have been held. For the municipal election a very large percentage of the women entitled to vote registered and the great majority of those who registered voted. The women of the State have taken an active and intelligent interest in all public questions and have shown no tendency toward revolutionary methods in government. I have been an observer of equal suffrage in adjoining western States where after a trial of the system covering years no one seriously considers a return to the old order of things.

Men are more numerous than women here and there is no place in the world where women are held in higher respect than in the West. We have given western women suffrage as a matter of simple justice and the women themselves have embraced the right to a voice in public affairs in such a manner as to effectively disprove the silly argument that they could not use this voice without a sacrifice of their womanly qualities.

EMMET D. BOYLE,
Governor.

TWELVE REASONS WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

1. BECAUSE those who obey the laws should help to choose those who make the laws.
2. BECAUSE laws affect women as much as men.
3. BECAUSE laws which affect WOMEN are now passed without consulting them.
4. BECAUSE laws affecting CHILDREN should include the woman's point of view as well as the man's.
5. BECAUSE laws affecting the HOME are voted on in every session of the Legislature.
6. BECAUSE women have experience which would be helpful to legislation.
7. BECAUSE to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in common estimation.
8. BECAUSE having the vote would increase the sense of responsibility among women towards questions of public importance.
9. BECAUSE public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.
10. BECAUSE about 8,000,000 women in the United States are wage workers, and the conditions under which they work are controlled by law.
11. BECAUSE the objections against their having the vote are based on prejudice, not on reason.
12. BECAUSE to sum up all reasons in one—
IT IS FOR THE COMMON
GOOD OF ALL.

National American Woman Suffrage Association
171 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK

[post-1915]

Of

MUST WOMEN VOTERS SERVE ON JURIES?

BY MARY SUMNER BOYD.

In the last Nebraska campaign Representative Slabaugh speaking for the antis, made much of enforced jury service by women voters. The word *male* in the Nebraska Jury Law had been pointed out by women suffragists, but this gentleman held that "even where male appears, it would be stricken out in consonance with the spirit of woman suffrage. In all states where woman suffrage prevails women are compelled to serve on juries."

This is a stock contention of the antis whenever woman suffrage is agitated. Woman suffragists themselves have, for the most part, supposed that with the granting of political rights to women went the same civil responsibilities as were borne by the other half of the electorate. They have simply maintained that the discretionary power given to magistrates would prevent compulsory Jury Duty from bearing too heavily; that family duties and in some cases sex alone would be accepted as a sufficient excuse from service.

Most suffragists have assumed that women do actually serve on juries in all the suffrage states. As a matter of fact, in some of those states they do serve legally, in others they do not, and never have; and in still others they did so serve for a time, drawn by local magistrates actually in contravention of the law.

In only one equal suffrage state, Idaho, has the word man or male in the Jury Law been so interpreted as to force jury duty on women, and in this state, the compulsion is largely theoretical.

"Women are not excluded from jury duty," writes the Attorney General of Idaho, "either by constitutional provision or by statute, nor can they be exempt if they plead sex, and they may be forced to serve upon exactly the same terms as men. As to the proportion of women who serve on juries, I will say that *very rarely indeed do women serve*, and usually only in some case before the Justice of the Peace or Probate Judge, where the probabilities are that it will not be necessary for the jury to remain out for any length of time . . . *In practice, if summoned as jurors, it is more than likely that the Judge would accept an excuse and relieve them from duty.*"

There are only four other equal suffrage states in which women are even permitted to

serve on jury. These are Kansas, Nevada, Utah and Washington. Of these, in Nevada no women have as yet been drawn.

"In Kansas," says the Attorney General, "*women are exempt if they plead sex.* However, they may serve, if they desire to and qualify." So willing have the women been to serve that they defeated a bill designed expressly to exempt them.

Such a bill as was defeated in Kansas has actually become law in Utah. The District Attorney writes: "There is nothing in the Constitution or laws of this State which would prevent a woman from acting as a juror, providing she is a citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years, can read and write the English language, has the required statutory residence, is a tax-payer in the State and is of reputable sound mind and discretion, and not disabled in body so as to be unable to serve as such. *However, by a statute a female citizen is expressly exempt from jury duty. I have never known of women to be called for such service.*"

Washington, up to 1911, belonged to the largest group of equal suffrage states, those which exclude women from jury service. The decision of the Supreme Court of Washington (Harland vs. Territory, 13 Pac. 453) is quoted as final by the eight equal suffrage states which still do not allow women, as electors, to serve on jury, and maintain that special legislation is necessary to extend this right to them. In 1911 such legislation was passed in Washington and women now serve unless they wish to plead sex. Sec. 2, of the Jury Law of 1911 provides, however, that women "*shall not be compelled to serve.*"

As to the actual service of women on Washington juries the Attorney General has this to say: "We may say that our experience is that, although women are privileged to refuse to serve on juries, many of them do serve. We have no information at hand wherewith to make any reliable estimate of the actual proportion serving, but would guess roughly that about one-fourth of the jurors who serve are women."

Arizona, Alaska, Colorado and Montana have not "stricken out the word male in consonance with the spirit of woman suffrage." They have retained it in all its very special meaning in the Jury Law. For the common law word *homo* is only in this connection interpreted *male*. "Under the word *homo*," says Black-

stone in explanation of the jury law, "though a word common to both sexes, the female is however excluded *propter defectum sexus.*"

Profiting by the position taken in Washington these four states maintain that special legislation will be necessary to give woman voters the right to serve on jury. The Attorney Generals' statements follows:

Montana: "Women are not qualified as jurors in any case."

Colorado: "Only men are eligible for service on juries."

Arizona: "Our law does not provide for women serving on juries."

Alaska: "Women are excluded by the terms of the jury law."

It will come as a surprise to many that California, Wyoming, Illinois and Oregon, where women juries have actually tried cases, are also to be added to the number of equal suffrage states in which women are excluded from jury service.

The District Attorney of California and Illinois send this department copies of lengthy opinions given out for the instruction of District Attorneys on this point. These are based largely on the Harland decision. The general argument of the California official follows: "The amendment to the State Constitution granting the elective franchise to women dealt with their political rights and duties, and with them alone. *The constitutional amendment has no bearing on the rights of citizenship of women, but deals with their rights of suffrage only.* If the Statute which fixed the qualifications of jurors intended to impose the duty of jury service upon women it was effective for that purpose at the time of its adoption in 1872, and the effect of the Statute is not changed by the constitutional amendment relating to suffrage. I am of the opinion that it was the intention of the Legislature to follow the commonly accepted custom and usage in this regard, and that consequently it was not intended to impose the duty of jury service upon women, and that, without express legislation to that effect, they are not qualified to act as such."

In regard to the cases of women jurors, who in the early days of woman suffrage did actually sit at San Mateo and other places, the Attorney General of California has this to say: "In various instances women have sat upon juries in this state, but as heretofore said it is the opinion of this office that under the laws of this State women are not qualified to sit as jurors."

Since the rendition of his opinion, attempts have been made by women to meet their handicap—*defectum sexus*—by appropriate legislation in the last session of the California legislature; but these attempts have so far been unsuccessful.

The District Attorney of Illinois has also delivered a lengthy opinion adverse to women jurors without special legislation. This opinion is based on somewhat the same grounds as in California. But since suffrage was given in Illinois by legislation and not by amendment he discusses whether the terms of the suffrage law of 1913 and the earlier school suffrage law can be regarded as involving jury duty by statute. He maintains that the school suffrage act could just as well be interpreted to involve this duty as the act of 1913. Says he: "Neither of the acts granting to women limited suffrage, incorporates into its title anything that relates to jurors or their qualifications, and hence any amendment by implication, to another law then existing, relating to jurors, could not have been in the contemplation of the legislature when they passed these suffrage acts."

The only Illinois Judge who did actually have women jurors was Judge Owens, in cases involving insane women. His juries are described by Minnie F. Low, one of the jurors. "Judge Owens, then (1913) presiding Judge of the County Court, who was intensely interested in social work, and who felt that women jurors sitting at the hearings of cases of insane women could decide the issues more intelligently, or at least as intelligently as men, simply took upon himself the responsibility of appointing such women. This was the method of procedure for more than a year, until Judge Owen's term of office expired and he failed to be re-elected. The present Judge sitting in the same court has dispensed with women jurors."

Of the legality of Judge Owen's procedure, the Attorney General has this to say: "I know of no authority in this state which authorizes the empaneling of women as jurors, and I am therefore at a loss to explain the legality of Judge Owen's procedure."

Oregon is another state where the Attorney General interprets the jury law to exclude women. Of the juries of women which sat in that State in the early days of woman suffrage, he says simply that this was done "by agreement of the parties." At present, jurors in Oregon are "male citizens."

No women juries have sat in Wyoming since 1871. In the early days of statehood, Justice Howe frankly took the law into his own hands. He deliberately stretched the right to vote to cover jury duty and drew women on his juries, on the ground that in the outlaw communities of his state, they were the only solid and reliable citizens. His right to women jurors was constantly questioned, and on one occasion a threat was made of carrying a case to the higher court. The Judge pointed out that he himself was on the Supreme Court and that the majority on that Court were in sympathy with his policies. "Well, in that case, your Honor," said the opponent, somewhat growlsomely, "as judges do not resign, there is a possibility of their dying, and all one can do is to wait." Fortunately, it was only illness and not death that brought Judge Howe's services in Wyoming to an end. With his withdrawal, came the end of the Wyoming women jurors.

No Wyoming case has, as in Washington before the new jury law, been decided definitely by the Supreme Court. One male prisoner in that state did demand women jurors, but the court decreed that the question could only be decided *in case a woman demanded trial by her peers*. A woman may make this demand some day, but at the present time the Attorney General of Wyoming defines a juror in his state as "a male citizen of the United States."

The common law interpretation of *homo* in the jury law is perfectly clear. Some of the equal suffrage states recognized this from the beginning; others learned it from experience. By the precedent set by the majority of the suffrage states other states as they adopt woman suffrage will be guided. One of the first tasks before woman voters should be to put a jury law like that of Washington on the statute books.

Jury Service by Women Remarks.

ARIZONA: No
ALASKA: No
CALIFORNIA: No

In the early days of woman suffrage local magistrates at San Mateo etc., without consulting the law, drew women on juries. After this practice was put an end to an effort was made (1915) to pass

a law making them eligible, but the bill failed.

COLORADO:	No	
IDAHO:	Compulsory	"Very rarely indeed do women serve. In practice, if summoned as jurors it is more than likely that the judge would accept an excuse and relieve them from jury duty."— <i>Attorney General</i> .
ILLINOIS:	No	One Chicago judge, during his year of office, and without consulting official opinion, drew women juries, but the practice has been discontinued.
KANSAS:	Permitted	Sex serves as an excuse from jury service.
MONTANA:	No	
NEVADA:	Permitted	No women have been drawn as yet on Nevada juries.
OREGON:	No	In special cases in the early days they were drawn by local magistrates.
UTAH:		Exempted by special statute.
WASHINGTON:	Permitted by act of Legislature	"Women shall not be compelled to serve." Sec. 2, of Jury Law, 1914.
WYOMING:	No	During territorial period and first years of woman suffrage, Justice Howe frequently drew women juries. He was warned that it was unconstitutional and it was discontinued after his resignation.

If You Are a Working Man



YOU hear a lot about friends of the full dinner pail; but do you know any better friend than the woman who fills it? Why shouldn't your wife or mother have the privilege of being a real citizen of the State just as she has the privilege of being a member of the church?

Do you know that the one amendment which passed in Wyoming at the 1914 election was one to make provision for workmen's compensations? It carried by a vote of 24,258 to 3,915, and because of this vote the Legislature of 1915 was able to pass the working men's compensation act. Do you realize that Wyoming, where this happened, was the first State to give women the vote? Do you know that six other suffrage States, Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Arizona and Kansas, have workmen's compensation laws? Women believe in justice for you. Do you believe in justice for women?

Won't you vote for woman suffrage and talk for it with your friends? Pass the word along to help the women.

HENRY BAILEY STEVENS
WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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