



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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[ca 1916]

Record of the Democratic Party on Suffrage

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, organized in 1913, works solely for the passage of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women.

It appeals to the dominant party in Congress, as the most powerful political agent in the country, to endorse and support actively the national suffrage amendment.

Since 1913 the Democratic Party has been in power, controlling the White House and holding a majority in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

WHAT HAS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DONE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?

IN THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THE PRESIDENT

refused to support the federal suffrage amendment and declared his personal opposition to it.

IN THE SENATE

The suffrage amendment was pushed to a premature vote, on March 19, 1914, by two Democratic Senators (Senator Thomas of Colorado and Senator Ashurst of Arizona) who had it in charge, a year before Congress closed; although a nation-wide demonstration in support of the measure was in preparation at the time. Senators Thomas and Ashurst publicly stated, before the vote was taken, that the amendment had not enough votes for passage.

The vote of the Senate on the amendment was 35 for and 34 against. It failed by only 11 votes of securing the necessary two-thirds' majority.

Twenty-seven per cent of the Democrats, 47 per cent of the Republicans, 100 per cent of the Progressives, voted for the amendment.

IN THE HOUSE

Democrats on the Rules Committee, by a party vote, defeated (January 17 and January 24, 1914) a resolution creating a committee on woman suffrage in the House of Representatives.

A caucus of Democratic members of the House refused (February 3, 1914) to rescind this action, and by a vote of 123 to 57 passed a resolution declaring that the question of woman suffrage was a state and not a federal question.

The Democratic floor leader, Mr. Underwood, of Alabama, said in the House (February 4, 1914), "The Democratic Party last night took the distinctive position that it was not in favor of this legislation (the federal suffrage amendment) because it was in favor of the states controlling the question of suffrage. * * * I not only said I was opposed to it, but I said the party on



this side of the chamber was opposed to it; and the party that is in control of the legislation in Congress certainly has the right openly and above board to say that it will not support a measure if it is not in accordance with its principles."

Democratic members of the Rules Committee blocked the suffrage amendment in committee until after the congressional elections in November, 1914.

The vote in the House on suffrage was 174 for, and 204 against. 31 per cent of the Democrats voted for the amendment; 64 per cent of the Republicans; 100 per cent of the Progressive Republicans; 93 per cent of the Progressives; 100 per cent of the Independent membership.

If as great a proportion of the Democrats as of the Republicans had voted for suffrage a two-thirds' majority in the House would have been secured. But more than two-thirds of the Democrats voted against suffrage, reducing the vote to such a point that the amendment could not have secured a two-thirds' majority if every member of every other party had been present and voted "Yea."

IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

THE PRESIDENT

has given no support to the federal suffrage amendment.

IN THE SENATE

no effort has been made by the party in power to assist the passage of the suffrage resolution.

IN THE HOUSE

the administration leaders on the Judiciary Committee forced a single vote upon all constitutional amendments, including the suffrage and prohibition amendments, and by uniting the opposition to all of them secured a majority against a report of the federal suffrage amendment, although a majority of the individual members of the committee favored such a report and had openly gone on record as doing so.

WOMAN VOTERS

There is no cause before the country at the present time more just, and more necessary to the maintenance of the rights of the people, than NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE. The enfranchisement of women is as great an issue in 1916 as was the adoption of our federal constitution in 1789.

JOIN THE WOMAN'S PARTY

which has for its object the organization of the political power of women for one single purpose,—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

LaFayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Oh

MINNESOTA
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
ESSEX BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS

[Ca 1916?] Results 28

The Working of Equal Suffrage

UNPARTISAN POLL

Investigation by Distinguished Englishwomen, Both Suffragists
and Anti-Suffragists

Results Compiled by Two Members of Parliament, One a Suffragist and the Other an Anti

Reprinted by the courtesy of the Editor of The North American Review

The working of equal suffrage in actual practice was investigated in 1914 by an impartial committee composed of 12 distinguished English ladies, headed by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, and the Marchioness of Salisbury. These ladies obtained letters of introduction to a representative selection of prominent citizens of the States concerned—clergy and ministers of different denominations, lawyers, educationalists, publicists, business men, former holders of public office, and the like, and a few eminent women; to all of whom a list of questions was forwarded, accompanied by the following appeal:

"Several Englishwomen who are much interested in the question of the enfranchisement of women are desirous of knowing how it works in the States of America where it has been put into operation.

"They hold very different views on this subject, some being in favor of the change and some against it, but they all wish to know the result in those countries where it has been tried.

"They therefore beg that you will answer the questions on the inclosed paper, or as many of them as you can, and return it in the addressed envelope which is inclosed."

REPLIES FROM EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES

Sixty-three replies were received, and are summarized in the Nineteenth Century from the suffragist and anti-suffragist points of view by the Hon. Robert Palmer and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P., respectively. A rough classification shows 46 favorable to equal suffrage, as against 8 neutral, 5 vaguely unfavorable, and only 4 definitely hostile. This Mr. Palmer pronounces "a very striking result," showing that the principle "is passing from the realm of controversy to that of universal approval among those who have seen it at work." Following is a consensus of the replies under the seven headings into which the questionnaire was divided:

"Q. 1. Reasons for adoption.

"(a) Was it a party question? A. Nowhere, except partially in California and Colorado.

"(b) Was there militancy? A. None anywhere.

"(c) Where did the strength of the movement and opposition to it lie? A. Strength mainly came from 'moral' influences and women's clubs; opposition from saloons and machine politicians.

"Q. 2. Conditions?

"A. The qualifications are the same for men as for women; about 15 per cent fewer women are on the register, on an average; women are everywhere eligible to the legislature.

"Q. 3. How is the vote exercised?

"(a) What percentage polls? A. About 5 per cent fewer than men, on an average.

"(b) Have women formed new parties? A. Nowhere.

"(c) Is the balance of existing parties altered? A. No.

"(d) Do wives vote with their husbands? About half say 'yes' and half 'no'; clearly individuals vary.

"(e) Has the female vote affected the character of candidates for offices? Thirty-eight replies say 'yes,' often quoting instances; 13 say 'no.'

"Q. 4. How has equal suffrage affected women's position?

"(a) Has it caused ill feeling between men and women? Over 50 say 'no'; 3 say 'yes.'

"(b) Has it increased women's interest in politics? Over 50 say 'yes'; about 6 doubt it.

"(c) Has it impaired their usefulness in the home? Nearly 50 replies say 'no'; 8 say that in some cases it has. One picturesque answer perhaps hits the nail on the head in saying, 'Your flannel-mouthed suffragist is not a home-making woman at all.' But, after all, it is the agitation for suffrage which breeds the flannel-mouthed type; the grant quiets them.

"Q. 5. Is there any agitation for its repeal?

"A. None.

"Q. 6. What is your general impression of the change?

"A. This has already been summarized.

"Q. 7. What legislation dealing with the following subjects has been passed since the women had the vote? Can the influence of the female vote be traced in any such legislation?

"(a) Conditions of female labor.

"(b) Protection of women and girls.

"(c) Temperance.

"(d) Education.

"(e) Sanitation and milk.

"(f) Industrial arbitration.

"(g) Widows' pensions.

"(h) Divorce."

Legislation on subjects a, b, and g is recorded in every Suffrage State except Kansas*, which had had no legislation since the grant, and "useful laws" have been passed in all of the States except Oregon and Arizona on subjects a, b, c, d, e, f, and g. The questionnaire selects the eight subjects on which it is thought women are most likely to use their votes. The replies from Washington and California, where three and two sessions, respectively, have been held since the grant of woman suffrage, show that the legislatures of both have already passed laws on seven out of those eight subjects in those sessions. On the "coincidence" theory the odds would be almost infinitely against such a thing happening, and when we find 21 answers from these two States affirming in unequivocal terms that these laws have

been carried by means of the women's votes, no impartial mind can resist the conclusion that such is the truth. And in the still more extreme case of Oregon, where equal suffrage had been in force nine months, the only reply which deals with this part of the questionnaire enumerates laws of 1913 on subjects a, b, e, and g, and adds: "These were all due to the influence of women."

It may be further mentioned in this connection that on the only two of these eight topics on which reliable information covering all the States of the Union is to hand at the moment, namely, widows' pensions and the protection of girls by raising the age of consent to 18, the proportion of suffrage States which have legislated on these points is strikingly higher than that of non-suffrage States. Thus 24 States altogether have widows' pension laws. Of these, 11 are suffrage States and enacted the laws since becoming so, and 13 are non-suffrage. But the 11 are 11 out of 11, and the 13 are 13 out of 37. Similarly, of the 11 suffrage States, 9 have raised the age of consent to 18 since granting equal suffrage (a tenth having done so just before the grant), while of the non-suffrage States the figures for 1911-1912 (the latest available) show that then only 9 out of 37 had so raised it.

UNWILLING TESTIMONY

The eight neutral answers are perhaps the least instructive, as they come from those who either think it is too soon to judge or from those who have not observed any results from the change which justify a definite opinion. Not one of them mentions a single evil result, or fear of any, from the grant of equal suffrage.

The answers classed as vaguely unfavorable read like those of men who were opposed to woman suffrage and still bear it a lingering grudge, but can find no definite charge to lay against it. Most of them describe themselves as neutral. The worst they can find to say are the following: "Personally, I do not believe in women voting, but I believe we cannot help it." "Much freak legislation, possibly due to women's influence." "Nothing accomplished which could not have been done as well or better without suffrage." These are absolutely the three most unfavorable phrases in these answers, which can none of them allege any definite harm to have resulted from women's votes, while four of the five admit some definite good.

Of the four definitely anti-suffragist replies, the following is a fair example:

"I should say * * * that women's suffrage has not affected the situation in legislation at all. It has added an increased responsibility, which responsibility has, I think, been well borne, and it has sharpened animosities and lengthened them. Plainly speaking, the granting of the suffrage is an increase of the ignorant vote. That it has not been so in Wyoming is due to the fact that * * * there is a very high intellectual average among our women. The experience of Wyoming is no guaranty of the effect of suffrage where conditions are different."

"And this," remarks Mr. Palmer, "is what on a rough classification was set down as one of the four hostile replies. On second perusal, its place seems to be rather (unconsciously) among the most favorable. For here an obviously 'unfriendly witness' coming from the Eastern States (where he had not seen equal suffrage at work), full of prejudice against it, tries to answer that it has been a failure, and is inadvertently betrayed into admitting that it is a success, but hastens to add that it might very likely be a failure somewhere else. The rest of the replies are uniformly favorable."

He concludes with these words:

"Is not the matter quite fairly stated thus? If the women of England use their votes in the same kind of way and on the same kind of subjects as the women

* Kansas enacted similar legislation at the session of 1915.

of these nine American States are stated to be using them, then the grant of woman suffrage will surely be a notable gain to England's welfare. And is there any ground whatever for supposing that they will use them otherwise or less sensibly? Let us leave it at that."

THE SUMMING UP OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

Mr. MacCallum Scott's summary differs in no material point from Mr. Palmer's. Indeed, the most noteworthy feature of both reviews is the scrupulous impartiality of admitted partisans as to matters of fact. But each is "of the same opinion still." Mr. Scott sums up as follows:

"The conclusion to which I have come after reading through all the answers is that women through their votes have had some influence, quite different from the moral influence which they exercise without the vote, upon legislation. It is difficult to define this influence precisely. Frequent reference is made to the manner in which 'moral issues' appeal to women. I cannot accept the view occasionally expressed that women have 'a somewhat higher moral standard' than men, but it is quite possible that, holding the same moral standard, they may give different effect to it in politics.

"I am impressed by several suggestions that women are much stricter and more ardent partisans than men; that they look to moral character in candidates rather than to ability; and that they have, in a greater degree than men, 'a tendency to regulate morals by law.' Men are on the whole more tolerant than women and inclined to allow a wider latitude of personal moral freedom so long as the rights of others are not interfered with. Women are, on the whole, more inclined to make their personal moral code a moral code imperative for others also and to apply coercion to secure conformity.

"Coercive legislation, depending as it does upon the physical arm of the law for its enforcement, if it is to be effective, must have behind it the physical strength of the country. If the majority of men should be against it, if its chief support comes from women who, while unable as individuals to exercise physical coercion, are yet able, through the ballot box, to evoke the physical arm of the law, then there is grave danger in extreme cases of a general conspiracy to evade the law. Authority, finding itself with a task beyond its power, will wink at the offenders. Law will fall into disrespect. There will gradually grow up a hypocritical feeling toward legislation. 'What does it matter what they pass? Let them pass anything they like, and if we find it inconvenient we will evade it.' If this became a general attitude, it would destroy that sense of responsibility and of respect for law which is the firmest foundation for stable government."

Suffragists will take slight exception to an argument whose sole basis is vague apprehension that the enactment of better laws will imbue men as a sex class with a spirit of law defiance. The plain logic of such reasoning is that it is not women, but men, who are unfitted to perform the duties of citizenship.

Taken as a whole, the result of the interesting inquiry constitutes a powerful backlog of evidence in favor of equal suffrage.

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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 empanelling 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."—*Attorney General.*

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, 1911.

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.

[ca 1916]

Additional Information.

Those interested may get detailed information concerning the advantages and opportunities and prices of lands in Red Lake County by writing to, or calling upon, the following, any or all of whom will cheerfully give reliable information.

J. A. DUFFY, Red Lake Falls, Minn.

P. B. GAASS' LAND AGENCY, Red Lake Falls, Minn.

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ED. VASSTRAND, Oklee Minn.

JULIUS PLETH, Plummer, Minn.

S. M. STRAND, Brooks, Minn.

Facts About Red Lake County, Minnesota.

THE SURFACE is gently undulating. Has over 7½ feet average fall per mile. Has the best natural drainage of any county in the Red River Valley, and is the only county in the valley that was not damaged by excessive rains.

THE SOIL is a deep rich black loam on a clay sub-soil.

WATER is soft and free from alkali.

PRODUCTS. All staple products are grown as successfully here as in Iowa and Illinois. Small fruits are grown in abundance. Apples are also grown.

DAIRYING is paying big. There are 16 creameries and cheese factories in the county which have paid patrons over \$500,000.00 per annum.

SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES. There are 6 High Schools and Graded Schools, and more than 50 District and Consolidated Schools. All Christian denominations are represented and have commodious houses of worship.

THE CLIMATE is delightful in summer and steady and bracing in winter without the disagreeable features of alternate thawing and freezing as in Iowa and Illinois.

What These and Others Have Done You Can Do.

John Kuld, grew 42½ bushels of Marquis wheat per acre in 1915.

Leon Huot grew 120 acres of Flax, that paid for his quarter section farm, in 1914.

Ildaige Baril grew over 3 tons of Clover per acre in 1914.

Eli Lasha grew 300 bushels of Potatoes per acre in 1914.

J. H. Glass grew 50 bushels of Corn per acre in 1914.

Omer Laurent grew over 1000 bushels of Potatoes on 3 acres in 1914.

Frank Musil grew 45 bushels of Corn per acre in 1914.

not woman suffrage work evil," we simply point to the equal suffrage states and say, "it hasn't."

4. The Overwhelming Testimony from Equal Suffrage States is Favorable. (Testimony Argument.)

(a) 1913. Evening Sun of New York sent questions to its correspondents in equal suffrage states. Their replies proved (1) Women do vote. (2) Their votes pass laws. (3) Their voting is satisfactory.

(b) 1914. All the Governors of the Equal Suffrage states (9) personally testified to the benefits of equal suffrage.

(c) 1915. The Colorado Senate and California Legislature passed strong resolutions that equal suffrage had proved successful.

(d) 1915. The "Survey" magazine made a canvass of its subscribers in the equal suffrage states. 634 answers. Only 15 unfavorable.

(e) 1916. Favorable statement signed by 50 prominent Colorado men as to prosperity and benefits under equal suffrage.

5. Anti-Suffrage Leagues Die in E. S. States. (Death of Opposition Argument.)

There is an infallible test of the worth of anti-suffrage argument. If the majority of women don't want to vote, if the vote would be an additional unwelcome burden for women to carry, if it would disrupt the home and cause mothers to squander their time in political agitation, the place where all these bad things happen would be the place to form anti-suffrage organizations. If woman suffrage is a failure, the antis ought to be able to gather the disillusioned men and women into flourishing anti organizations in the states where women vote.

The reverse is true. Equal suffrage is a success, proved by the fact that after the women have once voted, there has never been any effort to take the vote away from them. When women have once voted they realize the value of the ballot, and men realize the influence of the women's ballot. Anti-suffrage dies in the equal suffrage states.

6. Woman Suffrage is Inevitable. (Growth Argument.)

Equal suffrage now obtains in one-half the territory of the United States. These states contain 15% of the entire population. In the last decade the equal suffrage states gained 64% in population while the male suffrage states gained 19%. Therefore it is easy to see that the population of the equal suffrage states may soon equal and even exceed that of the male suffrage states. When that day arrives, inasmuch as they already comprise one-half the territory, the balance of power will be in the equal suffrage states and woman suffrage will then have come, whether we ever win another state or not. For this reason, it is not a question of whether but a question of when equal suffrage will come.

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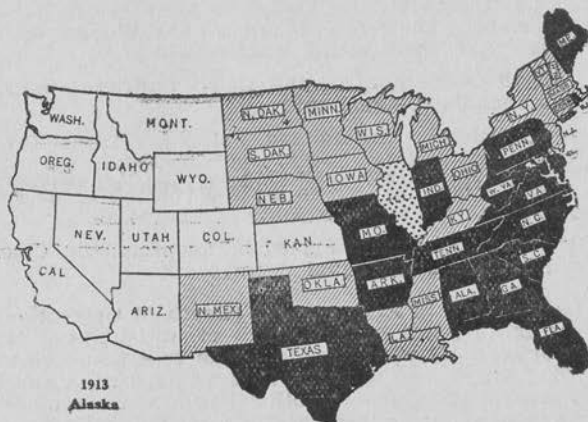
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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

[ca. 1916?]

Six Arguments from the Suffrage Map

By HENRIETTA LIVERMORE



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Alaska

White States: Full Suffrage. Shaded States: Taxation, Bond, School Suffrage. Dotted States: Municipal, Presidential, Partial County and State Suffrage. Black States: No Suffrage.

1. Neighboring States Copy Equal Suffrage. (Imitation Argument.)

Equal suffrage spreads from one neighboring state to another, until the whole Pacific Coast is now free soil. It is not distant states that know nothing about the workings of equal suffrage that confer the ballot on women. It is always the very next state that knows perfectly well what is going on just across the border. If evil were the result of equal suffrage, the nearby state would know it and would shun it, instead of adopting it. Imitation is the sincerest flattery.

2. Present Status is Un-Democratic. (Democracy Argument.)

Abraham Lincoln said: "A nation cannot exist half slave and half free." A distinguished British statesman said: "A free Government and a large number of people excluded from its privileges cannot exist together." The arbitrary lines of geography cannot limit the freedom of American women. Our Western sisters walk side by side with men in the full rights of citizenship. And we ask, are the women of our State less worthy, less to be trusted than these free Western women? Will not our State join in this great movement for Democracy, a democracy for women as well as men, a democracy which offers equal rights to all and special privileges to none, a democracy of all the people?

3. The Map Settles the Question of Expediency. (Expediency Argument.)

It is futile to argue from prophesy when we can argue from history. Facts rout false theories and disprove prophesies of evil. When anyone asks, "Will

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson I

WHAT IS SUFFRAGE? WHY DO MEN VOTE?

HOW DID THEY GET THE RIGHT? WHY SHOULD WOMEN VOTE?

Women are making a great struggle for the right to vote. Every year they gain new ground and every year their efforts and determination grow stronger. **It is a mistake to think of woman suffrage as a new movement.**

WHAT IS SUFFRAGE? Suffrage is only part of the continuous struggle of the masses of the people upward from slavery to political freedom, which has been going on since the beginning of civilization.

The road along which human beings have travelled to our present so-called democracy is a long one, and goes back to the very beginnings of government. Everywhere in Europe, government began in the rule of one man. At first this man was only a tribal chieftain, a war leader; later he developed into a king. For centuries, the king had control of all the land and property, and had absolute power of life and death over his people.

It was in **England** that the king's power was first effectively limited by the powerful nobles who thought he misused it. In 1215 the barons forced King John to sign **Magna Charta**, the first real limitation of kingly rule and the first great charter of human liberty. After this, the nobles shared the powers of government with the king, **and he could no longer tax them without their consent**, but only the rich and powerful had these rights.

Since then the history of civilized countries is the ever growing demand of one class of people after another for a share in government.

HOW MEN GOT THE BALLOT IN ENGLAND. Throughout the Middle Ages, in England, the nobles ruled, because they owned most of the land, and land was almost the only kind of wealth there was.

About 1760 with the invention of machinery, work, which before that time had been done in the home, on a small scale, by hand, with the aid of tools, began to be done in factories, on a large scale, by machines, with the aid of human beings, just as work is done today.

The **manufacturers**, growing powerful and wealthy, from **money** made in industry, **demand a share in the control of the government**. After a long struggle with the land-owning nobles, who did not want to give up any of their power, the **merchants and manufacturers secured the ballot in 1832**. They then began to control the government of England **in their own interests**, just as the landlords had done before them.

The lot of the small wage-earner and the farm laborer up to this time had been miserable, hours of work were endless, wages were pitifully small, and living conditions were intolerable.

Seeing that the **right to vote** helped improve conditions for those who had it, **factory workers** and **wage-earners** began to try to get the ballot. The **small business man** also wanted it. One after another each group was enfranchised and with each advance in the **Rights of Man** living conditions grew better and life became easier and pleasanter for more people.

All this was in England, but the men in the rest of Europe had much the same struggle. In many places they have not yet achieved as satisfactory results.

It is seven hundred years since the famous Magna Charta was signed, and today most men, both in Europe and America, have the vote. **Universal male suffrage in most European countries has only been gained within the last twenty-five years**, and in some of these countries it has not yet been secured. The men of the **United States** would not want to live in a country where they would have **no vote**, and every year we find more and more women of the **United States** who do not like to live in their country without a vote.

ONE GOOD REASON WHY WOMEN WANT THE BALLOT. While most men no longer believe that **kings** rule by "**divine right**," some of them still believe that **men** have a divine right to rule **women**! A great many women do not agree with this. Many women are tired of being governed and being taxed without having anything to say about it.

The law in most of the States says that the **property** and the **income** of a woman shall be taxed the same as that of a man, and yet she has **NO VOTE** in determining either the amount of the tax or the purpose for which the money shall be used (with the exception of certain bond issues on which a few tax-paying women can vote).

The law also provides that a woman's property is taken just the same as a man's, for public use, yet the woman has **NO VOTE** in deciding whether there is any necessity for taking it.

In most of the States a woman has **NO VOTE** in deciding what the law shall be, by which her property rights or her personal rights are

supposed to be protected. Nevertheless a woman must obey the law just the same as a man, although she has no voice in making it.

WHY DOES A MAN VOTE? First, because in this way he protects his interests, and he knows what those interests are better than anyone else does; second, because he pays taxes and so helps support the government; third, because by voting for certain men to represent him in government, he thus gives his consent to what they may do.

WHY SHOULD WOMEN VOTE? First, they have interests to protect the same as men have. Second, they pay taxes and help support the government the same as men do. Third, they must obey the law the same as men do.

Yet women are forbidden any voice in the making of laws, just because they are women.

Do you think that is right? Do you not see that to change it, women must win the vote?

For several reasons, **men** have won their political freedom ahead of women, but the distance between them is not great, and it constantly grows less. When **men** and **women** stand equal before the law, and equal in opportunity, both sexes will push forward together toward the accomplishment of greater things than the past has ever known.

A DEMOCRACY means a government by the people; not half the people, but all the people.

Since all the people are too busy with their private affairs to carry on their Government themselves, they elect representatives to do this.

Hence:

A REPUBLIC is a government by the people where they elect representatives to carry on that government.

SUFFRAGE is the right to vote for those who are to carry out the People's will in government.

THE PEOPLE INCLUDES WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES SAYS SO.

The next lesson will tell how men in the United States, and especially in New York, got the right to vote, then you will wonder even more that you are deprived of it.

This is the first lesson of a Suffrage Correspondence Course of twelve lessons and a Supplementary lesson, prepared by the Educational Section of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

The success of this course in New York State has been so great, that the lessons have been revised for use in other states.



SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson II

HOW MEN GOT THE BALLOT IN THE UNITED STATES.

NEW YORK STATE A LEADER IN THE FIGHT.

Most men in the United States take it for granted that they have always had the right to vote. This is not true. **Less than a century ago they were in the same position that women are in now: THEY WERE ASKING FOR VOTES FOR MEN!**

THIS IS HOW IT CAME ABOUT. Our thirteen original colonies were settled by emigrants from Europe, who left their old homes and came to this new land in order to escape religious and political persecution, to better their condition, and enjoy greater freedom than they had known before. They came with all their Old World customs and ideas in their mental baggage.

Each colony had a governor appointed by the King and each had its own legislature, composed of Senate and Assembly, just as our states have today. **But it was not a thoroughly democratic plan.** Only the members of the lower house, called assemblymen, were chosen by ballot, and **very few men possessed the right to vote.** Most of the colonists were poor, and therefore had **no share** in the government. **Land** was held in as high value here as it was in the Old World, and for the most part **only land-owners had the suffrage.**

Laws were made in the **British Parliament**, where the **colonists** were not represented, which **discriminated** against them, and in favor of England. Therefore there were continual quarrels between the royal governors and the legislatures of the colonies, the colonies insisting that only their own legislatures, and not the British Parliament, had the right to tax them.

England would not let the colonies manufacture what they pleased, or send their goods where they wished, and she taxed them unjustly in the interests of business men in England. (**All European nations treated their colonies in that way; England was not any worse than the others.**)

For example, England would not let the colonists make beaver hats, although the beavers were caught right here. The law compelled them to send the pelts to England where they were manufactured, and if beaver hats were wanted in America they had to be brought from England.

At last, unwilling to be imposed upon any longer, the colonists decided to unite and make some plan that should free them from further interference. So each colony sent its wisest men to confer at what was called a Continental Congress. This met in Philadelphia, and it was there, July 4th, 1776, that the famous **Declaration of Independence** proclaiming the independence of the thirteen colonies was signed. These colonies declared themselves the thirteen **United States of America**, and for seven years they fought for their freedom.

This Revolutionary War established two great principles for the United States:

1. **ALL GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.**
2. **TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY.**

All the colonies but two came into the Union with new state constitutions. In almost every one, **ONLY PROPERTY OWNERS WERE PERMITTED TO VOTE OR HOLD OFFICE.**

Before the Revolution, in most of the colonies a man had to belong to a certain church in order to vote. Quakers were only allowed to vote in Rhode Island; Catholics were excluded from the franchise in New York, Massachusetts, and even Maryland which they settled. In the majority of the colonies Baptists and Jews were excluded from voting.

In 1776, in order to keep loyal to her the Jews and Catholics living in Canada, England found it necessary to give them the vote. The new states therefore followed England's example, and in all the thirteen new state constitutions **Catholics, Jews and Protestants** were treated alike.

WHAT HAPPENED IN NEW YORK. In NEW YORK, only those who owned land worth five hundred dollars could vote for Governor or State Senators, with a lesser qualification in order to vote for Assemblymen. (Money was worth more in those days than it is now, for there was not so much of it in the world).

Under this plan, small business men, merchants and factory workers who did not own land were compelled to obey the laws made by the landowners.

They did not like this any better than New York women today like to obey laws made only by men, which women have no share in making. So

the men did then just what the women are doing now—THEY AGITATED AND CAMPAIGNED FOR THE VOTE. The landowners who sat in the New York legislature not only refused to grant their demand, but they used all their power to prevent it. They argued that men who did not own land were not fit to vote, and that they had no need of the ballot.

In fact the landowners in 1820 said the same uncomplimentary things about unenfranchised men that men today say about women. But these unenfranchised men did not have to struggle so hard for the ballot as women have had to do. There were men in the New York legislature then who really believed that **people**, whether they owned property or not, could govern themselves better than other people could do it for them, so these men insisted on **removing the land qualification** and on giving the vote to the **laboring men**. This was done in 1821 and 1826.

Compare the struggle made by the laboring man in New York for the ballot in 1821 with the struggle made by the women of New York in 1915. When someone asked in the Constitutional Convention of 1821 "Where is the demand for the vote from men who have no land?" the reply was that "they had held a few meetings." In 1915 New York women held over 10,000 meetings during the six months before election; yet in 1821 laboring men got the vote, and in 1915 New York women were refused it.

In 1863 the **Emancipation Proclamation** gave freedom to all the colored race living in the United States, and it was followed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the National Constitution giving the ballot to all negro men.

Foreign-born men and their descendants were given the right to vote early in our history.

At various times **Indian tribes** have been enfranchised.

In 1915 two thousand **Osage Indians** were given the ballot as a New Year's present! Also in 1916 the President sent the Secretary of the Interior to Dakota to confer citizenship on the Sioux Indians. The Porto Ricans and Hawaiians have been given the franchise and it is promised to the Filipinos.

Thus today every race of men, white, black, red, yellow and brown, and men of every religious creed, are all voters in the United States, and American women must ask the consent of Indians, Asiatics and foreign-born before they can vote!

By the New York State Constitution every man, drunk or sober, even though he be a pauper supported by the state or a convict in a Reformatory, may vote. He is only debarred if he is an idiot or insane or imprisoned

for a serious crime. In seven states a man may vote simply on declaring his intention of becoming a citizen and taking out his first papers.

But every woman in America, (in all but the twelve states where they have won the suffrage) no matter how wise she is, how good, how public spirited, is still debarred from voting, even though women have been working in some states for the last sixty-eight years to get the vote.

WOMEN ARE WAITING FOR MEN TO DEAL JUSTLY BY THEM.

In 1915 New York women asked for the vote from the same classes of men who were enfranchised less than a century ago, but so little did these men remember the history of their own struggle for the suffrage, that, to their dishonor, they refused to extend political freedom to women. Yet women need the vote just as much as men do, as we shall see in another lesson.

Until women have the vote we cannot truthfully call our country a Democracy. In a real Democracy every citizen helps to make the laws and elect the officials, because every citizen is affected by the results of elections and by the kind of laws that are made.

Most men now feel that to be deprived of their vote would be a calamity second only to death. It is therefore unreasonable of men to withhold from women a privilege which they themselves value so highly. Because they have had the ballot, men have been able to get better laws for themselves. It is for this same reason that women want it. This fact must be made clear to every man in the United States. Will you help to do it?

The next lesson will take up the discussion of the progress of women towards civil and political liberty.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson III

THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

SLAVES OF CUSTOM. The fear of change is universal. Men and women naturally cling to old ideas and customs. A horse shies at a piece of paper or something strange by the roadside. His master puts blinders on him. Men and women often wear blinders instead of using their brains and thinking about what is new and strange.

The world moves. Man moves with it, and woman shares in the progress. Together they advance with civilization.

IN INDIA, because little girls are often given to old men in marriage, there are twenty-six million widows. Widowhood is a disgrace and widows are forbidden to re-marry. It used to be the custom in parts of India for widows to throw themselves into the flames of the funeral pyres that consumed their husbands' bodies. Women are still considered unworthy of hearing the sacred words of their religion, and people are taught that "a cow is worth more than a thousand women."

IN CHINA, to show that they did not need to work, and perhaps as a means of confining them more closely to the house, the feet of little girls of well-to-do parents were bound so that they could not grow, and throughout all their lives walking was a torture and almost impossible. Women were considered of so little value that mothers often strangled their girl babies.

IN TURKEY, the women have been the slaves of their lords for centuries. They were obliged to go veiled in order that they might never be seen by any man's eyes but their husband's. A man could put away his wife at pleasure, simply by saying three times in succession: "You are divorced."

TODAY the women of all these countries are awakening. The women of the Turkish harem are demanding freedom from the veil. Binding the feet of girl babies in China and widow-burning in India have been forbidden. Yet in all these countries many women as well as men are opposed to these changes. Often the parents of the child-widow, and even the child-widow

herself, protest because she is not allowed to free herself from what they call "disgrace," by dying on her husband's funeral pyre. Custom dies hard, but growth, however slow, is inevitable.

IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME, the law said that a woman stood to her husband in the relation of a child. Her husband was even punished for her crimes the same way that the husband today is responsible for his wife's debts.

IN EARLY CHRISTIAN TIMES, the whole duty of woman was supposed to be to do as she was told; to be meek and obedient, and to be subject to father or husband. She was never to lift her voice or to uncover her head in a public place, and she was always to dress as the Fathers of the church said she should dress.

THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE MIDDLE AGES, and until recent years, the women of Europe, unless of superior birth or exceptional ability, were often treated far worse than even the farm animals. Because animals cost money, care was taken of them. **Women were not much better off than slaves.** If a woman was married she was owned by her husband and subject to his whims and cruelties. If she was not married and had no legal protector, she had no way of earning her living except to find an illegal protector. No other occupation was open to her, yet women's hands were never idle. When they were not cleaning, cooking, washing, or ironing, they were spinning, weaving, knitting or sewing. **Their work was never done.**

Until the last century the vast masses of both men and women in Europe, had no political freedom, and but little personal freedom. **But women were always worse off than men.** Men, it is true, were under the iron rule of nobles and kings, but women suffered equally from the injustice of kings, and added to it was the usual tyranny of husband or father. As the world has grown more civilized for men, its treatment of women has constantly grown less harsh.

About a century ago men of all classes began to demand a share in the government and to believe that they had a right to help in controlling conditions under which they lived and worked. **Women, too, began to awaken**, and to believe that as human beings and as workers in the world, they were also entitled to individual liberty. Most people opposed this idea because it was new; therefore at first it grew slowly. **In every country**, however, there were a few brave women who sacrificed themselves for the greater freedom of women. They did not care how much they were laughed

at or despised if they could only make men listen to them and change unjust laws. They found, to their sorrow, that little or no attention was paid to requests from **women without votes**, and so women in ever-increasing numbers awoke to the fact that **Votes for Women must be won.**

THE VOTE. In Europe women have generally succeeded in getting **Municipal Suffrage** before **Parliamentary Suffrage**. That is, they often vote on local matters concerning their town or village but not on National affairs.

England and her colonies and the Scandinavian countries have led in giving women a voice in government.

IN ENGLAND AND WALES unmarried women and widows were given **Municipal Suffrage** in 1869; in **Scotland** and **Ireland** women vote with men in all municipal affairs, but the right to vote on national affairs is denied all the women of these countries. **For nearly forty years they tried all peaceful means to win that right.** In 1906 a group of determined suffragists, led by Mrs. Pankhurst, vowed that they would be patient no longer, but would openly rebel, using the same methods by which Parliament had been forced to give men the vote. Unlike the men, however, they declared that no opponent should suffer personal injury through their acts. These women became known as "**militant suffragettes**," and for a long time they made woman suffrage one of the most talked of things in the world.

When the present war was declared in Europe they had not yet won the right to vote on national affairs; nevertheless, like the loyal English citizens they desire to become, they put aside for a time their own great cause to serve their country, doing the work of the men who have gone to war.

NEW ZEALAND, a colony of Great Britain, was the first country to give full suffrage to women. This was in 1893.

AUSTRALIA, also colonized by Great Britain, was made up of six separate states. It united in 1901 and gave full suffrage to women.

THE ISLE OF MAN, also belonging to Great Britain, granted full suffrage in 1881 to women who owned property, and in 1892 to all women taxpayers.

CANADA. Beginning in 1884 the Canadian provinces began to give municipal suffrage to widows and spinsters who own property. Since January, 1916, the four great provinces of **Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan** and **British Columbia** have given full provincial suffrage to all their women.

Every part of the British Empire, therefore, has some form of woman suffrage.

FINLAND, which has its own state government, but which is part of the Russian Empire, granted full suffrage to women in 1906.

NORWAY, where taxpaying women had full suffrage since 1907, gave full suffrage to all women in 1913.

SWEDEN, beginning in 1862 by giving the Municipal vote to certain tax-paying women, in 1909 gave the municipal vote to all women.

ICELAND came next with full suffrage for women in 1913.

DENMARK, with great rejoicing and a speech from the King, gave full suffrage to women in 1915.

Custom is dying harder in other European nations.

In most of the states of Germany and Austria women were forbidden by law from forming any kind of a political organization until 1908, so they had no opportunity to organize for suffrage until within the last few years.

In Prussia women were not even permitted to **attend** public political meetings until 1906, and the law still requires that **they sit apart from the men**. But suffrage organizations are now at work in almost every country.

Our own National Suffrage leader, Carrie Chapman Catt, is also President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. This had its first meeting in Washington, D. C., in 1902. It has united the woman suffragists of the world in a determination **to change the old way of thinking** that woman was an **inferior creature** set apart to be ruled over by man, because it was never true.

Twenty-six National Suffrage Associations have joined the **International Alliance**, and each time the Alliance meets, it reports great gains for woman suffrage throughout the world.

THE GREAT THING IS TO MAKE PEOPLE REALLY THINK ABOUT IT!

In Lessons I and II you have had a brief outline of the way men have won the vote. In this lesson you have learned of the condition of women in Europe and other countries, and of their progress towards freedom. From now on the lessons will tell you of women's condition in the United States, of how we have won the vote in many states, and how we shall surely win in every state.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson IV

THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

America was settled by men and women who came to this land in search of **Freedom**, but it was **Freedom** for **men** only. Moving across the ocean did not give women any more rights or privileges than they had before.

The early settlers brought with them the **old English Common Law**, which said a "**Man and his wife were one and that one was the man.**"

It was not that men **meant** to be harsh, but a woman and her children still belonged to her husband. He was supposed to keep her in order. This went so far that if a woman was guilty of a misdemeanor and her husband was present, **he** was punished for it. At least the law said he could be. As a matter of fact women in those days usually suffered for their own sins.

AMERICA, THE LAND OF THE FREE, MADE WOMAN LONG TO SHARE MAN'S FREEDOM.

After the Declaration of Independence, when men were making laws for the new United States, Abigail Smith Adams, the wife of John Adams, who became President after George Washington, wrote to her husband, "in the new code of laws it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you to remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. . . . We will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

EDUCATION WAS DENIED THEM. Public Schools were **not open to girls** for many years after they were open to boys. Girls could be taught as much reading and writing as was thought good for them at home. One town Selectman is on record as saying: "Never with my consent, shall public moneys be used to educate **shes!**"

HIGH SCHOOLS were established for boys nearly 200 years before they were open to girls.

In Boston, the first High School for girls was opened in 1828, and so many girls tried to attend it that it was closed, the city fathers declaring that they could never afford to educate so many girls.

All through the early years of our country many women **protested** against the **unfair** and **unjust** way women were treated, but it was really the wrongs of **slavery** that set on fire the **Woman's Rights Movement**.

Terrible tales were told about the treatment of the negroes, about husbands and wives being separated, and children being torn from their mothers and sold. Runaway slaves who fled to the North were sometimes hidden from their pursuers, in people's houses, in defiance of the law.

Men and women both were aroused by these tales of suffering; but when women tried to protest against slavery, they were told they must keep silent—**because they were women** they must not even speak against a great wrong.

In 1840 there was a **great Anti-Slavery Convention** in London. Delegates from the Anti-Slavery societies of all nations were invited. One of the women delegates sent by the United States was our own **LUCRETIA MOTT**, the Quakeress. **ELIZABETH CADY STANTON** also attended the convention with her husband, Henry B. Stanton, on their wedding journey. **All the women delegates were refused** the right to speak or vote at this Convention. They were obliged to sit behind a curtain if they wished to listen to what the men had to say.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, our great **champion of freedom** for the negro, had travelled nearly three thousand miles to speak at that Convention. He was so indignant at the treatment of the women that he arose and said: "After battling so many long years for the liberties of African slaves, I can take no part in a Convention that strikes down **the most sacred rights of all women.**"

Then and there the indignant women resolved that they would work for **Freedom for Woman to do what she thought was right.**

Mr. and Mrs. Stanton went to live in **Seneca Falls, New York**, in 1847. Since the Anti-Slavery Convention Mrs. Stanton and a small group of young women, many of them married with homes and babies to care for, had been talking and planning **how to begin to work for woman's freedom.** They decided that the first thing to do was to have a public meeting to discuss the matter.

THE FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION. This was called in 1848 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and a few other women, at Seneca Falls.

At this Convention, the women read **THEIR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**, or, as they more mildly called it, "**A Woman's Declaration of Sentiments.**" In this document they set forth that under the laws then existing:

A man could **deprive his wife** of her liberty, and **beat** her provided the stick was **no larger around than his thumb.**

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Examination Questions. No. I

(To be sent with Lesson IV)

Write your answers after the questions, sign the paper with your full name and address, and return to your State Suffrage Association unless otherwise directed.

1. What is suffrage?
2. Who are the People?
3. Have we a government by the People?
4. What is a Democracy?
5. What is a Republic?
6. Do you know any **good** or **just** arguments **against** woman suffrage? If so, please name them.

All a married woman's **property** belonged to her husband.

A married woman's **wages** did not belong to her, but to her **husband**.

A married woman could not sign a **business contract**.

A married woman could not make a **will**.

If a woman was **single** she was **taxed** to support a **government** which did not recognize her except to take her property.

A mother had **no legal right** to her **children** unless they were illegitimate.

In case of **divorce**, even if she were innocent, her **children** were taken from her.

All **colleges** were closed to women.

Every **profession** was closed to women. They could not heal the sick, enter the ministry or practice law.

All **profitable employments** were closed to women, and when they were employed it was for the scantiest wage. All avenues of wealth and distinction were closed to them.

There was a **different moral code** for **women** and for **men**.

But the **greatest injustice** of all was that a woman was **compelled to submit to laws**, and yet was **forbidden any voice in the making** of those laws, a right given to the most ignorant and degraded men, both native and foreign-born.

THE FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION was a splendid meeting of both men and women, carried through with earnestness and with a fine, high purpose. It was an attempt to lessen the suffering, and the everlasting drudgery and monotony of women's lives. They passed nine resolutions demanding for women the rights and opportunities then denied them.

Some of those present thought that it was going a little too far to ask for the vote, but Mrs. Stanton even **then** realized what **all suffragists** today have learned: **that the power to choose rulers and make laws is the right by which all other rights can be secured**. She, therefore, **persisted**, and the **suffrage resolution** was passed.

To those who attended, the convention had seemed timely, sensible and encouraging, but a few days later they were astonished to find it was being ridiculed. Newspapers and people everywhere began to poke fun at **"WOMAN'S RIGHTS"** and **"WOMAN'S SPHERE."**

The ball of woman's progress which was set in motion at Seneca Falls has ever since been rolling faster and faster. In **quick succession**, similar "woman's rights" conventions were held in **Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York City**.

In **1854** a bill was introduced in the **New York State Legislature** to give the vote to the women of that state. It was supported by some of the most famous men and women of the time.

When the first **National Woman's Rights Convention** was held in **Massachusetts, in 1850**, the call being headed by Lucy Stone, so fast had interest in the movement grown that **nine states** were represented at the meeting. Most of the great men of Boston, which was then the intellectual center of the country, helped to make it a success.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN sympathized with the women. As early as 1826 he said: "I go for all sharing the privileges of government, who assist in bearing its burdens, consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, **by no means excluding females.**"

WENDELL PHILLIPS and **GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS** made some of the greatest speeches for Woman Suffrage that have ever been given.

HENRY WARD BEECHER became one of the presidents of the American Woman Suffrage Association. The **great** men of our country have generally aided the suffrage cause.

The Convention at Seneca Falls was nearly 70 years ago, and yet even today there are men who mock at the sincere efforts of women to secure human equality, regardless of sex. However, people have been steadily growing wiser. They are beginning to understand better just **why** women need greater opportunities. They see that women are also of **greater value to the world** when they get them. Today **ridicule** has given place to **argument**. With the exception of the European war, there is no subject more discussed now than **woman suffrage**, which proves we are drawing near to the time when it will be accepted.

Every woman living today owes an immense debt to these women of 1848 who started "the most momentous reform that had yet been launched in the world—the first organized protest against injustice to women."

HOW CAN WE WOMEN OF TODAY PAY THIS DEBT?

The next lesson will tell of Susan B. Anthony and the progress of the Suffrage Movement in the United States.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson V

PROGRESS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES—(continued).

Women today are so used to hearing women speak in public that they can have no idea of the courage that was necessary for the early suffrage leaders to call that first **Woman's Rights Convention** in 1848.

In those days the Suffrage Movement was called the **Woman's Rights Movement** with good reason—**Woman's Wrongs were many and they needed to be righted.**

The greatest stumbling blocks then to woman's greater freedom were the women themselves—just as they are today. The majority of women had grown so accustomed to bearing the burdens imposed upon them, and to thinking it was unwomanly to want anything different, that they joined the men in slandering and ridiculing the brave women who are now looked upon as having been among the most noble, refined, intelligent, womanly women of their time.

LEADERS IN THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT like **ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, LUCRETIA MOTT, LUCY STONE, JULIA WARD HOWE** and many many others, had the happiest of homes. Their husbands worked hand in hand with them for woman's freedom, and their children and grandchildren are still working for the cause.

It was **LUCY STONE** who sat on her cottage door-step with her baby in her arms, while the officer of the law sold her furniture, even the baby's cradle, to cover the amount of the taxes which she had refused to pay. She declared that as she had been denied the right to have any say in making the law that imposed the taxes, she refused to obey it.

It was **ELIZABETH BLACKWELL**, Lucy Stone's sister-in-law, who wanted to study medicine, and who was refused admittance by every medical school because she was a woman, until finally the students at Geneva, N. Y., voted to take her in. Women thought it was so unwomanly to study medicine that they would draw their skirts away from contact with her as they passed her in the street.

Women even in those days would often declare that they did not wish to have a right to their own property! The law allowing a married woman to hold property in her own name was finally passed because wealthy,

hard-headed fathers wanted to be sure that if they left their property to their daughters, the husbands could not get hold of it without the consent of their wives.

Women as well as men protested against opening colleges to women, saying that too much education would spoil a girl for being a good wife and mother.

When girls were first employed as clerks to sell pins and ribbons, many of their acquaintances would not speak to them—it was considered so unwomanly. Even when Clara Barton left home to nurse the soldiers during the Civil War it was called “most shocking.”

It was therefore a **tremendous task** which the pioneer suffragists set out to accomplish. So much fun was made of them, so many lies were told about them that even today people who do not know suffragists think that they must be very queer, unwomanly women.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY was one of the most abused, misunderstood women of her time. Before she died, however, in 1906, she was famous the world over as “**the liberator of women**” and was honored and respected everywhere.

Born at Adams, Massachusetts, in 1820 of Quaker stock, she moved with her family to Battenville, New York State, in 1826. From there some years later they went to Rochester, in which city Miss Anthony made her home until her death.

Her parents, who believed in freeing the slaves, encouraged her in all phases of her work for human freedom, including the battle for women's rights. She soon found that the **right of women to work against evil** was the first battle to be won. She saw that **the one right which would most surely give all other rights was the right to vote.**

For years she traveled constantly over New York State and other states, braving the jeers and hootings of the mobs. **Anti-slavery and women's rights were both unpopular**, but no hardships, no insults, no ridicule ever stopped her in her great purpose to achieve **the civic and political freedom of women.**

THE CIVIL WAR, which caused every other interest to be put aside, was a great blow to the cause of **Women's Rights**. Women gave up working for themselves during this time of danger, and put all their energy into working for their country. The women of the North had done as much as the men to rouse the country against the wrongs done to the negroes by keeping them in slavery. During the four long, terrible years of the war the **work of women was as valuable as that of the men**; their suffering and their heroism were just as great. They took care of their families at home, they carried on business and farm work. **Without the work of the women, the slaves could not have been freed. Without women the war would not have been won.**

And what did the victorious Republican party do when the war was

over? **It not only set the slaves free: it made them citizens and gave them the vote!**

When Northern women protested that it was **not right** to enfranchise the **black man** and **leave out the white woman**, they were told, even by the men who believed in Woman's Rights, that “this was the negroes' hour and women must wait.” Imagine the indignation of the suffrage leaders at this insult and injustice! **They had helped with all their might** to free the slaves and now the colored man was to be given the power to rule over them!

They petitioned Congress with protests signed by hundreds of thousands of men and women. They asked that the amendment to the National constitution which was to give the vote to the colored man might include women. They wanted it to read: “The right of a citizen to vote shall not be denied because of race, color, **sex** or previous condition of servitude.” They were refused, however, and **millions of colored men were given the rights of citizenship which were denied to white women.**

Many lawyers said that women **did** have the right to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This says “All persons born. . . in the United States. . . are citizens of the United States. No state shall abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States.”

Women in various parts of the country attempted to vote. Susan B. Anthony was one. She was allowed to register at her home in Rochester, but when she tried to vote she was arrested and fined \$100 and the cost of her trial.

“Your honor,” said she, “**I shall never pay one dollar of your unjust penalty**”—and she never did.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Anthony's most intimate friend for fifty years, wrote of her, saying: “She is the most upright, courageous, self-sacrificing, magnanimous human being I have ever known.”

During the Civil War women learned many lessons. Responsibility developed them. They learned **to think more for themselves**. After the war they saw millions of colored men enjoying **full rights** as citizens. They then began to ask in greater numbers than ever before, “Am I, too, not a **citizen** of this great republic, and entitled to all its **rights and privileges**?”

THE WORK OF SUFFRAGISTS in the beginning, was directed more to securing certain rights for women, than to obtaining the right to vote, but they soon began to see clearly that **property and personal rights were not secure without political rights.**

Even after suffrage became their great issue, the suffragists were engaged constantly in writing, speaking and campaigning in attempts to change unjust laws.

After an immense amount of hard work and at a great cost of time and energy, laws for women began to improve, and their wrongs began to be righted and while we are not yet rid of all the old unjust laws, note some of the changes:

A Man may **not deprive** his wife of her **liberty** or **beat** her.

In several states married women still have no property rights and cannot control their own wages; but **in a majority of the states a woman**, even if married, **may control her property, may collect her own wages, may make a will and enter into a business contract.**

Seventeen states now have equal guardianship laws and in nine states **the mother's** rights are recognized, but not to the same extent as the fathers.

Education is **now compulsory for girls** as well as for boys. Women now attend many of the **colleges and universities** and every year more of them are opening their doors to women students.

A woman may **now enter a profession.** She may practice medicine, but hospital practice is usually closed to her. She may be a lawyer, but she may not become a judge.

Almost every kind of **employment** is open to women, but even today she is usually obliged to take the less remunerative work, and in most cases she is obliged to accept less pay than a man for exactly the same kind of work. **Only in certain states where she has the vote** does the law or custom give **equal pay for equal work** to both men and women.

How has it happened that so many changes have been made in laws affecting women and yet that the ballot has been denied them? It is because the laws that have been changed have been the **statute laws** of the state. It is comparatively easy, by bringing pressure of public opinion to bear on legislatures, to have changes made in the state laws, but a state legislature cannot give women the suffrage. Suffrage can come only through an amendment to the Constitution of the State. A State legislature can only approve the submission of such a suffrage amendment to the voters of the state. To get a Constitutional Suffrage Amendment in any state is an extremely difficult task. Yet the **ballot** is the **one right that protects all other rights.**

IT THEREFORE REMAINS TRUE that the greatest injustice to woman still exists, because the **State taxes her** the same as a man and **refuses her** the right of **representation** that is given to him. She is obliged to **obey the law** the same as the man and **is denied the right to help make the law.**

You will often hear it said that laws for women have been improved without giving women the vote. This may be true in many instances—but **the great fact remains that to suffragists must be given the credit for first calling attention to unjust laws for women, and for having worked early and late, year in and year out, to change those laws.**

Can't you see how much easier it would be for women to get wrongs righted if the right to vote came first?

The next lesson will tell how Votes for Women were won in some of the Western States.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson VI

HOW THE VOTE WAS WON IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT—THE STATE AMENDMENT.

An amendment to the constitution of the United States is a law made by Congress. It is added to the original constitution of the United States and becomes a law for **every** state in the Union **after** the legislatures of thirty-six out of the forty-eight states have agreed to accept it.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the constitution of the United States gave the vote to the colored man. (Read Constitution of the United States.) Even after Miss Anthony's arrest and trial for trying to vote, suffrage leaders for some years tried to prove that these amendments also gave the ballot to women. A law suit was finally brought by a prominent lawyer of St. Louis to establish the right of his wife to vote. It was taken to the Supreme Court and lost. This took away the last hope that women would get the ballot without another federal amendment.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT. Susan B. Anthony and other suffragists at once set to work to get Congress to pass a Sixteenth amendment which should **remove the barrier of sex** just as the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments had removed the **barrier of color**. This Sixteenth amendment was first introduced by Miss Anthony in Congress in 1876, and every year after, as long as she lived, she went to Washington and petitioned Congress to pass it. Since her death the petition has been presented by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt and others of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Susan B. Anthony Amendment reads:—

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES TO VOTE SHALL NOT BE DENIED OR ABRIDGED BY THE UNITED STATES OR BY ANY STATE ON ACCOUNT OF SEX.

"SEC. 2. CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER, BY APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION, TO ENFORCE THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE."

The Republican Party, which had fought against negro slavery and which had been helped by the suffragists, tried to keep their support. They invited the suffrage leaders to their conventions and for years made them half promises which were never kept.

It did not seem possible that the men of the party who had given the vote to the ignorant men of the colored race, and had promised to give it to women later, **would refuse to keep their word.** However, **that is just what happened,** so the **opposition** of colored men to woman suffrage was now **added** to the **opposition** of white men.

Miss Anthony early laid down a principle which has been followed by suffragists ever since:—that **so long** as women are **denied** the **vote** they should not be **for** or **against** any **political** party. Since women must ask men of **all** political parties to vote for woman suffrage they must be **friendly** with men of **all** parties.

Finding that there was little chance of getting suffrage for some time to come, by a national amendment, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others who had been speaking for years all over the country, educating people to see the justice of suffrage for women, turned their attention to getting the states, one by one, to grant women the vote.

THE FIRST STATE IN HISTORY TO GRANT MEN AND WOMEN EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS. **IN 1890** the first great gain was made. **WYOMING** had given suffrage to its women in **1869** while it was still a territory. It was in the frontier and decent men thought that women's votes might help keep law and order. By **1890** it had inhabitants enough to be admitted to the Union as a state. The new constitution which it adopted gave "**equal political rights to male and female citizens.**"

Congress objected to admitting Wyoming as a state with woman suffrage. Those opposed told of the awful things that would happen if a state allowed women to vote. The debate continued for many days. Wyoming women were ready to withdraw their claim rather than have their state kept out of the Union, but the men of Wyoming, who had tried woman suffrage for twenty-five years, telegraphed Congress: "**We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without woman suffrage.**" Congress was finally obliged to yield.

COLORADO IN 1893 gave votes to her women by the enactment of a law. Not only did the women of the state work for suffrage, but the **most prominent men of all parties helped it to win.** It was not made an amendment

to the state constitution then, but ten years later, **after a thorough trial,** it was so adopted and was passed by **an overwhelming majority.**

THREE YEARS LATER, IN 1896, UTAH AND IDAHO became equal suffrage states. In Idaho **all** the political parties endorsed woman suffrage in their state conventions.

UTAH had given suffrage to women when it was a territory in 1870. United States Congress had taken it away in 1887. **IN 1896** Utah became a state and put woman suffrage in its state constitution by a **majority vote of 14 to 1.** It showed how **public opinion had advanced** when Congress **admitted Utah as a State without any debate** on the question.

Thus in six years, from **1890 to 1896,** four states gave suffrage to women. Then the movement seemed to stop and for fourteen years not another state was won. The opposition of liquor interests and certain political parties was aroused and the movement was fought successfully by them until 1910.

IN WASHINGTON, while it was a territory, women had voted from 1883 to 1887. When Washington was about to become a state, those who did not want the good influence of women in politics were determined that woman suffrage should not be included in the new state constitution. It was twice pronounced unconstitutional: the first time in a test case brought by a convicted gambler, the second time in a test case brought by a bartender's wife. A new constitution was then made shutting out women from voting, and it was only **IN 1910** that honest men of all parties secured a **free** election and a fair count, and that year **every county in the state of Washington** voted to give suffrage to women.

IN 1911, the men of **CALIFORNIA,** which for the first time in years had elected an honest, sincere body of men to govern the state, voted in favor of woman suffrage. Fifteen years before, in 1896, the women had put up a splendid fight for the vote but had been defeated.

With Washington on the north and California on the south, **OREGON** could not long resist following the example of her neighbors. Securing a sufficient number of signatures to make possible the submission of an amendment to the voters (the so-called Initiative and Referendum Law) she gave votes to her women in **1912.** **ARIZONA AND KANSAS** did the same. **Kansas** had already given women the **municipal vote** in **1887.**

IN 1913 a group of women in **ILLINOIS,** backed by the thousands of suffragists, went to the state capitol determined to get the vote from their legislature. In that state the legislature (another name for law-makers)

can give the right to vote for all offices not mentioned in the state constitution, but which are provided for otherwise by law. These women finally persuaded the legislature to give women the vote, and as a result the women of **Illinois**, including the great city of **Chicago**, can vote for all municipal officials, for some of the county and state officials and for President. They cannot vote for governor, for United States senators or congressmen or for state senators or representatives because that requires an amendment to their state constitution which they have not yet succeeded in getting.

IN 1914, two more states, **NEVADA** and **MONTANA** were added to the suffrage list, so that now the entire western half of the United States has woman suffrage in actual practice. So **Votes for Women** is now **no longer** a **theory**, but a **living reality** whose **results** are **known**.

ALASKA, too, this same year, gave the vote to all the women of that huge territory, by unanimous vote of its legislature.

IN 1915, four big eastern states, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, submitted the question of Votes for Women to their **voters**—(not to the people; because, remember, women too, are people.)

While the year 1915 gave us no new suffrage states, several villages gave the municipal vote to women.

There is one sure cure for anti-suffrage, and that is to try woman suffrage. In every state where there is woman suffrage it is giving satisfaction. It has always spread from one state to another bordering state. This proves how ready each state has been to follow the good example of its neighbor.

After sixty-eight years of effort woman suffrage is now working successfully in twelve states and one territory, which means in over one-half of the land area of the United States. **How soon shall we add the other states?**

Study carefully the Suffrage Map which we enclose.

The next lesson will tell why women need the ballot, and why the ballot needs women.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson VII

WHY THE BALLOT NEEDS THE WOMEN.

WHY WOMEN IN THE HOME NEED THE BALLOT.

Women of the United States and Europe are certain to have the ballot before many more years have passed. **The greater the effort to get it, the sooner it will come.**

In the West, where nearly 4,000,000 women already are voting, the **men** say that not only do **women need the ballot**, but that, even more, **the ballot needs the women**. By that they mean that the country is in need of the service which women render when they are given the right to share in choosing public officials and in deciding upon the laws by which we are all governed.

Voting is not a matter of sex. Women's votes are helpful, not because women are better than men but because they are different, and just because **being women** they often look at things from a different point of view. Two minds are better than one, especially when they are minds of different sexes.

The Vote is the means by which a voter expresses his or her choice as to the kind of person who should be put in office to make the laws that people must obey. **The Vote is an opinion that must be counted.**

Men and women have equal need of the vote because laws and government affect women as well as men. **Women**, as well as **men**, have opinions about laws. **Votes for Women means that women's opinions shall be counted.**

WOMEN HAVE SPECIAL INTERESTS THAT NEED THE PROTECTION OF GOVERNMENT. Men elect as their Representatives men who will carry out their wishes and take care of their interests and needs.

For example, **Farmers** vote for a representative who is likely to look after farm interests, **Railroad men** vote for a man who knows how to look after railroad interests, **Grocers** vote for the kind of man who will see that grocers get a square deal.

Will men's representatives, elected only by men and responsible only to men, take care of women's interests and needs as well as if women, too, had helped to elect them? Would farmers be content to have their interests looked after only by the representatives of the railroad men? Of course they would not. They want a man to represent them who knows something about farming and who knows the needs of farmers. The farmers would not be satisfied to trust representatives of Big Business in New York City to represent them.

Men know that to protect their special interests they must have the right to vote for the men they want to have as their representatives in government.

Women are fast learning that to protect their special interests they, too, must have this right.

HERE ARE A FEW OF THE SPECIAL INTERESTS OF WOMEN THAT ARE CONTROLLED BY VOTES.

Pure Food: so that the family shall be well fed.

Pure Water and Proper Health Laws: the mother is responsible for the health of her family.

Good Roads: not only to get produce to markets, but so the children can go to school; so she can see her neighbors occasionally.

Market Facilities: so that she and her family will receive a fair share in return for their labor.

Good Schools: to give her boys and girls a good start, to give them every chance to get on well in life.

School-houses as Social Centers: so that the boys and girls will be contented to find amusement at home and not flock to the cities.

School-houses as Neighborhood Centers: where public questions can be discussed.

Dairy Inspection Laws: the Dairy is the woman's special care. She ought to have something to say about the laws governing it.

A Clean Village: where dirt and refuse are not allowed to remain in the streets or to blow into the house and yard.

Decent Moral Surroundings: so that boys and girls may be safe morally.

If a woman is married and her husband votes it won't do any harm to have **two votes** in the family on all those things.

If she has no husband, isn't it unfair to forbid her the **Vote** which protects her special interests?

Woman's business in life demands that women should be allowed to vote.

A Government "of the People" demands that all the People, men and women, shall vote.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND WOMEN'S WORK HAS CHANGED.

Even for the woman on the farm, still more for the woman in the small town and most of all for the woman in the city, life and work are not what they used to be.

YESTERDAY: Our grandmothers and great-grandmothers fed their families with their own hands. Not only did they do all the cooking, but they cured the meats, made the yeast and baked the bread; they made soap and candles, rugs and brooms, jellies and preserves.

They clothed their families; with their own hands they spun the thread and wove the cloth and made it into garments for husband and children.

They raised their children; they taught them at home and had them under their eyes most of the time. If the children worked, it was usually at home.

The **moral training of children** was almost entirely in the mother's hands.

TODAY: The baker and butcher bring bread and cake, meat and groceries to the door; meat comes from big slaughter houses, food is canned in factories. Food supplies and the condition of food, its wholesomeness and even the price, are regulated by laws made by men who have been elected by votes.

Clothing is bought ready made. It is made in factories and sold by department stores. Women and girls still do this work, but by the thousands, in great buildings where sanitary conditions may be bad or danger of fire great; or in city sweatshops, often in the same rooms with disease. The health and safety of women and girls who make our clothes may mean the health and safety of our families who wear those clothes. **Votes regulate these things,** because, today, our health and working conditions are controlled by men elected by votes.

In the city, clean and healthy homes depend on street cleaning, clean halls and basements, sufficient light and air, good sewage, pure water, proper plumbing, quick garbage collection. **These things are all dependent on votes.**

Much of the care of children is now controlled by government. The law says at what age they must go to school, how many hours they must

stay in school, what they must study. Their **amusements** are usually away from home; for example, in the moving picture shows, **controlled by law**. Their **work** is away from home, in shops and factories, **controlled by law**. Their **moral training** is no longer entirely in the mother's hands, but is dependent also on their surroundings in the schools, or at work, or on the streets. The **political conditions** of a village or town often affect the **moral welfare** of our boys and girls quite as much as the mother's training.

The protection of girls and boys from the vice and temptation which surround them on city streets is all in the hands of **men**. **Women** should also help protect young people who earn their living. Shops, factories, offices and places of amusement should be made safe. **The men who are elected to office regulate all these things**. Don't you think that women should have a say as to who these men shall be?

GOVERNMENT IS LARGELY PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPING. Women are the housekeepers of the world. It is not only wrong but foolish to shut them out from helping **public housekeeping**.

A woman's first duty is to her own family, and by her vote she can improve conditions in **her own home** and for her **own children**.

Her next duty is to her neighbors, her village and her country. By her vote we have shown you how she can help make **all homes** better.

What we mean by saying that the ballot needs the woman is just this: The best kind of a home has in it both a man and a woman, the **father** to do his work, the **mother** to do her work, and yet **both** are really planning and working **together** for the good of that home. So in **our larger home**, our **village, city and state**, we need both the **man's work** and the **woman's work**, but we shall **never have the best kind of government** for that village, city or state until women as well as men can vote on what that government shall be.

In the following lesson we state why women outside the home need and want the vote.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson VIII

WHY WOMEN WHO WORK OUTSIDE OF THE HOME WANT THE VOTE.

People make the sweeping statement "Woman's place is in the home," but they make it thoughtlessly, without much consideration. If they would stop to think they would know that many women have no homes to stay in, and that many more women would have no homes unless they could earn money somewhere outside their homes to keep those homes going.

The woman who is fortunate enough to have a home and a good husband, and perhaps children to care for, must not think that all women are in the same position. That is not true. Of the 3,291,714 women in New York State over 15 years of age, according to the census of 1910, only 1,793,558 were married and 1,498,156 were unmarried or widowed. A large part of these 1,498,156 have to work in order to live, and many of them have children, or fathers and mothers, or sisters and brothers, to support.

WHEN A WOMAN HAS TO EARN MONEY HOW CAN SHE DO IT?

Not by staying at home and cooking and washing. There is usually no one in her home who can or will pay her for doing that. If she has to earn money she has to go outside her home to work for that money. So, during the past century, by tens of thousands, women have gone into shops and mills and factories; not for fun or for pin money—because no woman leaves her home and works for long, hard, weary hours at scant pay just for fun. **She does it because she has to work in order to live.**

For example, in New York State, in 1910, there were 983,686 women and girls at work outside the home. Among them were:

90,243 operators on sewing machines, 22,309 making hats, suits and overalls, 11,786 making cigars and cigarettes, 9,258 in knitting mills, 4,964 making carpets.

Besides these there were:

51,010 teachers, 49,281 stenographers and typists, 56,988 clerks and saleswomen, 33,603 bookkeepers and cashiers, 12,877 trained nurses, 8,722 in printing shops.

Most of these things, weaving, canning, sewing, nursing, teaching, etc., women have always done. They belong to what men call "Woman's Sphere," but they think of Woman's Sphere as being **inside** the home. These teachers, nurses, factory workers, etc., are **obliged to follow Woman's Sphere outside their homes** because no one would pay them to do this work inside their homes.

Many people have an idea that men support women. This is a mistake. The woman who **works inside the home**, cooking, scrubbing, washing, sewing, taking care of the family, and even the wife of a rich man who manages a big household, **is surely not being supported.** She is **earning her living**, although she may not receive wages for it. If she did this same work elsewhere, she would get not only her living, but wages.

Suppose **all women** should refuse to go into factories and shops, and **should stay at home.** Could men support them? We know that they could not. **Productive** work, work that brings in money, is not done in the home today. The daughter of a working man must earn her living just as certainly as her brother does, and she must go out of the home to do it, just as he does. **It is useless to say that this ought not to be so; it is so.**

The woman who works outside the home needs the vote even more than the woman who stays in the home.

WOMAN'S WAGES DEPEND TO A LARGE EXTENT ON VOTES

The experience of **men** wage-earners proves this; working men have greatly increased their wages because their organizations were **backed by votes.**

Politicians and all political parties listen to the demand of Men's Trades Unions and Federations of Labor. Why? **Because they are backed by votes.**

Women's organizations without votes have little or no influence. Politicians and political parties pay no attention to them. A striking proof of this was given when 12,000 shirt-waist makers, (girls) in New York City went to a certain mayor to ask his help. He said he was not interested and refused to see them. It is certain **he would not have refused to see 12,000 voters.**

In most occupations **women who do exactly the same work** get from a third to a half less pay than men. The excuse made is that the man is paid

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Examination Questions. No. II

(To be sent with Lesson VIII)

Write your answers after the questions, sign the paper with your full name and address, and return to your State Suffrage Association unless otherwise directed.

1. Name the one you consider the greatest pioneer of the Woman's Rights movement, and state the reason for your choice.
2. Why was the woman suffrage movement first known only as the **Woman's Rights** movement?
3. What is the difference between the vote that the women of Illinois have and the women of the other eleven suffrage states?
4. State three of the laws that have been made since the Woman's Rights movement began, that you consider of the greatest benefit to women?
5. Why have such changes been granted to women and not the suffrage?
6. Give three of **your** chief reasons for thinking that the vote could help **you.**
7. State the objection to suffrage that you hear most often.

more because he has a family to support. The truth is that in many cases **the man does not have a family to support and the woman has.**

Where women vote, equal pay for equal work is often the custom and has been obtained in several instances by state law. **Four suffrage states have a state-wide law requiring equal pay for men and women teachers in the public schools. In Chicago, since women have been given the vote men and women employed in public institutions are paid the same for the same work.**

THE WORKING WOMAN'S HOURS FOR WORK ARE INFLUENCED BY VOTES. Women need shorter working hours than men. When a **man's** work is done he can, as a rule, go home and rest or amuse himself. When a woman's work is done she often has to go home and cook supper, or do the family washing, and look after the children besides. **She needs more rest than the man, and she gets less.** This is not only bad for the woman, but **very** bad for the human race. Young girls who are worked too hard will bear weak and helpless children.

There are sixty-eight laws in twenty-eight of the United States that provide for an eight-hour law in certain occupations for working **men.**

The only states having any eight-hour laws for working women are Colorado, California, Washington, Wyoming, Oregon and Arizona. **All these are states where women vote.**

THE SAFETY OF WORKING WOMEN IS REGULATED BY LAW. Remember the Triangle Shirt-Waist fire in New York City, where a hundred and forty-seven girls were burned to death because the doors were locked. Two months later the owners of that factory were found guilty of keeping the doors still locked. They were fined \$20. This was considered the value of the safety of hundreds of young girls! The owners of the factory would not have dared to treat men that way, because **men** are **voters**, and **votes control working conditions.**

Votes for women mean greater safety for women workers.

THE HEALTH OF WORKING WOMEN DEPENDS ON LAWS. Light, air, sanitary conditions in shops, mills, factories are all regulated by law. Machines are often "speeded up" so that to run them soon exhausts a woman's strength, and she becomes a physical and nervous wreck. Young girls are often obliged to stand in stores from eight in the morning until six at night with no chance to sit down, and are obliged to work overtime or take the chance of losing their jobs. **Health and strength for women can be helped by women's votes.**

The woman who has to earn money and has to take her work home is even worse off than the woman who works in the factory. She tries to make up by working extra long hours. She gets the children to help her or she works in poor light, often with dirty surroundings. She has to take the poorest paid work at the lowest price. This is what is called **sweatshop labor**. Such work is done in a tenement in the midst of the cooking and other household labor, often by the whole family. The wages of an entire family working twelve or fourteen hours a day in this way is often not a **living wage** for one person. Things made in this way often carry disease to those who buy them.

Votes for men have proved a great help to **working men**.

Votes for women have proved an equally great help to **working women** in the states where women vote.

Therefore the working women of every state should have the vote.

The next lesson will give some instances of "What Women Have Done with the Ballot."

If you find these lessons interesting, get your neighbor to take them.



SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson IX

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE WITH THE BALLOT.

In discussing what women have accomplished by the ballot, it must be remembered that **women have been voting a very short time**. Eight of our twelve woman suffrage states have only given the vote to women **within the past six years!** Two, three, six years, or even twenty-three years, as in the case of Colorado, is a very short time in which to change old traditions, and old customs. Democracy has not been able to rid itself of all the evils of the tyranny which preceded it for so many centuries. We believe that the cure for such evils as still exist in Democracy, is **more Democracy**, for public morals are distinctly finer and better today than they were a century ago. **Votes for women will bring more Democracy.**

In every equal suffrage state there has been a decided change for the better since women began to vote, and since they have had direct interest and responsibility in public affairs. **All** the evils and injustice have not yet been done away with by any means, and women, like men, sometimes make mistakes.

The greatest change that has come with woman suffrage in the twelve states where women vote **is the change in the way men think of women**. It is obvious that men **respect** the opinion of women far more where women possess the **power** of the ballot. Where women vote, men and women have a greater feeling of **comradeship** than they ever had before. They have learned to know and understand one another better since they have **worked together** to better conditions for the people; and **working together** has also created **a better neighborhood spirit**.

Many women feel responsible only for their own families. When they become voters they begin to feel responsible for the neighborhood in which they live. They realize for the first time that the welfare of **each** family affects the welfare of **all** families.

MANY GOOD RESULTS in the way of better legislation, and better living conditions have been accomplished. (See Woman Suffrage: History, Arguments, Results. Published by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 171 Madison Avenue, New York.)

Although men far outnumber women in most of the woman suffrage states, all laws proposed which directly **affect** women and children receive

far more respectful attention and assistance than ever before. Why? Because women voters can prevent a man from being re-elected if he is against measures which greatly affect life and happiness.

For example, in 1911 California refused to change the law which gave **fathers** the **sole** guardianship of children. The women were very indignant, but at that time they were not voters, and they learned that influence, not backed by votes, meant nothing.

In 1913, when women had the ballot, they insisted that the law be brought up again for consideration by the legislature, and then **mothers and fathers were made equal guardians of their children.**

A similar law has been passed in every one of the suffrage states except Arizona.

Twenty-two male suffrage states have no equal guardianship law, and in three of them, Delaware, Florida and Tennessee, a father may, by deed or by will, dispose of his child, until it comes of age, without its mother's consent. Massachusetts women worked fifty-five years to get an equal guardianship law on their statute books, but California, Colorado, Montana, and Nevada women got it **the first year after women had the ballot.**

BABIES have a better chance to live where women vote. All of the states and countries where the **death rate of babies** is **lowest** are states and countries where women vote. In New Zealand, where women have voted for twenty years, only fifty-one babies out of every thousand die before they are a year old. In New York State more than twice as many, 129, die the first year.

PROPERTY RIGHTS. Women have **control over their own property** in most of the equal suffrage states. In Colorado the **last** inequalities have been removed, and husbands and wives have **actual equal rights** both in the ownership and inheritance of property. This is not so in any of the male suffrage states.

The earnings of a wife are her own in every equal suffrage state, excepting California. In California her earnings become the common property of herself and husband, under the husband's control during his life, but not liable for his debts. In many male suffrage States the law gives the husband entire control of his wife's wages.

For example, in New York, a wife is not entitled to **her own earnings** when she works **with** her husband, or even if she works in his store or factory. Such **joint earnings** of the husband and wife **belong to the husband, unless** the wife has taken the precaution to form a regular legal business partnership with her husband. Court decisions within the last year or two have given the wife's earnings in the business to the husband, and to the husband the courts have awarded even all her savings in the savings bank, which she had saved out of the allowance she received to run her household.

When **husband and wife work together** and **both** have helped to accumulate personal property by their **joint** labor, as is the case with the vast majority of our people, **the wife has absolutely no legal right** in the products of this labor.

In New York State the **wife's dower right** applies **only** to real estate, and this means only a life interest in **one-third** of her husband's realty. The **husband's right of courtesy** in case a child is born alive gives him the use of **all** her real estate for life.

WIDOWED MOTHERS' PENSIONS BILLS are in force in **all** the woman suffrage states (except Arizona, where the law was declared unconstitutional). This means that when a father is dead or has deserted, leaving little children whom the mother is not able to support, that instead of paying a certain sum each month to an institution for taking care of the children, the money is paid to the mother. She is then able to keep her children with her, give them a mother's care, and bring them up under conditions which will make decent citizens of them. Only twelve such laws exist in the thirty-six male suffrage states.

CHILD LABOR LAWS ARE UNUSUALLY GOOD in most of the equal suffrage states. Mothers know the evils of putting a little child to work long hours at tasks beyond its strength. States where women vote have tried to prevent this evil of child labor before it should get a start. In eleven woman suffrage states only eleven per cent. of boys under fifteen are at work and two per cent. of the girls. In thirty-seven male suffrage states twenty-five per cent. of the boys and twelve per cent. of the girls are workers. (Illinois is not counted here as a woman suffrage state as the women have not full suffrage.)

All of the woman suffrage states forbid the sale of tobacco, cigarettes, or narcotics to minors. **Educational laws** are unusually fine and well enforced. Compulsory education laws exist in all the woman suffrage states.

CHILDREN'S COURTS started in a woman suffrage state and are in existence in at least seven of them. They protect the child who is accused of any misdemeanor from contact with criminals, and so are a great protection to unfortunate children.

ALL THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES TAKE ESPECIALLY GOOD CARE OF YOUNG GIRLS. In most states a girl may legally consent to her own ruin several years before she may, independent of her parents, give her consent to be married. At present in ten of the twelve woman suffrage states, this "age of consent" has been raised to eighteen years, or the age when she may marry independent of her parents' wishes. In the other two it is sixteen years. In one of the male suffrage states, Georgia, the "age of consent" is as low as ten years, and in two others, North Carolina and Florida, a child of ten may be legally "unchaste."

The Red Light Injunction and Abatement Act is the best method yet found for dealing with Commercialized Vice and has been widely adopted where women vote.

The reason why our Western women have been able to accomplish so much in a few years is because their clubs are well organized; they study carefully all new laws that are proposed, they support the laws which they consider good and suggest others which they think desirable. They **use their votes** to support measures which safeguard home and children, and so help in bringing about better living conditions. They vote for that kind of official who will work for the benefit of the community. Western women, **as voters**, are getting the benefits and advantages that **all women want and need**.

The men of the woman suffrage states consider woman suffrage a great success and an advantage to the country. It is hard now to find a Western man who will acknowledge that he was ever opposed to it! They are proud of it and its results.

The women, too, who were once opposed or indifferent have now quite changed their attitude. Women who were anti-suffragists have often been first at the polls on election day. In fact, it is not wise for anyone to say anything **against** woman suffrage in a state where women vote. Anti-suffragists often claim that prominent Western men are unfriendly to woman suffrage, but these claims are usually false, and are generally promptly denied by the men themselves.

An act on the part of the Wyoming legislature (composed entirely of men) shows Western sentiment. Of its own free will, in 1900, this legislature sent a petition to Washington, signed by most of the prominent state officials, asking Congress for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting suffrage to women. The petition stated the advantages derived from equal suffrage and closed with these words:

"WE URGE EVERY CIVILIZED COMMUNITY ON EARTH TO ENFRANCHISE ITS WOMEN WITHOUT DELAY."

The next lesson will answer some objections to Woman Suffrage.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson X

OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE ANSWERED

Objections to woman suffrage are usually in the nature of things that might happen "if women get the vote." These objections are disproved by what **has actually taken place** where women already vote. Suffrage has been in operation long enough, and in so many different places, that it is easy to know **the truth**.

Here are some of the objections made by opponents of woman suffrage and the answers to those objections based on **fact**:

"WOMEN DO NOT WANT THE VOTE." The fact that so many women have worked so hard and for so long disproves this. For example: For sixty-two years the women of New York State have gone every year to Albany to ask the legislature to pass the suffrage bill. Over 200,000 women worked for suffrage during the 1915 campaign in this state. There were 2,500 women who worked as officials of the suffrage organization, all without pay, and in the last six months of the campaign over 10,000 meetings were held.

"WOMEN WILL NOT USE THE VOTE WHEN THEY GET IT." It is difficult to give figures for women voters apart from men voters because the ballot boxes are not kept separate, but the vote in a state before and after women are allowed to vote tells the tale. In all these states there were many more men than women.

Kansas.....	election of 1912—365,444 men voted.
	" " 1914—630,206 men and women voted.
Oregon.....	" " 1912—137,040 men voted,
	" " 1914—210,566 men and women voted.
California.....	" " 1910—385,713 men voted.
	" " 1914—926,689 men and women voted.
Washington....	" " 1908—176,141 men voted.
	" " 1914—345,279 men and women voted.

This proves that women do vote where they have the privilege.

"WOMEN ARE ALREADY REPRESENTED BY THEIR HUSBANDS."

There are, for example, in New York State, 1,768,698 married women over 21 years of age; 1,089,529 are unmarried or widowed. Who represents those 1,089,529 women on election day?

"THE MAN VOTES BECAUSE HE IS THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY."

Does he? Here is a family with a father, mother and five sons—six votes. Here is another family with mother and five daughters, no vote. Here is still another household with a bachelor who has no family—one vote. Isn't it evident that a man votes simply because he is a man and that the family has nothing to do with it?

"A WOMAN CAN GET WHAT SHE WANTS THROUGH HER INFLUENCE."

A person could go across the state on foot, but why go on foot when you can go by train? **Influence** is slow and uncertain. The **vote is direct** and certain. By having the vote **in addition** to influence you don't **lose** your **influence**, you **increase** it. A man often has influence, but he doesn't lose his influence because he votes.

"IT WOULD DOUBLE THE EXPENSE OF ELECTIONS."

Enough ballots and sufficient polling places are provided **now** at every election in most States to supply women voters. Moreover, where women vote they have brought about the use of schoolhouses and other public buildings which can be had rent free. In New York City, for example, if this were done, at least \$125,000 in rent would be saved on every primary or election day.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL INCREASE TAXES." Actual figures disprove this. New York State without woman suffrage, has by far the largest bonded debt of any state in the Union. Colorado, with woman suffrage, is the only state where the per capita tax fell, between the years 1902 and 1912. (United States Census on Wealth, Debt and Taxation.)

Kansas with municipal woman suffrage since 1887, and full suffrage since 1912, has no state debt, and Wyoming, the oldest woman suffrage state, had, January 1916, no debt and \$750,000 in its treasury.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL INCREASE THE IGNORANT VOTE."

On the contrary it will increase the educated vote. **Our high schools graduate two or three times as many girls as boys.**

"IT WILL INCREASE THE FOREIGN-BORN VOTE."

On the contrary it will **reduce** the foreign-born vote, Less than one-third of the immigrants coming to this country are women. According to the last census there are

nearly three times as many **native-born women** as all the **foreign-born men** and women put together.

"IT WILL INCREASE THE CRIMINAL VOTE." Again facts prove the contrary. Only five out of every hundred criminals in our prisons are women. Even in our cities the women prostitutes number less than half of one per cent. It takes from eight to twenty men to support such a woman. Those men all have the vote. Since **the majority of women are good** and not bad, therefore the **result of giving women the suffrage is not evil but good.**

"WOMEN DO NOT NEED TO VOTE BECAUSE MEN WILL LOOK AFTER THEIR INTERESTS."

These lessons have given many proofs that this is not true. Women **know what they want** and what **children need** better than men ever can, for women are trained in this special work. Even with the best intentions men could not look out for the interests of **all the people in the world.** They have too many important affairs of their own to attend to.

"POLITICS IS MAN'S BUSINESS. WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME."

Voting does not take one out of the home any more than marketing does. **Politics affect a woman's business just as much as it does a man's.** It concerns itself with the care of homes and the health of babies as much as with the tariff or banking laws.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE WILL INCREASE DIVORCE."

There has never been a case on record where political differences between man and woman were given as the reason for divorce. By actual figures the divorce rate has increased more rapidly in the states where women do **not** vote (see United States Census Bureau Report).

"IT WILL CORRUPT WOMEN AND MAKE THEM UNWOMANLY TO GO INTO POLITICS."

Very few men "go into politics," and yet most men vote. To be interested in one's country, to try to improve conditions in one's town or village cannot corrupt a woman's character. Voting does not change a woman's nature or interfere with her duties. In the equal suffrage states women are just as womanly as in the states where they do not vote. Moreover, women vote in their own neighborhood. A polling place in the states where women vote is as orderly as a church and the same neighbors meet in both places.

"WOMEN WOULD WANT ALL THE POLITICAL JOBS."

Very few women want to hold office of any kind. Most of them are too busy with

other affairs. In the suffrage states they seldom hold office except as they serve on charity boards and in connection with educational matters. Remember that **before a woman can be elected to any office she must have a majority of the votes of both men and women.**

"WOMEN SHOULD NOT HAVE THE VOTE BECAUSE THEY CANNOT FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY." The present war in Europe is proving how untrue this is. The armies on the battlefields could not be kept there unless the women at home did the men's work. They carry on the business of men, they organize in companies like soldiers for home defense, they work in the fields to supply the soldiers with food, they support the home, they make ammunition, they nurse the wounded.

Moreover, **if men bear arms, women bear soldiers.**

When it is a question of **war or peace**, should not the women of the nation be consulted as well as the men?

"MEN DON'T WANT PETTICOAT RULE." Neither do women. Votes for women mean simply that women shall be allowed to vote in order to **share with men** the responsibility as to how their town, state and country shall be governed, just as they share with them other responsibilities in life.

One of the most common objections is:

"WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ALL MEN SHOULD HAVE THE VOTE. WE BELIEVE IN LIMITED SUFFRAGE." Americans who make that statement are not loyal to the principles on which their government is founded.

Political equality is the basis of our government and political equality cannot mean limited suffrage. **Democracy** means "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Women as well as men are people. There is no logical reason why the vote should not be given to women on equal terms with men.

One-half the people should not be denied the right to vote because of sex.

The next lesson will tell you something about the Real Enemies of Woman Suffrage.

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Supplementary Lesson

HOW TO WORK FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

STATE AND NATIONAL AMENDMENTS. Women are now denied the right to vote in all but twelve of the forty-eight states. There are two ways of getting this restriction removed: By amending the constitution of a state (this is done by submitting a suffrage amendment to the voters of the state) which would give votes to the women of that state; or, by an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by thirty-six of the forty-eight states, would give votes to **all the women** of the United States.

A NATIONAL AMENDMENT. Congress gave the vote to colored men by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the National Constitution. The vote could likewise be extended to women by another national amendment.

For many years **Susan B. Anthony** and other suffrage leaders put their greatest efforts into working for a national amendment. Then they began to realize that women without votes had no power over Congress; that the only way to get such an amendment was first to win for women the **right to vote** for congressmen in the individual states, and when **enough** states had been won, women could then demand a national amendment.

Thereafter the efforts of suffragists were largely centered on winning separate states. As you have seen, state after state was won until now there are eleven states where women have **full** suffrage and one state where women, although not having full suffrage, may vote for President. As a result, the pressure on Congress has increased until in 1915 the **Suffrage Amendment passed the Senate** of the United States by a majority of 1, and received a vote in the House of Representatives of 174.

The demand for a national amendment must be backed by still **more suffrage states** before women can succeed in getting it.

Every congressman in Washington who comes from a woman suffrage state is in favor of a national amendment and votes for it. It is therefore evident that when **enough states have given votes to women**, we shall get a national amendment which, when duly ratified by the requisite number of states, will give votes to **all women**.

In 1915 women suffragists attempted a tremendous task. They tried to win four big Eastern states all at once: New York, Massachusetts, Penn-

sylvania and New Jersey. They did not succeed, but **over a million votes were polled for suffrage** in those states.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Every one of the forty-eight states except New Mexico has a State Suffrage Association. The National-American Woman Suffrage Association is composed of these state suffrage associations. In 1915 Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt succeeded Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as President of the National Association. Dr. Shaw is now its Honorary President. Mrs. Catt is also chairman of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance composed of the suffrage associations of twenty-seven different countries of the world. The National Association has headquarters in New York City and also in Washington, D. C., and works along **two lines**: To keep the National Amendment (sometimes called the Susan B. Anthony amendment) before Congress and work for its adoption, and to help suffrage to win in every individual state.

A STATE AMENDMENT. A state can give votes to her women by an amendment to the state constitution. Such an amendment has to go, as a rule, through **two different successive** state legislatures and then be ratified by the vote of a majority of the men of the state before it becomes law.

Such an amendment **was first** introduced in the New York State legislature in 1854, and after that women went every year (with the exception of the years of the Civil War) to the Capitol at Albany and begged to have that amendment passed. It was finally passed in 1915, and was submitted to the voters.

ORGANIZATION FOR A STATE CAMPAIGN.

When it was certain that the suffrage amendment was to come to a vote in New York in November, 1915, suffrage forces in the state united in forming the **Empire State Campaign Committee**. Under Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt as Chairman every effort was made to persuade the two millions of voters in the state to vote for the amendment.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS. The Unit of the Organization was (and still remains) the **Assembly District**, thereby following the lines of the political parties.

Every Assembly District in the state was organized for the suffrage campaign with a Leader, Vice-Leader, Secretary and Treasurer.

The **County** and the **Assembly District** is the same, except where the county has a large city, when there may be several Assembly Districts in one county. The Assembly District elects a man called an **Assemblyman** to represent the district in the state legislature.

Each Assembly District has a number of **Election Districts**, and each **Election District** has one polling place where the men of that District cast their votes.

Under the Leader of the Assembly District the **Election Districts** were organized for suffrage with **election district captains** heading committees of workers.

CAMPAIGN DISTRICTS. For campaign purposes the state was divided into twelve **Campaign Districts**, each with a big city for its center, and each one was put in charge of a **Campaign District Chairman**. New York City was Campaign District No. 1, Long Island No. 2, Albany was the center for No. 3, Malone for No. 4, Syracuse for No. 5, Ithaca for No. 6, Rochester for No. 7, Buffalo for No. 8, Yonkers for No. 9, Poughkeepsie for No. 10, Troy for No. 11, and Utica for No. 12.

Such was the form of suffrage organization that carried on the campaign last year for woman suffrage in New York State. Through this organization an attempt was made to reach every voter. Besides the Assembly District suffrage organizations there were many clubs at work in towns and villages raising money and doing everything they could think of to make men study and think about suffrage questions, so as to vote intelligently.

Over \$150,000 was raised for the campaign to pay for literature, stenographers, office rent, speakers' expenses, etc. **Not a single official of the Campaign Committee was paid for her work.** The money all went for campaign expenses. Men and women to the number of 460,664 were enrolled during the year as believers in equal suffrage.

If **every woman** who believes suffrage is **right** would do **her little share** in every State Campaign, suffrage would soon be won. It means a **little** work if **all** women help; it is a **tremendous task** if a **few** women must do it all.

WHAT YOU CAN DO. Tell people that you believe in suffrage. Don't be afraid of being called a suffragist. Women sometimes say "Oh no! I'm not a suffragist." "Don't you think suffrage is right?" "Oh yes—it is right." Then you **are** a suffragist and you ought to be proud to be in the same class with all the great men and women who believe in it. Let your friends and neighbors know that you believe in it. **Talk about it! That is something every woman can do.** By talking about it you make people begin to **think** about it. The man or woman who really **thinks** about suffrage usually comes to think that it **is right**.

JOIN A SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATION OR CLUB. If there isn't one in your neighborhood write to your State Suffrage Association and ask them to start one. There is nothing like getting together and talking things over.

The antis always claim every man or woman who is not enrolled for suffrage as being **on their side**. If you believe suffrage is right the least you can do is to put your name down to be counted on the right side. Send for literature—suffrage leaflets are sold as cheap as 5c. a hundred and if you can't afford 5c. your State Association will send them to you anyway. You ought to have them in the house and give them to all your friends and neighbors.

GET YOUR NEIGHBORS TO ENROLL AS SUFFRAGISTS. Write to your State Association for enrollment slips, and canvass your neighbors, and get them to enroll. This costs them nothing and puts them on the right side.

GET EVERYBODY TO TAKE THE SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE COURSE.

SUPPORT SUFFRAGE WITH MONEY WHEREVER YOU CAN. There are no big corporations backing woman suffrage. The money comes in dimes and nickels from the pockets of men and women who have but little money. Every district should support its own suffrage work. At least it should try to pay for its own literature and necessary expenses.

ADVERTISING WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Many people wonder why suffragists have had parades and gone on "hikes" and done other things which some call "queer." **Why do suffragists speak on the street corners or hold out-of-door meetings?** To reach and convert to woman suffrage a majority of the voters in a state, often men of every nationality, creed and color, is a tremendous task. Some men won't go to a suffrage meeting. We could advertise the finest speakers in the world and only a comparatively small number of men would go inside of a hall to hear them. When men will not come to us to hear suffrage speeches, we go to the men where they are, on the street, and in this way reach crowds of men with our arguments who would otherwise never hear them. Also we have to pay rent if we hire halls, and a street meeting costs nothing. Hundreds of thousands of men have heard suffrage speeches on the street at almost no expense to us, who would never have gone inside of a hall to listen, and if we had been obliged to pay rent for halls we would not have been able to have the meetings.

For a similar reason we have parades. Many men would not know there was a suffrage movement except for the suffrage parade. Many a man has been converted to suffrage by seeing a woman he knew walking in a suffrage parade. "I didn't know she cared enough about it for that," he has been heard to say.

To reach all kinds of men all kinds of methods must be used. Methods that **you** might not like might be just the methods that would convert someone else. **Publicity is necessary to make a cause widely known.**

Never before in the history of the world has a disfranchised class been obliged to face the difficult task which the women of the United States are facing today. The consent of millions of men must be won before women can win the vote, and that they have succeeded so well up to the present time is little short of a miracle.

Women deserve the vote. Women have proved that they want the vote.

WHAT WILL YOU DO TO HELP WIN?



SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson XI

THE REAL ENEMIES OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The principle of woman suffrage is so just and right that it seems as if it ought to have been accepted long ago, especially all over the United States, which claims to have "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." Women have worked so hard and so long that, by this time, instead of having only twelve equal suffrage states, **all** the states ought to have given women the ballot, so that we could have in this country **a government by all the people**. The fact that woman suffrage has powerful enemies does **not** mean that it is not **right** and **just**. **All reform movements in the world's history** have met with opposition, and the better the movement, the stronger, more numerous, and more persistent have been its enemies.

IGNORANCE. A great many people do not know what woman suffrage means. They have never given much thought to the reasons why **men** vote. They have just taken it for granted that the **ballot belongs to men**. It would not be so difficult to educate people in regard to suffrage except for two things: every year thousands of men from foreign lands are added to the voters, and every year thousands of boys reach 21 and become voters. So that while suffragists are educating and converting one great body of men, another great body is being added to those who can vote against suffrage.

The difficulties of reaching the enormous mass of voters in a state like New York, for instance, are stupendous. Last year New York suffragists had banners printed in **twenty-four languages**. Many voters do not speak our language, and the entire training of many men is against making women their political equals.

Every year over 100,000 boys become voters in New York State. To many of them woman suffrage is a joke. They naturally feel superior to women because at 21 the State gives them a right that it denies to their mothers and to all other women.

CONSERVATISM. Probably the greatest number of people who oppose woman suffrage do so because they are conservatives. Conservatives are people who wish to keep things as they are. They dread and fear all change. **Conservatives are really afraid of Progress.** They do not see that **the world moves forward** and **that progress is the way of life.** They **oppose** woman suffrage **because** it is **new**, and they are afraid it will not "work." Years ago this same class of people opposed manhood suffrage, and women's property laws, and education for women. Yet now that they are used to these things they accept them as a matter of course. Many conservatives will never believe in woman suffrage until it has become an established custom. Such people are the **foes of all advancement.**

INDIFFERENCE. It is astonishing, and often discouraging, to see how many people go through life quite indifferent to what is going on. **They are simply not interested.** Because so many women are indifferent, men get the impression that women do not want the vote. But this is a mistake. It is the **few** who always **work** for **any cause**; the **many** are always uninterested or else they do not want to exert themselves. Nevertheless, in **all human history there has never been a reform movement of any kind in which so many people were so deeply and actively interested as in woman suffrage.**

CORRUPT POLITICS AND CORRUPT POLITICAL MACHINES are also real enemies of woman suffrage. The larger the number of voters the more difficult it is to control them. A politician or a political machine that wants to elect a man or swing an election has a hard enough time **now.** **Men** are not so easy to manage as they were some years ago. **Men** are growing more independent and are demanding cleaner politics. Politicians therefore are afraid they would have **too** hard a time to work things their way if they let women become voters.

In the suffrage states women vote with even more independence than the men. They are much more difficult to "boss." They care little about political parties. They care more about decent men. They demand clean towns and clean politics. It is safe to say that wherever you find a political grafter or a machine that keeps its power through corruption you will find a real opponent of woman suffrage.

CORRUPT BUSINESS is also a powerful enemy. A business or corporation that is growing rich on the labor of little children, or through squeezing the last ounce of strength from women workers, or that is grafting from the public through its connection with corrupt politics, is sure to be against woman suffrage. For example: While the management of a certain rail-

road was in control of the politics of California, suffrage was defeated in that state; it was only when the power of that group was broken that suffrage won in 1911.

It was reported recently that the New Hampshire Public Service Commission had filed a report that the Boston and Maine R. R. and the New Hampshire liquor interests had combined to spend money to defeat the Initiative and Referendum and woman suffrage.

The Philadelphia *American* recently published the results of an investigation made by the United States government in Pennsylvania of the breweries and said: "The government has evidence of large liquor funds having been used to finance the anti-suffrage campaign last fall in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York."

The connection between child labor and the opponents of woman suffrage has been clearly brought out every time the bill has come up in Congress to keep children under 14 out of mills and factories. When the vote was taken on this bill last winter, 41 of the 43 men who voted **against** this **bill** also voted **against woman suffrage.** **Not a single vote was cast against it by any man from any state where women vote for congressmen!**

EVERY KIND OF VICE TRUST is an **enemy** of woman suffrage. In the California suffrage campaign it was said that "woman suffrage should be loved for its enemies if for no other reason." Those enemies were the same everywhere. Among them were the owners of gambling houses and other immoral resorts. The keeper of a string of disorderly houses was said to be one of the largest contributors to the anti-suffrage campaign fund. Such interests are afraid of the "clean-up" which follows when women vote. Everyone realizes that women care even more than men about the kind of surroundings in which they live, and about the temptations which surround youth. All the interests that traffic in youth and inexperience, that degrade manhood and womanhood, that form the dens and vice resorts of our big cities, that menace the country boy and girl who do not know the ways of town life; **all of these work against** giving the ballot to women, because they **know** women would vote against **them.**

In the New York State legislature recently, four bills were introduced by the so-called Vice-Trust. They were denounced by the police department and spoken of by the New York *Times* (anti-suffrage) as intended to protect "the scoundrels who fatten on vice, whose pockets have been filled with the dirtiest money in the world." These bills were introduced, but were voted for in Committee by only four men. **Every one** of those four men are **opponents of woman suffrage** and **voted against** the suffrage bill.

THE LIQUOR BUSINESS is the **most powerful enemy** that suffrage had has to encounter over and over again. The liquor business, like corrupt politics, is afraid of women as voters. For many years the liquor interests, both wholesale and retail, have had their hands deep in the political pie. They have often controlled nominations, dictated policies and swung elections. They are among the most powerful business interests in the country to-day. They are connected with a thousand other business interests. They have unlimited money. Moreover, besides being **voters** themselves, the liquor dealers control an enormous number of other votes. **All suffragists do not believe in prohibition.** Nevertheless the liquor interests are afraid of women voters, and are using their great political power to defeat woman suffrage wherever the question comes up.

In many states they have worked openly, in other places secretly, but wherever they see the danger of woman suffrage being adopted they are at work with all their forces to defeat it.

From what we have said it is plain that the real enemies of woman suffrage are not the limited number of men and women who come out into the open and call themselves "anti-suffragists." The **real "antis"** are known under other names.

The next lesson will be about the "Friends of Woman Suffrage."



SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Lesson XII

WHO ARE THE SUFFRAGISTS?

Men and women are said to be known by the company they keep. The same may be said of a movement like woman suffrage. Let us see then, what sort of people endorse suffrage for women.

Among the **organized groups of women**:

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS. There are nearly 2,000,000 women in this Federation. At their biennial meeting in Chicago, in 1914 they voted for woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority and because of this action, in the two years since then, the Federation has had the largest increase of membership of any time in its history.

In the **states where women vote**, every **Federation of Clubs** and every **president** of a **Federation** testifies that their **work** has become **easier** since they became **voters**. Is it any wonder that the women of the states where women are forbidden to vote are trying to have this restriction removed?

A few years ago suffrage was not allowed to be discussed in these clubs, but in trying to do certain things for their village or city, women found by actual experience that they could have **done the work quicker** and **easier if they had all been voters**. So now, the majority of the club women are suffragists, as shown by their votes on the subject.

The women in these clubs are the best educated, most active group of **home women** in the country today. Most of them are not only taking care of homes and families of their own, but are actively interested in the welfare of their village or city. They are working for better schools, cleaner towns, healthier surroundings, decent amusements, better conditions for men, women and children in shops and factories. Some of these women's clubs are Civic clubs or Village Improvement Societies, some are Study clubs, but **all** are working in some way for **improving conditions** for men and women. **The New York State Federation of Women's Clubs in 1915 voted 227 to 73 for woman suffrage.**

WORKING WOMEN. The largest organization of women at work outside the home is the **National Women's Trade Union League**. In 1913 they voted **unanimously** that "The workers are the wealth of the country"; that "voteless women unable to protect themselves are used to cut men's wages"; that "idle and ignorant women oppose votes for workers," and that they "protest against the opposition of women of leisure who selfishly obstruct the efforts of working women to obtain full citizenship, thereby making the struggle for the protection of the working people's homes immeasurably more difficult."

The woman who is obliged to leave her home and go out to work for her bread has little time to give to work for woman suffrage, but she **knows** that it would be **great protection** to her to have the **vote**.

THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION is for suffrage. For years suffrage was not a welcome subject at their meetings, but experience has taught them how necessary the vote is to do the work they want done, and now every W. C. T. U. has a "franchise department" working for woman suffrage.

THE NATIONAL ORDER OF THE "LADIES OF THE MACCABEES," comprising over 50,000 women, the first and oldest fraternal beneficiary society in the world, composed exclusively of women, is for suffrage. This order is affiliated with the National Woman Suffrage Association and always sends delegates to its annual convention.

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF NURSES and the **AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION** stand for suffrage. They want to see health conditions improved by Votes for Women.

Among **organized groups** where **both men and women** are **members**:

THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, men and women teachers from all over the United States, at their last convention endorsed suffrage enthusiastically.

THE NATIONAL GRANGE. From the **Grange** in the **states** where **women vote** have come **enthusiastic endorsements** of the way **suffrage works**. At the last meeting of the New York State Grange a resolution was adopted asking that the woman suffrage bill should be re-submitted and pledging its members to work for it.

Among the **organized groups** of **men** who stand for suffrage are:

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER-CARRIERS**, **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POST-OFFICE CLERKS**, **GRAND COUNCIL OF COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS**, **NATIONAL MINERS'**

SUFFRAGE CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Examination Questions. No. III

(To be sent with Lesson XII)

Write your answers after the questions, sign the paper with your full name and address, and return to your State Suffrage Association unless otherwise directed.

1. What do you consider the best things that women have accomplished with the ballot?
2. What do you consider the most forcible and convincing argument for woman suffrage?
3. Why should not the ballot be given simply to the tax-paying women?
4. What is the most necessary and important thing to do **now** in order to get equal suffrage?
5. Can you suggest any **new** ways of defeating the enemies of suffrage?

FEDERATION, NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OF POLICE CHIEFS, NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, NEW JERSEY BAPTIST CONFERENCE, WEST JERSEY PRESBYTERY, BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS, CIVIL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

All these great associations of men, in addition to many smaller bodies, have put themselves on record as believers in woman suffrage.

Now let us name over the kind of individual man and woman who are suffragists. We have only space to mention a few familiar names to illustrate still further what we mean by asking "Who are the suffragists?"

First, among the friends who have passed on, the greatest American:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. He said "I go for all sharing the privileges of government who bear its burdens . . . by no means excluding the women." The men who helped to make our nation great: **Wendell Phillips**, the great orator; **Charles Sumner**, the statesman; and **William Lloyd Garrison**, the advocate of freedom for the slave, **Julia Ward Howe**, authoress and philanthropist, who wrote "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"; **Frances Willard**, educator and president of the W. C. T. U.; **Clara Barton**, first president of the American Red Cross, and in England, **Florence Nightingale**, the first woman to nurse wounded soldiers.

Among the living who see clearly the justice and the need of giving women the vote are:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES and the following members of his cabinet: Secretary of Treasury **William G. McAdoo**, Secretary of War **Newton D. Baker**, Postmaster General **Albert S. Burleson**, Secretary of Interior **Franklin K. Lane**, Secretary of Agriculture **David F. Houston**, Secretary of Commerce **William C. Redfield**, Secretary of Labor **William B. Wilson**, Secretary of the Navy **Josephus Daniels**.

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK STATE, the **MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY**, and his entire board of commissioners.

THE GOVERNORS OF THE SUFFRAGE STATES: **John F. A. Strong** of Alaska, **Geo. W. P. Hunt** of Arizona, **Hiram W. Johnson** of California, **Geo. A. Carlson** of Colorado, **Moses Alex** of Idaho, **Edw. F. Dunne** of Illinois, **Arthur Capper** of Kansas, **Sam'l V. Stewart** of Montana, **Emmet D. Boyle** of Nevada, **Jas. Withycombe** of Oregon, **Wm. Spry** of Utah, **Ernest Lister** of Washington, **John B. Kendrick** of Wyoming, and **Gov. M. G. Brumbaugh** of Pennsylvania, which is a non-suffrage state.

ALSO HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

Among the presidents of colleges for women are Dr. John McCracken of Vassar, Dr. Leroy Burton of Smith, Virginia C. Gildersleeve of Barnard, M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr, Mary E. Wooley of Mt. Holyoke.

Other well-known men and women are:

Thomas Edison, inventor; **Luther Burbank**, the California fruit grower; **P. P. Claxton**, United States Commissioner of Education; **Brand Whitlock**, former Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, now our Minister to Belgium; **Samuel Gompers**, President of the American Federation of Labor; **Jane Addams**, of Hull House, Chicago; **Florence Kelley**, who has done so much for working women and children; **Lillian Wald**, founder and head of the New York Nurses settlement (and you may safely add **every** experienced settlement worker); **Julia Lathrop**, head of the United States Children's Bureau; **Harvey Wiley**, the government Pure Food expert; **Maud Miner**, the head of the New York Probation and Protective Association; **Judge Ben Lindsay**, of the Denver Juvenile Court; **Maud Ballington Booth**, daughter of the great founder of the Salvation Army; **Francis E. Clark**, President of the Christian Endeavor Society.

We can furnish lists of prominent judges, lawyers, doctors, editors, authors, social workers, financiers, bishops and other clergy, teachers, business men, and men and women in every walk of life who are suffragists. As a rule wherever you find a man or a woman working earnestly to make the world a **better place to live in**, there you will find a **believer** in woman suffrage.

It is significant that while the **forces of evil** are working to **defeat** woman suffrage, the **forces for good** are working for its success. **WE ASK YOU TO WORK FOR IT, TOO.**

Remember that one of the great reasons why **Votes for Women** are needed in the world today, is because they **double the power** and **double the influence of the home.**

The regular Correspondence Course ends with this lesson, but we take pleasure in sending you a Supplementary Lesson: **How to work for Suffrage.**

[1916]

A Suffrage Reading Course

By FLORENCE BENNETT PETERSON

"No education can be complete that excludes the idea of efficiency in any important social institution."—*Chancellor*

To study Equal Suffrage is to apply the mind to the most important phase of The Great Woman Movement which is encircling the world. To understand the relations which Equal Suffrage bears to the Woman Movement is to perceive important relations and correlations between politics and institutions of humanity.

Society manifests itself, in greater or less completeness in eight great social institutions—Property, Family, Church, State, School, Culture, Business and War. Equal suffrage is basic in the relations which it bears to the functions of each.

The International Woman's Movement makes about the same demands in all countries. These are four in number:

"1. *In education and instruction*:—to enjoy the same educational opportunities as those of man.

2. *In the field of labor*:—freedom to choose any occupation, and equal pay for the same work.

3. *In the field of civil law*:—the wife should be given the status of a legal person before the law, and full civil ability. *In criminal law*:—the repeal of all regulations discriminating against women. The legal responsibility of men in sexual matters. *In public law*:—woman suffrage.

4. *In the social field*:—recognition of the high value of woman's domestic and social work and the incompleteness, harshness, and one-sidedness of every circle of man's activity from which woman is excluded."—*Schirmacher*.

HISTORY

✓ The Decay of Vassalage Among Women—"A Short History of Woman's Rights," by Eugene Hecker.

A Social Study of Women—"Why Women Are So," by Mary Roberts Coolidge.

A Study in History and Legislation—"The Rights of Women," by M. Ostrogorski.

The International Scope of the Woman Movement—"The Modern Woman's Rights Movement," by Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher

The American Woman's Struggle for Suffrage—"The History of Woman Suffrage," by Anthony, Stanton and Harper.

What Primitive Woman Has Contributed to the Race—"Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," by Otis T. Mason.

A General Survey of Woman Suffrage, Historical, Sociological, Political and Statistical—Woman Suffrage, Vol. VII. of the Woman Citizens' Library.

EDUCATION

History of the Education of Women—“Education of Women,” by Marion Talbot.

Moral Education and the Enfranchisement of Women—“The Subjection of Women,” by John S. Mill. See Chapter IV.

Equal Suffrage and Human Efficiency—“Motives, Ideals, and Values in Education,” by William Chancellor. See “Woman” in Index.

LABOR

✓ The Inherent Right of Every Woman to Labor—“Woman and Labor,” by Olive Schreiner.

✓ A History of the Wage Earning Woman—“Woman in Industry,” by Edith Abbott.

Present Conditions of Woman Labor and Child Labor in United States—Documents: U. S. Bureau of Labor; Report on the Woman and Child Wage Earners in United States (19 vols.).

Economic Processes of Society—“Human Work” and “Woman and Economics,” by Charlotte Gilman.

Results of Inequality of Wages—“Equal Pay for Equal Work,” by Grace Strachan.

Labor Problems—“Fatigue and Efficiency,” by Josephine Goldmark.

The Government and Wage Earning Women — “The Wage-Earning Woman and the State,” by Edith Abbott and S. P. Breckinridge. Pamphlet. “The Truth About Wage Earning Women and the State,” by Josephine Goldmark and Florence Kelley. Pamphlet.

LAW

✓ Woman and Law in the United States—“The Legal and Political Status of Women in the United States,” by Jennie L. Wilson.

Mother Right in the Law—“The Guardianship of Children,” by Catharine Waugh McCulloch. Pamphlet.

Laws Pertaining to Constitutional Rights, Marriage, Divorce, Guardianship, Property, Wages, Contracts, Age of Consent, Crimes and Offenses Against Woman (such as Rape, Seduction, Bastardy, and Prostitution), Wage Earning Women and Children, Education, Political Suffrage, Taxation, etc.—“Woman and the Law,” Vol. VIII. of the Woman Citizens' Library.

A Study of the Legal Position of English Women—“The Status of Women Under English Law,” by Annie B. Chapman. “British Free-women,” by Charlotte Stopes.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Preparing For Politics—“Woman's Part in Government,” by William Allen, “Preparing for Citizenship,” by William Backus Guitteau.

Woman Suffrage and Political Science—“Introduction to Political Science,” by James W. Garner. (See Woman Suffrage in Index.) “The American Commonwealth,” by James Bryce. See Index in Revised Edition (1913).

Political Theories—“A History of American Political Theories,” by Charles Merriam.

Practical Politics—“An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics,” by J. Orman Ray.

A Vital Study of State Government—“Actual Government in Illinois,” by Mary L. Childs, is a new kind of socio-civic text-book, abounding in suggestions for any state.

Government and Politics—First six volumes of the Woman Citizens' Library.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

“Woman and Womanhood,” by C. W. Saleeby.

“Parenthood and Race Culture,” by C. W. Saleeby.

“The Social Direction of Human Evolution,” by W. Kellogg.

✓ “Democracy and Social Ethics,” by Jane Addams.

“The Newer Ideals of Peace,” by Jane Addams.

“The Advance of Woman,” by Jane J. Christie.

“Problems of the Sexes,” by Jean Finot.

“The Woman Movement,” by Ellen Key.

“The Old Fashioned Woman,” by Elsie Parsons.

“Sex and Society,” by W. I. Thomas.

“Woman's Share in Social Culture,” by Anna Garlin Spencer.

“Man and Woman,” by Havelock Ellis.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

✓ The Menace of the White Slave Traffic—“My Little Sister,” by Elizabeth Robins.

The Doom Awaiting the White Slave—“The House of Bondage,” by Reginald Kauffman.

✓ Facts Concerning a Great Social Evil—“A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil,” by Jane Addams.

THE DRAMA

The Awakening to Social Values and Responsibilities—“Mrs. Raford, Humanist,” by R. Brown.

✓ Political and Legal Injustice Toward Motherhood — “Maternity,” by Brieux.

✓ The Inevitable Evolution of Feminine Consciousness—“A Doll's House,” by Henrik Ibsen.

The New Conception of Woman—“Tomorrow,” by Percy MacKaye.

Woman for Woman—“Womenkind,” by W. W. Gibson.

WORKS OF FICTION

✓ “The Egoist,” by George Meredith.

“Das Recht der Mutter” (“The Mother's Right”), by Helene Böhlau.

- ✓ "The Squirrel Cage," by Dorothy Canfield.
- "The Woman of Genius," by Mary Austin.
- "Julia France and Her Times," by Gertrude Atherton.
- ✓ "Moving the Mountain," by Charlotte Gilman.
- "Hagar," by Mary Johnston.
- ✓ "Mother," by Kathleen Norris.
- "The Precipice," by Elia Peattie.
- "A Modern Madonna," by Caroline Abbott Stanley.

Note.—1. The books listed in this reading course represent but a fraction of the contributions to the literature of humanitarianism. The literature of a movement is a vital force if it is put into active circulation. Every woman should strive to make a collection of these books. Clubs should see that they are put into libraries. If there are no public libraries, women should establish circulating libraries. A splendid plan is to have good books reviewed at club programs. Book-review afternoons and evenings have been very successful in Chicago and New York.

2. "Social Forces"—a topical outline published by the Wisconsin State Suffrage Ass'n, Madison, Wis., is very suggestive for study.

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

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

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

The Working Girl's Need of Suffrage, by Agnes Nestor.

The Bible on Women Voting, by Catharine W. McCulloch.

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

A Suffrage Reading Course, by Florence Bennett Peterson.

Children and Enfranchisement, by Dr. Anna E. Blount.

Motherhood and Government, by Florence Bennett Peterson.

A Mother's Prayer, by Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

[1916]

DO

YOU

KNOW?

Do You Know?

DO YOU KNOW that the men of South Dakota will have an opportunity to vote November 7, 1916, as to whether the women of this state shall be given the privilege of a vote at future elections?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of one-fourth of the states of the Union will vote for President on the same day that you do, and that these are our neighbors: Illinois, Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona?

DO YOU KNOW that wherever women have the vote they use it as generally as men; that while the vote of the states whose women got full suffrage between 1910 and 1914 increased more than in proportion to the number of women enfranchised, the vote of four of their male suffrage neighbors actually went down in 1914? Among these was South Dakota whose vote was 4,000 less in 1914 than in 1912, while that of Kansas increased almost 50 per cent., and 84 per cent. as many women as men voted, though men largely outnumbered women in this state.

DO YOU KNOW that the number of stay at home male voters is so large that the Presidential vote of 1912 was almost 150,000 smaller than that of 1908 though the number of males of voting age had increased over two million? Do we not need female voters to assume the responsibilities shirked by these indifferent males?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of all the woman suffrage states, except Illinois, vote upon precisely the same terms as men, and that this is also true of Alaska?

DO YOU KNOW that Illinois never had a referendum but that the Legislature gave women the vote for President and for all municipal elections and that nearly a quarter of a million women voted at the last Chicago election?

DO YOU KNOW that there has never been a man or woman of respectability and prominence in one of our suffrage states who has publicly said that woman suffrage has not been a success, but on the contrary, every governor, chief justice and other prominent official has repeatedly declared that woman suffrage is so entrenched in the approval of the people that no power will ever remove it?

DO YOU KNOW that in all the white territory in Canada and the United States on the map below women vote on equal terms; in the grey territory women have some suffrage privileges and in the black none? Note that the black territory is barbarous Mexico, the frozen North, and the very conservative East and South. Women vote in nearly half the territory of the United States.



DO YOU KNOW that no state or country which has ever extended the suffrage to women has taken it away? A fact which would not be true if suffrage had in any way injured women, or men, or the home, or in any way harmed the community interests.

DO YOU KNOW that "Votes for Women" is a world question and that women vote on the same terms as men in Finland, Norway, Iceland and Denmark in Europe, and in the great British colonies of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand; that they vote on all questions except one—that of election of Members of Parliament—in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Sweden, and that women have more voting privileges in some cities in Asia than have the women of South Dakota?

DO YOU KNOW that when an Irishman comes to America he gets more suffrage than he had in Ireland no matter where he goes, but when an Irishwoman comes she loses the vote she had at home unless she settles in one of the 12 suffrage states?

DO YOU KNOW that the women of South Dakota are as intelligent, law-abiding, home-loving, public-spirited and trustworthy as any women in the world and that they are as worthy of the vote as those who live farther west in our own country, or those of Canada, Europe or Australia?

DO YOU KNOW that every candidate for President believes in suffrage for women and that every national party platform contains a suffrage plank?

DO YOU KNOW that men from other States have been secretly working all over South Dakota to persuade the men of this State to vote against woman suffrage and that one of these purports to represent dissatisfied men in Colorado who are tired of woman suffrage? Do you know that the Denver Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution endorsing suffrage a few months ago, and that later, for the same purpose, seventy of the most representative men of Denver, including twelve bank presidents, issued the following statement:

BECAUSE various irresponsible persons, in no way representing the real spirit of Colorado, have circulated statements defamatory to the credit of the state and its womanhood, we believe the time has come when all such silly and slanderous stories should be repudiated by the intelligent and public-spirited men of the State of Colorado.

The demand for Colorado bonds is far greater than the supply. In per capita wealth, in expenditures for education, in the percentage of homes without incumbrance, in public improvements, in all matters affecting social welfare and the altruistic side of legislation, Colorado stands well to the front, as may be easily verified by the reports of the United States Government.

In all efforts that have served to forward the health and prosperity of the state the women of Colorado have done their share. The enfranchisement of women is no longer a question here. Equal suffrage was granted by popular vote in 1893 and incorporated in the Constitution ten years later by a majority three times the size of that given the original referendum.

DO YOU KNOW that Colorado, where women have voted twenty-three years, is enjoying a period of greater prosperity than ever before in her history? That she has grown steadily by long strides from poverty to great wealth under woman suffrage? The public institutions of Colorado are worth \$254,000,000. Her bonded debt is small; her tax rate is notably low. Denver, her largest city, is so economical in her expenditures that she is listed by the Bureau of the Census as one of seven cities which have an excess of revenues over expenditures. The banking business in 1916 has increased by twenty million over the business done in 1915. The reserve now in the banks is 10 per cent greater than that required by law, which indicates that the growth is sound. The banks report that people all over the state are paying old accounts and lifting mortgages in unprecedented numbers.

DO YOU KNOW that the State Treasurers of every Suffrage State have declared that woman suffrage has not appreciably increased election expenses? Denver, last year, recorded the lowest per capita cost of voting (14c.) of the larger cities of the United States. In Cheyenne, Wyoming, voting costs 10c. per capita, a less sum than in any city of its size. In the same year New York paid 27c. per capita and Chicago 32c., but for the five cents which Chicago paid more than New York, Chicago voted men and women—the largest number of voters ever voted in any City in America. The cost per voter in New York is \$1.60, in Chicago only 57c.

DO YOU KNOW any good reason why women should be taxed to pay election expenses for men? Isn't it fair to let some of their tax money be used to print their own ballots?

DO YOU KNOW that since women had the vote in California one legislature passed more constructive legislation than had been passed in the previous decade? At the same time, though these laws necessitated new government activities, government expenses increased at a 5 per cent. lower rate than in the previous five year period.

DO YOU KNOW that the tax rate of the equal suffrage states shines by com-

parison with that of male suffrage states? California has no state tax. Five equal suffrage states have rates of between \$1.20 and \$3.34 per \$1,000. Only four states have a rate as high as \$5.00 or over. Two have \$8. With the male suffrage states the case is far otherwise; exactly half have a rate of \$5 and over. Ten male suffrage states show tax rates in the teens, the twenties and the thirties.

DO YOU KNOW that Kansas, where women have had the school suffrage since 1861, municipal suffrage since 1887 and full suffrage since 1912, in January 1916 paid off its last dollar and cleared itself of indebtedness? Many states have no bonded debt because their constitutions will not allow them to raise money this way, but Kansas is the only State which having had a bonded debt has cleared it off.

DO YOU KNOW that the per capita wealth of many of the equal suffrage states is among the largest in the United States? Kansas has one of the highest rates in the United States, and Kansas has the largest per capita bank deposits of any state. Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Utah and Colorado stand almost as high as Kansas.

DO YOU KNOW who pays the men who are strangers to our state and are maligning women and the suffrage states? Do you know what interest they serve?

Did you ever stop to think why anybody outside South Dakota should think it worth hard cash to keep South Dakota women disfranchised and to this end should keep men and women workers in the state for months? Are not South Dakota men able to do their own thinking? Will they not be just to their own women?

DO YOU KNOW that women **DO** want the vote? These women have said so:

International Council of Women,
Representing over 7,000,000 women.
General Federation of Women's Clubs,
Representing over 1,600,000 women.
South Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs.
Every State Federation of Women's Clubs where women vote, and many where they do not vote.
National Women's Trade Union League.
National Order of Maccabees.
International Council of Nurses.
World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
American Nurses' Association.
National Women's Relief Corps.
South Dakota Women's' Relief Corps.

DO YOU KNOW that women should have the vote? These men and women

have said so:

National Education Association (the teachers of your land).

South Dakota Education Association.

National Grange (men and women farmers).

South Dakota Grange.

Farmers National Congress.

American Federation of Labor.

United Mine Workers of America.

National Purity Conference..

National Association of Letter Carriers.

National Association of Post Office Clerks.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

Grand Council of United Commercial Travellers.

Yearly Meeting Society of Friends.

General Conference Methodist Episcopal Church.

South Dakota Methodist Episcopal Conference.

South Dakota Congregational Association.

All Political Parties of Nation and South Dakota.

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

boys; and that, according to the last census, the illiterate men of the country greatly outnumbered the illiterate women?

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

DO YOU KNOW of any instance when South Dakota women, or any other women have tried to get bad laws enacted; or of any instance when women didn't support an effort to get good laws made and enforced?

DO YOU KNOW that the legislatures of some of the suffrage states, the Australian Parliament, and numbers of the most representative people, both men

and women, in all the suffrage states and countries have testified time and again in print and over their own signatures, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which its opponents fear, but has, instead, been productive of much positive good; that it has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, rendered homes happier, ennobled men and dignified politics; that in all the places where women vote, the opponents, thus far, have not been able to find a dozen respectable men to assert, over their own names and addresses, that it has had any bad results; that more than five hundred organizations—state, national and international other than woman suffrage associations—aggregating approximately a membership of over 50,000,000, have officially endorsed woman suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW any sound logical reason why South Dakota women should not have the vote? We know you can have no such reasons for they do not exist. Then will you not put South Dakota in the list of progressive states by voting November 7th for the suffrage amendment?

South Dakota Universal Franchise League

Mrs. John L. Pyle, President

Huron

Printed by National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.



[January 8, 1916]

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.

930 NICOLLET AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS,

1-1

MINN.

64TH CONGRESS,
1st Session.

SENATE.

{ REPORT
No. 35.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

JANUARY 8, 1916.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on Woman Suffrage, submitted the following

REPORT.

[To accompany S. J. Res. 1.]

The Committee on Woman Suffrage, to whom was referred Senate joint resolutions 1 and 2, which are identical in phraseology, report the same favorably to the Senate as one resolution and recommend its passage.

The following are some of the considerations upon which the action of the committee rests:

Our Government is one of delegated powers. Its corner stone is popular sovereignty. Its authority is derived from the people, whose will is expressed at the ballot box under regulations designed to protect the voter and guarantee the freedom of elections. Manhood suffrage has been from time to time extended, so that for more than a quarter of a century idiocy and the commission of crime whereof the offender has been duly convicted have been its principal remaining disqualifications. Others have, with one important exception, been removed by the several States. This exception is the fifteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution designed to prevent the disfranchisement by the States of a large class of people because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Every enlargement of the franchise has been a natural and logical development of the principle of popular sovereignty. To admit the doctrine that the people are the source of all power is to recognize the right of the people to form their Government and choose their rulers. Hence all classes and conditions of men have been enfranchised. Universal manhood suffrage, the natural sequence of government by the people, has therefore established itself through the constant pressure of popular demands finding development through popular institutions. The wisdom of removing all restrictions to the ballot may be a debatable question; the fact of their removal is "a condition and not a theory."

We may assume, therefore, that universal male suffrage is an established and fundamental factor in our system of government; that it is the necessary outgrowth of popular sovereignty, and that it is a permanent feature of our political organism. Experience may suggest the wisdom of restoring some of the old limitations upon it, but the principle is an integral of our democratic institutions.

In our opinion every argument and every principle upon which universal manhood suffrage rests demand the extension of its privileges and responsibilities to women. If the people are the source of all power, if government should exist only by the consent of the governed, if ours was established by the people "in order to form a

percentage do not approve of unlimited suffrage, but none of these for such reasons ever thought of denying the ballot to other men. Indeed it is not too much to say that if manhood suffrage ever rested upon that condition, popular government would still be an unrealized dream. No man likes to pay taxes, many men endeavor to evade them and some successfully; but the Treasury would be sensibly lightened if the taxes upon the property of women were suspended until all women joined in requesting their levy and collection.

The expediency of enfranchising women by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, or relegating the subject to the States, respectively, is fairly debatable. It may be wiser not to interfere with the undoubted right of the States to regulate and control the franchise than to enlarge the authority of the General Government over the subject through the agency of a constitutional amendment. But inasmuch as the Nation nearly half a century ago determined to restrict State authority over the ballot by abolishing certain disqualifications theretofore prevailing, it seems but appropriate and desirable that it should emphasize that policy by abolishing the disqualification of sex, a disqualification affecting 50 per cent of our population and far less defensible than those enumerated in the fifteenth amendment. It would equalize political conditions throughout the country, negatively at least, thus removing one of the greatest sources of existing popular discontent. Under prevailing circumstances a woman citizen of Colorado enfranchised by its laws, who removes to New Mexico, carries with her all the privileges and immunities of a citizen of Colorado, except the privilege or right to vote. This is divested by her change of domicile; a divestiture which no male citizen of the United States suffers under like circumstances. Were this situation reversed, it would long since have engendered resentment ripening into revolt.

It is contended with much earnestness by some opponents of equal suffrage that a constitutional amendment regarding it would be "unconstitutional" because not in harmony with the national scheme of government and not embodying a subject of national concern, and for other reasons. With the exception of the first 10 amendments, which were adopted out of an abundant caution, every amendment engrafted upon the Constitution might have been, as doubtless some of them were, subjected to similar objections. Amendment involves change; the power to make them was reserved because time and experience would inevitably require them. The people as the repository and source of all power may, save as to State representation in the Senate, unquestionably enlarge, restrict, or transform the powers of their National Government as a majority of them may determine, provided their action conforms to the requirements of the organic law. Whatever they do by these processes is valid and becomes the law of the land. The power of Congress to propose this amendment is therefore obvious. Its affirmative exercise upon the proposed amendment is in our opinion due to the women of the Nation who desire the suffrage. Moreover, it is in conformity with justice, and it is our confident opinion that its submission by Congress will be followed by its ratification.

C. S. THOMAS, <i>Chairman.</i>	HENRY F. HOLLIS.	MOSES E. CLAPP.
ROBT. L. OWEN.	W. L. JONES.	GEO. SUTHERLAND.

more perfect union, insure domestic tranquility, establish justice, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," and if to the accomplishment and perpetuation of these noble objects all men of lawful age should be clothed with the power to voice their convictions and purposes with the ballot, then should all women of lawful age be invested with the power to do likewise. They are subject to the laws, are taxed for the support of government, and subject with men to a common political destiny. They comprise 50 per cent of our population. They are citizens in all other respects. Together with men they constitute "the people." In patriotism, intelligence, devotion to the welfare of the Government, and in capacity for the franchise they are in nowise inferior to men. Neither logically nor justly, therefore, can unlimited suffrage be recognized as an essential to our republican form of government and its exercise be at the same time limited to one-half of the people, arbitrarily segregated from the other half by the accident of sex. Such a condition deprives the disfranchised of all power of participation in governmental affairs, and doubles the authority and responsibility of the enfranchised. So long as the existing status continues ours is a Government of all the people by one-half of the people. Equality of privilege and responsibility must go hand in hand in popular governments if its principles are to be observed and its objects accomplished.

We are not impressed by the arguments against equal suffrage based upon difference in sex. They are in this age familiar through much repetition as are those which assert that woman's duties and mission conflict with her use of the ballot. It is sufficient to say that these objections have not materialized in the States where equal suffrage prevails; and this is so clear that any attempt in these States to disfranchise the women would be resisted by the male voters quite as vigorously as would an attack upon their own right. There she wields the ballot while discharging her duties and obligations to society and retaining all her womanly qualities, refinement, and attractions wholly unaffected by her exercise of political privileges; and her activities, her participation, her sacrifices, and her misfortunes in the great conflict now raging over three continents have for all time disposed of the contention that she should not be armed with the ballot because she can not wield the sword. She has taken man's place in all the industrial pursuits of organized society. She has maintained his governments, manufactured his ammunition, observed and enforced his laws, operated his machines, bound up his wounds, buried his dead, and has been his comrade in arms upon the firing line. Man has become conscious of her powerful cooperation in war; he will soon recognize the justice of her demand to share his burden in public affairs in times of peace.

Mr. Sidney Brooks, in a recent magazine article entitled "The New England," forecasts the transformations to be wrought by the great war in the political and economical life of Great Britain. He closes his article with this prediction regarding the status of British women in the reconstructed Empire of the future:

There is one great social and political change which may already be said to be fore-ordained. The war has done more for women than they could ever have done for themselves, and their full political and professional emancipation in England will prove, I imagine, to be one of its first and best consequences. There were people before the war who said that women could not vote because they could not fight. We all know better now. We all know you can not wage war without the help of

women, and that their zeal and self-sacrifice and their organizing talents are an essential part of a modern nation's military strength. In the new Britain that is now being hammered out, intolerant of party politics, socially remade, pivoting upon its citizen soldiery, living sanely and thriftily, bent upon turning to the utmost account all its assets and resources and exalted by the memory of heroic struggles and sacrifices—in this new Britain I feel confident that women will share more and more in the opportunities and responsibilities of men.

Mr. Brooks's noble testimonial to the women of England is equally appropriate to the women of America. Their service and devotion to their respective sides during the War between the States will be more than emphasized should the misfortunes of war again overtake us, while they are more and more identifying themselves with every feature of our economic development.

To the assertion that women have wrought no monumental change for the better in any of the States which have given them the ballot, and that no benefit to society can therefore be expected from their general enfranchisement, it may be replied that if in our scheme of government they, with men, comprise the people and are therefore entitled to the ballot, the issue is not one of benefit to the Nation, but of justice to womankind. We have never enlarged the boundaries of manhood suffrage because of any promise or expectation of improved governmental or political conditions. On the contrary, we have or should have been conscious of the fact that some of these enlargements would probably result otherwise. Why, then, should we demand of women conditions for enfranchisement which were never demanded of men? Surely not because she is less intelligent, less practical, less honest, or less devoted to our institutions. As well might a debtor assert the right to refuse payment of a debt unless the creditor could assure him that the money would be used for the betterment of the community as to contend that the ballot should be withheld from the women of the Nation unless they can demonstrate their intention and ability as a class to reform or rejuvenate organized society through its agency. We do not overlook the fact that many advocates of equal suffrage insist that the ballot should be given women because they will use it and have used it wisely and well. But that also is an inducement merely, not an argument in its behalf.

We may concede for the moment that the enfranchisement of women would only result in broadening the circle of our voting population, and successfully challenge the fact as being of any moment in the discussion. If women constitute a part of the people, and unlimited suffrage is an essential and established feature of our political structure, and she wants the ballot in common with man, she is either entitled to it or she is not. If she is, her right is equivalent to that of man, and like man, she should have it unhampered by any restriction that is not common to both. If she is not entitled to it, the manner in which she may use it is equally unimportant.

Nor should these women who ask for the suffrage be denied until all women do so. Men were never thus enfranchised. It is wholly wrong to withhold from one person the enjoyment of a right or privilege because another person or set of persons neither ask nor desire it. Those women who do not want the ballot and who will not vote if they get it, need not do so. But they should not be permitted to prevent other women from voting because of their indifference or opposition. A large percentage of men never vote, a larger percentage vote only occasionally and irregularly, and perhaps a larger

One hand

[February, 1916]

OK

CHIVALRY

versus

JUSTICE

Why the Women of the Nation
Demand the Right to Vote

By
GEORGE CREEL

*Reprinted by Permission from
Pictorial Review from March, 1915*



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
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FEBRUARY, 1916

Chivalry versus Justice

THERE is no good quarrel with honest opposition to equal suffrage. Not only is the right to disagree guaranteed by the Constitution, but it is highly essential that every important political change should encounter antagonism in order to guard against hasty and ill-considered action.

The woman who has no need of the vote herself, and resists it as an added and unwelcome responsibility, may be selfish but she is frank. The man who holds that the opposite sex is not sufficiently intelligent to use the ballot wisely may be prejudiced but he is courageous. Men and women alike who feel that equal suffrage does not contain any effective remedy for admitted injustices and evils, may lack faith but they are sincere. Such as these are straightforward fighters who do not fear the open, and they are entitled to all the amenities of well-tempered debate.

There is neither frankness, courage nor sincerity, however, in those controversialists who deny that the American woman is touched at any point by wrong, oppression or wretchedness, and whose implacable enmity to her enfranchisement is masked by glowing hyperboles that paint her as a peach-cheeked, rose-lipped queen buried to the dimpled chin in love and homage.

In America today there are about nine million women who work, many of them engaged in the pleasant professions and wholesome industries, to be sure, but the large majority engulfed in dismal and degrading drudgeries. In the face of this economic revolution that has leveled so many protective walls, how is it possible to grant good faith to the continued insistence that "woman's place is the home?"

The platitude, in effect, contends that these weary millions are not working from any real necessity, but possess homes in which they could remain did they but have the proper spirit and desire. According to its reasoning, the sea of bended backs is caused by nothing more vital than discontents and unrests.

Look where one will, women may be seen creeping across the icy floors of office buildings, night in, night out, scrubbing up the dirt of a man's day; toiling in mills and factories ten and twelve hours a day; plying swift needles in fire-traps; breathing the stifling air in steam laundries; making gewgaws in darksome tenements at an average wage of two cents an hour, or tearing fingers in the damp shucking sheds of the Gulf Coast States.

Does any one honestly believe that these driven souls are doing these things because they like it? Or that their presence in such employments is adequately explained by the assumption of "marital unrest," or "dissatisfaction with the humdrum of domestic life," or the "desire to obtain pin-money for vanities?"

An equal measure of just resentment is aroused by the twin declaration that suffrage will entail "the disintegration of the American home." Here again there is the bland theory of vine-clad cottages and dense walls of fragrant honeysuckle behind which every right-thinking woman sits in security surrounded by her babes.

What of the squalid holes in the thirteen thousand licensed tenements, of New York City alone, where whole families and boarders often sleep, eat and work in a single room, toiling long, weary hours for incredible pittance? What of the old dog-houses, dilapidated carriage sheds and noisome barracks in which padrones herd the cannery workers of Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana and Mississippi? Or the ragged tents of miners on the bleak hillsides of the coal mining states? Or the sickening hovels of the coal and steel districts of Pennsylvania? Or the paperwalled shacks of the cotton mill towns where sleep waits on terrible exhaustion?

What greater "disintegration" can come to these "homes" where families rot in despair, and boys and girls grow to maturity stunted in mind and body?

There is no intent to cry down chivalry or desire to repress a single poetic impulse. It is well indeed that men should hold the mother sex in tender, reverent regard, and it is to be hoped that love will never lose its romance and idealism. It is asserted, however, that true chivalry must have justice as its firm foundation. The kind that ignores crying evils and patent

wrongs in favor of high-sounding periods is nothing more than veneered hypocrisy.

There can be no denial of the imperative nature of the equal suffrage issue. Eleven states and one territory have granted woman the ballot, and in all others it is the principal agitation and demand. Why, then, is it not a high duty to free the discussion of all falsities, smugnesses and obvious claptrap so that honest, sincere argument may have a clear field.

What is more fair, for instance, than the demand that men who grow maudlin in praise of the "American queen," must be prepared to show that, in their particular city and state, the women are treated fairly and decently? Or that those who insist that the "fair sex" does not need the vote be called upon to prove that the women in their sections are without grievance?

In plain words, let chivalry be arraigned and made to justify itself. Is it the thing of perfect honor and protective tenderness, deep-rooted in adequate laws, or only buncombe designed to cloak prejudice, sordid motives and evil privileges? There are many cases, the citation of which will not only make the point clear, but may also lead to a better understanding of the bitternesses and ugly resentments that are clouding and confusing the entire equal suffrage question.

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, for instance, bases his opposition upon the belief that the ballot will "mar the beauty and dim the luster of the glorious womanhood with which we have been familiar," and prefaces all of his attacks by the insistence that his "known reverence for good women" will prevent him from being understood.

The slightest inquiry into this beauty and luster, however, develops almost unspeakable conditions. In South Carolina women work sixty hours a week in the cotton mills, and there is no prohibition of night work for women or girls over 16. The father is the sole and despotic owner of the children, being able to deed them away from the mother if he wishes, and there are no laws that permit a wife to control her own earnings.

No matter how drunken, worthless or brutal a husband may become, divorce is practically impossible, and if the woman flees the roof that such conditions have made unbearable, the state regards her almost as a fugitive slave who may not be fed or sheltered.

South Carolina is one of the few commonwealths that still permit children of twelve to be worked ten hours a day (eleven hours may be worked in exceptional cases), and as if this did not give sufficient opportunity to the robbers of cradles, birth certificates are not required, and the entire appropriation for factory inspection is but three thousand, five hundred dollars a year.

It also stands almost alone in refusing to declare prostitution an outlaw industry, nor is the loathsome business of procuring frowned upon by an act of any kind. The one protection against lust is the Unwritten Law, which, says the state's foremost citizen, "is the best law to protect woman's virtue that I ever heard of."

Why bother about prevention when the guilty men may be "shot down like dogs?" There are, to be sure, many women without the necessary father or brother, but it is assumed that such as these would merely mention their needs to any chivalrous gentleman that happened to be passing. A simple matter, a trifling courtesy, since it has been loudly declared that the slayers would be acquitted "without the jury leaving the box."

Nor is this all that is done for the American queen in the "glorious state that smiles under the moral rays of God's blessed sunshine." Education is not permitted to unsettle her placid contemplation of the beauties of her special brand of chivalry, for all the efforts of the women have not been able to secure the passage of a compulsory school law. This, too, in defiance of statistics showing South Carolina to be the second most illiterate state in the Union, possessing two hundred and seventy-six thousand, nine hundred and eighty illiterates over ten.

Senator Martine of New Jersey is another statesman who seeks to establish a chivalric base for his open hostility to equal suffrage. These excerpts from a speech may serve as an example of his oratory:

"Personally, I am frank to say, with love and admiration for woman not surpassed by any man on God's footstool I believe it would not tend to enhance or advance the well-being of women, nor do I believe that it would accrue to the well-being of this loved land of ours. It makes me feel sad

when I hear this plea of women demanding their rights. I know of no country, and there is none, where woman has more of her rights than she has in free, democratic America."

There is no need of allusion to South Carolina; his own state will do as well. Every Autumn a bannerless army of women and children moves across the cranberry bogs of New Jersey.

In California, by way of contrast, the voting women have forced laws that bear particularly upon seasonal employments, calling for housing inspection, decent sanitation, a proper working day, and the payment of wages in the presence of a commissioner in order that rascally contractors may be defeated. Senator Martine is challenged to show one single step that his state has made in the direction of such a wise protective measure.

In New Jersey, as in South Carolina, there is no state law against the keeping of houses of prostitution.

Saddest thing and most savage of all, however, is the fact that in New Jersey, when Senator Martine made this speech, **children born out of wedlock could not be legitimized even though the parents are married afterward.** A bill to lift this curse from the heads of innocents was passed only in 1915.

Mr. Lodge and Mr. Weeks, the senators from Massachusetts, are two others equally firm in the belief that woman has no need for the ballot owing to man's chivalrous willingness to grant her smallest wish. It took exactly forty years of begging for the mothers of Massachusetts to get a joint guardianship law, and even then it was secured only through the horrid compulsion of tragedy. A despairing wife, driven mad by the certainty that her worthless husband meant to scatter the six children in institutions and apprenticed employment, killed herself and the little ones. Then the legislators took action.

Massachusetts' boasted laws for the protection of working women are without teeth. Twenty-four inspectors are provided for five thousand manufacturing establishments, and although forty thousand of the toilers are women and children, only four women have been made inspectors.

The state possesses a drastic eight-hour day for all men paid from the public treasury and all men employed by contractors doing work for the state, yet a nine-hour day is the best that the wage-earning woman has been able to win. Even this has a loophole that permits the women to be worked excessive hours, and does not apply to stenographers, or women in clerical work, chambermaids in hotels or domestic servants.

The penalty for violating the eight-hour law for men is a fine of one thousand dollars or six months' imprisonment or both, while the nine-hour law for women may be violated for one hundred dollars and no imprisonment.

Senator O'Gorman of New York is also one whose pinnacle of chivalry lifts him above the sordidness of facts. Almost at the very moment he declared against equal suffrage as unnecessary, a New York judge was fining a factory owner twenty dollars for locking in one hundred and fifty girls, the very act that caused the death of one hundred and forty-seven, one short year before.

It is also a fact that until 1915 the New York legislature had steadfastly refused the request of the women for a mothers' pension law, and that the shame of the tenement workers still rests as a blot on the commonwealth that loves to call itself the Empire state, while just recently one Supreme Court judge has decided that a wife has no right to whatever money she may have saved out of her household expenses, and another, that a husband is entitled to services and earnings of his wife.

Then there is Mr. Heflin, a member of Congress from Alabama. At a recent meeting in Birmingham, Mr. Isadore Shapiro challenged Heflin to point to the enactment of any piece of legislation, due to his efforts, that in any way tended toward the promotion of the welfare of Alabama's women, and scourged him with these words:

"What has his flattery accomplished? Pretty phrases do not purchase meal tickets. Whitewash will not buy clothing. He boasts of our sun-kissed hills and fair-faced maidens, but what of the thousands of pale-faced toilers, both men and women, who are drudgily eking out a one foot in the poor-house existence in Alabama's mines and factories? What of the blushing illiteracy of Alabama's people? What has Heflin done to wipe out this blackness from the map of enlightenment? What of the weak-framed elves who sweat for a crumb a day in Alabama's cotton mills?"

Alabama possesses no joint guardianship law; has within its borders

three hundred and fifty-two thousand, seven hundred and ten illiterates over ten, and boasts of a so-called compulsory education law that requires only eight weeks of school attendance each year, of which only six weeks need be consecutive.

The elevation of property rights above human rights seems to be an inevitable accompaniment of the chivalry buncombe. Louisiana spends one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the protection of game birds and fish, yet the Gordon sisters, after years of effort, were only able to obtain an annual appropriation of nine hundred dollars for factory inspection. Mississippi—home of Senators Vardaman and Williams—can devote one hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars to replanting depleted oyster beds, but refused to provide one cent for inspection of the factories in which boys of twelve are permitted to labor.

Vice-President Marshall, who opposes equal suffrage on the ground that woman can have anything she wants—"God bless her"—resides in Indiana, a state that gives fifteen thousand dollars annually for better bees and fruits, but whose legislature voted down an appropriation of two thousand dollars for better babies.

Congress, which rejected the request of the Commissioner of Education for three thousand dollars with which to investigate certain phases of child life, gave fifteen thousand dollars for the study of clam shells at the insistence of the pearl button makers. It is also the case that woman is discriminated against at every turn in the government service. Four women pass civil service examinations to three men; yet the appointments are at the ratio of two men to one woman. Men are also paid a much higher annual wage than women for identical work.

Sweeping as the assertion may seem, it is still easily demonstrable that practically every public man who insists that "lovely woman" does not need the ballot, hails from a state that persists in the outworn feudal attitude toward women. New Mexico, home of Senator Catron, names the father as sole guardian of the children, entitled to all their earnings during minority, and to all damages in event of death and disability. Between his declarations against the uselessness of equal suffrage, it is to be hoped that the Senator will find time to give his views on the following incident:

A deserted wife, armed only with the dauntless courage that flows from mother-love, took in washing, cooked, sewed, and successfully carried her brood to the point where the three boys could commence to help. The oldest, at the very outset of his wage-earning career, had both legs cut off in a railroad accident.

The mother sued, and just when things looked bright for a verdict in her favor, the father appeared upon the scene and compromised the suit for three thousand dollars. The frantic woman killed herself; after a time the drunken father dynamited the house in which two of his sons were sleeping, and the remaining portion of the three thousand dollars came in quite handily as a defense fund.

Senator James A. Reed, an orator of the good old, histrionic type, and a formidable rival of Martine and Heflin in describing woman's beauty, charm and chastity, hails from Missouri, where the court records are full of verdicts based upon the same feudal denial of joint guardianship that obtains in New Mexico and South Carolina.

In Maryland, the same legislature that refused to submit equal suffrage to the voters, lowered from twelve to ten the age at which children may work in the canneries. This action was taken over the protest of every woman in the state, and in the face of one of the most remarkable public meetings ever held in Baltimore.

The eight-hour law for working women is possessed by Colorado, California, Washington and Arizona; and Utah and Idaho, also equal suffrage states, have the nine-hour day. The best that Chivalry can show is the toothless nine-hour law in Massachusetts, won by the women after a twenty years' battle.

Only in those commonwealths where Chivalry reigns is the mother regarded as a brood mare. All the equal suffrage states have joint guardianship laws, and all have statutes protecting the woman in her earnings and her property. Georgia, Florida, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Tennessee constitute the father the sole guardian of the children, and allow him to will them away from the mother if he so desires.

It is in the equal suffrage states that the most decisive victories are

being won in the campaign against Commercialized Vice and the ancient, horrible theory of "necessary evil." California, Washington, Utah, Kansas and Oregon have adopted the effective injunction and abatement law.

The two Carolinas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico and New Jersey have no state law against disorderly houses.

Every equal suffrage state has an effective child labor law backed up by efficient inspection. It remains for Chivalry to rest material prosperity upon the backs of the little ones. Alabama, South Carolina, New Mexico and Mississippi permit children of twelve to work long hours for small wages, and in many another state, lack of factory inspection nullifies a seemingly good statute.

Colorado, Washington, Oregon, Utah, California and Kansas have enacted minimum wage legislation for women, while only four of the non-suffrage states have done as much.

"Mothers' Pensions" is an admittedly admirable plan for taking poverty-stricken motherhood out of the list of crimes, for it continues the home in its natural relation, and does not rob the widow of incentive or children of love. Eleven of the equal suffrage states possess this law—Illinois, Colorado, California, Idaho, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Kansas and Wyoming. In Arizona the law, adopted by the people at the polls, has been declared unconstitutional.

In such densely populated states as Connecticut and Indiana, the legislatures voted down "Mothers' Pensions," and in less than half of the thirty-six non-suffrage states does the plan obtain.

It is in the vital matter of education, however, that there is opportunity for the most effective comparison between Chivalry and Justice. The eleven most illiterate states in the Union are Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky and West Virginia.

Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas are without compulsory education laws, and those of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia are practically worthless. Alabama, for instance, demands eight weeks of school attendance in the year, only six of which need be consecutive.

There is no equal suffrage state without a compulsory education law. In seven, the percentage of illiteracy over ten is less than one per cent. and in three from one to three per cent.

So runs the record in the great case of Chivalry vs. Justice. It is not meant, nor should it be inferred, that in this showing there is any indictment of the American man on the charge of premeditated cruelty or even cold-blooded selfishness. More than the men of any other country in the world, those of the United States hold women dearest and highest, and are the most generous in every attitude of their relation to the mother sex. The equal suffragist who attacks them as a whole is guilty of injustice as well as unwisdom.

As a matter of fact, the trouble flows from a very understandable exaggeration of the protective impulse. The average man does not want women to do things for herself because of his intense willingness to do them for her, and out of this recognition of his own honest intent he feels that the demand for equal suffrage is in the nature of unjust criticism.

The sudden substitution of an industrial civilization for one largely agricultural, the concentration of the population in cities, the enforced influx of women and children into the world of work—these are changes that have taken place since the Civil War, and the vastness of them is still a matter of statistics rather than personal knowledge. The average man not only fails to grasp the new needs of the nine million women who are working, but he fails to grasp the fact that nine million women are working.

The home itself has undergone changes that still defy his comprehension. What were once personal matters are now communal matters. Granted that woman's place is the home, how can she look after the interests of that home and her children without the vote? It is at the polls that the questions are decided that affect education, morals, health and the social justice that, after all, is only motherhood on a large scale.

A huge percentage of feminine opposition to equal suffrage is based upon this selfsame lack of comprehension. No better illustration can be had than the following speech made at an anti-suffrage club:

"We shall meet yelling with music, and parading with high-class entertainments. We mean to make this a place where may be found the fine

and beautiful, the things that suffragists are crowding out of life. We shall have exquisite music on the harp and stringed instruments. We shall have delicate French comedies and speakers of lofty ideas. Life is not all politics, you know. There are more important things to do than to clean streets and collect garbage. It does a woman more good to hear a nice harp concert than to listen to a discussion of white slavery. If women would pay more attention to the fine and noble things of life, the evil things would cease to exist."

Abolish slums with selections from Keats! Bring the eight-hour day with lectures on Etruscan pottery! Handel's "Largo" for mill women, factory drudges, stogy makers and scrubbers! When a factory catches on fire and all the doors are locked, a verse from Browning! If word comes that the wine-room and the cadet have snatched a daughter, make no outcry against Commercialized Vice, but buy a harp! Should pestilential fevers strike down loved ones, do not complain about garbage or an infected water supply, but read a French comedy!

Such a person simply does not understand, that is all! Surely, though, for the facts stand so grim and plain, there will come a day when the loved and sheltered women will soften with comprehension of the despairs and injustices that burden their less fortunate sisters, and cease an opposition that is at once so selfish and so cruel.

Honest men, too, coming to realize the changed environment of the home, and their inability to legislate wisely and protectively for the nine million women in industry, will surrender an antagonism that perpetuates unhappiness and gross inequalities. It is not with such as these, however—the honest ignorant—that the real struggle comes. More accurately than any other, Chief Justice Walter Clarke of North Carolina has segregated the deep, underlying causes of the bitter resistance to equal suffrage in these words:

"Women bear the burdens of bad government even more than men. Had they possessed the right of suffrage, the liquor traffic and cognate evils would long since have been abolished by law and the law enforced. With the aid of women's votes, we should have had a better educational system, laws against child labor, better sanitation and other enactments for the betterment of the conditions of the home and the more helpless part of society. It is certain that the main force which has opposed the adoption of equal suffrage has come from the whisky trust, the vice trust and the political machines."

It is the only possible explanation of the malignant and lavish expenditure that marks the fight against the spread of equal suffrage. Where does the money come from to pay for the costly literature with which the country is deluged? Why are the offensive pamphlets almost invariably anonymous?

It is inconceivable that decent men and women, even though bitterly prejudiced, would brand the leaders of the equal suffrage movement as "masculine creatures" and "mistakes of Nature?" Or circulate the charge that equal suffrage means free love and the abolition of marriage?

Think of the women smeared with these vile accusations! Mrs. Florence Kelley, that splendid champion of the woman and child wage-earner, Jane Addams of Hull House, Mrs. Raymond Robins of the National Women's Trades Union League, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the famous educator, Julia Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau, Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, Commissioner of Correction of New York City, Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, motive power behind so many of California's humane laws, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado, the Gordon sisters who brought factory reform to Louisiana—these and every other woman doing the big and tender things in the United States today, are leaders in the equal suffrage movement!

The issue is clean cut. Here are nine million women, forced out of their homes into industry, and asking for a voice in the establishment of conditions under which they work; a host of others who, through spinsterhood or widowhood, are the heads of families; thousands within homes who feel that those homes cannot be safeguarded without the vote, and, most splendid of all, a growing group of world mothers who are fighting to remove the ancient stones that block the upward climb to equal justice—one and all asking for simple justice and fair play.

[March, 1916]

Miss Merrill

THE
"BLUE BOOK"
SUFFRAGE
SCHOOL

FOUNDED ON

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

—History, Arguments
and Results

March, 1916, Edition

By

Henrietta W. Livermore

Published by
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The "Blue Book" Suffrage School

The most effective way of training a suffragist is through a Suffrage School in which several courses are offered covering the suffrage essentials. The Blue Book—Woman Suffrage: History, Arguments and Results—is a mine of information for the suffragist. The following is a plan for a Suffrage School, covering four courses of six lessons each, thus permitting the School to comprise six afternoons for one week, or one afternoon for six weeks, with four classes each afternoon. ALL THE MATERIAL FOR THESE CLASSES IS FOUND IN THE BLUE BOOK (March, 1916, edition), and is referred to by page number.

Blue Book Suffrage School

COURSE I.

History of Woman Suffrage....6 lessons

COURSE II.

Results Where Women Vote...6 lessons

COURSE III.

Arguments for Woman Suffrage 6 lessons

COURSE IV.

Objections Answered6 lessons

	COURSE I	COURSE II	COURSE III	COURSE IV
	HISTORY	RESULTS	ARGUMENTS FOR	OBJECTIONS ANSWERED
1st Day	Earliest Demands	General Endorsements	Governmental Principles	Democracy
2nd Day	Women's Rights	Scandinavia	Women's Interests	Woman's Nature
3rd Day	National Suffrage	British Empire	Home Protection	Suffrage Slanders
4th Day	First Four Equal Suffrage States	Results in First Four Equal Suffrage States	Better Electorate	Don't Want It
5th Day	Landslide Suffrage States	Results in Landslide States	Good Results	False Results
6th Day	Suffrage Map	General Results of Woman Suffrage	Additional Arguments	Unanswered Objections

COURSE I

HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

1. *a.* Early demands for representation, pp. 1-7.
b. General qualifications for voting before and after the Revolution, p. 145.
c. Anti-slavery and human rights discussions related, pp. 8-10.
2. *a.* Women's Rights Movement, pp. 10-15.
b. Seneca Falls Convention. Many demands of its platform have been granted today. Other Conventions, p. 10.
c. How the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments affect Women's Rights, p. 15.
3. *a.* National Woman Suffrage Movement, pp. 15-18, 199.
b. Two ways in which women can be enfranchised, p. 18.
c. Partial Suffrage, pp. 19, 21-24.
4. History of the first four Equal Suffrage States, pp. 18-27.
How and when granted.
Give one characteristic of each State.
 - a.* 1890. Wyoming, pp. 18, 71.
 - b.* 1893. Colorado, pp. 24, 76.
 - c.* 1896. Utah, pp. 26, 28.
 - d.* 1896. Idaho, pp. 27, 89.

5. History of the suffrage landslide beginning in 1910, pp. 28-36.

Reasons for this:

- a.* 1910. Washington, pp. 28, 92.
 - b.* 1911. California, pp. 31, 97.
 - c.* 1912. Kansas, pp. 33, 102.
 - d.* 1912. Arizona, pp. 33, 108.
 - e.* 1912. Oregon, pp. 33, 106.
 - f.* 1913. Alaska, pp. 34, 110.
 - g.* 1913. Illinois, pp. 34, 111.
 - h.* 1914. Nevada, pp. 35, 115.
 - i.* 1914. Montana, pp. 35, 114.
6. Draw a Suffrage Map of the United States.
 - a.* How many Equal Suffrage States? pp. 36, 70, 141.
 - b.* What States have had more than one referendum? With what results? pp. 178, 182, 106.
 - c.* How many States have partial suffrage? pp. 69, 70.
 - d.* Draw deductions from the Suffrage Map.

COURSE II

RESULTS WHERE WOMEN VOTE

1. Endorsements of Woman Suffrage.
Select one from each of the following classes and state what general objection it refutes:
 - a.* Organizations, p. 198.
 - b.* Legislatures, p. 199.
 - c.* Presidents, pp. 200, 201.
 - d.* Governors, p. 201.
 - e.* Judges, pp. 204, 207.
 - f.* United States Senators, p. 206.

- g. United States Representatives, p. 209.
- h. Mayors, p. 213.
- i. Clergy, p. 217.
- j. Labor Leaders, p. 221.
- k. Philanthropists, p. 223.
- l. Writers, p. 227.
- m. College Presidents, p. 231.
- n. College Professors, p. 233.

2. **SCANDINAVIA**, gradual suffrage, step by step, p. 37.

- a. **Norway**, Equal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 37.
- b. **Finland**, Equal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 41.
- c. **Iceland**, Equal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 44.
- d. **Denmark**, Equal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 49.
- e. **Sweden**, Municipal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 47.

3. **BRITISH EMPIRE**, p. 52.

- a. **New Zealand**, Full Suffrage; History and Results, p. 52.
- b. **Australia**, Full Suffrage; History and Results, p. 55.
- c. **British Isles**, Municipal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 60.
- d. **Dominion of Canada**, p. 63.
 Alberta, Full Provincial Suffrage; History and Results, p. 68.
 Manitoba, Full Provincial Suffrage; History and Results, p. 66.

Saskatchewan, Full Provincial Suffrage; History and Results, p. 67.

Other Provinces, Partial Suffrage; History and Results, p. 63.

- e. **British South African Provinces**, Municipal Suffrage; History and Results, p. 60.

4. Results in the First Four Equal Suffrage States in the United States.

	Wyoming	Colorado	Utah	Idaho
a. Do the women vote? pp.	20, 73	79	86	28, 89, 175
b. Effect on legislation, pp.	75	82	87	90
c. Testimony as to results, pp.	21, 72, 154, 206, 218,	25, 77, 154, 201, 207-209	27, 203	28, 206

5. Results in the Landslide States, 1910-1914.

	Wash.	Calif.	Kansas	Oregon	Arizona	Illinois
a. Do the women vote? pp.	94	32, 98	103	106	109	35, 112
b. Effect on legislation, pp.	96	99	104	107	110	113
c. Testimony as to results, pp.	31, 203, 204, 210	33, 203, 207	211	211, 212	212	214, 215

6. General Statements on Results of Woman Suffrage.

- a. Number of women voting, pp. 142, 175-178.

- b. General testimony as to results, pp. 59, 146, 160, 182, 199 (Nos. 7 and 8).
- c. State other general results of woman suffrage, giving authorities.

COURSE III

ARGUMENTS FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1. The Principles of our Government Demand Votes for Women, pp. 145, 147-151.
2. **Women's Interests** need the protection of the ballot, pp. 144, 145, 150, 151.
 - a. **Women Wage-Earners** need the weapon of the ballot, pp. 129, 144.
3. "American women need the vote to **protect the Home**," Jane Addams, p. 117.
 - a. Home is no longer enclosed in four walls—(food), pp. 117, 118.
 - b. An adequate code of legislation also needed—(health), pp. 119-121.
 - c. Education of children, pp. 124-127.
 - d. Decent conditions on streets and in amusement places, pp. 127-129.
 - e. The vote is a direct method of home protection, pp. 131-135, 145, 161.
4. It will increase the **proportion** of intelligent moral and native-born voters, pp. 143, 152.

5. Where women have voted the results have been good.
 - a. Women have used the vote in large numbers, p. 141; and wisely, pp. 146, 199.
 - b. It has increased an interest in and responsibility toward voting in men, pp. 142, 143.
Give a thorough drill on **accurate proof** of this lesson.
6. Discussion and analysis of additional arguments brought in by the class.

COURSE IV

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

Study the **root** of the objection as well as the fact cited.

1. Objections based on false Democratic ideals.
 - a. Women are represented, pp. 148, 173.
 - b. Indirect influence, p. 150.
 - c. Ballot not a natural right, p. 187.
 - d. Too many voters already, p. 187.
 - e. Force basis of government, pp. 167, 168, 190.
2. Objections based on false ideas of woman's nature.
 - a. Don't understand business, p. 155.
 - b. Specialization of labor, p. 156.
 - c. Would lose influence and respect, p. 158.
 - d. Too emotional, p. 171.
 - e. Would turn women into men, p. 188.

3. Objections based on false interpretation of Suffrage.
 - a. Means Socialism, p. 189.
 - b. Means Feminism, p. 190.
 - c. Means Free Love, p. 191.
 - d. Means Divorce, p. 169.
4. The Opposition.
 - a. Haven't time, p. 164.
 - b. Opposition is growing, p. 178.
 - c. Majority don't want it, p. 162.
 - d. Women are indifferent, p. 194.
5. Objections based on prophesied results instead of proved facts.
 - a. Works badly in practice, p. 182.
 - b. Would **double** the vote, p. 185; and the cost, p. 193.
 - c. Women would **not** vote, p. 175.
 - d. Would double the ignorant, foreign and criminal vote, pp. 152-4.
6. Bring in three written objections which **you** would like discussed and answered.

Send to

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co.,
Inc.

171 Madison Avenue, New York
for catalogue and the following additional
reading:

COURSE I.

Books:

Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, by I. H. Harper, \$5.00.

Story of a Pioneer, by Dr. Anna H. Shaw, \$2.15, postpaid.
Short History of Woman's Rights, by E. A. Hecker, \$1.61, postpaid.

COURSE II.

Leaflets:

California, Results in.
Colorado, Judge Lindsey—Voice of Colorado.
Colorado, Success of Suffrage in.
Illinois, How Woman Suffrage Works in.
Ministers in Equal Suffrage States on Votes for Women, by Alice Stone Blackwell.
Votes for Women a Success, proved by the Map.
Working of Equal Suffrage. Editorial from N. A. Review.

Pamphlets:

Chivalry versus Justice, by Geo. Creel.
Effect of Vote of Women on Legislation, from N. Y. Sun.
What Have Women Done With the Vote, by George Creel.
Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success, by T. P. Thomas.

COURSE III.

Leaflets:

Justice and Expediency of Woman Suffrage, by Maud Nathan.
Living Wages and the Ballot, By R. V. Phelan.
Mother's Sphere, by M. McD. Breckinridge.
Why the Housekeeper Needs the Vote, by A. O'Hagan.
Why Women Should Vote, by A. S. Blackwell.
Woman Suffrage, Its Relation to Working Women and Children, by Florence Kelley.
Women and Public Housekeeping, by Jane Addams.
Women in the Home, by S. W. Fitz-Gerald.
Political Duties of Mothers, by A. G. Porritt.

Pamphlets:

Abolition of Child Labor, by Florence Kelley.
Abolition of the White Slave Traffic, by C. G. Roe.

Is Woman Suffrage Important? by Max Eastman.
 Needed, Women's Votes to Thwart Landlords' Greed, by B. C. Marsh.
 Passages from Dr. Shaw's Speeches.
 Suffrage for Women, by J. Stuart Mill.
 Votes and Babies, by A. G. Porritt.
 Wage-Earning Women and the State, by E. Abbott and S. P. Breckinridge.
 What the Ballot will Do for Women and for Men, by F. C. Howe.
 Woman Suffrage and the Social Evil, by K. H. Hepburn.
 Suffrage and Morals.

COURSE IV.

Leaflets:

Feminism and Suffrage, by Carrie Chapman Catt.
 Some Common Questions Answered, by S. P. Decker.
 Women Do Not Want It, by A. S. Blackwell.
 Must Women Serve on Juries? by M. S. Boyd.
 Fact versus Fancy, by A. S. Blackwell.
 Ten Extempore Answers to Questions, by A. H. Shaw.
 Twenty-five Answers to Antis.
 When All the Women Want It, by A. S. Blackwell.
 Threefold Menace.
 Bubble Pricked, by A. S. Blackwell.

GENERAL

Study Outline of Woman Suffrage,
 Justina Leavitt Wilson, 25c

For Correspondence Course (25c) and
 Traveling Library (free on request),
 apply to New York State Woman Suffrage
 Party, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York
 City.

Ohio Headquarters News Bulletin

(Published the First and Fifteenth of each month by The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, Warren, O.)

Vol 1.

MARCH 15, 1916

No. 6

"STOP THE PRESS NOTICE."

Miss Lucile Atcherson, Chairman of Committee on Tickets for the Columbus Conference, March 20 and 21, takes this means of notifying everybody that all plates for dinner and luncheon must be reserved before March 17, and that reservations will be made upon payment only.

INFORMATION ABOUT TICKETS.

Plates for the dinner, \$1.50; for the luncheon 50 cents. Make your reservations for both immediately. The State Headquarters will take no responsibility for tickets. Every person who expects to attend the dinner, the luncheon or both must order his or her own tickets direct from Columbus. Orders must be accompanied by cash, postal order or check. Address all communications on this subject to

MISS LUCILE ATCHERSON,
Franklin County Woman Suffrage Association,
60 E. Broad St., Columbus, O.

MISS JOHNSON'S DATES.

Miss Anna B. Johnson, vice president of the Ohio W. S. A., has so many calls from federated clubs and suffrage organizations that she cannot respond to all of them.

Two very successful meetings in Cincinnati marked the end of February. One at the home of Mrs. Samuel Allen, where Miss Johnson met many members of the Woman's Club, and the other at suffrage headquarters in the Burnett House, with Mrs. Gorman, county president, presiding, interested an unusually large number of women.

Ashtabula, Spencerville, New Paris, Piqua, Chillicothe, Lancaster, Circleville, Logan, New Lexington are among the places on Miss Johnson's calendar at this writing.

BOOST THE BULLETIN.

Are you trying to get subscribers for the Bulletin? If not, please begin at once. We must have 900 subscribers to make it pay "operating expenses" on the present plan of issuing twice a month. We can get them if YOU who are taking it and reading it now will help. WILL YOU DO IT?

LUNCHEON SPEAKER.

The speaker at the luncheon will be Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull of Oregon. Mrs. Trumbull is secretary of the Child Labor Commission of her State.

Conference on Congressional and Other Political Work for Ohio
Conducted by MRS. CARRIE CATT, President National American
Woman Suffrage Association,
Columbus, Ohio, March 20 and 21, 1916.

March 20—6:00 p. m.

Dinner at Athletic Club, E. Broad St.
8:00 p. m.

"The Importance of a Federal Amendment"—MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, introduced by President Wm. O. Thompson, of Ohio State University.

Resolution—MISS ANNA B. JOHNSON, Springfield.

March 21, 10:00 a. m.

Virginia Hotel, Third St., near Broad.

Call to Order, by MRS. WM. McPHERSON, Columbus, Chairman 12th Congressional District.

Permanent Chairman, MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, President Ohio W. S. A.

"The Congressional Prospect"—MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

"What Has Ohio Done in Support of the Federal Amendment in 1915-16?"—Answered by Congressional District Chairmen as follows:

MRS. DANIEL KIEFER, Cincinnati
MRS. GEORGE B. TWITCHELL, Cincinnati
MRS. S. J. BRANDENBURG, Oxford
MRS. W. E. CRAYTON, Lima
PROF. HARRIETTE M. DILLA, Painesville
MRS. JOSEPHINE KERR, Washington C. H.
MRS. JAMES R. HOPLEY, Bucyrus
MRS. EDWIN L. CAMP, Toledo
MRS. C. L. MARTZOLFF, Athens
MRS. JAMES T. PICKERING, Lancaster
MRS. WM. McPHERSON, Columbus
MRS. P. M. HENDERSHOTT, Tiffin
MRS. O. E. PEABODY, Oberlin
MISS BLANCHE VIGNOS, Canton
MISS KATHARINE A. NORRIS, Youngstown.
MRS. JOHN N. STOCKWELL, Cleveland
MISS FLORENCE E. ALLEN, Cleveland
MRS. CHAS S. BROOKS, Cleveland

Supplemented by "The Latest News from the Front," MISS MARTHA C. NORRIS, Youngstown, Ohio Member National Congressional Committee.

"How May More Efficient Congressional Work be Done?"—MISS ELIZABETH J. HAUSER, Chairman State Organization Committee
12:30 p. m.

Luncheon at Hotel Virginia

"Where Women Vote," by a voter, MRS. MILLIE R. TRUMBULL, Secretary Child Labor Commission of Oregon.

2:15 p. m.

"The National Political Conventions, Work Proposed"—MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Discussion, including Report of State Political Committee, led by MRS. UPTON.

"State Political Conventions,"—Discussion led by MISS ROSE MORIARTY, Elyria.

[Program Continued on next page]

Headquarters News Bulletin

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DIRECTORY OF OHIO W. S. A.

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Columbus Headquarters, 60 East Broad Street.

Cleveland Headquarters, 1706 Euclid avenue.

Dayton Headquarters, Young Women's Club League.

Keep this copy of the Bulletin for reference. The Directory will not be published again this year.

QUESTION NUMBER 6—OHIO HISTORY.

What is the law making body of the State?

The General Assembly, composed of two houses, the Senate with 37 members; house of representatives with 125 members. Under the constitution each county in the state, without regard to population, is entitled to one representative. The Governor has power to sign or veto bills.

PROGRAMME---Continued

"How to Secure State Ratification of a Federal Amendment"—MISS ZARA duPONT, Cleveland.

"Presidential Suffrage,"—MRS. DORA SANDOE BACHMAN, Columbus.

"The Home Rule Amendment and Woman Suffrage in Charter Cities"—MISS FLORENCE E. ALLEN, Cleveland.

"How to Interview Politicians,"—MRS. CHAS. S. BROOKS, Cleveland.

"How to Secure Co-operation in Political Work"—MRS. ROGER G. PERKINS, Cleveland.

Question Box—MRS. CATT.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The general committee, associated with Mrs. Wm. McPherson, chairman in charge of all the local arrangements, is as follows:

Mrs. William Oxley Thompson
Mrs. Julius F. Stone
Dr. Alice M. Johnston
Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr.
Mrs. William Neil King
Mrs. Frank C. Kelton.
Miss Lucile Atcherson
Dean Caroline Breyfogle
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Mrs. Hiram W. Kellogg
Miss Juliette Sessions
Mrs. George U. Marvin
Mrs. A. B. Nelles
Mrs. Madison Whiteside
Mrs. Harry Jerome Bradbury
Mrs. C. B. Galbreath

DO NOT DELAY.

Much more interest has been manifested in the Conference than was anticipated. Consequently it is probable that not all who desire to attend may be able to secure places at the dinner, preceding Mrs. Catt's speech. You are therefore urged to secure your tickets early. This statement is made not to stimulate the sale of tickets, but to call attention to the facts. Order your tickets for both dinner and luncheon now and make sure of them.

WHO'S WHO IN COLUMBUS.

The committees in charge of the various divisions of the Columbus Conference read like a "Blue Book."

Associated with the State officers as a Reception Committee for the Athletic Club dinner will be: Governor and Mrs. Willis, Dr. Washington Gladden and Miss Gladden, President and Mrs. Thompson, Dean and Mrs. Edward Orton, Jr., Dr. and Mrs. Hiram W. Kellogg, Dr. Alice Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. Julius F. Stone, Dr. and Mrs. James Fairchild Baldwin, Mr. and Mrs. Karl Webber, Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Kelton, Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Eaton, Prof. and Mrs. Samuel Carroll Derby, Prof. and Mrs. W. H. Siebert, Prof. and Mrs. F. C. Caldwell, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Campion, Mr. and Mrs. William Neil King, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. Claude Meeker, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Ralston, Mr. and Mrs. George B. Kauffman, Dean and Mrs. Joseph Villiers Denney, Dean Caroline Breyfogle, Committee on Decorations, Mrs. Vernon Davis, Mrs. Alan Flowers, Mrs. A. B. Nelles; on Press, Dr. Johnston, Mrs. G. U. Marvin, Mrs. Harry Jerome Bradbury, Mrs. C. B. Galbreath; on Pledges, Miss Lillian Medford; on Invitation to Clubs, Miss Anna Riordan, Mrs. Karns, Mrs. Galbreath; on Invitations to Men's Organizations, Mrs. Stone; Ushers for Conference in charge of Mrs. Madison Whiteside; Hostesses for Luncheon, Mrs. B. B. Sawyer, Mrs. F. C. Caldwell, Mrs. Madison Whiteside, Mrs. Claude Meeker, Mrs. C. B. Flagg, Mrs. F. E. Sanborn, Mrs. Ivor Hughes, Dr. Sara Fletcher, Mrs. J. W. Francis, Mrs. F. C. Kelton, Mrs. Suppee, Mrs. A. B. Nelles, Mrs. Harry Jerome Bradbury, Mrs. Wendell Padock, Mrs. A. E. McKee, Mrs. H. C. VanKirk, Mrs. George U. Marvin, Mrs. C. B. Galbreath, Miss Riordan, Miss Bertha Brent, Miss Florence Ralston, Miss Charlotte Lindenberg, Miss Abby Donovan, Mrs. Karns, Mrs. Bachman, Mrs. Clarence Perkins, Mrs. E. M. Fullington.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

PRESIDENT NATIONAL
AMERICAN WOMAN
SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, has traveled more miles and spoken for suffrage to more races and nations all over the world than has any other suffragist. She was chosen by Susan B. Anthony to succeed her as president of the National Association and during the four years of her presidency, which commenced in 1900, she visited and organized for suffrage in every state and territory of the Union except Florida, South Carolina and Alaska.

In 1904 she organized the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and continues to hold office as its first president. At the International Congress in Buda Pest in 1913 she declined re-election following a previously made announcement that she would do so. It was of no avail. The delegates present from the 26 countries of the world which make up this International Alliance voted her in again unanimously.

In 1911-12 Mrs. Catt went around the world, visiting oriental countries, studying social conditions, investigating especially survivals of the matriarchate in the East Indies, visiting the parliament of the so-called Republic of China and meeting the women members of that assembly. One result of this visit was the presence of Chinese women delegates in the next International Woman Suffrage Congress.

Some people hold that Mrs. Catt's greatest contribution to the suffrage cause in this country was her founding and organizing the Woman Suffrage Party in New York at a time when new methods especially along political lines were needed.

Writing of Mrs. Catt in the February Cosmopolitan John Temple Graves has the following: "One day, during the memorable suffrage campaign in New York, I asked my fellow speaker, Mrs. Philip Snowden, wife of a member of the English Parliament and regarded by many as the most brilliant woman speaker in the world, if she would mind telling me after ten years' campaigning in the United States, who, in her opinion, was the greatest of American women. Without a moment's hesitation she responded,



"Carrie Chapman Catt."

"I will go further," said the beautiful and distinguished Englishwoman. "Measured by the grasp and power of her mind, by her wisdom, her self-control, and her consecration to a great cause, by the constructive genius of her services, by her power to plan, her capacity to execute, and her genius for leadership, by her unsurpassed eloquence in speech and her absolutely unselfish devotion to the cause of women, I hold Carrie Chapman Catt the first and greatest woman of the English-speaking race."

"This intelligent and disinterested judgment from the Old World upon an American woman impressed me deeply and inspired me to consider its foundation.

"If men, throughout the world, had neither participation nor representation in government, and if the men of twenty-one countries organized and were eager to secure these rights, the man whom these countries elected their president and leader might fair-

ly be called the most representative man in all the world.

"On the same basis Carrie Chapman Catt may just as fairly be regarded as the woman who best represents the women of the civilized world at the present time."

When Dr. Anna H. Shaw announced that she would not be a candidate for re-election as president of the National American W. S. A., the minds of suffragists throughout the country turned at once to Mrs. Catt. To all their appeals she gave the same answer. She had just been chosen head of Woman Suffrage Party of New York, following the most brilliant suffrage campaign ever conducted and directed down to unthinkable details by her; she had her international work; she had New York with another campaign pending for 1917, she could not consider the National presidency. But when the convention assembled in Washington in December last and delegations representing all of the states participating, waited upon her and showed her plainly that she was the choice of the entire country she was obliged to yield and was again elected as head of the movement in the United States.

Mrs. Catt is now on tour visiting the various states for the purpose of coming into personal contact with the workers and making a survey of the field. She will receive a hearty welcome in Columbus, March 20. The women of the capital city are vying with State suffragists generally to make the occasion one worthy of so distinguished a guest.

Mrs. Catt has great personal charm. All the attentions she has received have left her as sweet and simple, as democratic and unspoiled as she was when she left the Iowa farm on which she was reared.

Mrs. Frank Leslie knew when she made Mrs. Catt the legatee of more than a million dollars that it would be expended sanely and constructively in the woman's cause. Wisely she imposed no conditions or limitations upon the bequest. The will is still in litigation but so far each test has been decided in favor of Mrs. Leslie's wishes and it is hoped that finally the money will be at Mrs. Catt's disposal.

Women vote in Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Why not in Ohio?

CLOSED CONFERENCE.

The Congressional Campaign Conference, as the program shows, is to be devoted to methods of congressional and political work. Planning for such work necessarily involves discussion of men and measures. Obviously it is to our advantage to keep certain plans from our enemies, also public reports on politicians, if unfavorable, sometimes mitigate against future success with these men, and premature announcement of co-operation from friendly sources occasionally works the same way. For these reasons the Conference will be closed to the general public. **HOWEVER EVERY SUFFRAGIST, WHETHER A MEMBER OF AN ORGANIZATION OR NOT, WILL BE WELCOME.**

Tickets for admission will be furnished free to all Columbus suffragists who apply for them to Mrs. Wm. McPherson, chairman of 12th Congressional District, at local headquarters, 60 E. Broad St. Persons from outside Columbus who desire tickets in advance should write for same to the State Corresponding Secretary, Miss Katharine Norris at Headquarters, Warren, O. At Columbus out-of-town persons should apply to Miss Norris at the Hotel Virginia.

Remember this refers only to tickets of admission to the conference at the Virginia, March 21. It has nothing to do with the dinner at the Athletic Club, March 20 or the luncheon at the Virginia, March 21. To both these functions the public generally is invited so long as the places hold out.

**READ THIS
IT IS FOR YOU**

Tickets of admission to State Congressional Campaign Conference at Hotel Virginia, Columbus, March 21, will be furnished free to all Columbus suffragists upon application to

MRS. WM. MCPHERSON
at local headquarters,
60 E. Broad St.

To all "out of Columbus" suffragists up to March 18, by

MISS KATHARINE NORRIS,
State Headquarters, Warren,
after March 18 by Miss Norris at
Hotel Virginia, Columbus.

..Tickets to Athletic Club dinner (\$1.50) and Virginia Hotel luncheon (50 cents) can be secured only from

MISS LUCILE ATCHERSON
at local headquarters,
60 E. Broad Street, Columbus.

DR. STANTON-COIT SPEAKS.

The College Equal Suffrage League of Columbus, gave a tea at Lazarus tea rooms, Friday afternoon, March 3, from 3 until 5, in honor of Dr. Stanton Coit, of London, England. Dr. Coit gave a brilliant address on

"The Destiny of America as a World Power." He spoke eloquently for equality for women. He just completed a three month's lecture tour, and sails for London on the 11th of March. While in Columbus he visited his sister, Mrs. Frank Kelton. Two hundred and ten places were reserved for the tea, which was arranged in two days by Mrs. Julius Stone. Mrs. Frank Kelton and Dr. Alice M. Johnston. Mrs. William McPherson presided at the meeting, and Miss Lucile Atcheson spoke on the present status of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

ALL ABOARD FOR COLUMBUS

Cleveland delegates to the Columbus conference will take the Big Four train leaving the Union station at 12:15 p. m. central time, Monday, March 20. They will be glad to have delegates and visitors from the vicinity of Cleveland join them.

If ten persons take the same train for a given point they may purchase a "party ticket" at a considerable saving of railroad fare. It is not necessary to purchase return tickets in order to get this reduced fare. Parties are recommended to investigate and to take advantage of this opportunity to save money.

HOTEL RATES.

The Hotel Virginia will be headquarters for the Columbus Conference. It is centrally located, near the State House, near Broad St., and convenient to all car lines. The rates are as follows:

For 1 person in a room, with bath, \$2.00, \$2.50 and \$3.00.

For one person in a room, without bath, \$1.00, \$1.50.

For two, with bath, \$3.00, \$4.00, \$5.00.

For two, without bath, \$2.00.

The Vendome Hotel, a block distant, also gives reasonable rates, and the Y. W. C. A., nearby, accommodates transient guests.

GRANGE ENDORSEMENT

The Crawford County Pomona Grange adopted as the very first of its resolutions at a recent meeting, the following: "That we reaffirm our stand for woman suffrage and that we endorse the stand of the National Grange for nation-wide suffrage for women."

Miss Mae Shane is president and Miss Bernita Dunn secretary-treasurer of the Deshler Study Club. "Most of us are teachers and high school pupils," writes Miss Dunn, "so I do not think any of us can come to the Columbus Conference."

MR. BAKER'S APPOINTMENT.

The appointment of Newton D. Baker of Cleveland as Secretary of War is pleasing to suffragists generally and to Ohio suffragists in particular because they have confidence in Mr. Baker's ability and his integrity and some knowledge of his capacity for devotion to his ideals.

Mr. Baker stood publicly for suffrage in Ohio when to do so meant much more than it does to espouse the cause today. He was one of the speakers at the memorable "campaign opening" at Cedar Point in the summer of 1911 when we were getting ready for our work with the Constitutional Convention, and just after he had announced his candidacy for Mayor of Cleveland for the first time. This action brought sharp criticism from two powerful privileged institutions. When one of Mr. Baker's friends commenting on this expressed the hope that it would not injure his election chances, he replied serenely, "Never mind. I am not disturbed, I have no wish to be Mayor of Cleveland at the expense of my convictions on any question."

Suffragists are rejoicing too because they believe little Betty Baker's comment on her father's appointment places the correct estimate upon Mr. Baker's attitude towards the question of the hour. "O, goody," said Betty, "Now there won't be any war."

Mrs. Baker is a suffragist and a pacifist and has always been her husband's comrade in the battles for the common good which have played so big a part in their lives in Cleveland.

HONOR GUESTS.

The following heads of Women's State Organizations have been invited to be guests of the Ohio W. S. A. at the dinner to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and will have places at the speaker's table:

Mrs. George Zimmerman, Fremont, President State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. C. Brant, Canton, State Regent D. A. R.

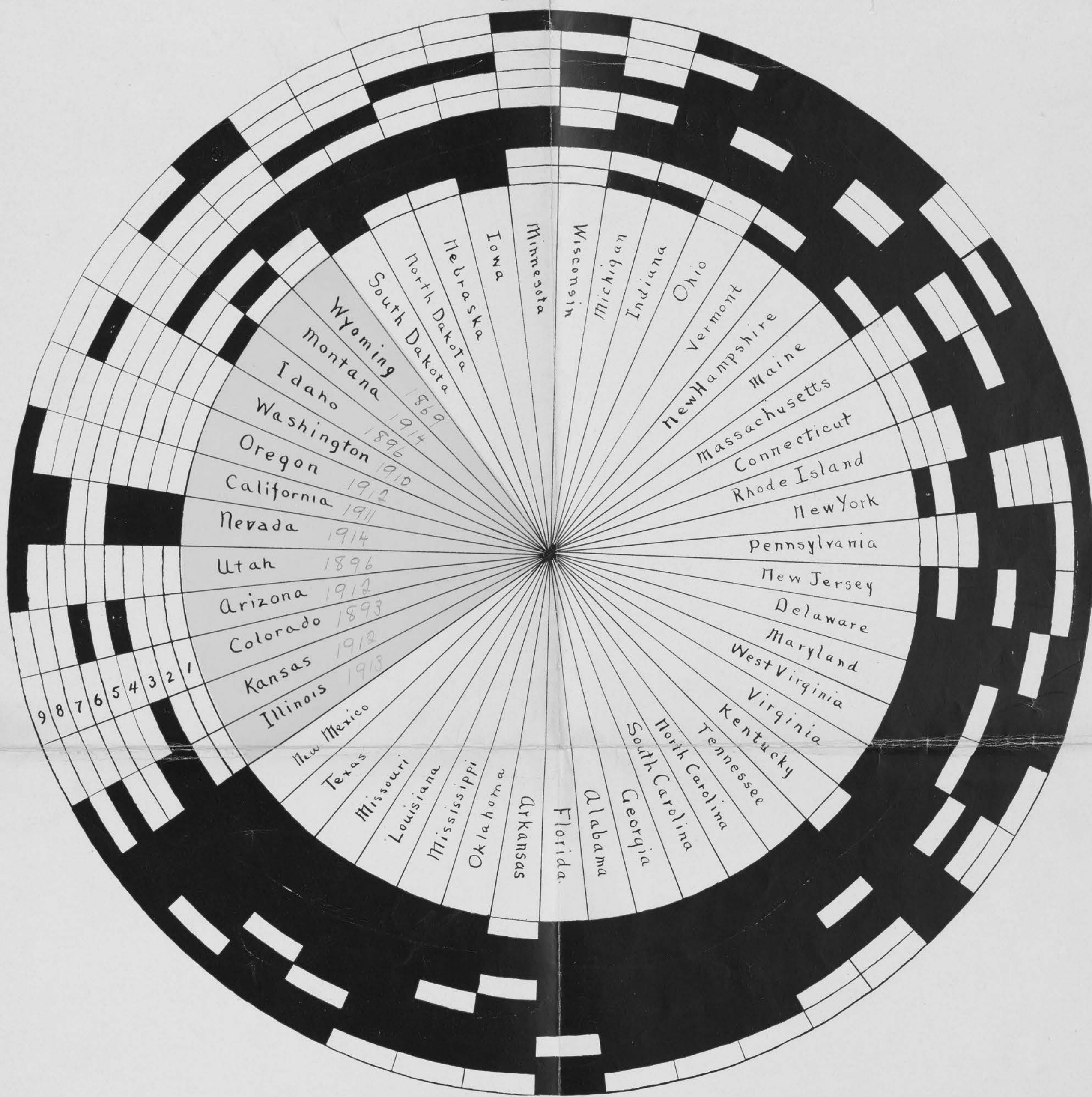
Mrs. Anna I. McCoy, Wilmington, Dept. President W. R. C.

Mrs. Florence D. Richard, president W. C. T. U.

Mrs. Nellie C. V. Heppert, Akron, Grand Commander Ladies of the Macabees.

PRIZE DOLLAR FOR IOWA.

Mrs. Vadae G. Meekison of Napoleon, recently secured a prize offered by the Cleveland Leader for the best letter on "Are boy babies the more welcome?" Mrs. Meekison contended that girls are more in demand, and sent her prize dollar to headquarters for the Iowa campaign.



Important Legislation in the United States Affecting Women and Children.

WHITE SPACES INDICATE GOOD LEGISLATION
BLACK SPACES INDICATE POOR LEGISLATION OR NONE AT ALL
IN REGARD TO THE FOLLOWING:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Child Labor—14 yrs. | 6. Equal Guardianship |
| 2. Compulsory Education | 7. Age of Consent—18 yrs. |
| 3. Eight or nine hour day for women | 8. Red Light Abatement |
| 4. Minimum Wage | 9. Prohibition |
| 5. Mothers' Pension | |

[May, 1916]

Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Interests

SOME EXHIBITS

TO BE asked for evidence of an organized opposition to woman suffrage on the part of the liquor interests, is, to the suffragist, like being asked to blow up a card house with dynamite. However, since it appears that such evidence is required, it is forthwith produced.

Recently the plain statements of suffragists regarding the patent fact that the activity of the liquor interests had been chiefly instrumental in defeating suffrage legislation in Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan have met with explicit denials from representatives of the anti-suffrage organizations and from at least one branch of the liquor trade.

A number of anti-suffrage speakers have gone so far as to assert from the platform that the liquor dealers had worked *with* rather than *against* the suffragists; and in an address before the National Conference of Brewers, held in Chicago, February 2, 1913, Col. Jacob Ruppert, Jr., President of the United States Brewers' Association, declared that his organization, comprising, according to his own statement, over two-thirds of the brewers of the country in its membership, had "studiously refrained from taking any position in the matter."

Since the word of suffragists would no doubt be rejected in these quarters, none of the great mass of testimony as to what suffrage workers and speakers in the various campaigns actually saw and heard of the activity of the liquor interests is given here. But the word of the liquor people themselves—delivered not to the public but as instructions and appeals to "the trade"—can hardly be doubted.

This, therefore, is what we present. What follows is taken from the pages of two of their leading trade journals—*Progress*, formerly *Progress and the Reflector*, official organ of the Wisconsin State Retail Dealers' Protective Association, now published at 33 Sentinel Building, Milwaukee, Wis., although it was formerly located at Watertown, Wis., and the *National*

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

EXHIBIT I.

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

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

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

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

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

The article closes:

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

"You must vote.

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

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

HERE IS WHERE THEY STAND.

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

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

WHERE DO YOU STAND?

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

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

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

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

KEEP YOUR EYE ON THIS!

"If you are in any way identified with the liquor business, legitimate, licensed and legalized by your fellow citizens, and have its future

welfare at heart, it is necessary that you keep your weather eye on this movement for Woman Suffrage. The principal boosters for this issue are the PROHIBITIONISTS. It means additional votes and strength for Prohibition.

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

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

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

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

"THE NEGATIVE STRENGTH GETS OUT AND VOTES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE VOTE OF WOMEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXHIBIT II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On page fifteen—a full-page display:

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

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

WOMEN A FACTOR IN "DRY" VICTORIES.

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

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

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

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

RESULTS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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

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

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

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

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

EXHIBIT III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Our State Legislature has just closed its session, and our association has been very successful in defeating many measures which would have harassed the trade in Montana. It has been a difficult task, for Montana, like all other States, is feeling the effect of the great reform wave which is sweeping the country. The battle we have been fighting during the last sixty days has depleted our treasury, and we are not through yet. Besides this, the great question of woman suffrage will be submitted to the electors at an early date. We are now preparing a State-wide campaign against woman suffrage in this State because the leaders have avowed that one of the principal reasons why they desire women to vote is that it will afford them the best means of sweeping the saloon business out of Montana. Our local retailers are doing all they can, but the burden is too heavy for them to carry it alone, and it is only right that those who are enjoying and making a profit from the sale of their goods should help us in conserving for them their accounts and business."

EXHIBIT IV.

During the closing days of the Michigan campaign of 1913, the text of one of the campaign leaflets of the Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, bearing the name and

address of the Association and the names of its officers, appeared as a paid advertisement in a number of the newspapers of Macomb County. It read:

AN APPEAL TO MEN!

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

"We mention but six.

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

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

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

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

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

"Don't vote for suffrage.

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

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

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

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

VOTE NO, APRIL 7.

"Issued by Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, office 1128, Majestic Building, Detroit. Phone, Cherry 4726, President, Mrs. Henry L. 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."

A few days later the *Detroit Journal*, which had all along stood firmly for suffrage, published an article revealing the fact that it was the Macomb County Retail Liquor Dealers' Association that had placed and paid for this material. One of the Macomb County editors who received the copy chanced to be a suffragist, and realized at once that here was absolute proof of the activity of the liquor interests against suffrage. As he did not dare to publish the exposé in his own paper, he sent the copy for the advertisement, together with the letter of instructions accompanying it, to the *Detroit Journal*. The letter was as follows:

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

March 31, 1913.

"To the Publishers:

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

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

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

"Yours truly,

"Joseph Matthews, Secretary."

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

EXHIBIT V.

The liquor interests were generally understood to be opposing the suffrage amendment in Ohio in the campaign of the summer and fall of 1914. Proof of this attitude is furnished in the issue of the *Liberal Advocate* of Columbus, Ohio, for October 21, 1914. The *Liberal Advocate* is a newspaper devoted to the interests of the retailers of liquor of Ohio.

One page of the issue of October 21, 1914, is given up to anti-suffrage matter. The first article is entitled "Why I Became an Anti-Suffragist." It is by Florence Goff Schwarz who is described as Business Secretary of the Cincinnati Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. This article, it is stated, is the third installment of a series.

Next to Miss Schwarz's article is a picture of Mrs. A. J. George, who is described as a leading Anti-Suffrage speaker of Massachusetts. At the foot of the next column is an extract from Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin, under the heading "Mother's Real Place." There is no comment on these articles and no editorial opposing woman suffrage. But the editors of the *Liberal Advocate* evidently felt that it was to the interest of the trade to publish the arguments of the Anti-Suffragists in the organ of the liquor dealers.

EXHIBIT VI.

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

During the Oregon suffrage campaign of 1906, there fell into the hands of the suffragists a circular letter which bore every evidence of having been intended for wide distribution.

It was published in the *Portland Oregonian* and the *Portland Evening Telegram* of June 1, 1906. It read in part:

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yours very respectfully,

"**BREWERS' & WHOLESALE LIQUOR DEALERS' ASSOCIATION.**"

The postcard enclosed for reply was addressed:

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

The reverse side of the card bore this reply:

Dear Sirs:

I will attend to it.

.....25 times...

0 0 0 0

Instead of a signature, a number was appended.

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

EXHIBIT VII.

In the suffrage campaigns of 1915 and 1916, the Liquor Interests were much more cautious than they had been in previous years in their opposition to woman suffrage. Though there was much evidence in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania that they were working against the amendments, it was almost impossible to get hold of documentary proof of their activities. The following extracts from an article printed in the *New Republic* for August 21, 1915, gives an account of the underhand methods adopted to defeat woman suffrage.

The methods of the Texas Business Men's Association furnish an excellent example of how public opinion is poisoned against woman suffrage. The chief function of this organization, according to testimony given at hearings in a suit brought by the State of Texas to dissolve it, was to direct and finance legislative and electoral campaigns and control publicity in behalf of contributing corporations. The State of Texas brought suit on the ground that the Texas Business Men's Association was working against the public welfare. Among the corporations which maintained its campaign chest were the San Antonio Brewing Company and the Lone Star Brewing Company, of San Antonio, the Houston Ice and Brewing Company, the American Brewing Association of Houston, the Dallas Brewery of Dallas, and the Texas Brewing Company, of Fort Worth. Associated with these contributing companies were eighty or more others, among them the Gulf Refining Company, the Santa Fe Railroad, the American Express Company, Swift and Company, and the Southwestern States Portland Cement Company, the interests of all of which were served by the activities of the Texas Business Men's Association. All of them, but particularly the breweries, were implicated in a system of supplying free news matter to rural newspapers.

This took the form of plates sent out under the auspices of the National Farmers' Union, which later repudiated the connection. The name was then changed to the "Publicity Service of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union." The prospectus of this news service announced that it was being conducted in behalf of the farmers of the nation; "its slogan is education and co-operation;" it would give Federal Government statistics relating to agriculture and information about scientific agriculture and co-operative marketing methods. Professor T. N. Carver, of Harvard, Mr. P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, Mr. Homer D. Wade and others were to be among the contributing editors. Its purpose was to be a "forum for the discussion of public questions affecting industry, by able writers representing associations organized to promote industry." "An impassionate discussion of both sides of important questions confronting the farmers of this nation for solution will be solicited from the standpoint of the material welfare and prosperity of the country."

Rural editors might well be attracted by such a program. The economy of using plates of news matter, sent free, made it easier to lull suspicions as to the legitimacy of such matter. But it was soon discovered that the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union was sending out disguised advertising for public service corporations, and propaganda for railroad rate increases, and was serving the brewing interests with articles entitled "Why is Woman Restless?" and "Why

Should Woman Vote?" It is necessary only to quote at random sentences from these articles to give an idea of the tone of them: "Is it not a sufficient political achievement for woman that future rulers nurse at her breast, laugh in her arms and kneel at her feet?" "God pity our country when the handshake of the politician is more gratifying to woman's heart than the patter of children's feet." "I follow the plow for a living," said Mr. W. D. Lewis, one of the simple, honest writers of these articles, "and my views may have in them the smell of the soil; my hair is turning white under the frost of many winters and perhaps I am a little old-fashioned, but I believe there is more moral influence in the dress of woman than in all the statute books of the land. As an agency for morality, I wouldn't give my good old mother's home-made gowns for all the suffragettes' constitutions and by-laws in the world. As a power for purifying society, I wouldn't give one prayer of my sainted mother for all the women's votes in Christendom."

Most of the articles published in this news service were signed by Peter Radford or W. D. Lewis, "National Lecturers of the Farmers' Union." Some of them were written by J. A. Arnold, an employee of the Texas Business Men's Association. In order to be able to use the name of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union as a sponsor for the news service, Peter Radford, then President of the Farmers' Union, was made head of a farm life commission established by the Texas Business Men's Association. His salary was to be \$125 a month and expenses.

This, then, was the indirect method by which brewers sought to prejudice the opinion of farming communities from Massachusetts to Texas. Having gained control, through the Texas Business Men's Association, of the Farmers' Union news service, they used it to supply country newspapers with foul and misleading articles against suffrage—so much the more authoritative as they represented, supposedly, the organized farmers of the nation. The connection between the brewing interests and this underhand publicity was indubitable. A letter was introduced at the hearings in the suit instituted by the State of Texas to dissolve the Business Men's Association. It was written in 1911 by Adolphus Busch, who said he "did not object to giving \$100,000 to help the fight in Texas and that the Anheuser-Busch Company would be fair." J. A. Arnold, the writer of the objectionable articles, was shown by correspondence of W. J. Althaus of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company to have been party to a conference behind closed doors. The breweries withdrew from the suit against the Texas Business Men's Association and asked to have the temporary injunction against their further contributing made permanent. The Business Men's Association is now defunct and a suit is in lingering progress against the Texas brewers' organization.

The character of this anti-suffrage propaganda makes rejoinder unnecessary. But for its extent, it would deserve little more notice than any of the lies and feeble innuendo circulated before elections and during legislative campaigns. It may be useful, however, for suffragists to be able to point out the nature and the source of some of the opposition which they meet. Perhaps it will also give pause to some anti-suffragists to find allied with them brewers using their arguments and quoting Scripture.

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.

171 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY



PRINTED MAY, 1916

May 10, 1916

The Truth About Colorado

BECAUSE various irresponsible persons, in no way representing the real spirit of Colorado, have circulated statements defamatory to the credit of the state and its womanhood, we believe the time has come when all such silly and slanderous stories should be repudiated by the intelligent and public-spirited men of the State of Colorado.

The demand for Colorado bonds is far greater than the supply. In per capita wealth, in expenditures for education, in the percentage of homes without incumbrance, in public improvements, in all matters affecting social welfare and the humane side of legislation, Colorado stands well to the front, as may easily be verified by the reports of the United States Government.

In all efforts that have served to forward the health and prosperity of the state the women of Colorado have done their share. The enfranchisement of women is no longer a question here. Equal suffrage was granted by popular vote in 1893 and incorporated in the Constitution ten years later by a majority three times the size of that given the original referendum.

H. J. ALEXANDER, President First National Bank.
J. A. THATCHER, President Denver National Bank.
GEORGE B. BERGER, President Colorado National Bank.
GODFREY SCHIRMER, President German American Trust Company.
W. J. GALLIGAN, President City Bank and Trust Company.
JOHN EVANS, President International Trust Company.
JAMES C. BURGER, President Hamilton National Bank.
FRANK N. BRIGGS, President Inter-State Trust Company.
JAMES H. CAUSEY, Banker and Investment Bonds.
GORDON JONES, United States National Bank.
C. B. WHITEHEAD, Bonds and Investments.
PERSIFOR M. COOKE, Banking.
E. J. WECKBACH, Banking.
HUME LEWIS, of Boettcher, Porter & Co., Bond Dealers.
C. K. BOETTCHER, Boettcher, Porter & Co.
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W. M. MARSHALL, President Central Savings Bank & Trust Co.
C. MACA. WILLCOX, Vice-President Daniels & Fisher Stores Co.
W. R. OWEN, Vice-President The Denver Dry Goods Co.
H. M. STOLL, The Joslin Dry Goods Co.
A. D. LEWIS, The A. T. Lewis & Son Dry Goods Co.
MEYER NEUSTETER, The Neusteter Company.
FREDERICK W. HEDGCOCK, President Hedgcock & Jones Specialty Store Co.
WM. I. MEAD, Manager The May Co.
A. GIESECKE, President Denver Music Company.
V. G. CAMPBELL, The Knight-Campbell Music Company.
H. M. WILLIAMSON, President Davis Chemical Co.
ALFRED T. BOWEN, Davis Chemical Company.
GEORGE E. TURNER, Turner Moving & Storage Co.
C. A. KENDRICK, President Kendrick-Bellamy Co., Stationers.
A. J. SPENGEL, President Spengel House Furnishing Co.
W. H. KISTLER, President W. H. Kistler Stationery Co.
E. L. SCHOLTZ, The Scholtz Drug Co.
O. L. SMITH, JR., Vice-President Smith-Brooks Printing Co.
JESSE W. WHELOCK, Gen. Mgr. Northwestern Mutual Life Ins. Co.

HENRY VAN KLEECK, Mortgages and Investments.
ZEPH CHARLES FELT, Real Estate.
GEORGE S. VAN LAW, Real Estate and Loans.
E. W. MERRITT, Real Estate and Loans.
CASS E. HERRINGTON, Legal Dept. Colorado Fuel & Iron Co.
O. E. LEFEVRE, ex-District Judge; retired capitalist.
CHARLES D. HAYT, Attorney, ex-Judge Supreme Court.
CHARLES M. DEARDORFF, Attorney.
J. B. GRANT, Attorney.
HENRY MAY, Attorney.
FRANK E. GOVE, Attorney.
A. N. PATTON, Attorney.
ALVA A. SWAIN, Pueblo Chieftain and Grand Junction News.
CARLOS M. COLE, Superintendent Public Schools.
WILLIAM H. SMILEY, Supervisor High Schools.
J. M. DOWNEN, Clayton School for Boys.
JOHN B. GARVIN, Instructor East Denver High School.
C. A. BROOKS, Past National Patriotic Instructor G. A. R.
S. A. RITTER BROWN, Author and Capitalist.
JAMES A. BEEBE, President Iliff School of Theology.
S. B. LONGACRE, Dean Iliff School of Theology.
BORDEN P. KESSLER, Instructor Iliff School of Theology.
CHARLES O. THIBODEAU, Pastor Grace M. E. Church.
T. E. MCGUIRE, Pastor Park Hill M. E. Church.
JAMES THOMAS, Pastor Grant Avenue M. E. Church.
ORRIN W. AUMAN, District Supt. Denver District M. E. Churches.
H. R. A. O'MALLEY, Rector St. Stephen's Church.
S. R. S. GRAY, Vicar West Denver.
JAMES RAE ARNEILL, M.D.
O. D. WESCOTT, M.D.
EDW. WM. LAZELL, M.D.

(The City Federation, a delegate organization of the Associated Charities, Ministerial Alliance and nearly fifty other societies of Denver, instructed its president and secretary to sign the foregoing statement.)
THE CITY FEDERATION, by Dr. Clinton G. Hickey, President, and Walter C. Heckendorf, Secretary.

Denver, Colo., May 10, 1916.

[May 23, 1916]

METHODISTS FAVOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Church Adopts Strong Statement Drawn by Prominent Members Favoring Suffrage

The Methodist Episcopal Church was committed to woman suffrage on May 23, 1916, at its national convention in Saratoga, N. Y., through the acceptance of a resolution introduced by Judge Henry Wade Rogers, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The resolution is as follows:

Political Franchise for Women

WHEREAS, In the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church women have always been loyal and faithful workers, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that Christian wives and mothers should be given an opportunity to assist in the great work of introducing into politics more of the true spirit of practical Christianity, and

WHEREAS, The Methodist Episcopal Church has always stood for justice and righteousness in social and political life,

Resolved, Therefore, that we, the delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, assert our belief in the justice and righteousness of granting to women the political franchise.

HENRY WADE ROGERS, L.L.D., Judge, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, New Haven, Conn.
ALBERT J. WALLACE, Ex-Lieutenant-Governor of California, Pasadena, California.
A. W. HARRIS, L.L.D., President of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
SAMUEL DICKIE, L.L.D., President of Albion College, Albion, Mich.
ROLLO V. WATT, Insurance man, San Francisco, California.
J. FRANK HANLY, Ex-Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana.
ALEX. SIMPSON, Jr., Lawyer, Philadelphia, Pa.
H. T. AMES, Lawyer, Williamsport, Pa.
GEORGE M. SHURLOCK, Lawyer, York, Nebraska.
JOHN MARSHALL, Justice, Supreme Court of Kansas, Topeka, Kansas.
JAMES R. DAY, L.L.D., Chancellor of Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
SAMUEL PLANTZ, L.L.D., President of Lawrence University, Lawrence, Wisconsin.
ELMER A. DENT, D.D., District Superintendent, New Haven, Conn.
J. I. BARTHOLOMEW, D.D., District Superintendent, New Bedford, Mass.
L. J. BIRNEY, D.D., Dean of Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Mass.
I. GARLAND PENN, D.D., Secretary of Freedman's Aid Society, Cincinnati, Ohio.
DAVID G. DOWNEY, D.D., Book Editor of Methodist Book Concern, New York City.
GEORGE ELLIOTT, D.D., Minister, Mt. Clemens, Michigan.

Judge Henry Wade Rogers, of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in advocating the adoption of the resolutions, remarked that the act proposed was, in his opinion, an act of justice. He did not propose to take time to make an argument, for no argument was needed. He appealed to a General Conference that represents a Church that, through quadrennium after quadrennium and through generation after generation, had filed its indictment against human slavery, and had piled anathema upon anathema in its denunciation of the liquor traffic. He offered the resolution because he believed that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and not from the consent of half of the governed; because he believed in government for the people and by the people, and not by half of the people; because in his judgment women need the ballot for the same reasons that men need it; because women are entitled to have a share in the making of the laws that regulate their lives, and the lives of their children, laws that impose taxes upon their property, and laws under which they and their children may be sentenced to death.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue, New York City.



PROSPERITY IN COLORADO.

The total wealth of Colorado was, in 1915, \$1,249,199,210*, which on her population of 7948,950 gives a per capita of \$1,316. In her banks are resources to the amount of \$212,078,506. The bonded debt of Colorado is \$3,773,000. This debt, Mr. Stocker in the letter quoted speaks of as in large part due to industrial disputes, and he refers in general terms to the influence of the women in adjusting some of these troubles. In more definite terms: It was direct pressure by the women voters which finally put upon the statute books the Eight-Hour Law provided for in the state constitution. The neglect of the legislature to pass this law had been an important element in early labor troubles. It was an organization of women voters also which caused the removal of one of the main obstacles to peace in the more recent strike at Trinidad.

Women voters were enthusiastic supporters of the Industrial Disputes Act, passed by the 1915 legislature, which aims to adjust disputes without strikes. Colorado is the pioneer state to pass such a law, and the secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation comments on the surprise and satisfaction of those who have observed the excellent workings of this law in the first few months, and their firm belief that it is to prove one important means of avoiding the economic and human waste of industrial warfare.

The tax rate of Colorado is \$2.10 on the \$1,000, one of the lowest in the United States. Part of the public monies are invested in public buildings to the value of \$15,000,000. School properties are worth \$16,149,754.

On the support of public education Colorado spends \$5,611,881, a rate of more than \$1.25 on every \$100, of wealth. This represents the very large per capita outlay of \$56.83. The state has a low illiteracy rate. Some of the states with low illiteracy rates have been criticised by educational authorities for the low teachers' salaries they pay, or, in other words, the "cheap teaching" offered; but Colorado is not one of these. The standard of Colorado's teachers is kept high by a Teachers' Minimum Wage Law, the only one in America. From every educational aspect Colorado has for many years been classed among the best states in the Union;† and it has attained this high standard not only under woman suffrage but with women

for the last twenty years elected by its mothers and fathers as heads of the state system of public instruction, and with the vast majority of its district supervisors women. That is to say, the Colorado system of public education has been worked out by women, the traditional educators of the young.

The Juvenile Court of Colorado is one of her many innovations, and it is recognized as the model for the world. Another model of public work is the Colorado method of caring for its criminals, which has meant to the state even more direct returns of wealth than its educational system. In 1910 Colorado was almost alone among the states in

forbidding contract labor in the prisons, and she was entirely alone in using the honor system for her convicts. Warden Thomas J. Tynan, of the State Prison at Canon City, was the pioneer in both the honor system and the "public use" system. In the last seven years he has proved conclusively that prisoners can create health and self respect for themselves while creating the most real and lasting forms of wealth for the state.

The Warden's latest report to the National Committee on Prisons gives some idea of what her prisoners have done for Colorado. The importance of one form of work, namely, road building, can be judged from the fact that a Federal official recently stated that this country is losing more than two billion dollars yearly by its bad roads. Warden Tynan reports:

"In the past seven years our prisoners have constructed 1,000 miles of perfect highway. Our road operations are at present more extensive than ever in the history of the institution, as we have a larger number of men in the camps than ever before. We are driving five separate and

distinct roads in the state and our men will remain at work all winter, as we are able to operate our camps during twelve months in the year in this climate. We have completed one of the most successful roads ever constructed in America, after two years of blasting solid granite for eighteen miles along the Arkansas River. This opens up a splendid highway from Kansas, up the Arkansas River to its source, over the Continental Divide and to the Utah line. We have still another gang of men working in the Eagle River Canon on this same route and they have still four years' work ahead of them. We are operating large power drills and steam shovels in our mountain work and heavy gasoline tractors and other machinery in our prairie camps.

"Besides this we have had a wonderfully successful year in farming our three large ranches, which have yielded the largest crops in the history of the institution. We have one farm and ranch combined, con-

The National American
Woman Suffrage Association,
171 Madison Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

Mesdames:

It has been a little over twenty years since women were given the full suffrage in this state, and during this period the population and wealth have more than doubled. It would perhaps be impossible to prove that this growth was attributable to woman suffrage, but certainly no well informed person in Colorado would claim that woman suffrage has, in any degree, retarded this prosperity.

The fact that no political party, association or group of individuals has ever urged a re-submission of this question of woman suffrage indicates that the people of Colorado are entirely satisfied with the way the reform is working out.

During these twenty years the bonded indebtedness of the state has increased very much. This, however, has been on account of the cost of handling the industrial disputes and in no way connected with the suffrage question, and in the minds of many people, these conditions would have been very much more serious than they were had it not been for the influence of the woman vote.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALLISON STOCKER,
Treasurer of Colorado.

*Except where other authorities are cited in the foot notes, thanks are due for the figures in this article to Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, of the Colorado Department of Education, her sources of information being the State Treasurer, Secretary of State, Bank Commissioner, Board of Immigration, Farmers' Alliance, Insurance Commissioner, Commissioner of Statistics and many other state officials.

†Census Estimate of 1916.

‡Russell Sage Foundation study of Public School Systems in the United States.

taining eight thousand acres; another farm of about eight hundred acres, all in cultivation and a smaller farm, besides vegetable gardens. We are figuring on leasing still another ranch of one thousand acres all in alfalfa and fruit for next year, which is about twelve miles from the prison. The other ranches are located, one thirty-five miles, one sixty-five miles and one four miles from the prison and the vegetable gardens on the penitentiary reservation.

"We are enabled to employ at this out-door work from fifty to sixty per cent. of our able bodied men all year round at. Our success with them is better than ever."*

The prisoners make their own clothing and the expense for guards is enormously cut down. This means great savings, and the road work means still further savings for the state. On one piece of road alone the state saved \$157,660 on what it would have cost if it had been made by outside labor.

The public utilities of Colorado are worth \$253,635,650; her municipal bonds sell at 4½%.

The city of Denver is neither facing bankruptcy nor indulging in extravagances, as some would make us think. For one item, her elections cost her annually the low per capita of 15c. She is one of seven cities of 100,000 listed by the Federal Bureau of the Census, as having in 1914 an excess of revenues over expenditures.

If tax receipts are any sign of material prosperity, Colorado was, in the first half of 1916, at the height of the wave, for tax receipts month by month were almost 50% greater than in the same months the year before. In addition, the banks report that people are paying old accounts and mortgages are being lifted in unprecedented numbers.

Total combined resources of all banks in Colorado, November, 1915, were \$212,078,506.26, or \$19,392,115.72 more than October, 1914, resources.

Since January 1, 1916, seven banking institutions have incorporated under State supervision with a total capitalization of \$120,000.00.

From March to May, 1916, the resources of State banking institutions increased by almost \$2,394,000, and

the reserve in the banks on May 1st was 10% higher than the reserve required by law. This indicates a healthy growth and a sound financial condition.

Over 50% of the capital invested in Colorado is from outside the state. Only this year the T. M. Davis Metal Works, one of the pioneers in the State, was bought by Nebraska capitalists. Nor have these capitalists been injured in any way by woman suffrage.

The Midwest Refining Co. recently declared a dividend of 8%. Up to June 30, 1916, it had earned \$2,500,000, had increased its output 50 per cent. over the year before, and was estimating its earnings for 1916 at about \$6,000,000. Most of the industries of Colorado have grown up entirely since women had the vote. For example, after mining, the sugar industry is the greatest single source of wealth. In 1899, the first sugar mill was started with a capital stock of \$200,000. Now Colorado has 16 sugar factories with a capital stock of \$3,000,000, and within the last few months two new factories capitalized at a million each have been started. Colorado is classed first in output of sugar by the Federal Bureau of Agriculture and second in output per acre, Utah alone surpassing it in this respect.

Except for the making of sugar, Colorado has little manufacturing. One-third of her population are on the soil, all farm products last year amounting to \$120,000,000; her live stock to \$80,000,000.

The State Agricultural College reports that in farm improvements, and rural and community betterment its greatest strides have been made in the last three years.

Colorado has established many precedents in social reform, among them its juvenile court, correctional system, minimum wage for teachers, and latest of all, its Industrial Disputes Act. These were not the unpractical schemes of dreamers. The people of Colorado are practical men and women, and whatever they have taken the initiative in so far has amply justified itself by adding to their material prosperity, either by raising the moral or intellectual quality of their electorate or by increasing material prosperity. Often the two have gone hand in hand.

MARY SUMNER BOYD.

*Letter to Sec'y of Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor.

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[post - July 1916]

The Suffrage Planks

Democratic Suffrage Plank

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

Adopted at the Democratic Convention, St. Louis, July, 1916.

Progressive Suffrage Plank

We believe the women of the country, who share with men the burdens of government in time of peace and make equal sacrifice in time of war, should be given the full political right of suffrage, both by Federal and State action.

Adopted at the Progressive Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

Prohibition Suffrage Plank

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal constitutions. We condemn the Republican and Democratic Parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872. We invite their co-operation in electing the Prohibition Party to power.

Adopted at the Prohibition Convention, St. Paul, July, 1916.

Republican Suffrage Plank

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, but recognizes the right of each State to settle the question for itself.

Adopted at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

Socialist Suffrage Plank

Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

Adopted at the Socialist Convention, Indianapolis, May, 1912.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 Madison Avenue,



New York City

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[December, 1916]

 Please read carefully and hand to some intelligent friend.

BALLOTS FOR BOTH

AN ADDRESS BY

CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK

AT

GREENVILLE, N. C., 8 DECEMBER, 1916

"In North Carolina the white population is 70% and the negro 30%, hence there are 50,000 more white women than all the negro men and negro women put together. The admission of the women to the suffrage therefore could not possibly jeopardize White Supremacy, but would make it more secure."

"No matter how bad a character a man has, if he can only keep out of the penitentiary and the insane asylum we permit him to vote and to take a share in the government, but we are afraid to trust our mothers, wives, and daughters to give us the aid of their intelligence and clear insight.

"We let an illiterate foreigner from Italy, from Hungary, from Syria come to our State, and after five years, if he is a male and goes through a certain formula, you will adjudge him fit to be a voter. We let the bartender and those who live upon the evils and vices of life have a vote, while you deny it to your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your daughters.

"They say that a woman has no time to vote. If women cannot get half an hour off once in two years to go to the polls then they need the ballot badly. They say there is dirt in politics. The men put it there, for they alone have been running it, and we need the women to give us a good house-cleaning. As Mr. Bryan said, 'We need the ballot of the women more than they need it for themselves.'"

"NOT YET BUT SOON"

POSTSCRIPT

Since this address was delivered, the following States have adopted Presidential Suffrage: North Dakota, Nebraska, Ohio, Michigan, Rhode Island, Indiana, and in Arkansas the women can vote in all primaries, so that now there are 19 States, casting 172 electoral votes, in which the women can vote for President. In North Dakota, Nebraska, and Indiana, they have also been admitted to Municipal Suffrage, and in Vermont they have acquired Municipal Suffrage. In Indiana they can vote for, and are eligible as, delegates to the Constitutional Convention already called. Women have acquired Full Suffrage in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Nova Scotia. In England the bill for Equal Suffrage has passed third reading in Lower House 389-56, and the new Republic of Russia is pledged also to grant it.

Maine will vote on a Referendum for Full Suffrage for women September, 1917; New York November, 1917; North Dakota, Nebraska and Oklahoma in 1918.

GROWING IN GRACE

(By ALICE DUER MILLER.)

O'er the Garden of Eden the very first dawning,
Like a flood from the East was beginning to roll,
When the very first tortoise remarked without warning,
"What a curious light," to the very first mole.

The very first mole made reply without turning,
"It is only a craze—just a fad of the skies."
But the thing kept on growing and glowing and burning;
"This is really a menace," they said, looking wise.

But by noon when the sun was well up and was cheering
The tortoise, and even the mole in the hole,
They forgot all about their alarm and their sneering;
"We have always approved," said the tortoise and mole.

NOTE.—It is said that the tortoise and the mole are the slowest and the blindest of all created things—except some men.

ADDRESS

BY

CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, BEFORE THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,
GREENVILLE, N. C., FRIDAY NIGHT, 8 DECEMBER, 1916.

Ladies and Fellow Citizens:

At the request of the Suffrage League of your city I am here to say a few words in behalf of this great democratic movement which, world-wide in its extent, and irresistible in its progress, will lift humanity to a higher level and better conditions. In the great political contest through which we have just passed, the one subject on which all five of the National parties agreed was in pledging themselves to grant suffrage to women on the same terms with men. To speak in its support is like advocating the Ten Commandments. Some may not favor, but none are exactly in a condition to say that they are opposed. I am not here to pass any eulogy upon Woman. As Webster said of Massachusetts, "She needs none. There she is. Behold her and judge for yourselves."

Four years ago either the Democratic and the Republican National Conventions did not consider suffrage or voted it down in committee. The Progressive Party, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, was pledged to it and came in under the wire 800,000 votes ahead of the Republican organization under President Taft. But this year, when the Republican Convention met at Chicago the leaders became aware that the suffrage States had doubled in number and that in twelve States, casting 91 electoral votes, the women could vote for President on equal terms with the men. And that those votes might be, as in fact they proved to be, the deciding vote in the contest. The humor of the situation was that they put up Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, the Prince of Standpatters, to read the report which pledged to the women of the Equal Suffrage States the enfranchisement of their sisters in the unenfranchised States.

President Wilson not many months back had refused to receive a delegation of Equal Suffragists, but as he said in a recent speech, "A wise man may change his opinion, but a fool never does." He did not belong to the latter class, and later he journeyed to New Jersey to register, and again to vote in the suffrage election in that State. When the Democratic Convention met at St. Louis the captains of the hosts had become aware that as to 91 electoral votes the women could control the choice of President. They also knew that the Republican Party had recently pledged itself to Equal Suffrage. A resolution to pledge the party to Equal Suffrage in the unenfranchised States was introduced, and when it met opposition it was stated from the platform that President Wilson had drawn that plank with his own hand, and deemed its adoption "essential to his success, and requested its passage." It was accordingly passed by a vote of 881½ to a vote of 188½, a majority of the North Carolina delegation, headed by its chairman, Gen. Julian S. Carr, voting for it. After the National Republican Convention had endorsed Equal Suffrage it would have defeated Mr. Wilson in all the 12 States in which women have Equal Suffrage to have gone before them without the same pledge in the Democratic platform.

CAN EITHER PARTY REPUDIATE ITS PLEDGE TO SUFFRAGE?

This pledge was given not by an emotional mob, but calmly and deliberately, because it was deemed necessary to secure the majority of those 91 votes. The Democratic Party has received the goods. Without that resolution, which President Wilson foretold was essential to his success, the Democratic Party could not have secured the Presidency, and all that goes with it. It has received the goods, the public patronage, the post offices and the administration of the destinies of this great country. Will it repudiate its pledge? No one believes that a great party can stand in the attitude of obtaining goods under

false pretenses. No one will charge that President Wilson and the men around him and the leaders of the great historic party made this promise with the intention of getting the Presidency and then repudiating the conditions.

Years ago a President was elected by a party on a platform containing a pledge. After the election, by the enormous influence of the lobby backed by certain great financial interests, the pledge was broken by Congress, and the President promptly denounced the act as "party perfidy and dishonor." These were words that blistered and burned and that party was defeated at the next election.

I say that the pledge for Equal Suffrage was not only put in this platform to secure the electoral votes of the 12 Equal Suffrage States, but that it did secure the electoral votes in 10 of them and gave the election to Mr. Wilson. On Monday of this week William J. Bryan, before an intelligent audience in the city of Raleigh, in my hearing, advocated the redemption of that pledge, and told his audience that deeming that the crisis of the battle lay in those States, he had canvassed them thoroughly, and that everywhere he had appealed to the women to support Mr. Wilson on that pledge, and on his vote for suffrage in New Jersey, that they had done so, and that Mr. Wilson owed his election to the confidence of the women of those States in that pledge.

No one will question Mr. Bryan's accuracy in any statement that he makes, but there is corroboration in the election returns. An analysis will show that in the nonsuffrage States, where the women did not vote, Mr. Wilson's gains over the vote of four years ago averaged from nothing to 26%, but that in the Suffrage States his gains averaged from 76 to 126%. The leaders of that party made the pledge to win the Presidency, and they have won. It should not go down in history that when the Democratic Legislature in North Carolina met in 1917 they repudiated the promises upon which the party had won the Presidency. There have been instances of men who made promises to women and then thought it a joke to deceive them, but the world has never held such to be honorable men, and some of them have figured in the prisoner's dock.

It is true that this pledge was for Suffrage to Women on the same terms as men, by "State Action." It is only such action that can be taken by the Legislature of North Carolina, and I will state presently what it can be.

It is true that the Republican Party did not receive the goods. It did not obtain the Presidency. The women in the Suffrage States preferred to believe Mr. Bryan and other leaders who told them that Mr. Wilson had gone to New Jersey to register and to vote for suffrage; that the plank in the Democratic platform in their favor had been drawn by his own hands, and that Mr. Hughes had never voted for the measure in his own State, and while Governor had vetoed a bill to give them equal pay with men for equal service. Still it is the doctrine of the Republican Party, and must so remain till another convention shall change it, and more than that, when the next election comes on for President there will not only be 91 electoral votes from States in which women vote, but there will be many more, and neither the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party can afford to go into another Presidential election without a pledge to enfranchise the women in the unredeemed States, if any such shall remain at that time. What faith will be given to such pledge when made by a party that has broken the one given this year? In this, as in all other matters, honesty is the essential policy.

"There are hills beyond Pentland, there are lands beyond Forth."

There will be other Presidential elections, and those who have broken faith as to their pledges in this election will find it hard to be credited with pledges then. No party can henceforth elect a President who is not an advocate of Equal Suffrage.

No one will place much reliance upon the gratitude of any political party for services rendered or pledges given. In politics "gratitude is a lively sense of favors to come." The guarantee of good faith is that there are other elections, and it will not be safe to face the electorate in the Suffrage States with a record of broken pledges. Besides, both parties have pledged suffrage by State action. If this is not had, then the demand for suffrage by amendment of the Federal Constitution will be such that the average Congressman will not risk his re-election by voting against it.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

It may be asked what can be done, in view of the Constitution of North Carolina, to procure justice for women? There are four measures which I will submit for the consideration of this audience as feasible and which should be adopted by the Legislature this winter:

1. In Illinois in the last election 876,700 women went to the polls and voted for President and a woman was one of those chosen as elector. Yet in that State their Constitution, like ours, prescribes that only male persons 21 years old can vote. What the Illinois Legislature did we can do and every State can do. Presidential suffrage is not fixed by the State Constitution, but the Federal Constitution prescribes that the electors for President shall be chosen "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." In many of the States for fifty years the Legislatures chose the electors themselves, and this was done by South Carolina till after the Civil War and by Colorado as late as 1876. When the women of Illinois perceived that the influence of the liquor trusts and brewers was such that a constitutional amendment to strike out the word "male" in State elections could not be adopted at the polls, they procured the passage of an act by a majority of the Legislature, indeed in one house by a majority of one, which directed that the selection of the 29 Presidential electors for that State should be made by the vote of men and women 21 years of age. Upon the validity of this action the Presidential election might have turned. But not a lawyer from ocean to ocean has ventured to question the power of the Legislature of Illinois to do this.

This winter the Legislature of North Carolina should pass an act conferring Presidential suffrage upon the women of this State. This will require only a majority vote in each house, and will not need to be ratified at the ballot-box. As the Democratic Party has pledged itself for Equal Suffrage by "State Action," no member of the Legislature who stands by the platform of his party can vote against it. The same is true of the Republican members of the Legislature, for that party, too, is pledged to Equal Suffrage by State action. These pledges were put in the respective party platforms as a bid for the 91 electoral votes in the State where women voted, and to repudiate that pledge would prove insincerity and an attempt to obtain the Presidency under false pretenses.

MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE.

2. Since the adoption of the recent amendments to our Constitution cutting out local legislation it will be necessary to pass a general act providing for the incorporation of towns and cities. That general act should contain a provision conferring municipal suffrage in all the towns and cities of the State upon women equally with men, or at least a provision that it shall be inserted in the charter of any town where on a vote by men and women such provision shall be adopted. This has been done in Florida, where many towns have admitted women to municipal suffrage by local vote.

There are lawyers who at first blush will say that this is contrary to the State Constitution, and indeed it was so held in *Van Bokkelen v. Canady*, 73 N. C. Reports, 198, at a time when the Republican Supreme Court thought that it should prevent a Democratic Legislature from taking possession of the government of the city of Wilmington. But these lawyers must not forget that to meet this very matter the Constitutional Convention of 1875 put in the Constitution a provision authorizing the Legislature to control in any manner it saw fit, the selection of city and county governments, and that under this measure the Legislature elected the magistrates for many counties, who were empowered to choose the county commissioners and other county officers, and thus control the county government. The Legislature was thus given the same power over the selection of county government and city officials as the Federal Constitution has given to the State Legislatures as to the manner of appointing electors for President. Later on, as to the same city of Wilmington, the General Assembly authorized the Governor to select one-half of the aldermen of that city, and in *Harris v. Wright*, 121 N. C., 172, the Supreme Court of this State held that this was valid and that the entire

machinery of electing county and city governments was vested in the Legislature. Indeed, if the Legislature can, as it did, select a few magistrates as the electorate to choose the county commissioners and other county officers, and can, as it did, make the Governor the elector to choose half the board of aldermen of Wilmington, it has the power to direct the election of city officials by the men and women of each town.

It is entirely in the power of the Legislature to create and change the form of city government and provide by a general statute how those officials shall be chosen and by whom. For some towns the Legislature may prescribe a business manager, for others a commission form of government, and for others a government elected by the men and women of the city.

In *Harris v. Wright*, 121 N. C., 172, it was held that the Constitution, Art. VII, sec. 14, "providing that the General Assembly shall have full power by statute to modify, change, or abrogate any and all of the provisions of that article (except secs. 7, 9 and 13) and substitute others in their stead, all charters, ordinances and provisions relating to municipal corporations are entrusted to the discretion of the Legislature" and held valid the act authorizing the Governor to select one-half the aldermen of Wilmington. This case has been repeatedly approved since down to *Newell v. Green*, 169 N. C., 463.

This act conferring municipal suffrage on women can therefore be passed by a majority vote in each house without submission to the ballot-box.

WOMEN MAY HOLD ANY OFFICE CREATED BY LEGISLATURE.

3. The third act that can be passed by a majority vote of each house, without reference to the ballot-box (where such measures would be fought by the liquor interests and the element that is opposed to the moral influence of women on politics), would be to authorize women to hold any office or position created by the Legislature, including especially all positions in the school system of the State.

I know, indeed, that it will be objected at once that women are debarred by our Constitution from holding office in North Carolina. Not merely to lawyers, but I appeal to every man or woman who can read the English language to say if there can be found in the Constitution of North Carolina the word "male" used as a qualification for office. I know that preconceived opinions and prejudice and custom and our method of taking things for granted, because they have not been questioned, will predispose men to say that our Constitution disqualifies women from holding office. I assert without fear of contradiction that no such qualification can be found in that instrument.

In the Federal Constitution there is no disqualification which bars any woman to hold any office in the Federal government from President down. Many thousands have been postmasters and others have held important offices such as Collector of Internal Revenue, and but recently three women have been chosen Presidential electors and one is a member of Congress.

Our State Constitution does use the word "male" as a qualification for State suffrage. It is not to be wondered at that this brand was placed upon the women at a time when the subject was not considered. But that Convention did not go so far as to disqualify the people from selecting a woman as a public servant. It provides that "every voter shall be eligible to office." This was intended to prevent any future Legislature from disqualifying negroes from holding office, but it did not provide that "no one but a voter should hold office." You will see the distinction.

But even if women had been disqualified to hold office, it has been held in every State, except ours, that qualifications required for office in a State Constitution apply only to those offices which are created by the Constitution, and that as to positions and offices created by the Legislature, that body can prescribe the qualifications for every position created by it, its tenure and everything concerning it and change these at will. In North Carolina alone of the forty-eight States, it was held many years ago, under the pressure of peculiar conditions, in *Hoke v. Henderson*, that an office was a contract, and therefore the Legislature could not change the incumbents of a position created by it. This doctrine was not followed by any other State, and for seventy years it was a source of endless vexation in this State whenever the Legislature

was controlled by one political party and the Supreme Court by the other. The result was at last unendurable, and in *Mial v. Ellington*, 134 N. C. Reports, the doctrine of *Hoke v. Henderson* was utterly repudiated, and this State has ever since conformed to the universal ruling elsewhere.

The truth is that offices named in the Constitution are beyond legislative control, not because they are contracts, but because being created by the Constitution the qualifications for, and tenure of, such offices are beyond legislative control. But as to all offices and positions created by the Legislature itself the qualifications and tenure are entirely at the control of the Legislature, who can change them at will. It is true that some one has said that women cannot be notary publics until the Constitution is amended. There is another way, and that is for one judge to change his opinion, for the decision was made only by a majority of one vote. It has been suggested that it is more difficult for a judge to do this than to get a constitutional amendment adopted, but there have been judges who have overruled their previous opinions upon being convinced that they are wrong. If this cannot be accomplished, there are methods of legislation by which the Legislature can always accomplish its purpose without straining the consciences of the judges.

The Executive Department of our State is at least staked out on this question. By what I think a just recognition, the Governor has appointed a lady, who had already filled the duties of the office during the illness of her predecessor, to be Private Secretary. The statute, Rev. 5330, prescribes the duties of the office, and adds, Rev. 2737, that besides the salary of \$2,000 the incumbent shall *ex officio* be the Secretary of the Board of Internal Improvements at a salary of \$5 per day. "*Ex officio*" means, as you know, "by virtue of the office," thus expressly recognizing the position as such. Every pardon, every commission, every assignment of a judge to hold a special term, signed by the Governor, must be countersigned by her as Private Secretary, and she must affix the State seal to every State bond and every grant. Rev. 2737. If a notary public cannot certify to the evidence taken down by herself as a stenographer because that would make it an office, what becomes of the validity of pardons, of commissions, of special terms, of State bonds and grants, and all other official acts of the Executive which are thus countersigned by a woman? Besides our volumes of laws in publishing the list of Commissioners of Affidavits from this State (who are North Carolina officers), have carried for years the names of women appointed to that office by our Governors, and upon the validity of such appointment depends many deeds probated before them, especially in New York City and Danville, Va.

The Constitution of North Carolina, Art. VI, sec. 7, states the qualifications for office, and sec. 8 of same article and secs. 2 and 7 of Art. XIV state the disqualifications for office, but none of these disqualify women. If there is any power to bar them out it is not to be found in the Constitution, nor in any statute.

FULL SUFFRAGE.

4. The fourth measure which this Legislature should pass (since the Democratic and Republican Parties were in good faith when they pledged to the 12 Equal Suffrage States that they would favor the adoption of equal suffrage by State action) is the passage of an amendment to the Constitution conferring upon the women of the State full suffrage. This measure, unlike the others above named, would require a vote of 3/5 in each house of the General Assembly and its adoption by the people at the ballot-box, where it would be fought by all the powers of reaction and prejudice, by all those who are opposed to any change and by the full weight of the liquor interests, which in every State have furnished the campaign funds for that purpose, and by those party leaders who fear that the advent of women to the polls may jeopardize any compact, well defined inner circle which may happen to control affairs anywhere. The measure might be beaten the first time, but the campaign will educate the voters and will win in North Carolina as it has done elsewhere, ultimately, if not at the first election. In the meantime we shall have had the

demonstration of the fitness of women by their exercise of Presidential and municipal suffrage and their example of fitness in offices created by the Legislature.

In 1776, at Philadelphia, in that immortal Declaration, from which dates all free and representative government, it was solemnly declared to the peoples of the world as a fundamental truth that all men are "created free and equal." Every one knew that this embraced the women as well as men. It was also pledged that "taxation without representation was tyranny." Thomas Jefferson, who drew that instrument, so understood it, for he declared in 1804, more than a century ago, that it was inconceivable to him "that any State should bestow the suffrage upon the most ignorant and besotted man and deny it to the most intelligent and virtuous woman."

In 1836, Abraham Lincoln so understood it, for in his canvass for the Legislature he announced as his platform the grant of suffrage "to all of sufficient intelligence and character, not excluding women." His phrase of "government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people" never meant "government of all the people, by half the people, and for half the people."

If the honor and the faith of all the great political parties and their leaders were not already pledged to the grant of suffrage the fact remains that 91 electoral votes are cast by States in which the women vote, and the number will be never less, and no political party henceforth can hope to swing the vote of those States unless by a pledge to which full faith is given by the women voters of those States.

The possession of the 91 electoral votes, the balance of power, reminds one of the incident in Charles O'Malley, that delightful picture of life in Western Ireland. On one occasion, when a man's father died, his son went to the priest to pray him out of purgatory. Not paying a large fee, the priest a little later reported that he had got the father's head out. The son paying another small fee, the priest reported that the father had his right arm and shoulder out. Whereupon the son declined to make any further payment. The priest reproving him for his unfilial conduct, the son replied: "You do not know the owld mon. If he has got his head and right shoulder and arm out, all h—ll can't hold him."

The facility with which some party leaders have changed front on this question is only equalled by an incident which Senator Smith of South Carolina related to the Chamber of Commerce in Raleigh. He said that a constituent of his, a man of some local prominence, who happened to be in Washington, insisted that the Senator should see the President and urge him to end the war in Europe, pointing out the terrible loss of millions of men and of property, the suffering of women and children, and indeed the destruction of the foundations of society. The Senator told him that it was a good suggestion, and he would tell the President about it, and then added: "By the way, Jim, the Germans, French, and British have 4,000 big guns which they are firing every two minutes, night and day, and to make the gun cotton requires a bale of cotton for every discharge." Thereupon his friend said: "Good gracious, I hope the war will last ten years."

WOMEN EFFICIENT IN POLITICS.

The efficiency with which the women have managed their political campaign by getting President Wilson on their side, and then getting Judge Hughes to go a little bit further, and then getting Mr. Wilson to make a still further bid for their support, shows no small adaptability for political life. It may be, that as they have spent their lives in controlling individual men, they know well how to move them *en masse*. But they have not limited themselves to persuasion. In the Congress before the present there were several members who were offensive in their opposition, and when the returns came in for the present Congress 25 of the most conspicuous of these men were left home. It is said that in the coming Congress between 40 and 50 seats will be filled by new men who are friends of suffrage and replacing its enemies. This condition reminds us of the city man who in these times of high prices applied to a farmer for employment. He was given the work of cleaning up the premises, which he did so well and intelligently that the farmer went back to the

house. In about half an hour the man burst in the door with his face swollen and marked in all colors like a war map of Europe, and said hastily: "Squire, gim'me my coat; I am going." The squire asked what was the matter. The man had no time to answer, but threw back over his shoulder, "I don't know, but it started when I began to dust the beehives."

WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE.

It may be asked why women should have the vote. It is enough that they are taxpayers and of equal intelligence and character with men, and hence, are entitled to a voice of the government which they do so much to support. They raise the men who fill your armies and carry on the work of the country, and they should have a voice in the laws which should protect the morals and the wellbeing of the home, the women and children, and of the men whom they have brought up for their country's service.

Women own probably one-half of the property in every State. In New York the tax list shows that of the five largest taxpayers, three, including the two very highest, are women; and in New Orleans considerably over half the property is owned by the women. And yet they say that "taxation without representation is tyranny." Many large taxpayers are widows or unmarried women, but they are not allowed to vote in this State even on bond issues.

It is said that they do not want the suffrage. The answer is that they have brought forward the demand for it before every State in the Union. Whenever submitted to the ballot-box, in only a few States has it been carried at first for only men can vote on the amendment. In some the amendment has been voted on three and four times. In Oregon the vote was taken five times, and five times it went down in defeat. On the sixth ballot it carried the State. As further proof that they do want it, in the last election in every State where the women voted they cast about the same proportion of ballots as among the men.

What is true among the women in these other States and countries is true here. They are silent and not aggressive after these long years of repression, but the feeling is deep and general. During the Know-Nothing campaign in Virginia before the war, Wise, who was the Democratic candidate for Governor, in one of the counties in Southwestern Virginia made a rabid attack upon the Know-Nothings as a secret order, and eliciting no response, taunted Flournoy with the assertion that there was not a Know-Nothing in the audience. To this Flournoy replied by waving his hand, and saying: "Get up, Sam!" and thereupon, to Wise's utter consternation, the entire audience to a man rose to its feet.

After Judge Hughes had gone beyond his party in pledging himself to Equal Suffrage by Federal amendment, as well as by State action, President Wilson went to the National Convention of the Woman's Suffrage Convention at Atlantic City, and in his speech he told them that he had come "to fight with them," not against them; that their "enfranchisement throughout the country would be certain and soon." The convention then in twenty minutes raised a campaign fund of \$818,800, which has since, I believe, been increased to \$1,000,000. In New York, where suffrage was beaten last year, the Legislature has already passed an act again submitting the amendment for suffrage to the people next year, and in a meeting at Albany \$300,000 was raised by the women in a few moments. This is talking in a tongue which politicians can understand, and it is not the language of those who are indifferent about suffrage. Mrs. Frank Leslie left the Equal Suffrage cause \$1,500,000, which has been affirmed by the courts, and others have given the cause large gifts and bequests. Not a dollar of this money will be used for corruption, but for educational campaigns which is all that suffrage needs. This is not the language of those who do not want the right to vote, but of those who intend to win it.

The greatest obstacle to Equal Suffrage outside of the money and paid orators of the liquor interests is ignorance and overconservatism. This is best typified by an incident told by the elder Judge Dick. When riding the circuit as a Superior Court Judge, in Surry County he overtook a half-grown lad going to mill on horseback with a bag thrown across the horse, in one

end of which was the corn and in the other a stone to balance it. He asked the lad why he did not balance it by putting half the corn in each end of the sack. With amazement he replied: "Grandad did this way, and I guess he had more sense than you be."

EDUCATION OF WOMEN WAS OPPOSED.

Ninety years ago the first college for girls was established by Miss Willard at Troy, New York. The outcry against the education of girls went up on all sides. Exactly the same arguments were used against it as now against Equal Suffrage—predictions of an increase in divorces, of the supremacy of the wife over the husband, of immorality, and every other possible evil. When years later it was proposed to change the laws by which till then all the wife's property became the property of her husband instantly upon marriage, precisely the same predictions were again uttered, only more fiercely, if possible. It was said that every man and his wife would quarrel over the property, just as it is now predicted that they will quarrel over politics. It was not till 1874 that the Supreme Court of this State overruled its previous uniform decisions that a man had a right to whip his wife with a switch no larger than his thumb, for had not Chief Justice Pearson said that "It was the duty of the husband to make the wife behave herself, and therefore he had a right to whip her." It is hard to get out of the heads of some men the idea that they are lords, and the women are naturally their subjects. It is amusing to hear some of these express their intimate knowledge of the intentions of the Almighty by saying "God never intended that a woman should be equal to a man." The conduct of such men is generally such as to throw a doubt upon their being especially privileged to express the will of God; their conduct certainly does not show much acquaintance with it.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST SUFFRAGE.

It is difficult to answer the conflicting arguments against suffrage. One will assert that if women vote they will take to drinking; another, on the contrary, will say that they will not allow a man to get within a mile of a drop of whiskey. The truth is that the liquor interests furnish the speakers and the campaign funds to fight the adoption of Equal Suffrage. Liquor dealers have no illusions about the views of the women who are the chief sufferers from the debauchery of the men.

There are those who will say that the women will vote like their husbands, and it will simply double the vote without any benefit, forgetting that there are in the United States 9,000,000 of unmarried women, while there are others who will say that if the women are allowed to vote they will differ from their husbands and thus increase divorces. But the fact is that the ratio of divorces has diminished in every State that has adopted suffrage for the reason that wives are better treated. There are those who assert that if women are given the suffrage but few of them will go to the polls, which is contradicted by the election returns from every suffrage State. Others assert that they will vote in block as a sex and overwhelm the male vote, which is also contrary to experience.

There are those who assert that in the South to allow the women to vote will bring out the negro women and overwhelm us. The truth is that in North Carolina the white population is 70% and the negro 30%, hence there are 50,000 more white women than all the negro men and negro women put together, and their admission to the suffrage could not possibly jeopardize white supremacy. Besides, if the white men are able to prevent the colored cook's husband from voting they ought to be able to prevent the cook herself voting. Equal Suffrage will strengthen and not jeopardize White Supremacy.

Possibly the cheekiest objection is that the doubling of the number of voters will increase the cost of holding an election. For 150 years the women have been paying taxes to pay the costs of elections in which they had no share. Surely they should be allowed to vote, as they pay their half of the cost of the elections.

There are those who oppose woman's suffrage upon the ground that it will demoralize and degrade the women, while others are equally bold in saying that if they are allowed to vote they will pass blue laws enforcing morality that will make life intolerable. Experience in the States which have suffrage contradicts both extremes. And so it is with every argument that has been used against suffrage. The opponents cannot agree among themselves as to the result, and experience has proven all sinister predictions to be false. Wherever it has been tried there has resulted improvement in public morals, in the character of candidates for office, and better laws, especially from the standpoint of home, education, sanitation, and children. In those States no man of shady character dares run for office. The women are sure to defeat him, and men of that kind are always irreconcilable opponents everywhere to allowing women to vote—naturally so.

In truth the basis of Christian civilization depends upon the conservative morality and clear intelligence of the women. They fill your churches, they keep your schools alive, and bring up each succeeding generation to be good citizens. Equal suffrage will broaden the basis for ascertaining the popular will and will by the intelligence and character of the new voters elevate and purify the ballot.

There are those who say that Scripture is against it. But we know that Deborah was a successful general and a great judge and for 40 years ruled Israel, and that during her reign "all the land had peace." But they say that St. Paul spoke somewhat against women and urged that they should keep silent. Did he ever try to make them do so? No one will presume to criticize Paul, who was one of the greatest men in history, but it is permissible to quote what Peter, the chief of the Apostles, said of him: "*Our beloved brother Paul*" (note the courtesy of this fisherman of Galilee) "*hath said many things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unlearned do wrest to their own condemnation.*" 2 Pet., ch. III: 15, 16.

BASIS OF SUFFRAGE.

The logical, the just, the inevitable result of Democracy is the extension of the suffrage to women, and to throw open the honors and the employments of government to all those who contribute to the material and moral welfare of the Republic, and who as a class are possessed of the mental capacity and moral character to be worthy of the trust, and to give an avenue open to merit without distinction of birth or sex. What is the provision in the Constitution of your State as to voting? It grants the right of suffrage to every adult excepting only four classes:

1. Idiots and lunatics—because they are mental defectives.
2. Convicts—because they are moral defectives.
3. Illiterates—unless their ancestors were white.
4. Women—the mothers, wives, and daughters of the white men of North Carolina.

No matter how bad a character a man has, if he can only keep out of the penitentiary and the insane asylum we permit him to vote and to take a share in the government, but we are afraid to trust our mothers, wives, and daughters to give us the aid of their intelligence and clear insight.

We let an illiterate foreigner from Italy, from Hungary, from Syria come to our State, and after five years, if he is a man, and goes through a certain formula, you will adjudge him fit to be a voter. We let the bartender and those who live upon the evils and vices of life have a vote, while you deny it to your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your daughters.

They say that a woman has no time to vote. If she cannot get half an hour off once in two years to go to the polls then they need the ballot badly. They say there is dirt in politics. The men put it there, for they alone have been running it, and we need the women to give us a good housecleaning. As Mr. Bryan said, "We need the ballot of the women more than they need it for themselves."

We are drawing upon the latent powers of our soil and making one acre produce what three did before. We are drawing upon the latent resources of our people and educating our boys and girls, bringing out those powers of

mind which will develop our State. Why should we stop there? If a man had two sons and when their education was completed should say to one that all avenues of opportunity were open to him and all honors, even the Presidency itself, but should say to the other of equal education, and perhaps greater ability, that he should hang around the back lot, should have no share in the government, no voice in the disposition of the taxes he paid, what would you think of the wisdom and justice of that man? Yet we are doing this identical thing when we open the door of every opportunity and the path to every honor to the boys and close it to the girls with equal education and sometimes of superior ability.

MRS. A. V. WETTIN.

Let me give you one illustration. Many years ago there was a good woman, a womanly woman, who had a home in a foreign country and a nursery in which she raised up nine children. Her legal married name was Mrs. Alexandrina V. Wettin. Her maiden name was Guelph. Probably few of you have heard of her by that name? None of us would have heard of her by any name, but because her country did not disqualify women from a share in the government she is known to all of you as Victoria, sixty-four years Queen of Great Britain and Ireland; Empress of India; sixty-four years Sovereign over 500,000,000 men, one-third of the human race, and ruler over a Dominion upon which the sun never sets, and of which Daniel Webster said "Whose morning drum beat following the sun and keeping company with the hours encircles the globe with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." Her influence upon the moral and social life at Court and among her people raised it from the low level to which the debaucheries of her predecessors had sunk it and made life gentler, sweeter, and purer. Her influence, like that of all good women everywhere, was not bounded by the rising of the sun or the setting thereof, but, like the mercies of God, shall endure throughout all generations.

She was also head of the Church, and appointed all the bishops and archbishops, and upon the validity of such appointment by her and by another woman, Queen Elizabeth, depends the regularity of ordination and confirmation of those who believe in apostolic succession, but in this State there are still a few churches which will not allow women to have a voice in the churches which they support and fill.

In England a woman could be a great and good chief executive and a power for good beyond calculation. In North Carolina she is denied all share in the government, and cannot even be a notary public to certify to her own acts as stenographer, and can no longer, as in the past, render even subordinate service as deputy clerk, or deputy register, or in any other capacity. Why have the women of North Carolina so deteriorated from the qualities with which they are still invested in the country from which we came? Or are our men less capable of knowing their value?

In Montana a woman has been elected Representative in Congress. In North Carolina she cannot be a justice of the peace. In Colorado and several other States for years women have been State superintendents, and in Wyoming, out of thirty counties the superintendents of schools in twenty-nine counties are women, and the same is true throughout the West.

At the great Convention of the Democratic Party at St. Louis, Miss Kate Gordon, a member of one of the proudest families in the South, said to the Convention: "In the South the women are the political inferiors of your negroes." It struck the Southern delegates as if a lash had been laid on their cheeks. It was true.

WORLD MOVEMENT.

This movement is world-wide. It reaches from pole to pole. Throughout Australia, with an area equal to that of the United States, women vote for, and are eligible to, every office equally with men. The same is true in New Zealand, which has the most progressive government on earth. It is equally true of half the area of Canada, that is, four provinces out of nine. Equal

right to suffrage and to office prevails in all the Scandinavian countries—Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland. In Holland in the last few days they have struck out the word "male" from their Constitution, and it is strange that they have not done so before, for their Chief Executive is a woman, and her heir apparent is an only child, a daughter. In this country twelve great States have conferred suffrage upon their women, and in the ninety-one votes cast by them was the balance of power which decided the Presidency and the administration of this great government for the next four years. In twenty other of our States the women already have municipal or school suffrage. In England, Scotland, and Ireland for thirty years women have had municipal suffrage, and they have been on the board of aldermen in the greatest city in the world, London. The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, who has hitherto opposed the admission of women to full suffrage, now has pledged himself to grant it, seeing that the patriotism of the women and their efficient aid in making munitions and in filling civil positions from policeman to street-car conductor have saved the situation and enabled England to face the German storm. The new Premier, Lloyd-George, has long advocated it.

This movement is not a fad, a passing fancy, but is a world-wide movement, one of the greatest movements of all time, lifting mankind to a higher level. It appeals to every sense of justice by calling to a share in the government those who do full half the work of Christian civilization, and in whose moral and mental qualities and unbounded patriotism there is an unlimited reservoir of mental and moral force to develop society and the State and to make our future great and glorious.

When Aycock and Alderman and Joyner and McIver went up and down in the State to awaken interest in education, that you might develop your State, they did not limit their appeal to the education of the boys. But why should you educate the other half if you are to awaken in them ambitions and hopes and a sense of mental power only to frustrate them?

The German Emperor, who believes in brute force and divine right as the basis of all government, said that women should be confined to the three K's—*Kuchen, Kirche, and Kinder*, that is, to the kitchen, the church, and the children. In doing this he has stated the three bases upon which Christian civilization rests—the children, that is the future; the church, that is the morality of the Christian religion, and the kitchen, the physical support of mankind.

As Owen Meredith said:

"We may live without poetry, music and art;
"We may live without conscience, and live without heart;
"We may live without friends, we may live without books,
"But civilized man cannot live without cooks."

If a woman can fulfill these duties and fill them well, like Atlas she bears the burden of the world on her shoulders, and instead of being denied all voice in the government which she supports, she should rather be entitled to a double vote.

GIVE THE HOME A VOTE.

It is true that the greatest sphere for women is at their homes, though this overlooks the fact that many are not married and are not the heads of families. If home is the natural sphere of a large portion of one sex, so is the farm, the blacksmith shop, the lawyer's office, the bank, the mercantile establishment and other avocations the sphere of the other sex. We do not disfranchise a farmer, a merchant, a banker, or any other man because that such is his sphere, but we call them to share in the government and to help make the State all that it should be by an intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage.

We live not by figures on a dial plate, but by heart throbs. Let me tell you ladies how to know when a man is old. If his heart and head are not open to pleas for justice to women, and he does not perceive that we need their aid, then indeed he is a left-over from the past. His ideas are not those of the new world that is opening before us, but he is hopelessly old in thought and

feeling and belongs to the past. There is a disease known as hardening of the arteries. Our learned medical brethren call it arterio-sclerosis. Such a man has arterio-sclerosis of the brain.

This measure has been long in preparation; its success is inevitable because it is based upon elementary justice, and is required by the best interest of the State which demands the best talent and the participation of all the people in the development of our State. Already the eastern sky is tinted with the golden coruscations of the dawn. Suffrage will come as surely as the daylight comes when the night is done. It will come like that far-off Divine Event when "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters and said, let there be light, and there was light."

MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

REPLY OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE IN 1917 OF THE NORTH CAROLINA EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

The movement for justice to women in North Carolina is nonpartisan, as it has been in every other State. We did not expect that a partisan appeal would be made to deny us a fair share in the government under which we live, and to the support of which we pay our taxes and contribute our full share of labor, in view of the fact that every party has, through its papers, platform, and speakers, called strenuously upon the women for support.

There are in this State 700,000 white adults, of whom 350,000 are white women; and 300,000 negro adults, of whom 150,000 are negro women. There are, therefore, 200,000 more white women than negro women, and it is impossible that their admission to the polls should jeopardize white supremacy. The negro women have the same grandfathers as the negro men, and would be disqualified to exactly the same extent. If under the present "grandfather clause" the Democratic majority is 50,000, by doubling the white vote the Democratic majority in the State would be doubled if the white women are Democratic in the same proportion as the men.

If after experiment with municipal suffrage, it is shown that the women here, as in other States, desire the suffrage by voting as fully as the men do, and that they have the judgment and the patriotism to vote intelligently, then the question will come up whether suffrage shall be extended to us in State matters. How else can we ever prove ourselves competent for suffrage if we are denied even this small measure as a trial? If on such experiment it will be found that women are "faithful in a few things," as by making the towns cleaner in every respect, shall we not then be admitted to a larger degree of suffrage? If we shall not prove as competent and intelligent as our brothers, our husbands, and our sons, we shall not ask for full suffrage. We believe that if granted a voice in municipal affairs, we women will prove that woman suffrage means an extension of the "home idea," so as to make our larger home, the town or city in which we live, more homelike, cleaner, healthier, and a safer and more virtuous place in which to rear our children.

The argument used against us does not answer the proposition that women are intelligent and patriotic and competent to vote, nor does it answer the fact that there are 200,000 more white women than negro women in North Carolina, but it is based upon "if" after "if," and runs somewhat thus: *If* the negro women shall all register and vote, and *if* thereupon all the negro men shall for some unexplainable reason become competent to register and vote, and *if* the white women here (contrary to statistics in suffrage States) shall not vote, then the Democratic party might be defeated. Should such a combination of "ifs" upon "if" deter our legislators from passing such an act as will allow women to vote on town matters in those towns where the people are willing to trust us?

The colored people are here, and will be for the next thousand years. Shall the white women of North Carolina be disfranchised on this account, when our sisters in other States are admitted to share in the governments under which they live, and which they support as fully as the men by their contributions in taxes and labor?

Under a government which avowedly rests "upon the consent of the governed," and where it has been always maintained that "taxation without representation is tyranny," we appeal to the sense of justice of the people of this State, acting through their representatives in the General Assembly, to permit the mothers, wives, and daughters of the voters of North Carolina to prove by a trial in the municipal elections in such towns as shall trust them to make the experiment, to prove that the women of the State do wish to vote, and that they can do so intelligently, and that they will not fail to voice what is for the best interests of the communities in which they live.

Respectfully,

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE NORTH CAROLINA
EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,
MRS. C. A. SHORE, *Chairman*.

RALEIGH, N. C., 3 February, 1917.

THE CENSUS TELLS THE STORY

By the Census of 1910 the population of North Carolina

was upwards of ----- 2,200,000

Now, 7 years later, at the same rate of increase it is over -- 2,500,000

The rule is one adult male to every 5 persons which gives

us as adult males ----- 500,000

There are fully as many adult females ----- 500,000

Total adult males and females ----- 1,000,000

As the ratio in North Carolina by the Census is 70% white and 30% negro, it follows that the negro adults, male and female, are 300,000 and the white adults, male and female, are 700,000. One-half (350,000) of these last are of course white females, making 50,000 more adult white women than the 300,000 negro men and negro women combined.



THE VERY LATEST IN SUFFRAGE MAPS
(Don't Overlook Rhode Island)

White States: Full Suffrage

Dotted " Presidential Suffrage

++ " Primary Suffrage

(Municipal, School, and Bond Suffrage Not Shown)

